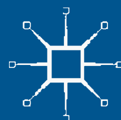
SOCIAL CAPITAL & ENTERPRISE IN THE MODERN STATE

Edited by Éidín Ní Shé, Lorelle J. Burton and Patrick Alan Danaher



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Éidín Ní Shé • Lorelle J. Burton
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Editors

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PART I

Concepts and Contexts

Enabling States, Capitalising Enterprise and Confronting the Social: Issues and Implications in Researching Contemporary Social Capital and Enterprise

Éidín Ní Shé, Lorelle J. Burton, and Patrick Alan Danaher

Introduction

We live in unsettled and troubling times, with previous certainties unravelling and taken-for-granted assumptions in disarray. One such certainty was centred on assumptions about the character and purposes of the state, as affording security and facilitating prosperity for its citizens, as well as ensuring minimum standards of care and support for its most vulnerable

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members, centred on the proposition of the welfare state. By contrast, and as we elaborate below, mass movements of displaced populations and the advent of global terrorism, in addition to the volatility of global financial markets, among other developments, have placed unprecedented strain on the capacities and resources of governments to provide previously guaranteed services. In the process, the very idea of "the state" has attracted heightened scrutiny and growing scepticism.

As we also elaborate below, this book takes up three key ideas arising from this complex situation: the modern state; social capital; and social enterprise. This chapter begins the task of identifying the theoretical and material relationships among these ideas, and also of exploring some of the ways in which they might provide the foundation for reframing the provision of necessary services and support. More broadly, this debate raises significant questions about statehood, citizenship, globalisation and social justice, as all of us grapple with living and learning with one another and with the planet in the early to mid-twenty-first century.

The chapter has been divided into three sections:

- An outline of the book's focus;
- Conceptual issues relevant to the book's three research questions focused on examining broader, present-day questions about the role of the modern state in enabling social capital and social enterprise;
- The impetus for the book, and an overview of the book's two parts and 16 chapters.

The Focus of This Research Book

> A caring state, and the building of such a state, is the responsibility of all citizens. A caring state does not grow from nothing, but must be founded on articulation and action by concerned citizens who not only visualise a democratic society, but [also] make a case for it and support its realisation. (President of Ireland Michael D. Higgins, 30 June 2017)

The Irish President's powerful and poignant evocation of "[a] caring state" (Higgins, 2017) encapsulates neatly the focus of this research book. The chapters in the book, including this one, explore in diverse ways the crucial intersections among three powerful ideas: *social capital*; *social enterprise;* and *the modern state*. Given the current character of the world, it is particularly important that these intersections are mapped and analysed

in ways that render transparent and visible the winners and the losers, the included and the excluded, and the powerful and the powerless with regard to late capitalism in the first quarter of the twenty-first century. This is vital to understanding, and where possible to ameliorating, contesting and reframing, the forces of control and marginalisation that beset our contemporary world.

More specifically, we are witnessing a deep transformation of the role of *the modern state*, caused by significant socio-structural changes and shifting political ideas, as well as by unanticipated events such as the 2007–2008 global financial crisis (Blanco, Griggs, & Sullivan, 2014; McInerney, 2014). As a result, organisations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have played a central part in formulating and implementing economic policies by placing an emphasis on austerity and cuts (Brazys & Regan, 2017). This emphasis has in turn highlighted the relevance and significance of both *social capital* and *social enterprise* (which are conceptualised more fully in the next section of this chapter) to current debates about understanding and financing the fundamental relationship between the state and its citizens and other community members.

In a telling instance of these wider developments, with the advent of austerity in the United Kingdom, the then Prime Minister David Cameron introduced the "Big Society" manifesto in 2010 in the run up to a general election (Cabinet Office, 2010). This manifesto promised to "redefine the role of the state as a provider of public services", narrated as a strategy to empower communities, encourage a diversity of service providers and foster volunteerism (Whelan, 2012). To enable such a vision, there was an emphasis on "localism", "self-governing", "resilience", "pay by results", "social value", "social capital" and "social enterprise", all focused on the rhetoric of the common good. At the core of the "Big Society" agenda was "commissioning", which is the process of tendering the provision of services (Alcock, 2016; Grover & Piggott, 2015; Shaw, 2012).

These same far-reaching and widespread changes are being manifested and experienced by many governments across the globe. To take just one example, all levels of the Australian public sector are reforming and reviewing their service provision with a focus on returning the budget to surplus. Indeed, some elements of the "Big Society" are present at both the state and the federal levels of government in Australia (Whelan, 2012). The consensus in the academic literature is that the narrative presented about the "Big Society" "is a slippery one" (Coote, 2011, p. 82) with a hidden agenda:

> Beneath its seductive language about giving more power to citizens, the "Big Society" is a major programme of structural change that aims to overturn the post-war welfare state. The key idea is to divest the state of responsibility for meeting needs and managing risks that individuals cannot cope with alone. (Coote, 2011, p. 82)

These shifts have sparked a debate about what the role of the state is, which has been described on the one hand as a "passive state" or on the other hand as an "enabling state" focused on collaborative approaches, bottom-up initiatives and participation (Elvidge, 2014; Sullivan, 2012). Against this backdrop of policy-making and politics, it is timely to look again at the relationship between society and governments and to reflect especially on the possibilities and the desirability of imagining and interacting with the enabling state. This edited research book explores the complexities of investigating these shifts and challenges, and is focused, in particular, on the changing role of the modern state and both the viability and the sustainability of the spheres of social capital and social enterprise.

In doing so, the book builds on and extends from several ideas previously presented in *Community Capacity Building: Lessons from Adult Learning in Australia* (Postle, Burton, & Danaher, 2014). That earlier volume investigated diverse conceptualisations of, and approaches to, community capacity-building from the perspective of university-community engagement in contemporary Australia. The discussion traversed multiple current social issues that community organisations and universities worked in tandem to address. These issues ranged from disenfranchised youth and older men to refugees and technological inclusion, to the roles of regional and local government, and to evaluating the community benefits of social interventions and ensuring the sustainability of such interventions.

The earlier book analysed social issues that are familiar to many readers of this volume, including from countries other than Australia. Those issues were explored through the prism of community capacity-building, understood as universities engaging strategically and sustainably with various community organisations to address "real world" issues from an integrated cross-disciplinary and multi-sectoral perspective and against the backdrop of Australia's distinctive policy-making and political landscape. By contrast, this volume's geographical reach has been widened to include Bangladesh and Ireland as well as Australia, as well as drawing on the latest international scholarship in this important area of public policy. Furthermore, the social issues have been broadened to include social

housing and homelessness, educational inclusion, local governments and social enterprise, older men and digital technologies, microcredit for women entrepreneurs, refugee settlement experiences, mental illness and social entrepreneurship, business people helping to build social capital, university-community partnerships that enable pathways to higher education and employment for marginalised individuals and the utility of developing asset-based regional economies.

Conceptual Resources for Researching Social Capital and Social Enterprise in the Modern State

There are multiple conceptual resources that can be deployed to conduct research into social capital and social enterprise in the modern state. "The state" evokes ideas such as "governance", "government", "politics" and "polity", and is predicated on notions of hierarchy, structure and the power to make and implement decisions (such as the provision of services and the promulgation of laws) applicable to the citizens of a geographically located and bounded area. A current definition of "the state" focused on four identified crucial characteristics:

> The classical approach of European constitutional, legal and state theory identifies three core elements of the state: (1) a politically organized coercive, administrative and symbolic apparatus endowed with general and specific powers; (2) a clearly demarcated core territory under the more or less uncontested and continuous control of the state apparatus; and (3) a stable population on which the state's political authority and decisions are binding.... Reference to state objectives suggests a fourth element: the idea of the state. This denotes the political imaginary that defines the nature and purposes of the state, invoking higher goal(s) than self-preservation and self-interest and thereby distinguishing it from mafia-like bodies. It serves to legitimate the state and its power and also provides more general criteria for legitimacy crises and state failure. (Jessop, 2016, pp. 72–73)

Yet, despite the conceptual utility of Jessop's (2016) definition, the theoretical relationship between "the state" and "society" remains contested (Mayrl & Quinn, 2016). This contestation derives partly from a perceived fracturing and fragmenting of the assumed orderly and predictable interactions between citizens and the state framing the four elements identified by Jessop. This disruption of previously accepted notions of the functions and power of the state is connected integrally with contemporary

and continuing geopolitical shifts, including the mass migrations of asylum seekers and refugees, the growth of global terrorism and the impact of cyber technologies. These developments have had devastating effects on displaced populations and on the victims of terror attacks, and they have also diminished citizens' faith in the fixedness and inviolability of their respective states' territories. Consequently, there is increasing scepticism about "the political imaginary that defines the nature and purposes of the state" (Jessop, 2016, p. 73), leaving some citizens to aspire ever more hopefully to a world that moves beyond states to global systems of governance on the one hand, and other citizens to seek to withdraw from such a world in favour of separate and self-governing states on the other hand. This profound ambivalence has been manifested in such recent developments as "Brexit", or the United Kingdom's referendum to exit the European Union, and the election of President Donald Trump in the United States.

Given the ongoing debate about the character and purposes of the modern state, it is important, in the context of this book, to explain the significance of the two other key concepts framing the book: social capital and social enterprise. With regard to social capital, Bourdieu (1986) defined the term as being "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintanceship or recognition" (p. 248). Thus, social capital can be conceptualised as "the measurable resource arising from embedded economic relations" (Steele, 2009, p. 68). Coleman (1988) posited three key aspects of social capital: "obligations and expectations; information channels; and social norms" (Coleman, 1988, p. S95). Putnam (2000) associated social capital with citizens' membership of social groups such as social, political and religious organisations, and he expressed concern that "American social capital in the form of civic associations has significantly eroded over the last generation" (Putnam, 1995, p. 73). Despite the diversity of these approaches to defining social capital, the common features of these definitions include a sense of connectedness and mutuality, as well as the value of networks of associations that generate meaning and support beyond what can be achieved from a narrowly conceived self-interest.

One of the premises of this book is that social capital is generally a positive phenomenon, while noting the critique of this proposition by Portes (2014). Moreover, in the context of the ambivalence and uncertainty about the meaning and relevance of the state noted above, we contend

that social capital is even more important and potentially transformative than in situations where the state's purposes and power are largely undisputed. This is because the withdrawal by the state from providing services for its citizens, and/or the withdrawal by citizens and non-citizens from engagement with the state for multiple reasons, generate/s a vacuum of assistance and association that needs to be replaced in particular ways.

Furthermore, we assert that social enterprise constitutes a valid and viable means of maximising social capital and of ensuring service provision in the diverse manifestations of the modern state. Grieco (2015) positioned social enterprise as emerging from "The limits of the state–market binomial" (p. ix) and from "The crisis of traditional business models" (p. ix). Mnganga (2014) stated succinctly that "A social entrepreneur is an entrepreneur with a compelling social mission.... This is a person or a group of people who identify a social need and who use innovative business and entrepreneurial principles and solutions to meet that need" (p. 15). Similarly, Dees (1998) argued: "For social entrepreneurs, the social mission is explicit and central. This obviously affects how social entrepreneurs perceive and assess opportunities. Mission-related impact becomes the central criterion, not wealth creation" (p. 2). Helpfully, Dees (1998) elaborated this encapsulation of the key elements of social entrepreneurship as follows:

Social entrepreneurs play the role of change agents in the social sector, by:

- *adopting a mission to create and sustain social value (not just private value),*
- *recognising and relentlessly pursuing new opportunities to serve that mission,*
- *engaging in a process of continuous innovation, adaptation and learning,*
- *acting boldly without being limited by resources currently in hand and*
- *exhibiting heightened accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes created* (p. 4; *emphasis in original*).

Bringing these three key concepts—the modern state, social capital and social enterprise—into juxtaposition, we see that the decline of the modern state, with its attendant ambitions and certainties, has created both the necessity and opportunities for new actors to enter the realm of service provision. Many of those new actors are associated with social enterprises of varying kinds, and a significant part of their social mission is to enhance

social capital and thereby to contribute to community capacity-building (Postle et al., 2014). It is this complex and contested interface among the modern state, social capital and social enterprise that lies at the heart of this book.

More specifically, how we understand the state's delivery of public services has shifted significantly in the past few decades. The advent of the new public management philosophy in the 1990s presented a major strategic and cultural shift in the way that such services were defined and delivered (Alford & O'Flynn, 2012; Considine, 2000, 2001; O'Flynn, 2007). This shift included measures such as privatisation, corporate management and the establishment of market-type approaches (O'Flynn et al., 2014).

More recently, following the election of Donald Trump as the United States President in 2016, we are witnessing strategies aimed at "deconstructing the state, and outsourcing as much as possible to for-profit corporations" (Klein, 2017, p. 3; see also Posner, 2017).

Our political systems are going through a period of "shock politics" that calls for a shift from a passive stance of opposition to active resistance and the engagement of people (Klein, 2017). The results of the United Kingdom snap election of June 2017 were quick to see a flurry of commentators and academics suggesting that it will herald the end of "austerity politics" (Eaton, 2017; Elliott, 2017; Ryan, 2017; Vasilopoulou, 2017). The evidence highlighting the impact of austerity was illustrated clearly in a recent report by the United Kingdom Social Mobility Commission (2017), which undertook an analysis of two decades of governments' efforts to improve social mobility. The report found that policies have failed to reduce significant inequality between rich and poor, despite two decades of interventions, citing three specific divides: geographical, income and generational. The report warned that, without radical and urgent reform, the social and economic divisions in British society will widen even further, thereby threatening community cohesion and economic prosperity. In Ireland, the impact of austerity following the severe downturn of the economy in 2007 and 2008 was characterised by mass emigration, increased taxation and reductions in public expenditure, with specific cuts being made to welfare supports for young people and substantial cuts in health and social care spending and cost shifting onto households (Callan, Nolan, Keane, Savage, & Walsh, 2014).

Against the backdrop of these complex and continuing developments, we posit that the concept of an enabling state is well worth pursuing, not least because from our perspective it brings together the three notions of the modern state, social capital and social enterprise in new and potentially transformative ways. At the core of the enabling state lie six interlinked propositions:

1. Empowered citizens and communities
2. A co-production model for public services
3. Success where the state has traditionally failed
4. A level playing field
5. A holistic approach to public service delivery
6. Shared responsibility (Elvidge, 2014).

Sullivan (2012) has stressed that the key to supporting the implementation of the "enabling state" is an "active state" that can enable this shift. In diverse ways, the subsequent chapters in this book take up this challenge of charting the contours and tracing the trajectories attendant on such a development. This same challenge is intentionally synthesised in the title of this chapter, with its tripartite focus on enabling states, capitalising enterprises (in the sense of social enterprise mobilising the power and resources of capitalist enterprise but for a very different purpose, focused on mission rather than on profit) and confronting the social (by which we mean insisting on the continued and indeed the increased importance of placing "social" in front of both "capital" and "enterprise").

Moreover, despite the intended diversity of the following chapters, taken together, they contribute to addressing the following three research questions framing the book:

1. What is the role of the modern state in enabling social capital and social enterprise?
2. What are the current experiences of social enterprises and community organisations, and which opportunities and challenges underpin those experiences?
3. Which examples of empowerment and innovation are occurring within communities in relation to social capital and social enterprise?

These research questions, we believe, capture broader contemporary political debates about the role of states today, and they also assist us to progress our discussions around the need for strong, active and enabling states. The insights and concerns expressed within this book by those who have contributed to it are therefore internationally significant and multi-sectorally resonant.

The Impetus for, and an Overview of, This Research Book

As three editors, our meeting and coming together that resulted in the development of this edited research book could be seen as the beginning of an interesting tale involving an Irish woman and two Australians working in an Australian regional university. The story began in 2012 at the University of Southern Queensland (USQ), Australia, which was undergoing significant internal reform in building research capacity (Burton, Ní Shé, & Olliver, 2015; O'Shea & McDonald, 2015). The central campus of USQ is based in Toowoomba. Major changes continue to occur within regional and rural Australia owing to the impacts of the resources boom and its subsequent decline, drought, climate change and population shifts (Hogan & Young, 2015; Morris, Gooding, & Molloy, 2015). With a population of over 158,000 residents, Toowoomba is the second biggest inland city in Australia (Toowoomba Regional Council, 2014). Historically, the city serviced a strong agricultural base. More recently, there has also been a significant mining and coal seam gas boom within the Surat Basin area that has seen almost $200 billion invested in projects (Toowoomba Regional Council, 2014). Like other Australian universities, a major part of the university's community engagement activities is in the form of engaged research and engaged learning and teaching (Postle & Garlick, 2014). It is within this context that we focused our work within and external to USQ in building relationships with our partners, many of whom have contributed to this book. During this time, we had numerous conversations about the role of the state as we undertook various community capacity-building and research work with our partners across the region. We have observed and partnered with many innovative practices within the south-east Queensland region that are oriented to social enterprise, social procurement and social capital. It is within this context that our focus shifted to the theme of this book, being the reworking of the relationship between the state and the diverse and multiple communities whom it serves.

We have included this information about ourselves and about some of the community engagement and research projects in which we have been involved not to be unduly solipsistic, but instead to encapsulate in our own range of experiences some of the broader ideas canvassed in the previous sections of this chapter, and also to explain the impetus for this book.

Several scholars responded enthusiastically to that impetus, and their work is represented in the following chapters. The editors and other colleagues provided comprehensive peer reviews of the submitted chapters, which the authors revised in the light of those reviews. The result is a rich array of research-based and evidence-informed chapters about a crucial contemporary issue that are simultaneously scholarly in outlook and engaged in practice.

The 16 chapters in the book have been clustered around two parts to maximise coherence and to enhance readability. The first part is concerned with selected concepts and contexts relevant to the project of investigating and understanding social capital and enterprise in the modern state. This chapter has situated the focus of this research book in relation to that project, and it has also identified several conceptual resources that can facilitate research into contemporary social capital and social enterprise. Chap. 2, by Chris McInerney (University of Limerick, Ireland), examines the notion of public administration—what he calls "the ghost in the machine" and "the machinery of the state"—as the site of an ideological struggle in which the primacy of democratic decision-making needs to be juxtaposed and interdependent with an engaged public administration system.

Part 2 of the book is taken up by 13 individual case studies, presented in Chaps. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15 and 16. These case studies highlight different empirical and material aspects of the complex interplay among the modern state, social capital and social enterprise. In Chap. 3, Alan Morris (University of Technology Sydney, Australia) draws from 45 in-depth interviews with older social housing tenants in Sydney to make some broader points about the relationship between social housing and changing understandings of the contemporary state. Matthew Gregg (METRO Care, Australia), Éidín Ní Shé (University College Dublin, Ireland) and Lorelle J. Burton (University of Southern Queensland, Australia) use Chap. 4 to portray METRO Care, a non-profit service organisation providing a number of outreach programs in Toowoomba, Australia, as a microcosm of wider issues pertaining to the challenges of, and the opportunities for, care provision in regional Australia. Chap. 5, by

Joan Hanafin, Marie Flynn and Anne Boyle (Dublin City University, Ireland), analyses the constructions of Irish Travellers by a range of Irish State documents and the impact of those constructions on current official policies in relation to the Traveller community. In Chap. 6, Catherine Hastings (University of Technology Sydney, Australia) and John Weate (Great Lakes Community Resources, Australia) investigate the nexus between local governments and social enterprise from the theoretical perspective of networked governance and public value, illustrated by examples taken from regional New South Wales, Australia. Francesca Rendle-Short, Ronnie Scott, Stayci Taylor, Michelle Aung Thin and Melody Ellis (RMIT University, Australia) use Chap. 7 to elaborate the phenomenon of homelessness in Melbourne, Australia's second largest city, through the insights generated by #streatstories, an innovative creative writing project developed collaboratively between RMIT University and STREAT, a social enterprise working with homeless youth and young people. Chap. 8, by Lisa McDonald (Lisa McDonald & Associates, Australia), reconsiders the crucial concept of trust in the context of older men's engagement with digital social enterprise, in the form of a digital peer support network designed to maximise connectedness and well-being in regional Queensland, Australia.

In Chap. 9, Muntaha Rakib (Shahjalal University of Science and Technology, Bangladesh), Sayan Chakrabarty (University of Southern Queensland, Australia) and Stephen Winn (University of Southern Queensland, Australia) take up the intersection between gender and social and human capital, as exemplified in access to, and applications of, microcredit in Bangladesh. Eric Kong (University of Southern Queensland, Australia), Sue Bishop (University of Southern Queensland, Australia) and Eddy Iles (Multicultural Development Association, Toowoomba, Australia) use Chap. 10 to analyse the impact of social enterprises on the life satisfaction and self-reliance of culturally and linguistically diverse refugees living in regional Australia. Chap. 11, by Luke Terry (Toowoomba Clubhouse, Australia) and Marian Lewis (University of Southern Queensland, Australia), narrates the first-named author's aspirations and experiences as a social entrepreneur working in regional Australia to bridge the gap between business and social work and to create social enterprises that generate sustainable employment for individuals with mental health challenges. In Chap. 12, Sueanne M. Gola and Lorelle J. Burton (University of Southern Queensland, Australia) explore strategies for building social connections and thereby reducing stigma for people with a lived experience of mental illness, centred on the Thrive program at the Toowoomba Clubhouse,

Australia. Lorelle J. Burton (University of Southern Queensland, Australia), Éidín Ní Shé (University College Dublin, Ireland) and Sue Olliver (University of Southern Queensland, Australia) use Chap. 13 to examine the Men of Business "Pay It Forward" program as a particular model for building social capital among disenfranchised youth in schools on the Gold Coast in Queensland, Australia. Chap. 14, by Rebecca Lane, Lorelle J. Burton and Gavin Beccaria (University of Southern Queensland, Australia), investigates the Clemente Toowoomba programme in Queensland, Australia, as a model of alternative education creating transformative pathways to higher education and employment for marginalised groups. In Chap. 15, Patricia Inman (Northern Illinois University, United States) elaborates the features of an asset-based economy and narrates the story of successful grounded development in regional economies.

The book concludes with the Afterword by Glen Postle (University of Southern Queensland, Australia), which synthesises the intervening chapters' responses to the three research questions posed in this chapter and also elaborates the author's personal vision for reimagining the crucial connections among the modern state, social capital and social enterprise. This vision is relevant to, and significant for, all communities and countries striving to engage with ethical and socially just relationships between individuals and between nations.

Conclusion

All chapters in this book are concerned with the kinds of communities and societies that individuals and groups living in the early and mid-twenty-first century desire and need if they are to lead happy, meaningful and peaceful lives, in harmonious co-existence with one another and the other inhabitants of this planet. The subsequent chapters present theoretical ideas and practical experiences of the types of issues, and the accompanying implications, attendant on this fundament question. These issues and implications range from where and how people live, to the provision of education and health services, to access to various kinds of social enterprises, to the types of partnerships that can enhance the positive impact of those enterprises and to the influence of the geographical location on that impact.

More broadly, the themes canvassed and traversed in this book are focused fundamentally on questions of access, equity and social justice—of who is enabled to live the happy, meaningful and peaceful lives mentioned above. If the modern state is to be transformed into the enabling state as

a means of helping to realise this vision, social capital and social enterprise are vital elements of that transformation.

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The Ghost in the Machine: Enabling Public Administration for an Enabling State

Chris McInerney

Introduction

How we understand the nature of the state is both changing and challenged, every day in many different ways and in many different directions. Increasingly, nationalistic rhetoric in some instances is accompanied by renewed assaults on the notion of the active or interventionist state or the more conspiratorially oriented 'deep state'. Similar nationalistic, and some might say isolationist, tendencies have been reasserted by pressures on supranational bodies such as the EU, most visibly manifest in the outcome of the current UK Brexit process. On the other hand, the position of the inviolable nation state and what it stands for is daily questioned in Europe and elsewhere by the possibly unprecedented global movements of people, fleeing war and poverty, but often meeting a less than humanitarian hard borders, defence of the state at all costs response. Finally, the notion of the individualised state is challenged by truly global issues that defy individualised responses, in particular, climate change.

All these challenges to the state are interrogated and subject to scrutiny by an increasingly educated and sometimes well-informed citizenry. Information and communications technology and a suite of transparency

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tools have greatly expanded the range of would-be policy makers and policy commentators. At the same time, persistent societal problems confront virtually all states, paralleling seemingly inexorable budgetary pressures, not least those arising from pressure to maintain expanded and expensive welfare systems. It is the latter that is considered to have significantly influenced the emergence of the concept of the 'enabling state', though there are differing versions of what the term means.

This chapter explores the idea of the enabling state but does so from the perspective of public administration, the machinery of the state. In particular, it suggests that public administration systems, the machinery that keeps states functioning, themselves must be enabled so that they can help enable others, not least those seeking to address poverty and social exclusion. To do this the chapter first explores the differing understandings of the notion of the 'enabling state', mapping its early identification with the rebalancing of roles and responsibilities in the provision of welfare services from public to private provision, through to its more recent association with deepening democracy and increased citizen voice. It then goes on to examine the implications of these different conceptual iterations for the practice of public administration before finally presenting the elements of an enabled public administration agenda.

The Concept of the Enabling State

The idea of the 'enabling state' first emerged in the USA in the late 1980s and is strongly associated with the philosophy and functioning of the welfare state (Gilbert & Gilbert, 1989). The introduction of the 'enabling' adjective clearly suggests that what went before it was in some way less than enabling, possibly even disabling or disempowering, whereas the emerging, enabling state was the opposite—vibrant, liberating, empowering etc. 'To enable is to empower and to provide the actual ability to choose between options, extending freedom for both providers and users of services. The "providing state" which it would replace represented compulsion and dependency' (Taylor, 2000, p. 372).

Before this paradigmatic shift, and recognising that there are many different approaches to the operation of welfare states (Esping-Andersen, 1990), welfare provision operated on the basis of some level of universality of provision, relying primarily on delivery by public bodies, underpinned by a notion that the state had a duty to see to the welfare of its citizens, particularly when they might become subject to the 'vicissitudes of the

market' (Gilbert, 2013, p. 89). However, the impact of budgetary pressures to maintain increasingly expensive welfare provision alongside the emergence of neo-liberal ideologies ensured that the welfare state, as envisaged by Beveridge and others, came under severe financial and philosophical challenge. Enter the 'enabling state'!

The early iteration of the enabling state idea represented not just a different way of 'doing welfare', it represented a different motivation underlying the provision of welfare. It also signalled an ideological shift from the provision of welfare as a right deriving from citizenship to the provision of welfare attached to a set of social responsibilities associated with citizenship, guided by beliefs that welfare recipients would 'behave well, contribute to society (and their individually designed-contribution pension plans) and become independent as quickly as possible' (Gilbert, 2013, p. 88). Reflecting on the impact of the enabling state, the CEO of the Carnegie UK Trust, Martyn Evans, comments, 'This fundamental change is creating a challenging new relationship between citizens, communities and the state. In the enabling state more is expected, and indeed demanded of citizens, families and communities to contribute to their own welfare and wellbeing' (Wallace, 2013, p. 1).

In seeking to understand what the enabling state looks like, it is important to note that there are different variations of the enabling state concept, with more recent commentators taking it beyond the largely neo-liberal impulses of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Table 2.1 sets out some of its main features, comparing it to the 'traditional welfare state' that it sought to modify and to more recent efforts to extend, reclaim and redefine the term, what is being labelled in this chapter as, 'Enabling State+'. In presenting these features, it is not suggested that the enabling state concepts have entirely replaced the traditional welfare state, rather they have layered alternative and/or complementary approaches upon the original framework.

The key distinctions between the 'traditional' and 'enabling' welfare states can be divided between practice and principle. In practice, one of main features of the enabling state is the replacement, to varying degrees, of public sector delivery by private or non-profit delivery and with it an assertion of the primacy of the logic of the market as opposed to the logic of state or, what might be called, a public logic. As a consequence of the rise of market logic, direct expenditure on and accountability for welfare by state bodies have been increasingly replaced by delegated delivery of services via contracting out to private entities and non-profit agencies.

Table 2.1 From the traditional welfare to the enabling state(s)

	Traditional welfare state	*Enabling state*	*Enabling state+*
Delivery mode	Delivery of welfare services mainly by public bodies	Delivery mainly by private and non-profits, contracting out	Stronger integration of family and community systems
Dominant logic	State/public	Market/private	Communitarianism (Elvidge, 2014)
Expenditure mode	Direct expenditure and accountability	Monitoring/ delegated accountability/ performance monitoring (Curtis, 2006)	Delegated indirect expenditure/ partnership models of deliver
Role of civil society	Civil society as advocates	Civil society as contracted delivery agents	Advocate, partner and delivery agent
Citizens' welfare relationship	Citizen rights	Client responsibilities and obligations	Citizen rights & responsibilities within a community support framework
Role of benefits	'Benefits as social entitlement' (Gilbert, 2013)	'Benefits contingent on responsibility' (Gilbert, 2013)	Benefits as part of an array of responses to address deepening societal needs
Conditionality	'Unconditional benefits' (Gilbert, 2013)	Conditionality, inducement, punishment	More flexible, voluntary engagement
Locus of responsibility for welfare	Emphasis on state's responsibility for collective citizens' welfare	Emphasis on individual citizen responsibility for their own welfare—blame for inaction	State, working with family and community—shared responsibility
Locus of welfare risk	State assumes responsibility for risk e.g. health insurance	Increased individual risk responsibility e.g. health insurance	State, family and community and individual
Social inclusion logic	Inclusion via income redistribution and voluntary labour market re-integration	Inclusion induced integration into the labour market—moral underclass undertones	Integrated inclusion logics/solidarity core

(*continued*)

Table 2.1 (continued)

	Traditional welfare state	*Enabling state*	*Enabling state+*
Perceived weakness/ strength	'Dependency creating'/ disempowering claims	Atomistic and stigmatising/ promote self-sufficiency & empowerment/	Demands high levels of administrative innovation & flexibility/harnesses collective capacity

Amongst the implications of this is the displacement of a civil society advocacy role by a civil society service delivery role, potentially weakening oppositional voices and increasing self-censorship (McInerney & Finn, 2015) though this need not happen in all cases (Earles & Moon, 2000).

Apart from the practice and delivery elements, important variations in principles underpinning the provision of welfare are suggested by the advent of the enabling state, with a shift from the unconditional to the conditional (Gilbert, 2013), from alleged dependency creation towards greater self-sufficiency (Whiteford, 2003, p. 43), from collective rights towards individual responsibilities and a transfer of risk from the state to the individual welfare recipient.

Underpinning all these is an implied shift in the logic of social inclusion from a discourse on redistribution that dominated up to the 1980s towards a discourse on social integration via the labour market that has largely displaced it since the 1990s. Accompanying the latter is the moral underclass discourse, that frequently but subtly labels and blames those who, for a variety of reasons, do not or cannot progress from welfare into labour market participation (Levitas, 2004). In this vein it is suggested that the enabling state can also 'easily slip into endless moralising' about how one group or other should adjust their own self-limiting behaviours (Curtis, 2006, p. 162). Consequently attention is directed towards the individual, either in terms of a focus for action on exclusion or to allocate blame for being there in the first place. And while some alternative perspectives speak of systems failure, including the democratic and legal system (Berghman, 1995) and the monopolisation of power by privileged groups (Silver, 1994) as being at the root of social exclusion, the enabling state appears to be only marginally concerned to recognise these dimensions.

Broadening the Concept: The Enabling State+

In more recent years efforts have been made to broaden the understanding of the enabling state, described here for the purpose of differentiation, as the Enabling State+. While not seeking a return to principles and practices of the traditional welfare state, it rejects the narrower focus on the individual to reclaim at least some elements of community and the collective—a more democratised take on the enabling state. This is based on the belief that the welfare state that has emerged since the 1990s is incapable of dealing with the complex and interconnected needs of contemporary society, suggesting in particular that society 'has consistently failed a minority of citizens, including those on the lowest incomes and many of the most vulnerable in society such as looked after children' (Wallace, 2013, p. 4). A consistent refrain for those endorsing this broader understanding is the need for the state to learn to think and act differently about problems and challenges; to engage 'with people's lives in the round, not as a series of isolated interactions with parts of their lives' (Elvidge, 2012, p. 36); and to 'move away from bureaucratic delivery mode to an interactive mode that recognises that the other parties have their own way of thinking; a change from command and control to listening and learning' and to an understanding of 'other mindsets' (Curtis, 2006, pp. 161–162). As part of this change, increased recognition of the contribution and capacity of communities 'to grow wellbeing' is called for (Elvidge, 2012, p. 6). Underpinning such an approach is a commitment to sustainability principles and to a participatory approach, leading to an 'active and engaged civil society and an accountable and responsive state' (McGrath, Armstrong, & Marinova, 2004, p. 561), as well as adherence to the key elements of a good governance agenda (Van der Meer, 2009). Echoes of this type of thinking are to be found in the approach of New Labour in the UK and its endorsement of a move towards the 'third way', based on its own assessment that the state alone was incapable of meeting contemporary societal challenges (Whiteford, 2003). However, there is a fear in some quarters that this simply represents an effort by the state to shirk responsibility, leading to the claim that the concept of the enabling state 'may be regarded as something of a fallacy' and an assertion that whatever 'new structures evolve and whatever frameworks central government establishes to implement change, the state will still need to provide the bulk of support for vital public services, whether it is financial or organisational support' (Taylor, 2000, p. 378).

How Does the Enabling State Speak to Public Administration Systems?

Whatever version of the enabling state concept is relied upon, it is clear that substantial challenges confront those within the machinery of the state—the public administration systems. Public administration has been described as the 'law in action', as a source of continuity (Aberbach, 2003). If an enabling state is desirable, then it seems logical to assume that it can only come about if a consciously enabled state machinery is created, though, to date, the role of public administration has been inadequately addressed in the enabling state literature. Before spelling out in the final section some of the challenges that confront state bureaucracies and suggesting ways in which they might be addressed, it is worth recalling some of the key features of the dominant public administration paradigms and how they relate to the ideas of the enabling state(s).

Traditional Public Administration

The traditional public administration paradigm is grounded on a clearly identifiable hierarchy of relationships, both within the bureaucracy and in relation to the elected representatives. Much of this traditional approach still guides the functioning of bureaucracies all over the world. In theory, policy is designed by politicians, sometimes refined by technical experts (Bryson, Crosby, & Bloomberg, 2014) and delivered by officials, though in practice it is seen that such a neat divide rarely happens (Svara, 2001). It can be expected that there are clear lines of accountability tied to the hierarchical system and a related discipline that operates according to formal and informal rules, norms and values. Consequently, an emphasis on control emerges, producing a tendency towards rigidity, uniformity and predictability. Decision and delivery structures become fixed over time and change occurs only gradually and incrementally. As a result of these characteristics, some of which of course are desirable in the public realm, it is suggested that identifiable, shared values emerge amongst bureaucrats, building on the formal and informal rules and which are assumed to generate a profile of a typical public servant that is permanent (though not in all jurisdictions), impartial and free from corruption or bias (Bryson et al., 2014; Richards & Smith, 2002).

In terms of the welfare state, within the traditional public administration perspective, welfare services are largely delivered by public agencies,

with direct lines of accountability to democratically elected officials. However, possibly due to its hierarchical nature, to accusations of self-serving and self-interested bureaucracies, to its acknowledged disposition towards rigidity, as well as its association with big government, it was inevitable that traditional public administration and the traditional welfare system would find themselves under pressure from the neo-liberal zeitgeist of the 1990s, leading to the rise of the concept of New Public Management (NPM) and its sibling, the enabling state.

New Public Management

Strongly aligned with the tenets of the enabling state, NPM emerged as the dominant public administration paradigm of the 1990s, premised on the reduced involvement by allegedly less efficient and less effective state bodies in the direct provision of services that could be more effectively delivered by the private and/or third sectors, enabling 'the replacement of hierarchical relationships within a unified bureaucracy by "arm's length" relationships between a public purchasing authority and a devolved provider agency' (Pollit, 1995). NPM has been described as the 'guiding intellectual paradigm for the reform and governance of public services over the last three decades' (Cooke & Muir, 2012, p. 5). The extent to which different countries embraced NPM varies, with the USA, Australia, New Zealand and the UK being seen to most enthusiastically translate the concept into practice, while some continental European states were more disposed towards more incremental forms of public sector reform (Van Thiel, 2011).

NPM clearly services the objectives of the enabling state, rebalancing not just the public/private delivery of welfare services but managing to shift the focus from collective rights to individual responsibility and from the citizen to a citizen client. In shifting the locus of accountability, NPM and the enabling state could be accused of weakening the obligation of pubic duty, by transferring that duty onto private or civil society actors. Officials, instead of being directly responsible for service delivery, instead become contract managers, overseers, regulators, seeking to ensure that arm's length bodies deliver welfare services, while avoiding political controversy or embarrassments for their political masters or mistresses. While this can be complicated in the realm of the private sector, it is doubly so when considering the involvement of civil society

organisations, who may seek to fulfil both service delivery as well as advocacy functions.

While NPM has had a significant influence on the practice of public administration globally, it is increasingly suggested, despite all of its claims to superiority, efficiency and effectiveness, that it too struggles to meet the needs of an increasingly complex society (Christensen & Leigreid, 2007, p. 122). At a time of considerable economic and social turmoil, NPM finds itself under increasing scrutiny, with some suggesting that its longevity has also exposed its weaknesses and revealed its fraying ideological moorings, with some suggesting that 'greater efficiency and effectiveness have come at the cost of increased centralisation, reduced trust in government, and an increasing distance between the rhetoric of target regimes and their actuality' (Pearce, 2012, p. 45). Just as the enabling state has been reconceived as a more collaborative, engaged concept, so too the practice of public administration has been recalibrated towards a broader view of what constitutes public service and public value, one that embraces co-production, shared decision-making and a more appropriate mix of service delivery options.

Public Value Management as a Route Map to the Enabling State+

Since the Public Value approach was originally developed by Mark Moore (1995), it has been rigorously dissected, critiqued and variously described as a new paradigm for understanding the public sector (Stoker, 2006) as a post NPM paradigm (Christensen & Leigreid, 2007, p. 122) and as a blueprint for improving how the public sector operates (Williams & Shearer, 2011). Implicit in these is an assertion that the gospels of traditional public administration and the more recent NPM are no longer on their own sufficient to guide the operation of public decision-making. Asserting the sometimes contested paradigmatic distinctiveness of what he terms, Public Value Management (PVM), Stoker (2006, p. 49) contrasts the traditional public administration concern with 'establishing core bureaucratic disciplines' and the NPM's focus on developing 'systems of allocating contracts and money' with the public value call for 'reflection, lesson drawing, and continuous adaptation'. Stoker further suggests that PVM is premised on the assumption that 'the governance of the public realm involves networks of deliberation and delivery in pursuit of public value', building on the extensive governance literature and a belief

that old modes of control and command are no longer capable of meeting the needs of complex societies (Michalski, Miller, & Stevens, 2001). Within the realm of PVM, citizens become engaged in problem analysis and problem solving and in the shared identification of policy options. One of the more controversial elements of the original Public Value framework is its view of 'the authorising environment', within which decisions are taken and in which issues of legitimacy and authority are discussed. In this domain, it is suggested that agreement on what constitutes public value should draw legitimacy from a wider range of actors than would be suggested by traditional public administration or NPM (Stoker, 2006). This broader concept of authority and legitimacy calls for a more expanded and potentially more challenging form of accountability where public officials have to reimagine their relationship with citizens and, indeed, reimagine the relationship between public administration bureaucracy and democracy (Blaug, Horner, & Lekhi, 2006), described by Shaw (2012, p. 19) as a new 'institutional bargain' between public managers, citizens and indeed, elected representatives.

Finally, one of the most pertinent elements of the PVM approach is its consideration of operational capacity, the premise being that there is little merit in identifying outcomes of public value, either with or without broader authorisation inputs, if the capacity to deliver them is absent (Williams & Shearer, 2011, p. 7). Essentially, there is little point in talking about a new approach to public administration or, in the context of this chapter, the enabling state, if the machinery of the state itself is not up to the task, if it is not challenged to understand and change the nature of the ghost in the machine.

Enabling Public Administration for an Enabling State+

Transitioning from the traditional welfare state through the various incarnations of the enabling state(s) or from traditional public administration through NPM and on to Public Value produces a heady cocktail of ingredients to be managed: shifting ideologies; evolving and diverging planning dispositions; multiple modalities of policy delivery; management of commercial, semi-commercial and non-commercial transactions; complex accountability arrangements and transparency processes; partnerships and network management, to name but a few. Casual advocacy of change is common, albeit well intentioned: 'We offer two propositions about the

nature of change which is needed: (1) it should involve continuing the functions of government more effectively; and (2) it should involve a refreshed relationship between government and communities, families and individuals' (Elvidge, 2012, p. 15). Whatever about designing ways to improve the effectiveness of government functions, adjusting the relationships between government and communities, families and individuals alone is a hugely complex and skilled proposition, most often relying on the same fixed sets of public officials that have to navigate their way through these transitions, deploying whatever skills and capacities they possess in the service of the new prevailing order, often with little additional training and/or resources. Taken more broadly, as shown in Table 2.2, the evolving capacity challenges are not inconsiderable, particularly within fixed

Table 2.2 Public administration capacity challenges

PA Mode	*Welfare mode*	*Capacity challenges*
Traditional PA	Traditional welfare state	Large scale, direct public sector delivery; Direct political accountability; Budgetary management; Redistribution; Management of large bureaucracies
NPM	Enabling state	Delivery at distance; Regulation; Performance monitoring; Multi-annual budgeting; Contract management; Management of civil society dual roles; Delegation; Setting and protection of standards (of welfare); Management of slimmed, less resource rich bureaucracies; Direct and indirect political accountability
Public value	Enabling state+	Collaboration; Engagement; Co-production; Co-governance; Performance & standards monitoring; Citizen participation; Management & facilitation of multiple accountabilities; Facilitation of a broader (and possibly) contested authorising environment

bureaucracies where electoral change does not precipitate widespread personnel adjustment. The list of capacity challenges, to which others could undoubtedly be added, is aligned with the different public administration paradigms and welfare state models, but given the layered nature of these paradigms and models, the components should be seen not as distinct parts but as an interrelated set of capacity requirements.

Presenting such a list highlights the challenge of refocusing discussions of state capacity away from 'conventional models of public administration' which 'are largely informed by technocratic criteria, with an emphasis on improving bureaucratic skills […]' (Robinson, 2008) towards a more responsive and transformative model of capacity building, as required by an Enabling State+ model and a Public Value approach. It is seen as unlikely that the more narrow approach to state capacity building is capable of embracing the type of change required by enabling state/PVM models and trajectories (Robinson, 2008). Increased engagement with the public gets to the heart of Enabling State+ distinctiveness. In practice, the operation of citizen engagement processes most often falls to officials within the public administration system. Unfortunately, evidence from many parts of the globe attests to the complexity and challenge of building citizen participation, not least because officials often have only limited knowledge, disposition or indeed the skills needed to enable effective participation (Crook & Sverrisson, 2001; Wampler, 2008). Alternative conceptions of state capacity are clearly required, in particular, relational and transformative capacities, where relational capacity refers to the ability of the state to simultaneously engage with multiple forms and sites of governance, while transformative capacity concerns the state being able to design and deliver for particular development or welfare outcomes. Five core relational and transformative capacities are proposed below. Proposal of these particular capacities does not underestimate the need for essential bureaucratic skills; on the contrary they are intended to guide, underpin and complement them.

Capacity 1: Leading and Collaborating

If the Enabling State+ is to be realised, then leadership from within public administration is a necessity; it will not be realised without the support of innovative, championing and risk-taking leaders. This is not to say that political leaders will not also be needed, they most certainly will. Whereas the electoral machine provides the route for the selection of political leaders, where these administrative leaders will come from is less clear. Equally, within the world of academia it is suggested that insufficient attention has been paid

to leadership and especially 'enabling' leadership within the field of public administration training and scholarship (Kellis & Ran, 2012; Liddle, 2010; Morse, 2010). At the same time, countervailing citizen/civil society capacity and knowledge is increasing, as is citizen demand for involvement in decision-making and growing (Michalski et al., 2001). As a result leaders within public administration face ongoing challenges to adjust the ways in which they respond to such demands and how they enable greater citizen voice to be heard and influence to be seen (Ricard, Klijn, Lewis, & Ysa, 2016).

In considering public administration leadership, distinctions can be drawn between more instrumental, transactional forms of leadership designed to maintain stability and continuity and the transformative leadership competencies needed to more effectively stimulate and manage change (Burns, 1978). Leadership styles can emphasise interpersonal leadership, entrepreneurial approaches, network governance leadership (Lyhne, Nielsen, & Bjørn Aaen, 2016), integrative leadership (Sun & Anderson, 2012) and collaborative leadership (Morse, 2010). Where appropriately applied, all of these styles can contribute to a strong public administration capacity. However, some are more directly pertinent to the needs of the Enabling State+, in particular integrative and collaborative styles which emphasise connection, communication and co-operation, working across boundaries, facilitation, consensus building, self-awareness, civic capacity, trust building, partnership, mutual learning, appropriate mind-set, risk taking and passion (McInerney & Finn, 2016).

The challenge to develop capacity amongst individual leaders is not inconsiderable and involves a number of elements, not least disposition or psychological transformation; the enabling state requires the understanding of other 'mind sets' (Curtis, 2006, p. 162). But most of all it has to start from the 'inside out', seeking to lessen the propensity towards command and control impulses (Morse, 2008). Of course, the role and remit of public sector leadership is itself contested. Traditional public administration clearly confined leadership responsibilities to elected representatives. Public Value, on the other hand, envisages distinct leadership and facilitation roles for public managers. However, it is this alleged diminution of representative democracy that has drawn the most trenchant criticisms of Public Value approaches, with fears expressed that it sets up public managers as 'the Platonic guardians and arbiters of the public interest' (Rhodes & Wanna, 2007, p. 412). The critique goes further, however, suggesting that bureaucracy and bureaucratic interests would be allowed to predominate and displace democratic preference setting processes. Faced with such charges, there is a danger that assuming leadership

responsibility within public administration for an adequately legitimised Enabling State+ brings its own risks but as yet offers few rewards, hence the need to refocus attention on issues of legitimacy.

Capacity 2: Legitimising

To meet the ambitions of the Enabling State+ it is often suggested that public administration organisations need to be willing to devolve power and facilitate action by a range of other actors (Whiteford, 2003, p. 43). To do so in the absence of greater legitimisation of the concept is, however, likely to be resisted. However constructive the Enabled State+ ideal may be, it still exists within largely elitist concepts of democracy, decision-making and administration. In line with democratic theory that seeks to promote integrative as well as aggregative ambitions, achieving the appropriate legitimacy requires some level of willingness to adjust the primacy of representative democratic processes. Efforts to enable democratic empowerment and a stronger role for civil society and community must have both 'democratic institutions which ensure individuals have an equal access to channels of influence' (aggregative measures) but it must also have procedures to 'contribute to the production of democratic citizens' (integrative measures) (Sorensen, 1997). And while the aggregative ingredient of this recipe operates in all liberal democracies, the integrative component, the enabling elements, is considerably weaker.

Ultimately, it has to be recognised that if the impetus to legitimise the ideals and practices of the Enabling State+ only come from civil society organisations they will always struggle for acceptance amongst elected representatives and public officials. However, if public administration bodies encourage, facilitate and legitimise integrative mechanisms, both formal (through legislation, regulations, etc.) and informal (guidelines, processes, incentivisation, training, etc.), the marginal nature of the Enabling State+ concept can be more easily overcome.

Capacity 3: Listening

In considering the potential for the Enabling State+ to be realised it is suggested that the state has to be able to 'listen and learn' (Curtis, 2006, p. 162). For some, the exercise of voice is natural, as is the expectation that that voice will be listened to. However, for others, the seemingly straightforward desire to be listened to is absent, particularly for those who live their lives on the margins of society. In the *Voices of the Poor* report, carried out for the World Bank, it was noted that:

> From the perspective of poor people worldwide there is a crisis in governance. While the range of institutions that play important roles in poor people's lives is vast, poor people are excluded from participation in governance. State institutions, whether represented by central ministries or local government are often neither responsive not accountable to the poor; rather the report details the arrogance and distain with which poor people are treated. Poor people see little recourse to injustice, criminality, abuse and corruption by institutions. Not surprisingly, poor men and women lack confidence in the state institutions even though they still express their willingness to partner with them under fairer rules. (Narayan, Chambers, Shah, & Petesch, 2000 p. 197)

In a different context this theme was also explored by the American Political Science Association which convened a 'Task Force on Inequality in America', a key element of which explored disparities in participation and access to decision makers and resulting influence on policy making. This Task Force concluded that:

> The privileged participate more than others and are increasingly well organized to press their demands on government. Public officials, in turn, are much more responsive to the privileged than to average citizens and the least affluent. Citizens with lower or moderate incomes speak with a whisper that is lost on the ears of inattentive government officials, while the advantaged roar with a clarity and consistency that policy-makers readily hear and routinely follow (American Political Science Association, 2004, p. 1).

Participatory democracy underpins much of the Enabling State+ ideals and within it the the capacity for listening is a recurring theme. In this regard, what passes as 'articulateness' is seen to confer further privilege on those who have enjoyed the benefits of access to education. An inherent element of such assumed articulateness is a capacity to 'express ourselves according to culturally specific norms of tone, grammar and diction' (Young, 2000, p. 39). These privileged modes of expression are reinforced by expectations that political communication be free of passion and excess emotion, the presence of either of these indicating a lower level of political maturity or know-how. In Young's view, this is problematic and can only be changed by adopting a different view on political communication, where emphasis is placed, alongside existing forms, on modes of communication that include public greeting, the use of rhetoric and a recognition of the value of narrative. Put another way, 'participation means to be able to speak in one's own voice, thereby simultaneously

constructing and expressing ones cultural identity through idiom and style' (Fraser, 1990). It also implies being listened to and being heard. Such forms of communication are both implicit and explicit within the Enabling State+ concept but present particular capacity challenges to public administration.

Capacity 4: Learning

Just as the capacity to listen is important, so too is the capacity to learn, raising the question of how officials and institutions know what they know and how they know it. In some cases, for those who enter public service at a young age, learning will be on the job, with knowledge filtered from within the work environment, learning at 'grandma's knee' so to speak. While it is suggested that this idea of 'organisational socialisation' is a relatively recent and a 'niche' topic in public administration research, a recent systematic review of relevant research provides valuable insights into how staff within public administration institutions learn and how institutions can impact on the learning and motivation of their staff (Moyson et al., 2017, p. 10). In particular, with relevance to the role and relevance of the Enabling State+, it noted how in some instances 'organisational members develop higher levels of public sector motivation when the organisation promotes public values through its (other) employees' (Moyson et al., 2017 p. 17), indicating that workplace learning can be of no small importance.

Of course, learning does not just arise from workplace socialisation, it is also informed by external education and training, undertaken prior to joining or while working in a public sector organisation. Depending on the nature of the external education and training, certain professional values and dispositions may or may not be present. For example, training undertaken by planners increasingly addresses ways and means of engaging with and consulting citizens. On the other hand, broader public administration training, for example, Masters in Public Administration programmes, may be more concerned with the more instrumental aspects of public management (finance, human resources etc.) and may be less concerned with issues such as collaboration, engagement and social equity (Hornbein & Simrell King, 2012). Higher education institutions are therefore challenged to ensure that they become part of the enabling state infrastructure and include these dimensions in their programme curricula.

Lastly, learning processes may also rely on inputs from external sources—consultants, academics, celebrities even. The selection of external sources include of course conditions the type of learning gained. It has been suggested that there is a tendency within public administration (and in democratic practice as a whole) towards placing greater value on the 'expert' and on technical knowledge and language resulting in a situation where 'the ordinary citizen's voice has been drowned out and her participation in decisions and policies affecting the common good has been reduced to meaningless ritual' (Evans, 2000), reinforcing earlier points about the possible rejection of narrative and storytelling as important repositories of knowledge and expertise. Thus, citizen expertise as a source of learning needs to be recognised and utilised, not just as part of pseudo-consultation exercises but as valuable sources of knowledge and wisdom.

Bearing in mind these concerns, three key domains of learning are proposed for consideration: the knowledge domain, the dispositional domain, and the skills domain, where knowledge focuses on conceptual, contextual, institutional and situation/group-specific issues. The knowledge domain should be widely defined and informed and regularly updated, both at an institutional and at an individual level.

Disposition directly addresses the presence of 'structural ideals', ingrained attitudes, the arbitrary status granted to some groups or processes, values/power and the role of incentives to build deeper citizen participation. Disposition is notoriously difficult to influence. However, socialisation through exposure to the work of civil society organisations, requirements for front-line experience and strong senior-level, collaborative leadership all play important roles in moving from control and command towards collaboration and enablement.

Finally, skills capacity can be deepened in a range of areas: hearing/listening skills; facilitation; deliberation, negotiation; participatory planning, to name but a few. This focus on skills brings the role of higher education institutions into sharper focus, particularly, but not exclusively, those that provide undergraduate and more advanced programmes in public administration as well as in-service programmes for elected representatives and officials (Oldfield, 2003).

Capacity 5: Licence

The final capacity issue is that of licence or agency. Bearing in mind the leadership and legitimacy issues discussed earlier, officials at all levels need

licence to embrace the principles and practices of the enabling state. They also need encouragement to take risks to explore new ways of designing and delivering services. It could be argued that the type of engagement envisaged in the Enabling State+ model will only occur if it is incentivised, both at the level of the institution and at the level of individuals within them. Most institutions and their employees operate within knowledge of the appropriate formal and informal rules and norms, which are 'consciously or habitually, observed and complied with by actors who are aware, not only of the rules but also of the fact that these rules are being enforced and deviant courses of action sanctioned' (Offe, 2006 p. 10). Risk is generally to be avoided and innovation questioned and/or sacrificed. The potential to embarrass political masters or senior management, media scrutiny, the looming presence of democratic accountability, freedom of information, as well as years of entrenched practice, belief and dispositions, all make a shift towards deeper public participation a greater challenge. While informal licencing of engagement processes is important, they alone will do little to shake the embedded cultures of public sector bodies. Simply put, institutions and individuals need to be incentivised to champion deeper public participation; they need to be given licence to act and to enable!

Conclusion

The Enabling State+ has been differentiated from the atomistic and individualised 'enabling state'. It is the type of state that enables individuals, families and communities to realise their potential and to enjoy and share a reasonable standard of living and quality of life, enjoy rights and exercise responsibilities, while respecting the rights and responsibilities of others, including future generations. It is not a state that seeks to control all aspects of daily living, nor is it one that assumes itself to have the capacity to solve all of the many problems that confront contemporary society. Neither is it a state that abdicates its role in the protection of the welfare of citizens and other inhabitants, one that emphasises individual obligation over a rights-responsibility balance, one that preferences the logic of the market over all others. It is a state that has the ability and capacity to understand the complexity of human problems and work with others to craft cost-effective, sustainable and respectful solutions to those problems. It is a state that acknowledges it does not have all the answers and needs to collaborate, co-operate and co-design to find them. It is a state that has reached a level of maturity where it does not need to dominate and dictate but instead

preferences dialogue and deliberation. But, like any conceptualisation of the state, it is not some amorphous entity. It only works because of the moving parts that keep it going and it only works as well as those moving parts allow it to. Alongside its democratic institutions, it relies on public administration systems to achieve its ambitions and if public administration systems do not think and operate and are not enjoined to think and operate in an Enabling+ way, outcomes other than those described above will be the result. Simply put, an Enabling State+ requires an enabled public administration system, one that is willing to reflect on the nature of its existing capacities, build on its strengths and remedy its deficiencies.

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PART II

Case Studies

The Residualisation of Social Housing in Australia and Its Impacts on Older Tenants

Alan Morris

Introduction

Social housing, although it has always constituted a small part of Australia's housing stock, has historically played a crucial role in accommodating low-income households (Hayward, 1996; Morris, 2016; Troy, 2012). Despite this, over the last two decades, social housing has been seriously neglected by successive state and federal governments, and as a proportion of all housing stock, it has declined from 5.5 per cent of all dwellings in

Social housing is defined as rental housing that state governments or non-government organisations make available to low-income households. It is made up of public housing and community housing. The former is owned and managed by state governments and the latter by non-profit organisations. Rents are set at 25 per cent of household income. In June 2014, there were 393,844 households in social housing; 317,000 were in public housing, 9800 were in state-managed and state-owned Indigenous housing and 67,000 were in community housing (AIHW, 2015).
Older is defined as people on the age pension, 65 and older.

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1994–1995 to 3.6 per cent in 2013–2014 (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2015; Australian Institute of Health and Welfare [AIHW], 2013). The decline has been primarily due to a refusal by the federal and state governments to allocate adequate funds for the building of new social housing, the selling off of public housing stock and, in some instances, demolition of old stock (Troy, 2012). The neglect of social housing has been justified on the basis of austerity and the argument that public housing is a failed model (see Atkinson & Jacobs, 2008). There was a temporary shift in government policy when in response to the 2008 global financial crisis, the Labor government, the federal government in power at the time, allocated $AU5.638 billion to social housing over three years (2008–2009 to 2011–2012). About 19,700 homes were built and another 12,000 dwellings that faced becoming uninhabitable were repaired (KPMG, 2012).

The positive impacts of having access to affordable, adequate and secure housing are well established (Howden-Chapman, Chandola, Stafford, & Marmot, 2011; Morris, 2017; Phibbs & Thomson, 2011). A recent Australian study concluded, 'People in precarious housing had, on average, worse health than people who were not precariously housed' and that 'the more elements of precarious housing people experienced simultaneously, the more likely they were to experience poor mental health' (Mallett et al., 2011). However, in Australia and elsewhere, an increasing proportion of the population are in precarious accommodation; they do not have access to affordable, secure or adequate housing (Gair & Saulwick, 2015; Wood, Ong, & Cigdem, 2014). In mid-2017, it was estimated that one in four households with mortgages were facing financial distress, and that a rise in interest rates could be catastrophic for thousands of households (Hughes, 2017). In 2010–2011, only 5.2 per cent of homes sold were affordable to low-income households (National Shelter, 2014). In 2013–2014, half of all low-income households in the private rental sector had accommodation costs greater than 30 per cent of their gross income (Thomas & Hall, 2017). On Census night, in June 2011, approximately 105,000 Australians were homeless (National Shelter, 2014).

This chapter has two major aims. It first examines the shifts in government policy around the accessing of social housing and the resultant shift in the profile of social housing tenants. It then investigates the implications of this shift in policy, focusing on residualisation and its impacts on older tenants in inner Sydney. Residualisation refers to the process,

whereby increasingly social housing is populated by the most vulnerable and seriously disadvantaged households (Jacobs, Atkinson, Colic-Peisker, Berry, & Dalton, 2010; Morris, 2015). The analysis of the impact is based on in-depth interviews with 45 older public housing tenants in inner-city neighbourhoods in Sydney.

Government Policy Around Accessing Social Housing and Resultant Residualisation

The catastrophic shortage of social housing in Australia (in June 2015, there were around 200,000 households on the waiting list and it is likely that many more had decided not to bother putting their names down) means that over the last decade there has been a deliberate policy to limit allocation to low-income households in 'greatest need' (AIHW, 2016). In order to be categorised as being in greatest need, household members have to be in situations where they face homelessness, or their health is threatened by their existing accommodation, or where they are subject to excessive rental costs relative to their income or the accommodation is inappropriate to their needs (AIHW, 2015). In 2014–2015, about three in four new social housing tenants were in greatest need and about 60 per cent were homeless at the time of being allocated social housing (AIHW, 2016). In addition to being in greatest need, to be placed on the priority list for housing, social housing applicants usually have to have 'special needs'—'[t]hese include people with disability, a main tenant younger than 25 or 75 and older, or one or more Indigenous members' (AIHW, 2015).

Historically, most social housing households were low-income working families and it was often a stepping stone to home ownership (Hayward, 1996). The greatest/special needs criteria have fundamentally changed the profile of public housing tenants. In 2013–2014, just under half of all new households into public housing had a member with a disability. Just under half of the dwellings were occupied by people living alone and 32 per cent were single-parent households. Only 4 per cent of households were couple-only households. Unemployment in social housing is acute. A 2012 survey of public housing tenants found that only 8 per cent of households put down 'employee income' as the primary source of income—29 per cent were dependent on the disability support, 24 per

cent on the age pension and 31 per cent on parenting payments and other non-specified government payments (AIHW, 2014).

The scarcity of social housing means that the strict allocation system is rational and probably, in most instances, fair. It is an endeavour to ensure that households in the most desperate need are given priority. However, a consequence of the policy is that a proportion of individuals who are settled in social housing, especially single males, do have serious mental health and/or substance abuse problems, and they can make everyday life difficult for their fellow tenants (Morris, 2015).

Older Public Housing Tenants' Narratives Around Residualisation

The narratives of the older public housing tenants interviewed were in accord with the data. All were of the view that in the last couple of decades, the profile of public housing tenants had changed fundamentally. The key changes highlighted were the dramatic decline in the number of mainstream nuclear families and the increase in the proportion of 'difficult' tenants. Heather, who had been a public housing resident in inner Sydney for over 40 years, painted a bleak picture:

> *Yes. It used to be working families or older residents whose families have grown up but nowadays its people with special needs. It's families with problems, or singles with problems, or single mothers with problems. Alcoholism, drugs, disabilities, mental health is a really big problem.*

When asked what proportion of tenants is difficult, she responded:

> *At the present moment I'd say it's about a third and its going up, up, up as people move out. The requirements to be … eligible for public housing now are very strict. Low income is not enough you have to have other needs as well and so you're getting more and more problem tenants.*

Another long-time tenant also emphasised the increase in the number of tenants with 'problems':

> *Around where I live … we have a lot of people with problems … When I first came here it was more for low-income earners … My husband was still working*

and my son was still at home doing an apprenticeship. There were a lot of people like that. (Catherine)

The decline of 'mainstream' families and their replacement with difficult, unconnected individuals was a common theme:

Ah yes, when I first moved in it was very nice. You had couples … elderly couples like me, but then because they moved into better places, with their family and that, and so then the other people came in … Like single people and people that have lots of problems, and they don't know where to put them so they put them in my building. (Marie)

It's changing yes, because there are so many of the homeless that they're putting in there, that are not capable of looking after themselves. That makes it very difficult for the rest of us … But I mean most of these, a lot of them there are single men that they're moving in. Young single men who have various problems be they mental or drugs, whatever. (Ruth)

The Impacts of Residualisation on Older Public Housing Tenants

For the older public housing tenants interviewed, residualisation had a number of negative impacts. They included the undermining of community, an increase in threatening behaviour, vandalism and littering, invasion of privacy and stigmatisation of their housing complex. Drawing on the in-depth interviews, these are discussed in turn. Although there was a good deal of commonality, interviewees had different perceptions and experiences of residualisation. It is evident that there is no such thing as a standard public housing tenant experience. Interviewees who perceived that their apartment blocks had experienced significant residualisation and tenant movement were more likely to have encountered anti-social and threatening behaviour. It was not unusual for interviewees in the same block to have different perspectives due to different experiences. As Loic Wacquant (2008, p. 172) argues, drawing on his ethnographic work in public housing complexes in France and the United States:

What appears from the outside to be a monolithic entity is experienced by its members as finely differentiated congeries of 'micro-locales'—centred on buildings and even on different stairwells inside the same building. People from the

northern cluster of the project want nothing to do with their counterparts of the southern cluster, whom they consider to be 'hoodlums'.

The Undermining of Community

A key aspect of social housing historically in Australia was minimal tenant movement. The stability, combined with homogeneity, laid the basis for strong social ties in public housing complexes. Thelma had been living in Millers Point, an inner-city area in Sydney, for about 40 years. She reflected on how strong the sense of community had been:

> *Initially it was a little you know very tight knit community, a wonderful community. A lot have gone of course. But rearing our children and growing up everyone knew everyone and that if the kids got lost someone would ring you up because there was always somebody looking out … So it was very family oriented, very safe … and even you know you'd get the odd drunks and things but the children always respected them and knew where they stood with them because they didn't have a backyard they were on the street and we had a little park. So they just knew not to be naughty.*

She felt that the community had been seriously disrupted in recent years by the placing of difficult tenants in the area:

> *I think it was a bit of a conspiracy with Housing [the state government Housing Authority]. Instead of bringing families in with children and … building up the numbers for the schools and things they brought in all these undesirables [sic].*

Helen, another Millers Point resident, had a similar view. She felt that the settling of individuals (mainly young men) with substance abuse problems had destabilised the area:

> *There are a lot of drug and alcohol problems around here … We have one local fellow who is an alcoholic but he's our alcoholic. He's been here for a long time, but all the others are just imports. They've been brought in by the Department of Housing … We used to complain to them [Department of Housing], 'Why aren't you bringing families into the area?'…The school up at Fort Primary School, they used to come to our resident action group meetings and say, 'Look if we don't get enough kids the school will close because there aren't enough people' … But the Department just didn't put families in … I think this has been a long-term policy to actually make the area unviable.*

She argued that the more recent social housing tenants had no commitment to the area:

You see if you move families in and then they get to grow up they get a connection with the area … and you know they have an attachment, but you move drug addicts and alcoholic and they don't care where they live on the whole just as long as they're given somewhere to be … That's all they want and a few drinking partners…

Like Thelma, she was convinced that the placement of challenging tenants in the area was a deliberate strategy by the Department of Housing so as to smooth the way for the eventual displacement of its public housing residents[1]:

It is what's brought the area to its knees in many ways and it is what has I think made the politicians, the policy-makers think, 'Oh no. That area really is too good for those types of people'. Yeah, you know but you see they make a mess of everywhere they go the Department of Housing, but I don't blame them on that level. It is a difficult job dealing with people that feel disenfranchised in life.

Marie lived in an apartment block that had experienced substantial residualisation and tenant movement. She outlined the implications:

Well as I said, it's scary. People come and go in Housing Commission and you don't know who you've got, and now I've got this neighbour who is causing the trouble, but you don't know who the others are, and they come and go all the time.

A common theme was that the anti-social behaviour of some tenants created an environment that was not conducive to the development of supportive social ties or community. Rather, distrust and avoidance became the norm. Joan lived in an apartment block that was characterised by a high level of residualisation. She was intensely critical of the behaviour of some of her fellow tenants:

I haven't got very good neighbours, and it's not a happy place. There's six floors and I'm on the fifth floor and you've got no idea. They fight all the time. Throw their furniture over the balcony.

A major issue identified was drug dealing and drug use. There was a general frustration that the authorities were not doing enough to sort it out. Interviewees felt that drug use was primarily responsible for a range of

problems, most notably vandalism, intimidating behaviour and noise and that it made the creation and sustaining of community a lot more difficult:

And one of the things in public housing, we all know we've got dealers but does the Department of Housing do anything about it? No. 'We need proof', they say. Unfortunately Department of Housing officials go home at 4.30pm in the afternoon. They come back at 8.30am in the morning. Guess when everything happens? (Irene)

Most of the interviewees dealt with disturbing events by endeavouring to ignore them:

I think that's what I like about it here because they [the difficult tenants] don't interfere with me. There's people, a lot of trouble here too. A lot of people jumping over balconies and everything but … I come home from shopping the other week and a fellow just jumped and I just got out of the bus and come straight down [to my apartment]. I never asked or anything. (Norma)

Feeling Insecure and Threatened

Linked to the inward movement of tenants with serious mental health and/or substance abuse problems, was a rise in threatening behaviour and older residents feeling insecure:

It puts a lot of pressure on particularly older residents when you get tenants who don't take their medication and the mental health services can't cope and it's really, really hard at times … Well patients with mental health problems when they're taking their medication they tend to be okay but when they're not they tend to get up in the middle of the night, and run up and down the corridors and yell and scream then the drunks come home and they do the same thing. They bang on the security doors because they've forgotten their key or they've forgotten the flat they're trying to get into so it can be very disturbing and also for families with young kids. (Heather)

Some interviewees were constantly wary of their difficult neighbours:

Well I think if you mind your own business … There's a lot of drug addicts here and everything but they never harmed me. They go past and say, 'Hello Norma'. I say, 'Hello. How are youse?' I speak to them but I don't stop and talk to them and bid them the time of the day. What can you do? You can't abuse them cos you're only get in trouble yourself … They speak to me, I answer them.

In many instances there were particular individuals interviewees were wary of:

Well this particular person I've got in mind had been in gaol for drug offences, theft and stuff like that. He boasted about it so it wasn't any secret and he was just being treated for mental illness and he would give me long lectures on you know what was going on for him in his medical history … He would get pretty threatening to the male residents who were old men over 65, over 70 and he was quite a big person… (Fay)

Physical abuse was rare, but verbal abuse appeared to be common. An older resident of a large inner-city housing complex outlined what he said was a regular event:

It is because they go down to the main entrance, the main foyer down there and they sit there and as you've probably seen this is a secure building or supposed to be a secure building. The older people sit down there and these young hoodlums bang on the door, 'Let me in. Let me in, I've lost me key', or whatever you know. Blatant lies you know and if the older people don't get up and let them in they get all the f's and c's bordering on physical violence you know. So you'll find people here will not venture out of a night time. It's in your own interests not to go out unless they're escorted by somebody. It's bad. (John)

In the more residualised blocks, residents felt particularly vulnerable. They were not concerned for their safety once they were ensconced in their home. The common areas were where they felt exposed:

It's frightening at times, very frightening to go outside either day or night. Well this year there was a young woman who was attacking people in the lifts. She was apparently affected by drugs. And I mean to the extent that you know there's been so many problems that they have had to put the cameras and that in the lifts and at the front of the building. It's not terribly comforting to those who live there because it's all very well for them to look at a picture three days later when you're already injured. (Mavis)

Older tenants would generally not venture out at night unless they had an escort:

'I've been feeling very anxious around here on occasions … I don't go out at night, ever, unless there's someone to bring me right home to the door' (Ruth).

Vandalism and Littering

Despite residualisation, most interviewees were deeply attached to their public housing complexes and there was a strong desire to protect the integrity of the space. However, vandalism and serious littering, which were attributed mainly to substance and alcohol abuse, had made this a major challenge. Vandalism especially was viewed as a serious issue and deeply resented. Fay was 85 at the time of the interview, and had lived in the same apartment for 26 years:

> *My dislike on top of the list, the very top of the list is vandalism. You have no idea … You can go through those glass door sometimes and you'll find one smashed or they've broken the gate where the cars come in. They smash that because they've got nothing better to do and they're probably druggies [sic] or drunks.*

A resident in the same apartment block was furious that the endeavours of tenants to improve the block were being undermined:

> *I pointed out at a meeting last week that while all this upgrading is going on the rest of the place is deteriorating. All the garbage bags disposals have had the doors pulled off and I'm saying, 'What's the security guard doing?' He's here not for the tenants but he's here for the property you know and what's he doing when all these things are being whipped off and graffiti's being put through our building you know. These are the questions I want answered. (John)*

Littering by drug users was a concern:

> *The fire escape is where the drug addicts go and do drugs and leave their syringes. And they urinate there and leave a terrible smell. What can we do … We have many drug addicts (Frieda).*

Invasion of Privacy

The invasion of privacy mainly took the form of loud noise at all times of the day and night. Of course it was most disturbing when it occurred late at night or in the early hours of the morning. Some interviewees also had to endure challenging tenants knocking on their door to ask for things. Fay summed up the issue:

> *They play very loud music at inappropriate times and they'd want to borrow things and just generally be intrusive into your life … and I didn't want to*

antagonise anybody so I just learnt how to deal with it but it wasn't ideal … It was stressful.

Neighbours with mental health problems could be particularly challenging. The invasion of privacy overlapped with threatening behaviour. June was scared of her next-door neighbour:

A neighbour has just moved in. He's you know crazy [sic] and makes noises, screams … All the time he is screaming. He bangs the walls. He kicks it you know … Also, a couple of times he knocked on my door, asking me for sugar and lollies and milk and I say, 'Listen to me. I don't like this kind of business. Just once I gave it to you, don't bother me anymore'. (June)

Arguments from neighbouring or nearby apartments meant many a disturbed night for a number of interviewees. Asked whether she was often woken up, Marie responded:

'Yes, from the fights and the arguments. That kind of thing. I could say, you don't get a proper night's sleep.

Interviewees complained about being woken up at night by people running around their building screaming:

The type of client that they're getting in lately is deteriorating owing to the drug problem … Every morning between 4 and 6 you can hear screaming and ranting and raving from people who are coming down off highs … Absolutely dreadful you know. (John)

Stigmatisation of the Area

Wacquant (2008) notes that a crucial impact of what he has called advanced urban marginality is stigmatisation of those neighbourhoods where urban marginality is concentrated. These neighbourhoods are 'perceived by both outsiders and insiders as social purgatories, leprous badlands at the heart of post-industrial metropolis where only the refuse of society would agree to dwell' (Wacquant, 2008, p. 237). He also observes that stigma can fray the local social fabric and encourages 'the rasping of interpersonal ties' (Wacquant, 2010, p. 215). There is no doubt that residualisation has led to the stigmatisation of some public housing areas. Interviewees were scathing about the way their complexes were being used for drug dealing

and drug use. Besides the ensuing vandalism and littering with drug paraphernalia, interviewees felt that it created the impression that the whole complex was dysfunctional and to be avoided. A tenant told of how her relatives and friends were reluctant to visit:

> *As I said, it's got such a bad reputation, the place now, that you know like my relatives and that, they don't like to come now because there's graffiti everywhere and we've got damage to property all the time and it means that a lot of people don't want to come here. And even I suppose myself [does not want to be there]. That's why I come down here. I'm down here [at the community centre] five days a week. (Joan)*

A resident of a well-known inner-city apartment block told of how she was reluctant to mention her address because of the stigma attached to her complex:

> *When we are going by taxi and you'd say where you live and they'd say, 'Oh suicide haven' … I said, 'No. I'm telling you where I live. I live in Reef Street' and anyhow he said, 'Yeah … that's to do with public housing'. See the stigma people were putting on you. You even hated going into a shop and lay buying something and you had to give your address and people would say, 'Oh, that's public housing'. (Kathleen)*

Conclusion

The interviews illustrated that the provision of affordable, secure and adequate housing invariably was enormously positive. It certainly gave older residents the capacity to lead a decent life. They were able to participate in the community, do what they valued and form strong and enduring social ties with their fellow residents. This contrasts dramatically with older private renters who, due to their high accommodation costs and limited security of tenure, suffer tremendous financial stress and are constantly anxious about their future (see Morris, 2009, 2016).

However, the residualisation of social housing has undermined the capacity of many older tenants to lead a decent life. Although they are generally able to create space so that they can continue to lead a decent life, the inward movement of challenging and unpredictable tenants has certainly made this quest more difficult. The most common method used to minimise the impact of residualisation was to endeavour to avoid difficult tenants. This involved restricting movement to daylight hours or, in a

few cases, spending their days in a venue away from the public housing complex they are resident in. However, these tactics were not fool-proof. Noise, littering and vandalism know no boundaries and interviewees who reside in apartment blocks have to use the common spaces. These can be unpredictable and the possibility of a difficult encounter is ever-present.

The determination of government to minimise spending on social housing in the context of increased housing precarity means that the residualisation of social housing is likely to deepen. For many older social housing tenants, this could intensify their view and the actuality that what was formerly a hospitable, congenial space is now fraught with unpredictability and danger.

Notes

1. In March 2014, the New South Wales state government announced that all 293 public housing properties in the Millers Point area are to be sold and the 579 public housing tenants moved. The main legitimation was that the money raised will be used to build more social housing. Millers Point is in walking distance of the Sydney Opera House and has become one of Sydney's most expensive residential areas. In May 2017, only 24 tenants remained. Almost all are elderly and have lived in Millers Point for all or most of their lives.

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Stewarding Change? A Discussion About the METRO Care Model in Regional Australia

Matthew Gregg, Éidín Ní Shé, and Lorelle J. Burton

Introduction

This chapter introduces the work of METRO Care, an organisation that is based in the regional city of Toowoomba which is in south-west Queensland, 125 km west of Brisbane, the state capital city. The city's population as of 30 June 2016 was 164,469.[1] METRO Care,[2] launched in Toowoomba in 2012, is a stand-alone, not-for-profit company established by METRO Church, a Pentecostal church affiliated with the Australian Christian Churches. This chapter arose from an initial visit Ní Shé and Burton undertook in May 2015 to METRO Church in Toowoomba as part of early community capacity development work of the Community

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Futures research program (Burton & Palmer, 2016). The work of the Community Futures team is based on collaboration between social sciences and humanities scholars and between these scholars and regional communities and organisations. METRO Care partners with the local community to offer unique, targeted programme and initiatives that complement existing services; they are committed to playing a part in supporting our Toowoomba regional community. The organisation's focus is on 'empowering people to live life well and enjoy a better tomorrow'.[3] Along with their own activities, they are involved in several collaborative community groups such as Toowoomba Together Incorporated which is a volunteer collaborative group campaigning for a safer Darling Downs Region. They work to empower and encourage the Toowoomba community to support and participate in initiatives and strategies to build a community where violence is not acceptable.

The METRO Care Street Crews[4] programme operate on Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights. These programme have different demographic targets and outcomes. The Thursday night program operates primarily during 'social after hours' times between 6pm and 9pm within the Toowoomba central business district (CBD) and fringe CBD areas and caters for young people aged 12–24 years of age. This program is focused on supporting young people through times of high stress and anxiety as well as providing a consumer-led 'accident counselling' and 'referral service'. The service ensures that effective solutions are found to support young people in accessing vital health services and just-in-time care. It also aims to improve awareness of, access to and engagement with positive health outcomes and where needed, professional health services.

The program adopts an Assertive Outreach methodology that utilises a number of activities, methods and engagement techniques which are underpinned by a relational support/peer-support ideology that allows vulnerable youth to engage with services in a non-threatening and organic setting. The program includes a weekly mobile service, using foot patrols and a purpose-built van for added mobility and rapid response to identified hot spots, fortnightly pop-up activities such as basketball or drift bikes and a monthly major activity that includes dance, karaoke, games consoles and half court challenges.

The Friday and Saturday night programme provide Assertive Outreach (mobile foot patrols) and Rest and Recovery (both stationary and mobile facilities) services for people primarily over the age of 18. The Street Crews Friday and Saturday night programme aim to reduce the frequency and

impact of major harm along with drug- and alcohol-fuelled incidents,[5] with an emphasis on:

- Safety: Providing 'just in time' support to those in potentially harmful situations through active intervention, problem solving and diversionary strategies.
- Support: Providing a 'safe space' that focuses on addressing an individual's physical, psychological and emotional needs.
- Referral: Connecting individuals to services for specialised support.
- Education: Encouraging a healthy and positive party culture with an emphasis on hydration and safety.

The Street Crews has integrated community networks with all key stakeholders within the Toowoomba region, including Toowoomba Safe Night Precinct Committee, Toowoomba Regional Council, City Safe, Queensland Police Service, Toowoomba Regional Safer Partnerships and various liquor licensees and security providers to reduce alcohol-related behaviours and maintain a safer night precinct. Anecdotal evidence indicates that the Street Crews program has helped to:

- Reduce problems arising from under-age drinking
- Reduce public drunkenness and nuisance incidents
- Provide an area where people feel safe
- Reduce the level of alcohol-related violence
- Ensure intoxicated people reach home, connecting them with safe transport options
- Connect people to other services such as Headspace or Lifeline for additional mental health support.

Together, the Street Crews have had over 4000 significant engagements, averaging 15 minutes with each person, handing out over 12,000 bottles of water and over 200 kg of red frog lollies. The METRO Care Street Crews is endorsed by Red Frogs Australia and the local Safe Night Precinct Committee. All METRO Care Street Crew team members are trained to respond to people experiencing personal crisis and, when needed, the team provides appropriate connection and referral to partner organisations and other services.

At the time of this discussion, METRO Care ran several other volunteer programme such as FOODcents, which is delivered in partnership with

the Australian Red Cross. The program is designed to promote healthy living, good nutrition, food security and social inclusion that empowers participants with the knowledge and skills to make simple and sustainable lifestyle changes. During 2015–2016, METRO Care hosted participants from a variety of new communities that had recently resettled in the region. Every FOODcents session utilises both educational and practical elements where participants are encouraged to prepare and cook a meal that they enjoy together. METRO Care plays a vital role in providing relief and support to families and individuals of the public suffering hardship. Since 2007, METRO Care has

- provided over $48,000 in financial/practical aid and emergency relief to families and individuals;
- distributed $30,000 worth of winter clothing to families in need; and
- distributed 1150 Christmas hampers, worth over $150,000 to families in need, in the Toowoomba region.

These relief efforts were not financed by government grants, but were entirely funded by donations received through the faith community and participation of business, and in collaboration with the general public. The METRO Care Shop is volunteer run and assists hundreds of families each year with quality second-hand clothing, accessories and household items. METRO Care actively supports the work of Toowoomba Together Incorporated by participating in activities including White Ribbon Day, Walk Against Violence, Bystander Intervention Training, Youth Awareness Programme, Street Outreach and more. The Winter Warmth Appeal is an initiative that runs throughout May and June each year and helps local community organisations assist individuals and families who may be unable to cope with the chilly Toowoomba winter on their own.

The next section presents the discussion held by lead author, Matt Gregg, who is the operations manager at METRO Care Toowoomba and a pastor at METRO Church with co-authors Ní Shé and Burton. Gregg oversees the running of the many programme outlined above. The discussion commenced with Gregg providing an overview of focus on new shifts that are occurring for organisations such as METRO Care. The discussion introduced the focus of this edited book and the discussion is presented under a number of themes following analysis.

Funding Shift and Shifting Leadership

The discussion commenced by highlighting the shift that has occurred in countries such as the United Kingdom and Australia where the state is reducing their roles following the advent of the Big Society manifesto that promised to 'reduce the role of the state as a provider of public services' (Lehal, 2011). To enable such a vision, there is a focus on 'localism', 'self-governing', 'resilience', 'pay by results', 'social value', 'social capital' and 'social enterprise', all focused on the rhetoric of the common good. At the core of the 'Big Society' agenda is 'commissioning', which is the process of tendering the provision of services (Grover & Piggott, 2015; Shaw, 2012). Big Society was communicated as a strategy to empower communities, encourage a diversity of service providers and foster volunteerism whilst the reality of this has been contested in the literature that highlights austerity, funding challenges and job cuts having a significant impact on communities (Association of Chief Executives of Voluntary Organisations, ACEVO, 2011; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Williams, Goodwin, & Cloke, 2014). Gregg noted that many of METRO Care's activities had been self-funded and that some of METRO Care's vital services remain unfunded. Gregg explained his concern that the large majority of social innovation usually happens outside of current established funding streams because of the 'funding gaps' created by current funding models and, in particular, how they are impacted by electoral cycles:

Gregg: Government funding is always responsive to votes, that's the truth, funding priorities are often driven by re-election therefore we can sometimes see inconsistencies in how those funds address social needs from one election to the next … those funding priorities also create 'funding gaps' where certain, and sometimes vital services simply can't find funding. That 'in between' gap doesn't get a lot of support and as a result charities and not-for-profits must look to alternate sources for the required funds, this can create instability and huge inconsistencies in service delivery that does not support the long-term health and wellbeing of those that are accessing these kids of programme and services. There will always be a need to change the focus of government funding from time to time, however, one way to reduce the sense of instability (which leads to inconsistency in service delivery), would be to give more longevity to funding. That is, making commitments to funding services for far longer than we currently do. Effectively, making the same funding available for the same purpose, but for longer. Almost everything we (METRO Care Toowoomba) do is unfunded, and that's really important to know. Partly, this is because we don't always seek it, the reason is that even

though we need the state to support community it can be easy to fall into the trap of 'chasing the money' rather than maintaining a commitment to delivering services that make sense to those accessing them. Sometimes, the funding available does not allow for the full flexibility needed to support the needs of the end user, or client and can at time even be restrictive to the point where those funds actually prevent the organisation and those working in it from supporting people who fall 'just outside' the eligibility requirements. That is not to say that state funding is 'rubbish', but that sometimes, the funding that was meant to help can actually create barriers to supporting community in an efficient and truly caring way. Creating a consistent and reliable funding environment that encourages efficiency and innovation would, with the right set of checks and balances, in my opinion, help to encourage a more efficient, responsive, collaborative approach community service.

When asked how funding could be reframed, Gregg provided a number of suggestions that would require a cultural shift to enable long-term funding:

Gregg: It would be great if resource was made available in a way to kick-start/seed fund new initiatives that would focus on services and activities that fall outside of the 'standard funded areas'. It would be great if there were funds available, government, non-government philanthropic and the whole point was to actually try new innovative ideas like these Street Crews activities that we've been doing—do you know what, this Street Crew ideas uses a service delivery model that doesn't happen in many other places around Australia. With our Street Crews in mind, what would have been a brilliant help from the beginning would to have had access to an innovation fund where we could have done things properly. Our initiative, our future initiatives and many others would benefit greatly if they could access resources that aid in research and development of new, innovative ideas that could make a genuine difference but may never see the light of day without that support. Without these kinds of innovation funds, it falls back to a grass roots approach that sometimes slows down and hinders the development of truly exceptional ideas. But this approach doesn't guarantee success in every instance, some things will have limited success, and some things may even fail dismally, to do this you're going to see the political will, the political appetite to say we don't know if this is even going to work, but let's give it a 'crack' anyway. I am not sure we will ever see that kind of funding available, but if the appetite were there, I genuinely think it would take five to ten years to see measurable results. At any rate it's going to take massive cultural change within the community itself to see that kind of change.

The discussion shifted to what type of leadership was required to change funding models. One report undertaken by Bashir, Dayson, Eadson, and Wells (2013) undertook a review of the contributions of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) to the voluntary and community sector at a local level. The research concluded that very little robust data was available on the extent and nature of business support for local voluntary and community organisations. Gregg outlined that a key challenge for SMEs that employ refugees in the local community is that they often are unable to support complexity:

Gregg: You know they're employing a Sudanese family. It's a generalisation, but we often see families like these are often very connected, they have a strong community orientation and actively support each other. So if employed, the benefit doesn't stop at the individual or their immediate family but often goes further to extended family and relatives. That's the power of small business, or business of any size, to make a difference in their community. Simply by running good, profitable businesses employers can make a huge impact in their communities. Here is the problem though, if you're the boss and you've got a refugee that's come from a war-torn country or come out of some seriously difficult circumstance, you can be guaranteed that the person you've employed and their family will be having to work through a whole bunch of stuff. Eventually these issues will surface and impact the workplace in some way. However, employers are often not well equipped or trained to be able to deal with those matters. The question is what happens next? Who picks up the bill to support both the employee and the employer through these situations? There is no doubt that there are many funded programme that allow people to access great counselling and support and options for all involved to access help if it is needed, but I think that there is a huge potential for government, business and the not-for-profit to work better in these kinds of matters to spread the cost and get the best possible outcomes for social wellbeing, workplace efficiencies and support to what are often underfunded support services. The bottom line is that most of the support services involved in these matters are working hard to find the resources needed to provide well-staffed, high quality services and a better way of those three groups working together would help get better outcomes for everyone.

It is at this stage that often the 'social good' intentions of the employer and the social responsibility contract they have signed up to are passed on to the community and voluntary sector:

Gregg: This is where I think that we can all work better together. Rather than handballing the problems from one place to another, we could start working

more collaboratively. What I mean is that employers and not-for-profit can develop partnerships where not-for-profits or a community service could be contracted on a 'fee for service' basis to provide support for those people identified by the employer to need extra support. This is a win-win scenario as the employer is now acting socially responsibly in supporting people through their personal issues and also creating great staff morale and more than likely increasing efficiencies, decreasing their downtimes and creating a culture of support, loyalty and community in their businesses. At the same time the community service wins, as they find additional funds, or receive the only funding they might be able to find, to do what they do best and support community through crisis and ultimately the state will benefit also as this innovation would allow for a more effective spread of social services funding. It is an altruistic idea to be sure and probably a difficult balance to strike, but if the right people are involved it would work and I'm convinced we would see better outcomes for everyone. I think that one of the keys to seeing changes like this take place is to start looking what we do, both in the for profit and the not-for-profit sector differently. Perhaps we need to take the emphasis of generating profits, or finding funding and put the focus on culture and values. So, rather than looking at the what and the how, start looking at the why and build our companies, services and structures based on what works for people … not necessarily what makes the most sense for the bottom line. Although, profitability is an issue and cannot be ignored, I think it would sometimes we would be better and do better if we all tried to run our for profit and not-for-profit companies to be for people and for purpose instead.

The benefit and value of METRO Care in enabling social connections for SMEs to allow employees to volunteer was also stressed as a significant benefit:

Gregg: So, if we have companies that work well on a cultural level and are actively partnering with community services, that support doesn't just need to stop at donations, contracts or fee-for-service. Those companies can make room for their workers to be actively involved in supporting the work of their chosen community group and in doing so, add value to the group they support and allow their teams to be personally connected to and involved in the activities these groups organise. I think there is a need for us to not only say we value people but to actually back that up in the way we do what we do. I guess we're talking about making community support a 'company value', maybe even to the point where getting involved is incentivised by the company itself, and if done right, I am positive this kind of approach could and would add value to everyone involved.

The biggest challenge, as outlined by Gregg, for METRO Care was the current funding structures. As successive governments have cut back funding, NGOs and community service providers are directly in competition with each other for funding. As a result, NGOs are not only short staffed and low in resources but they become contracted to funding cycles with narrow focused outcomes (Harrow & Jung, 2016; Lenette & Ingamells, 2015). Gregg articulated how this model creates significant gaps.

> *Gregg: Very often grants and other funding offered from every level of government have very rigid guidelines. This are good reasons for this and dare I say, even a number of benefits. However, because of this inherent rigidity there is very little room to be truly innovative or responsive to the constantly changing needs of the communities that we live in. We ought to start looking at how we can include flexibilities into funding that allow the funded organisations to adapt to the circumstances and the changing needs of community. Even small concessions could be made, where, for instance, if funds intended to support a person with very specific eligibilities also allowed for a percentage of those funds to be used to support a small amount of legitimate cases that fell slightly outside those eligibilities. I'm not suggesting that public funds or grant funding should be 'loose', but rather, that with in-built tolerances we would go a long way to starting to cover some of the 'funding gaps'. Often funding is directed towards social issues after they have occurred and taken root, maybe this sort of flexibility would allow for an earlier and more responsive approach to emerging social issues, before they take root, thereby providing a 'buffer' between when they are identified and when large scale dedicated resources can be directed towards problems. In a dream world, that's the kind of thing many not-for-profits and community services are looking for—funding that allows them to be responsive rather than reactive.*

Because of the rigidity of the funding models, METRO Care relies heavily on their volunteers to provide support in the gaps, which Gregg stressed was not available to every NGO. However, their organisation was fortunate to have access to a large motivated community. Because of this support, Gregg outlined that it enables METRO Care to be forward thinking.

Long-Term Relationships

A significant focus of the literature reflects upon the relationships that NGOs have with their beneficiaries with a shift occurring on a co-construction of accountability (O'Dwyer & Boomsma, 2015; O'Dwyer &

Unerman, 2010). This is a recent occurrence as the traditional trust that the public has had of NGOs has decreased under public scrutiny. NGOs have come under increasing critical scrutiny following several cases of high-profile abuse of resources and power (Bendell, 2006; Murtaza, 2012). Lang's (2013) notable work on analysing the public accountability of NGOs introduces the idea of public accountability. This includes transparency (e.g., operations, finance and information on their mission and goals), debate (initiating and sustaining debate that is open, widely accessible and interactive), engagement (e.g., promoting active and continuous engagement of constituents and interested citizens in the organisation) and activation (e.g., enabling constituents to organise public voice and thus serving as catalysts for stronger publics).

To enable this, Gregg argued that NGOs need to ensure that they deliver on what they sign up for, but also advocated the need to shift priorities to develop long-term reciprocal partnerships with donors.

> *Gregg: It is easy to get caught up in the funding cycle, and in doing so start chasing grants and other funding rather than doing things that both matter and get you passionate. There is a lot of money available to the organisations that know how to tender well, but I think that many people feel that those funds are not always being used as well or as wisely as they should be. That's a problem for not-for-profits, and we need to become more accountable for the way our money is spent. A part of that is developing good business practice and allowing for transparency in the way we operate, but another is to develop a good culture around how we see or think about the funds we receive. To begin with we need to develop an appreciation for the large and the small, and accept that a $5.00 donation is as valuable as a $500,000 tender, because either way this money is an investment in the work that we are doing. I don't think of it as a 'donation', I like to think of it as a statement of trust, a statement from the giver or funding body that we believe you can make good on what you said you'd do. I think that every time we receive support it should be seen as an offer of partnership. This is a big part of the way we're trying to focus and structure METRO Care, we want people, companies and governments to know that if they are willing to give to the work of METRO Care we don't 'just' see them as a sponsor, donator or funding body, but a true partner. I guess, we don't want anyone to ever be seen as a 'money bag', but rather, if you do support us facially, you're more than that, you're a genuine part of the team.*

At the core of this is the focus METRO Care puts on developing relationships to enable their community to contribute meaningfully within their

communities in which they live (Postle, Burton, & Danaher, 2014; Williams, Goodwin, & Coke, 2014). Gregg gave an example of such a shift.

> *Gregg: There is a small business owner here in our local area that decided to support one of our programme in a very generous way. Not only did she support the program, but also allowed staff from the company to come and get involved, and she herself chose to get involved as well. It became more than just a sponsorship or a donation, but rather, a whole-hearted investment in the local community. During their involvement the people from this company were touched by the stories of those they came in contact with and the owner has since heard more reports about how her company's investment has been making a difference for those we are supporting together. It is because of this hands-on, frontline connection that this company will once again be supporters of the same program, and why the owner has asked to be even more involved in helping to deliver services alongside the rest of the team in other areas as well. There's more than a simple transaction here, it's become more than that, there's a genuine sense of co-ownership now.*
>
> *This is an attitude I think we need to try and help encourage more often in small to medium business and where possible, in larger companies as well. I think that's what people want more of, true partnership. People want to not only give money to a good cause, they also want to be involved and in a way, moved by that cause. They want to connect to it in a deeper way, this is where not-for-profits can be much better at allowing others to do more than just give, but become true, collaborative partners in their work. I wonder what would happen when everyone simply came to the table asking the question, 'what can I bring to this?' 'How can I be a part of making this great?' With no agenda, no sense of kick-back or personal gain. I think we would be surprised by how it would not only benefit the people involved on every level, but would also result in an increase in social capital for each party involved. What is needed are brave people willing to do something different, and places like Toowoomba, where we have a vibrant and connected community are the ideal places to start to explore these concepts and foster these innovative approaches. I honestly think that with the right mix of people and the right motivation we could see a swing towards a more open, innovative, flexible approach to funding and fundraising in less than 10 years.*

Leonard and Onyx (2004) have used community case studies to explore the relationship between social capital and other capital forms, including financial, natural and human capitals (Bourdieu, 1986). They illustrated how particular communities have organised themselves in new and innovative ways and how positive examples of local development could be

traced to the efforts of a small number of local individuals and/or active networks. Such ideas are prevalent in METRO Care whose suite of programme equated to 4492 volunteer hours in 2015–2016. This engagement and interaction enables people involved in METRO Care to build communities, to commit themselves to each other and to knit a social fabric (Smith, 2007).

Concluding Thoughts

'METRO Care Toowoomba is not just an organisation that cares about its community; we are a group of people who are passionate about making a difference.'[6] Whilst defining and conceptualising 'community' remains a contested and controversial task for contemporary scholars (Dervin & Korpela, 2013), METRO Care's roots are embedded in their specific community and are actively engaging with new partners. Integral to their success is the open inclusion and focus on long-term reciprocal partnerships. This collaborative focus within a regional community has enabled METRO Care to develop unique, targeted and innovative programme that empower people to become more resilient. The role and contribution of Matt Gregg cannot be overlooked in this focus and drive. Gregg is without doubt a social entrepreneur who is stewarding significant change within his community. Gregg is not only the one who finds and implements innovations, but he also takes the initiative, using his intuition, and is not afraid to take a risk by doing something differently. This 'learning by doing' approach is the tried and tested approach of a social entrepreneur, which at the core of the current system and processes is challenged by asking the question 'can we do better together?' To replicate the work of METRO Care will require a shift in thinking and in practice with a broader funding paradigm that values and recognises complexity and social and community knowledge that enables ongoing incremental, proactive community-led changes.

Notes

1. For more population details, refer to: Toowoomba Regional Council Community profile: http://profile.id.com.au/toowoomba (Date accessed 6/6/17).
2. For information on METRO care, refer to: https://METRO.org.au/toowoomba/ (Date accessed 4/6/17).

3. For information on METRO care, refer to: https://METRO.org.au/toowoomba/ (Date accessed 4/6/17).
4. Refer to: METRO Care: Street Crews: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yt_0D8-G8Ys (Date accessed 4/6/17).
5. Safe night precincts (SNPs) exist in key entertainment areas across Queensland. SNPs are managed by local boards operating as incorporated associations. These boards manage and plan for the precinct to address a range of community safety issues.
6. METRO Care: https://METROcare.org.au/.

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From Absorption to Inclusion: The Evolution of Irish State Policy on Travellers

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Introduction

In most countries of the world, there are minority populations with a tradition of migrancy (Kenny & Danaher, 2009). Irish Travellers are one such minority group. Travellers were first formally recognised as an ethnic minority in Ireland in 2017 (Houses of the Oireachtas, 2017). A distinct cultural group, they account for less than 1 per cent of the population and historically have experienced disadvantage in relation to education, health, housing and employment. Notwithstanding the policy and legislative changes described in this chapter, this disadvantage continues (Watson, Kenny, & McGinnity, 2017). Only 8 per cent of Travellers have completed secondary education compared with 73 per cent of non-Travellers, and

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only 1 per cent have a college degree; unemployment rates are 82 per cent compared with 17 per cent of non-Travellers; the majority of Travellers live in overcrowded conditions (56 per cent vs. 8 per cent of non-Travellers); and prevalence rates of mortality, disability and morbidity are higher among the Traveller community, and widen with age suggesting that a process of cumulative disadvantage operates over time, whereby a lifetime of more challenging experiences combines to produce poorer outcomes (Watson et al., 2017).

In this chapter, Irish State documents since the 1960s are analysed in order to provide an account of the evolution of official policies concerning Travellers, with special reference to those concerning Traveller education. The analysis traces policy evolution through the chronology of these documents: *Report of the Commission on Itinerancy (1963); Committee Report: Educational Facilities for the Children of Itinerants (1970); The Travelling People Review Body (1983); Report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community (1995); Preschools for Travellers: National Evaluation Report (2003); and Report and Recommendations for the Travellers Education Strategy (2006).*

Showing how past policies and practices continue to have an impact on the present, this chapter considers official policy on Travellers under three interconnecting themes: the way the Traveller culture is perceived; the policy of absorption and assimilation which is evident in early documents; and the move over the years towards policies premised on concepts of equality and partnership. Indeed, this extensive shift over the years may be summed up in the journey from the rejection of Travellers as a distinct cultural group (1963) to the statutory recognition of Travellers as a distinct ethnic group (Houses of the Oireachtas, 2017).

This policy development in relation to the Traveller community did not occur in a vacuum. Rather, the various reports analysed in this chapter were influenced by the dominant theoretical and political paradigms of their time, ranging from theories of cultural deficit to the politics of recognition, and from theocentric through mercantile to liberal equality paradigms (O' Sullivan, 2005). Educational policies towards nomadic groups and ethnic minorities have also followed similar patterns across global contexts. Over the past two decades, there has been a shift away from discourses of deficit to discourses of cultural difference or to those of cultural dissonance (Levinson & Hooley, 2014).

The chapter first considers the theoretical, political and cultural climate within which these documents emerged. The following six sections are

concerned with six significant policy documents on Travellers. In the early 1960s, when the *Report on Commission on Itinerancy (1963)* was deliberated, Ireland was largely a theocentric state, just beginning to engage with modernisation (O'Sullivan, 2005). With Ireland's accession to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973, and increasing urbanisation and industrialisation, the country had changed significantly by the time the *Report of the Travelling People Review Body (1983)* was published. In the late 1980s, social partnership had come in the form of the *Programme for National Recovery* (Government of Ireland, 1987) and subsequent partnership programmes.

The concept of partnership informed the programme for partnership government, established by Fianna Fáil and the Labour Party in 1993. This was part of the context for the deliberation of the *Task Force on the Travelling Community (1995)*. A further context for the *Task Force on the Travelling Community* was the contribution that Traveller organisations had made towards creating the conditions for new initiatives inspired by a partnership process. The late 1990s saw the emergence of the "Celtic Tiger" economy, resulting in net migration into Ireland and, with it, greater cultural diversity. This was the background against which *Report and Recommendations for a Traveller Education Strategy* (Department of Education and Science, 2006) was published.

Throughout this evolution, certain theoretical perspectives recurred. Themes of consensualism, essentialism and meritocracy were clearly discernible in Irish educational policy documents (O' Sullivan, 2005). Society tended to be represented as an undifferentiated whole, one in which all were assumed to agree on the aims of education. Individuals were assumed to have a fixed nature, leading to a tendency to interpret differential attainment in terms of differences between individuals rather than to seek structural explanations (Hanafin, Shevlin, & Flynn, 2002). Although equality of opportunity was espoused, this was often conceived narrowly, as a way of securing and selecting talent (Drudy & Lynch, 1993).

More recent educational documents appear to recognise difference and promote intercultural policies and a more substantive approach to equality. However, as some would argue (Bryan, 2010), celebration and respect for diversity can serve to reinforce power inequities between ethnic minority and majority groups by "positioning the dominant cultural group as the 'valuer' or celebrator of difference, while defining minorities in terms of how they benefit or enrich the 'host' culture" (Bryan, 2010, p. 255).

Traveller culture was not initially acknowledged by the state as valid, as evidenced in policy documents from the 1960s and 1970s. Travellers were regarded as deviant, destitute dropouts from the Irish society. Over time, problems associated with this thinking were identified and more recent documents have been informed by an understanding that difference does not imply deficit and by a recognition of the validity of Traveller culture.

Report of the Commission on Itinerancy, 1963 (*CI Report, 1963*)

The range of inquiries and commissions into areas of Irish life that had been traditionally neglected, or groups who had been marginalised, was a "crucial feature of Irish social discourse and activism in the 1960s" (Ferriter, 2004, p. 394). Irish Travellers were one such group and there were about 1100 travelling families in the country at the time (Ferriter, 2004). The Commission on Itinerancy was set up in 1960 at a time when a massive shift was taking place in Irish social policy, with increasing state involvement in the provision of social welfare. The *CI Report (1963)* can be read as an attempt to "redefine the 'itinerant problem' in such a way that a new policy of settlement and absorption of Travellers became part of the platform of the government goals of economic and social modernisation" (Helleiner, 2000, p. 76). This policy of settlement and absorption did not arise from a careful consideration of the data it gathered, "but rather was predetermined by the Commission's own terms of reference" (Helleiner, 2000, p. 78). The *CI Report (1963)* recorded that Travellers were "despised as inferior beings and (were) regarded as the dregs of society" (Government of Ireland, 1963, p. 102)

Views reported by the Commission were also conditioned by the position it adopted in relation to Traveller origins. At that time, there were various competing theories concerning the origins of Travellers. Rather than investigating this issue, the Commission adopted, without enquiry, the theory that Travellers were dropouts from society. Its adoption of this "dropout" view was motivated by a government agenda to justify the assimilation of Travellers into mainstream Irish society (Ní Shúinéar, 2004). Indeed, the terms of reference of the Commission included the goal "to promote their absorption into the general community" (Government of Ireland, 1963, p. 110). In this context, it is not surprising that the Commission viewed the absorption of Travellers into society as

the best solution for both Travellers and the wider public. The *CI Report (1963)* consisted of 16 chapters covering a wide range of topics, including accommodation, education, health, trespass, economic circumstances and attitudes of the settled population to Travellers.

Traveller Identity and Culture Rejected

A striking feature of the *CI Report (1963)* is its rejection and lack of understanding of Traveller identity and culture: "Itinerants (or travellers as they prefer themselves to be called) do not constitute a single homogeneous group, tribe or community within the nation, although the settled population are inclined to see them as such. Neither do they constitute a separate ethnic group" (Government of Ireland, 1963, p. 37).

The first thing to note is the clear rejection of the idea that Travellers constitute an ethnic group. This is done without any discussion or appeal to expertise (Pavee Point, 2013). Another aspect of the rejection of Traveller culture is seen in the way the *CI Report (1963)* regarded nomadism—or the way of life of peoples who do not live continually in the same place but move cyclically or periodically. Notions of nomadism have become more complex, no longer understood as simply a "lifestyle" but encompassing a distinct value system, philosophy and identity (Levinson & Hooley, 2014). The term "itinerant" is used throughout the report to refer to Travellers, although the Commission acknowledges that "Traveller" is the preferred term of the community itself. The definition of "itinerant" in the report was "a person who had no fixed abode and habitually wandered from place to place". In this way, nomadism was presented as aimless wandering carried out by individuals, rather than as a cultural norm of the Traveller community.

As part of its census of Travellers, the Commission did enquire into their "travel habits". It found that the vast majority travelled all year round, and most travelled in a fixed circuit. The Commission concluded that a majority would cease travelling if permanent accommodation was made available to them. Several weaknesses in the research that supported this claim were identified (Bhreatnach, 2006). In fact, nomadism is now regarded in most academic studies as the kernel of Traveller identity (Hayes, 2006). For the Commission, it appears that the only acceptable way forward for Travellers was for them to be reformed and to become like settled people, and to be absorbed into the majority population. This

is seen, for example, in the way that a recommendation on education is presented in the report, not as an intrinsic good but as a way of promoting absorption: "It is urgently necessary, as a means of providing opportunities for a better way of life, of promoting their absorption into the settled community … that as many itinerant children as possible receive an adequate elementary education" (Government of Ireland, 1963, p. 67).

Perceived Lack of Respect for Social Convention

Comments in the *CI Report (1963)* on Travellers' legal and social compliance revealed deficit understandings of Traveller culture. The Commission reported that one effect of Travellers' lack of formal education was the lack of "respect for social conventions, law and order and for the rights of property" (Government of Ireland, 1963, p. 65). Further, Traveller parents were not regarded as good role models for their children, and the authors of the report felt it necessary to note that Travellers were "very attached to their children" (Government of Ireland, 1963, p. 22), superfluous in almost any other generic parental context. One suggestion to the Commission was that the Traveller parents should be separated from their children, which would result in the disappearance of Travellers within a generation. The Commission rejected this view, which incidentally echoed practice in Australia in the 1930s, where mixed race aboriginal children were taken from their parents. It was believed, in these circumstances, that over a few generations, their descendants would be the same as their fellow white counterparts (Pilkington, 1996).

Literacy

Literacy levels were and remain low among Travellers. Of all of the disadvantages conferred by low literacy, the *CI Report (1963)* chose to focus on literacy as a perceived impediment to absorption. Stating that "almost all itinerants are completely illiterate," the *CI Report (1963)* went on to say that this high level of illiteracy made it difficult for Travellers "to change over to the settled way of life" (Government of Ireland, 1963, p. 64). The Commission documented some of the drawbacks of illiteracy, including poor chances of employment and poor functionality in a society where literacy was such an important factor. Among all of these, however, the Commission focused its gaze on illiteracy and its effect on absorption.

Education

The Commission also expressed its concern on low overall levels of educational attainment among Travellers. In November 1960, only 7 per cent of Traveller children between the ages 6 and 14 were attending school regularly (Dempsey & Geary, 1979). The Commission acknowledged that many Traveller parents "expressed a desire to have their children educated" but reported that they made no effort to follow this up (Government of Ireland, 1963, p. 65). Teachers, when interviewed by the Commission, said it was their experience that children who had received some formal education neither used it nor valued it. The majority of those Travellers aged 14 years or older, who were asked, did not want to learn a trade or craft. The teachers' observations and the 14-year-olds' resistance to what was on offer to them can be seen as indicative of the monocultural approach to education at the time, an approach of measuring Traveller children against the aspirations and desires of the majority. The inquiries of the Commission seem to indicate that Travellers could see little value in school education. At the same time, the Commission itself could see little value in the Traveller way of life.

Living Conditions and Education

The *CI Report (1963)* expressed concern at the poor living conditions of Travellers and at the problems (especially the effects on schooling) associated with these living conditions. As Hayes (2006, p. 37) has pointed out, "the report equated Traveller poverty with itinerancy at every opportunity and the settlement of Travellers was presented as a boon for them, such was the perceived squalor of their existence." Though the nomadic way of life was regarded as being incompatible with educating children, it rejected the concept of compulsory settlement, stating: "It is not considered that any worth-while progress could be made by a policy of compulsory settlement, even if it were legally possible" (Government of Ireland, 1963, p. 106). Instead, Travellers were to be encouraged and induced to leave the road and "settle down".

In the *CI Report (1963)*, the absorption of Travellers into the general community was promoted, and this became government policy, with accommodation policy being promoted as the key to achieving this goal. Responsibility for accommodation, however, was held by local authorities rather than by central government. Local authorities were often reluctant

to provide accommodation for Travellers and whenever they did, they faced opposition and protests from local people. In the decades that followed, compliance with the policy of absorption "by some local authorities was marked by tardiness" (Government of Ireland, 1983, p. 35).

One of the aims of the *CI Report (1963)* was to get as many Traveller children as possible to attend school. The *CI Report (1963)* saw education for Traveller children as "both a means of providing opportunities for a better way of life and of promoting their absorption into the settled community" (Government of Ireland, 1963, p. 67). The Children's Act 1908 and School Attendance Acts informed policy on dealing with absenteeism. Under Section 118 of the Children's Act 1908, parents who moved about, thus preventing their children from attending school, were liable to be prosecuted. The Commission recommended that this provision should be enforced and envisaged a role for voluntary organisations in this regard. Such organisations could convince parents of the value of school, make arrangements to enrol children and ensure regular attendance.

Differentiated Curricular Provision

The *CI Report (1963)* made suggestions concerning the education that Traveller children were to receive, taking into account their living conditions and degree of nomadism. It recommended that "a curriculum to meet the special needs of these children be devised" (Government of Ireland, 1963, p. 68). Along with reading, writing and arithmetic, the curriculum for the boys should include manual training and for the girls, housework. Hygiene was to be taught to both boys and girls. The curriculum subjects recommended for boys included the skills that Traveller fathers passed on to their sons anyway. The same situation prevailed regarding young Traveller girls, who were trained in the art of childminding and housework by their mothers. There was an absence of any contributions from the children or their parents in discussions on the type or content of the curriculum.

Certainly, hygiene seems to have been very important to the Commission. It recommended the provision of wash basins and showers in specially designated school buildings "because of the necessity to promote hygiene as a practice as well as a subject" (Government of Ireland, 1963, p. 68). The focus on hygiene fed into a stereotyping of Travellers as being dirty. The practice of washing Traveller children and changing their clothes subsequently became commonplace in primary schools. Flynn

(1993, p. 81), a Traveller woman, gave voice to her experience of this as a child, and how upsetting she found it, when she stated: "You see, even though we came into school clean and tidy, the school had a policy that each of us should have the chance of a shower and change of clothes before starting school. It was done to each of us whether it was needed or not."

In conclusion, an assimilationist and sedentarist policy of anti-nomadism explicitly informed Irish Government policy in the *CI Report (1963)* and indeed through to the *Report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community (1995*). Traveller settlement was "more than just another aspect of the dominant thinking on Travellers—it was the paradigm within which Travellers were to be 'helped'" (Donahue, McVeigh, & Ward, 2005, p. 24). Proposals were drawn up which were to have a huge effect on their way of life. There were no Traveller representatives on the Commission, a lack of which had been criticised even at the time, and the report provided little insight into the plight of female Travellers (Ferriter, 2004).

The Commission objectives were focused on rehabilitation and assimilation, and "what was defined as a failure to live according to the norms of the dominant group was to be corrected" (Crowley, 1999, p. 247). The Commission "was to have far-reaching consequences by virtue of its subsequent influence on public policy" (Hayes, 2006, p. 35). The view of the Commission was that a problem of itinerancy existed and that they would develop approaches to deal with it. O'Hanlon and Holmes (2004, p. 5), writing about Traveller education in a UK context, suggested that it was "Ireland's attempts in 1963 to bring in policy to settle families in houses" that led to large numbers of Irish Travellers leaving Ireland for Britain at that time.

The *CI Report (1963)* undertook the development of policy for the education of Traveller children, albeit with scant regard for the views of either the children or parents. It did not anticipate the difficulties that would arise for Traveller children by being put into a school system that did not respect or acknowledge, let alone reflect, their culture. This lack of acknowledgement of the distinct culture of Travellers may have had repercussions for many years afterwards. The lack of representation of Traveller culture in school texts contributed to a sense of isolation and exclusion experienced by young Travellers. The message transmitted to Traveller children over the years was that their culture was not valued within the educational system and that that they themselves were inferior to the children belonging to the majority group in schools. To succeed in educational

terms, they had to conform to the norms and dictates of the dominant majority (Sullivan, 2006). It was to be some time before Travellers articulated their own views concerning their rights with respect to education.

Committee Report: Educational Facilities for the Children of Itinerants, 1970 (*EFCI Report, 1970*)

In response to the *CI Report (1963)*, the Department of Education set up an internal committee to plan for the education of Traveller children. The report of this committee set out its general aim as follows: "The general aim in regard to itinerants is to integrate them with the community and the Department accepts that educational policy in regard to their children must envisage their full integration in ordinary classes in ordinary schools" (Department of Education, 1970, p. 3). Traveller children were regarded as "backward" and culturally impoverished because their nomadic way of life prevented them from integrating into society. The report stated that "the educational problems of itinerant children are similar in many respects to those of other educationally retarded children, but aggravated by social disabilities and the consequences of a vagrant way of life" (1970, p. 4).

Schooling for Traveller Families

The *Committee Report: Educational Facilities for the Children of Itinerants (1970)* (*EFCI Report, 1970*) categorised Traveller families into three groups:

A. Families who were housed or in quasi-permanent sites
B. Families who moved in a narrow circuit, generally unvaried
C. Families who moved in a wider circuit

With category A families, in cases where the number of children involved was small, it was expected that the children would attend local schools. Where numbers warranted it, it was recommended that they attend special classes attached to national schools as a "prelude of preparation for their integration in classes in ordinary national schools, consonant with their age and progress achieved" (Department of Education, 1970, p. 4). It was envisaged that such classes would be temporary: "when the

children are prepared and ready for placement in ordinary classes, they should be encouraged to make the transition" (Dept. of Education, 1970, p. 5). In fact, separate provision later became the norm for Traveller children.

Category B families, who moved in narrow circuits, according to this report, could be serviced by one or more designated school(s), after consultation with "the manager, the principal teacher and interested voluntary organisations" (Department of Education, 1970, p. 6). The location of the designated schools was to be tied with the families' itinerary, so this was a noteworthy attempt to align educational provision with the families' nomadism. Category C posed the greatest challenge, and it was suggested that for them, "little can be done over and above that which has been done down the years through casual enrolment in local schools" (Department of Education, 1970, p. 6). The solution for these families was seen in prevailing upon parents to limit their travelling, at least during the school year.

Role of Voluntary Groups

The *CI Report (1963)* marked the beginning of an explicit settlement policy on Travellers, where the state encouraged Travellers to abandon nomadism. In a parallel development, the community and voluntary sector began to intervene for the first time with the development of the *Itinerant Settlement Movement* (Donahue et al., 2005). The *EFCI Report (1970)* also envisaged a significant role for voluntary groups. Voluntary groups already provided part-time classes and "training in social habits and activities" (Department of Education, 1970, p. 6). While it was considered that some of this educational work provided by voluntary groups would no longer be required once Traveller children were enrolled in schools, the report envisaged that continuing tasks for these groups would include visiting Traveller families in order to develop trust and to encourage them to avail of the education facilities offered. Voluntary groups were also involved in providing evening classes, including classes on home management and childcare for women and classes on "stimulating recreational activities" (Department of Education, 1970, p. 9).

This dependence on voluntary groups was necessary, according to the *EFCI Report (1970)*, because there was "no machinery at departmental level for initiating schemes at local level" (Department of Education,

1970, p. 9). It was likely that this approach stemmed from the principle of subsidiarity dominant at the time. In fact, Bhreatnach (2006) claimed that the *CI Report (1963)* had marked a new departure in which two distinct approaches, voluntary organisation and state welfare support, were drawn together and which attempted to combine "the flexibility and humanity of charity with the funding resources and legal machinery of the state" (Bhreatnach, 2006, p. 120). Further insight into the work of voluntary organisations with Travellers can be gained from a report prepared by the Society of St Vincent de Paul (1979).

Preschool Education

The *EFCI Report (1970)* also envisaged a role for voluntary groups in the provision of preschool education. This report is the first to mention preschool education for Traveller children. It was at this stage that a preschool project was set up by the Department of Education in Rutland Street in Dublin as part of its examination of "pre-school education for culturally deprived children" (Department of Education, 1970, p. 6). Pending results of this examination, it was thought that voluntary groups could get involved in "the training of children in social habits as a preparation for attendance at school" (Department of Education, 1970, p. 6). This limited aim became the basis for Departmental support for Traveller preschool education. In keeping with previous reports, deficit constructs of Traveller culture, families and educational interest and value predominate through the *EFCI Report (1970)*.

Role of Parents

The *EFCI Report (1970)* mentioned parents as backup or in a supportive capacity for educational professionals. There was a direction that parents should be consulted if children were to be transferred to regular classes from special classes. It was recognised that teachers on their own might not be able to involve parents in the work of the schools, and the report suggested that social workers and welfare officers might work in collaboration with the schools. The type or extent of involvement or consultation envisaged was not elaborated on. There were no specific guidelines about the type of consultation, but the level of involvement envisaged appears quite limited.

Perception of Travellers as Culturally Deprived

In *EFCI Report (1970)*, Travellers were seen as disadvantaged and deprived. Based on this view of Traveller children as deprived (and continuing a previous policy focus on hygiene), a grant was payable to schools for "installation of the equipment necessary for the teaching of home management and of extended personal washing facilities, including showers" (Department of Education, 1970, p. 7). The presumption of deficit was obvious and reflected the thinking which was widespread at the time. Consider, for example, the following statement by the National Coordinator for the Education of Travellers, that a Traveller "child is never taught to speak—it picks up what it can from the limited vocabulary it hears used by the older children and adults" (Dwyer, 1974, p. 94).

The concept of a (sub)culture of poverty had been introduced by Oscar Lewis (1959) within a study of five poor Mexican families and this had become a popular way of understanding poverty. Theories of language deficit and cultural deprivation were influenced by thinking in the United States, especially concerning African American children, whose failure to progress in school was blamed on their home environment and on a widely accepted view "that lower class negro children have no language at all" (Labov, 1973, p. 24). A related view was expressed by McCarthy (1972) who influenced thinking about Traveller culture in the 1970s. She argued that Travellers constituted "a subculture of poverty" and that the "poor material culture is reflected in the children's vocabulary and indeed in the vocabulary of all Travellers" (McCarthy, 1972, p. 55). McCarthy (1994) was later to repudiate the subculture of poverty theory as it relates to Travellers, which she described as a product of the thinking within sociology at the time. This report, as with the Commission report, did not acknowledge Traveller culture, and this was reflected in educational provision. Traveller children never saw themselves or their lives reflected in their classrooms.

In conclusion, the *EFCI Report (1970)* carried the same message as the *CI Report (1963)*. Travellers, because of their nomadism, were regarded as not doing their duty by their children educationally. The view was that Travellers needed to be socialised and that, through education, they would be absorbed into settled society. Travellers had good reason to be suspicious of the government's actions on this. Plans were made to deny them their identity and their way of life. Also, parents who complied with the authorities and sent their children to school with expectations that they

were being educated often found that these expectations were not justified. This was shown by continued poor educational outcomes for Traveller children in the decades following this report.

Report of the Travelling People Review Body, 1983 (*RB Report, 1983*)

The next document under consideration is the *Report of the Travelling People Review Body* (*RB Report, 1983*). The *Travelling People Review Body* was established "to review current policies and services for the travelling people and to make recommendations to improve the existing situation" (Government of Ireland, 1983, p. 1). Representing a shift towards the recognition of Travellers, for the first time, there were a number of Travellers and representatives of Traveller organisations on the Review Body. The terms of reference further highlighted this new inclusivity. The Review Body was asked to examine a number of issues, including the needs of Travellers who wished to continue the nomadic way of life, the organisational arrangements to ensure that Travellers were represented in decision-making affecting them at local and national levels, and the way in which barriers of mistrust between the settled and travelling communities could be broken down and mutual respect for each other's way of life increased. In setting out the context for the report, the Review Body noted the many changes in Ireland since 1963. Ireland had experienced "economic and social change of a kind and at a pace never previously experienced" (Government of Ireland, 1983, p. 17). Significant educational change occurred within this context. The 1960s saw the introduction of state grants for secondary schools, the setting up of comprehensive schools and "free" secondary education. Such changes were "reflective of the new economic, political and social forces that were to steer the education system in new directions for the following decades" (Akenson, Farren, & Coolahan, 2010, p. 730).

Despite such change, the economic and educational benefits accruing to the settled community were not evident among Travellers. The *RB Report (1983)* stated that Travellers were "receiving diminishing consideration" and that there were "still too many families living in deplorable conditions" (Government of Ireland, 1983, p. 17). Representing a shift towards partnership, consensualism and meritocracy, this report represented a change in perspective from that of the *CI Report (1963)*. Concepts

such as "absorption, settlement, assimilation and rehabilitation were no longer acceptable and were rejected in this report" (O'Connell, 2002, p. 50).

Change in Terminology and Perspective

The evolution of policy and perspective was evident throughout the *RB Report (1983)* from its definitional terms to its aspirational goals for Travellers and their future. For example, it used the term "Traveller" instead of "itinerant", which had been used in the *CI Report (1963)*. The *RB Report (1983)* also developed a descriptive definition of Travellers: "They are an identifiable group of people, identified both by themselves and by other members of the community … as people with their own distinctive lifestyle, traditionally of a nomadic nature, but not now habitual wanderers. They have needs, wants and values which are different in some ways from those of the settled community" (Government of Ireland, 1983, p. 6). Crowley (1999) claimed that this description would suggest an ethnic status for Travellers, though he noted that the Review Body did not go that far, "partly because they saw cultural difference as a focus for individual choice rather than collective rights" (Crowley, 1999, p. 247).

Integration

In contrast with earlier perspectives of absorption and assimilation, integration was the long-term goal of the *RB Report (1983)*, although it regarded this as an option to be taken by individual Travellers, rather than by Travellers as a whole. It was perceived that some Travellers would opt for total integration, while others would wish to "continue the Traveller lifestyle" (Government of Ireland, 1983, p. 7) while adjusting to changed conditions. Still others would adopt many elements of the lifestyle of the settled community while retaining Traveller traditions.

The *RB Report (1983)* stated that the term "Traveller" designated membership of a group, rather than a description of nomadic behaviour, so that abandonment of the nomadic way of life did not entail renunciation of membership of the Traveller community. It also stated explicitly that the wishes of Travellers who wanted to remain on the road must be accommodated and "serviced sites must be provided to allow them to continue that form of life with such dignity and comfort as it allows"

(Government of Ireland, 1983, p. 15). While the *RB Report (1983)* presented a more positive outlook towards Travellers than the *CI Report (1963),* Travellers' nomadism was still regarded with suspicion.

In line with previous reports, the *RB Report (1983)* stated that Travellers who were not housed could not hope to receive an adequate education. Christie (2004, p. 154) suggested that the Review Body viewed Travellers "as individuals who have similar needs to any other Irish citizen that are most effectively met through integration in the settled community" and that it viewed Traveller difference as "a product of disadvantage and poverty that can be left behind only by adopting settled ways of life". This view received further support in the recommendation that "newlywed couples should be considered extra sympathetically for housing to lessen the risks of *regression* to a travelling way of life" (Government of Ireland, 1983, p. 45, italics not in original). It is difficult to read this as anything other than that Travellers were being invited to abandon the kernel of their identity.

Education

The overall goal in the *RB Report (1983)* in relation to education was that each Traveller child would be "educated to the level of his/her ability and aptitude" (Government of Ireland, 1983, p. 62). The *RB Report (1983),* however, noted that only 10 per cent of Traveller children remained on at school after the age of 12 and that Traveller parents considered their children to be adults at that age. It stated that these 12- to 15-year olds should be persuaded "that education has something worthwhile to offer them—more worthwhile than the freedom of their lives outside school" (Government of Ireland, 1983, p. 68).

Policy evolution notwithstanding, earlier deficit accounts of Travellers prevailed. The report suggested teacher contact with parents so that "teachers may know what are the particular home problems of the child" (Government of Ireland, 1983, p. 65). There was also mention of extra classes to "compensate for deprivation" (Government of Ireland, 1983, p. 65) in the child's background. Family circumstances and home environment seem to have been envisaged only as a source of deprivation and not in any positive manner. The *RB Report (1983)* noted the appointment of a visiting teacher in Galway and Dublin, on a pilot basis and called for more such appointments. The report was supportive of special education for Traveller children—in special classes and special schools—since a

majority of Traveller children did not come from "reasonably normal home conditions" and did not attend school "with reasonable regularity" (Government of Ireland, 1983, p. 65). It insisted, however, that "special classes should be seen as an interim measure rather than as a permanent feature of Traveller education" (Government of Ireland 1983, p. 67).

Parents and Traveller Preschools

The *RB Report (1983)* sought an expansion of the number of Traveller preschools, from the 30 then existing, to "cater for all who are able to avail of preschool education" (Government of Ireland, 1983, p. 64). Traveller children were perceived as lacking the ability to participate in ordinary classes because of their "social deprivation" (Government of Ireland, 1983, p. 64) and they needed at least a year in preschool to help to counteract this. Such perspectives were in line with ideas of compensatory education. Compensatory education programmes were introduced in the 1960s to "compensate" for perceived disadvantages in marginalised populations through the addition of expanded and improved educational programmes for families in poverty. Such programmes were seen as means of providing the cultural capital perceived as absent in certain families in the community. This coincided with and was most likely informed by the expansion of preschool programmes such as Head Start in the United States and the Rutland Street project in Ireland. Compensatory education approaches to Travellers and education derived from "individual and cultural 'deficit' texts on educability in the 1960s" (O'Sullivan, 2005, p. 396). Criticisms of cultural deprivation theories have been well rehearsed and contrast with later educational approaches when the "discourse … shifted to one in which ethnicity (was) the central organising concept" (O'Sullivan, 2005, p. 396).

Report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community, 1995 (*TF Report, 1995*)

The next document under analysis is the *Report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community (1995)* (*TF Report, 1995*). The 1990s initiated a period of vigorous debate, analysis and policy development in Irish education, and this analysis was complemented by a more focused analysis of separate elements of the system. Traveller children continued to represent

a disproportionate number of those educationally disadvantaged, with about 5000 Traveller children attending primary schools and 1178 attending secondary schools (Clancy, 2005).

In line with the dominant political paradigms of the time, namely, the partnership process, membership of the Task Force included a number of Travellers and representatives of Traveller organisations. There were fewer representatives from the voluntary sector on the Task Force compared with the earlier review groups. This reflected a shift in focus from a welfare approach to a rights-based approach inspired by a partnership process (Fanning, 2002). A consideration of this report should be placed in the context of other developments at the time. The concept of partnership had been a major feature of national discourse since the social partnership agreements of the late 1980s and early 1990s. The concept of social partnership was being extended, leading in the year after this report, to the inclusion of the social and community pillar in the partnership process (Larragy, 2006).

Government had begun to see a greater role for citizens in relation to decisions which affected them. For example, the *White Paper on Education: Charting our Education Future* (Department of Education, 1995) stressed parental rights and duties in relation to their children's education. The *TF Report (1995)* sought, according to one of its terms of reference, "to explore the possibilities of developing mechanisms to enable Travellers to participate and contribute to decisions affecting their lifestyle and environment" (Government of Ireland, 1995, p. 10). According to the Task Force, Traveller parents played a fundamental role in their children's educational development, and should be encouraged and assisted in this role at all stages, from preschool to secondary. The *TF Report (1995)* encouraged Traveller parents to take responsibility for their children's education. Of the 341 recommendations in the *TF Report (1995)*, 167 were in the area of education.

Recognition of Traveller Culture

Whereas previous reports had regarded Traveller culture as a subculture of poverty that prevented Travellers from assimilating with the settled community, policy evolution was evident in the *TF Report (1995)*. It stated that mutual understanding and respect could be brought about by increased contact between Travellers and the settled community, which in

turn should lead to a better understanding of Traveller culture and an appreciation of what cultural diversity brings to society.

In relation to nomadism, the dominant theme of the *TF Report (1995)* was one of accepting its importance and legitimacy. Nomadism was seen a key part of Traveller culture, and it recommended "that the distinct culture and identity of the Traveller Community be recognised" (Government of Ireland, 1995, p. 76). The report, however, still contained a minority report that was explicitly anti-nomadic, and one that continued to pathologise travelling (Donahue et al., 2005).

The *TF Report (1995)* referred to the growth in the number of Traveller organisations in the decade prior to the report, and to the increased recognition of concepts of culture, ethnicity, racism and discrimination in debate concerning the situation of Travellers. This recognition of the importance of culture, it suggested, had resulted in a redefinition of the Traveller situation in terms of cultural rights rather than being seen merely as a poverty issue. In a preface, Task Force Chairperson, Senator Mary Kelly, referred to Travellers as "being seen as passive members of Irish society" for too long and she indicated that the report's recommendations would allow Travellers greater participation in society (Government of Ireland, 1995, p. 6). This perceived passivity of the Traveller community was reflected in several previous decades of education policy, most evident in the paternalistic role the state adopted towards Travellers since the 1960s.

Equality of Opportunity

One of the guiding principles and recommendations of the *TF Report (1995)* was that equality of opportunity must exist in order to ensure that Travellers have access to all forms of education. The Task Force report noted Drudy and Lynch's (1993) criticism that liberal concepts of equality may identify the individual as the problem, whereas public policy may be the reason for lack of participation. It quoted their claim that "there can be no real equality of opportunity in education without equality in people's economic, political and personal circumstances, otherwise, there are simply too many barriers for those without resources to pass through" (Drudy & Lynch, 1993, p. 32). The Task Force affirmed that Traveller children, as with all other children, have a right to appropriate and adequate education. This proposal echoed Article 42 of the Irish Constitution

(Bunreacht na hÉireann, 1937) and Article 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989).

School Attendance

The *TF Report (1995)* acknowledged that "despite a significant improvement in recent years", lack of regular school attendance was a problem for Traveller children (Government of Ireland, 1995, p. 55). Despite legislation on school attendance, many Traveller children were not regular attenders. The CI *Report (1963)* had noted difficulties with enforcing attendance for Traveller children whose parents travelled for economic reasons. The Task Force noted that school attendance remained a problem within the Traveller community. It endorsed the recommendations of a Department of Education working group on school attendance and truancy (1994), and it called for implementation to be placed "firmly and sensitively in the context of the human rights of the child" (Department of Education, 1995, p. 155). The working group on school attendance and truancy had developed its recommendations in the context of the right of each person to develop his or her potential through education. It had explicitly stated that any legislation or services on school attendance "should apply equally to the children of the travelling community, having regard to their particular social circumstances, so as to ensure continuity of their education" (Department of Education, 1994, p. 16). The *TF Report (1995)* supported a strategy which had been adopted in Galway to improve attendance, and which had involved a team approach including the visiting teacher for Travellers, members of the Gardaí and others at the community level (Government of Ireland, 1995). However, Traveller representatives were not included as part of that team.

Parental Involvement in Schooling

The role afforded to parents in the education system underwent fundamental change from the 1970s onwards in Ireland. Parents had moved from a limited role in the formal education system to one where the principle of partnership had become firmly embedded in the educational landscape by the last decades of the twentieth century. Schemes to promote parental involvement, targeted at all parents, were introduced at a whole-system level as well as initiatives aimed at combating educational disadvantage and promoting inclusion (McGiolla Phádraig, 2010).

Indicative of notions of inclusivity, parental voice and partnership, the *TF Report (1995)* called for increased involvement of Traveller parents in education, and outlined a range of areas in which to promote involvement. Of particular importance were accessible communication methods. It noted that some parents' lack of literacy and unfamiliarity with the language of the school could be an obstacle to communication and participation. It referred to homework programmes that assisted Traveller children with their homework and stated that such programmes could provide an opportunity for parents to become more involved with their children's schooling. However, it cautioned that without parental involvement, such programmes could lead to a further removal of Traveller parents from their children's education. The Task Force also recommended that non-Travellers involved in such programmes should be adequately trained to ensure sensitivity to Traveller culture.

At a formal level, the *TF Report (1995)* had a range of proposals for parental involvement including as childcare workers in classrooms, members of committees in schools (thus contributing to decision-making), members of Boards of Management and parent bodies and it also called for the National Parents Council to include Traveller representatives among its membership. While acknowledging the value of these recommendations, there were likely to have been difficulties for Traveller parents in these. These structures belonged to the majority population, and Travellers might not possess the appropriate cultural capital to engage with them successfully. They were made up of rules and regulations familiar to the majority population, and especially to higher social-class categories.

The Visiting Teacher Service for Travellers

Among the parental involvement initiatives targeted at members of the Traveller community was the Visiting Teacher Service for Travellers (VTST). The VTST was set up in 1980 to meet the particular needs of the Traveller community. Part of the remit of the VTST was to help Traveller parents to engage effectively with schools whilst complying with school attendance regulations. The *TF Report (1995)* recognised the important role of the visiting teacher for Travellers in encouraging Traveller parents to send their children to preschool, primary school and second-level school. The *TF Report (1995)* recommended that each Traveller family should deal only with one visiting teacher, regardless of whether their

children were attending primary or second-level schooling. This would allow families and their visiting teacher to develop better relationships than if the family had to deal with several visiting teachers for children attending different schools.

The *TF Report (1995)* recommended that parents should get involved in whatever way they could in the schools, so that contact would not be limited to when problems arose. It recommended that, should problems arise in the education of the Traveller children in the school, the visiting teacher should be informed. The visiting teacher should then inform the parents and encourage them to deal directly with the school. The report noted that the lack of parental involvement was seen in the low level of knowledge that Traveller parents appeared to have regarding the children's schooling. It noted that Traveller parents who might lack knowledge in school subjects may feel embarrassed, which could be a barrier to communication with teachers.

Intercultural Focus

The evolving policy, one which recognised interculturalism, and recommended specific curricular and relational actions, can be understood on a continuum from absorption to inclusion, with interculturalism quite far along this continuum. The *TF Report (1995)* mentioned the assimilationist approach previously taken by the Department of Education, where minorities, including Travellers, were seen as belonging to deficit cultures. It was believed that absorption into the majority population would improve their circumstances. It also referred to an integrationist approach which acknowledged the need for support for minorities. However, this was to allow them to integrate into the majority and create a homogeneous society.

Although the report does not say so, these approaches can be seen to correspond roughly to the positions in the *CI Report (1963)* and the *RB Report (1983)*, respectively. Both of these approaches were based on the perspective of the majority, which did not recognise the validity of Traveller culture. The *TF Report (1995)* recommended an intercultural focus on the curriculum for schools, where experiences of minorities would be presented accurately and positively, and in such a way as to avoid focusing on exotic customs and practices of Travellers and other minority groups. It recommended that texts should be monitored to avoid ethnocentric and racist interpretations. It stated that research showed negative and racist

attitudes were formed at an early age and that the curriculum needed to address this. An addendum to the Task Force report signed by four non-Traveller members portrayed Travellers, as in previous reports, as being responsible for the disadvantage that they experience and also explicitly rejected Traveller nomadism. This minority report demonstrated that earlier views had continued to exist, although their influence on the Task Force was weak.

Implementation of Task Force Recommendations

It may be argued that the 1990s represented a high water mark in the evolution of policy towards inclusion and equality. Significantly, it was the decade in which groundbreaking equality legislation in relation to Travellers was introduced in Ireland. It has been clear for some decades now that legislation is a particularly effective tool in reducing systemic discrimination against women and minority groups and in effecting real change (e.g., Hanmer et al., 1995). Equality as a concept underpinning policy on Travellers was perhaps most evident in legislation enacted from the mid-1990s onwards, when membership of the Travelling Community was included as one of the nine "equality grounds" on which it was illegal to discriminate. The Employment Equality Acts 1998–2015 prohibit discrimination in the employment-related areas of: recruitment; promotion; pay; working conditions; training or experience; dismissal and harassment, including sexual harassment. The Equal Status Acts 2000–2015 prohibit discrimination in the provision of goods and services (including accommodation and education), whether in the public or private sector, on any of the nine "equality grounds" (Watson et al., 2017).

The *TF Report (1995)* was indicative of this high water mark, representing a change in the way Travellers were regarded, due in some measure to the inclusion of Traveller members on the Task Force. The need for an intercultural approach to education based on human rights was put forward as an alternative to previous models. A committee was established by the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform to monitor and coordinate the implementation of the recommendations of the Task Force. This committee issued two progress reports, in 2000 and 2005. The first progress report (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 2000) presented a detailed review of progress to date with respect to each of the recommendations.

It also reported on the establishment of the government-funded Citizen Traveller campaign, a communications programme which sought "to address the underlying causes of mistrust between Travellers and the settled community and to promote a greater understanding between both communities" (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 2000, p. 28). The first progress report proposed the establishment of an educational strategy to ensure that services to Travellers were managed in a coordinated and integrated manner. By the time the second progress report (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 2005) was issued, a Joint Working Group had been established to develop the Traveller Education Strategy, details of which are discussed in section *Report and Recommendations for a Traveller Education Strategy, 2006 (TES, 2006)* below. The second report also mentioned the completion of the *Preschools for Travellers: National Evaluation Report* (Department of Education and Science, 2003), which is considered in the section *Preschools for Travellers: National Evaluation Report, 2003 (NE Report, 2003)*" below. It also reported on the issuing of guidelines on Traveller Education in both primary and second-level schools (Department of Education and Science, 2002a, 2002b) and the issuing of a report on *Intercultural Education in the Primary School* (NCCA, 2005).

The progress reports gave grounds for optimism in many respects. However, Crowley (1999) claimed that while policy making in the second half of the 1990s was informed by the *TF Report (1995)*, policy implementation continued to be informed by the thinking of the *CI Report (1963)* and the *RB Report (1983)*. In a wide-ranging critique, McVeigh (2007, p. 91) also suggested a resurgence of anti-Travellerism in Ireland and a "disturbing recrudescence" of assimilationist ideas and practices in state policies towards Travellers, noting several aspects of government decision-making.

First, in Section 24 of the Housing Act 2002, the government criminalised trespass, a measure which McVeigh (2007) stressed was directly aimed at criminalising Traveller nomadism and which O'Connell (2006) described as an exercise in non-consultation. Second, when the Citizen Traveller campaign objected to this Housing Act, drawing attention to its implications for Travellers, the government responded by winding up the Citizen Traveller project. Third, the government removed equality cases involving licensed premises from the Equality Tribunal, thereby eliminating one avenue of redress that was open to Travellers who had experienced discrimination.

The ongoing refusal of the government to recognise Travellers as an ethnic group was also seen by some to impede Travellers' struggle for recognition (McVeigh, 2007). The Irish Traveller Movement had been campaigning for such recognition since the 1980s, a campaign supported by groups such as Amnesty International, the Equality Authority and the National Consultative Committee for Racism and Interculturalism. For McVeigh (2007), the denial of ethnic status was necessary because, without it, the basis on which Traveller "cultural difference" should be respected and recognised was unclear. He saw in this the potential for a return of assimilationist policies. Ethnic status was not, however, unproblematic. Brandi (2013) explores how "Traveller ethnicity" has been "introduced, embraced, promoted and contested within Traveller politics to the point of becoming a hotly debated and divisive issue among Traveller activists and at the heart of the community itself" (Brandi, 2013, p. 1). Travellers were formally recognised as a distinct ethnic group within the Irish State in 2017.

Preschools for Travellers: National Evaluation Report, 2003 (*NE Report, 2003*)

The next section of this chapter considers the *Preschools for Travellers: National Evaluation Report (2003)* (*NE Report 2003*). The *TF Report (1995)* recommended that an evaluation of Traveller preschools be carried out. In 2000, the Inspectorate of the Department of Education and Science selected a sample of 23 Traveller preschools, from a total of 52 in the country, for evaluation. Since the 1960s, voluntary committees set up preschools for Traveller children with a view to reducing the educational disadvantage that they experience within the education system (Boyle, 1995).

Management of the Preschools

The *NE Report (2003)* showed that, while most preschools had a management structure, these structures varied widely from one preschool to the next. The evaluation found that representation of Travellers in the management of the preschools was not universal. Some preschools indicated that Traveller parents were on their management committees, but a number of committees did not have any Traveller members. In some instances,

the childcare worker, who was a Traveller, was on the management committee. While the *NE Report (2003)* claimed that their involvement helped to ensure Traveller representation on the management of the preschools, it recommended that Traveller parents should be specifically included to ensure that their interests were represented.

Evolving practice in an Irish context was supported by international agencies. For example, an OECD report (2004) argued for further involvement of the Traveller community and the families of the children, in line with "good practice" in this field. The *NE Report (2003)* recommended that guidelines be drawn up and published detailing the composition, establishment, duties and operations of the management committees for Traveller preschools. Representatives of the Traveller parents, among others, should be consulted in the development of these guidelines, it said.

Location of Preschool

Traveller preschools were located mainly in urban areas, where large numbers of Travellers resided. When raising the prospect of integration, the *NE Report (2003)* suggested that a preschool based in a halting site could not facilitate this. Inspectors' reports of the time suggested advantages where preschools and primary schools worked closely together. The *NE Report (2003)* suggested that the location of the preschool could have an influence on the links that needed to be fostered between Traveller parents and mainstream schools. Caution was urged in the designation of space in schools lest the classroom had been used as a segregated classroom in the past and might hold negative memories for parents.

The *NE Report (2003)* recommended that, where feasible, consideration should be given to establishing preschools in, or adjacent to, primary schools in order to foster closer links between the Traveller Community and mainstream schools and that vacant classrooms should be used to accommodate Traveller preschools. It recognised that these proposals depended on the goodwill and cooperation of patrons and Boards of Management of these schools. Primary school Boards of Management did not have to accept a preschool on their premises.

Parental Involvement

The Department of Education and Science had already highlighted in the *White Paper on Early Childhood Education* (1999) the value it placed on

parental involvement. Specifically in relation to Traveller preschools, the White Paper said that "Traveller parents should be encouraged and empowered to become involved in the management and administration of Traveller preschools" (Department of Education and Science, 1999, p. 105). Despite the evolution in policy, practice on the ground changed very slowly, if at all. The *NE Report (2003)* noted that while many of the preschools claimed to have an open door policy, few reported structured policies for encouraging parental involvement in the classroom. The most frequent contact was when parents dropped off or collected their children. There were only a few examples of parents on management committees and no examples of parental involvement in curriculum development. The report stated that this was not surprising, "given the acute difficulties that have been experienced in encouraging parents from marginalised groups to participate in the work of school communities" (Department of Education and Science, 2003, p. 66).

The *NE Report (2003)* claimed that the management personnel in preschools were conscious of the need to develop links between parents and preschools. Some preschools did endeavour to foster links and some of the mechanisms used were as follows: information nights, open days, school concerts, newsletters and meetings. Such activities represent very limited forms of parental involvement, commonly found among "peripheral parents" (Hanafin & Lynch, 2002), and may be defined as safe or "sanctioned" parental involvement, involving "particular bounded tasks that do not relate directly to a teacher's professional duties", or have "little chance of damaging traditional notions of teacher professionalism" (Bennett, 2015, p. 39).

The *NE Report (2003)* recommended that each preschool, in consultation with parents, develop policies to encourage parental involvement. These policies should involve a range of mechanisms and be sensitive to Traveller culture. The preschool premises should be used for other educational and community activities, where appropriate. Also, parents should be facilitated to engage directly with the education services rather than relying on support structures. It also recommended that the practice of some teachers in Traveller preschools of visiting homes establishing direct personal links with parents and encouraging parental involvement be recognised and built upon. No resources or guidance were ever provided to develop such links. The concepts underpinning home visits have not been problematised in terms of individual rights to privacy in their own homes, although privacy rights and their intersection with parents, children and

schools are in the early stages of investigation in the educational literature (Hanafin, O'Donoghue, Flynn, & Shevlin, 2010).

Curriculum

The *NE Report (2003)* stated that experienced practitioners in preschool education and in the education of Travellers, as well as Traveller parents, should be among the groups involved in the development of curriculum guidelines. It suggested that Traveller culture as well as other cultures in the community should be reflected in the choice of curriculum.

This evaluation, therefore, represented a significant move towards a more inclusive paradigm. Nonetheless, there were no parent representatives on the steering committee, which would have been expected in view of the importance that has been placed on partnership with parents both in this report and in the more recent of the earlier reports.

Report and Recommendations for a Traveller Education Strategy, 2006 (*TES, 2006*)

Since the 1970s, resources and initiatives had been developed with targeted support for Traveller children. Despite this (and with almost full participation at primary level), Travellers continued to experience disadvantage throughout the education system, with the vast majority leaving post-primary schools early, and without qualifications (Department of Education and Science).

Significant change took place in the population structure in Ireland in the period between the publication of the *TF Report (1995)* and the publication of the *Report and Recommendations for a Traveller Education Strategy* (Department of Education and Science, 2006). Throughout its history, the Irish State had traditionally experienced net outward migration, with only a very small proportion of the population coming from other countries. The "Celtic Tiger" economy, combined with the expansion of the EU, led to a reversal of this trend. At the time that the *Traveller Education Strategy* was developed there were more nationalities and ethnic groups represented in the population than ever before. Elements of this changed context included an enlarged EU, large numbers in the labour force from outside the EU and an increasing number of refugees and asylum seekers.

Again, national policy evolved in response to international events. Broader societal changes brought the issue of ethnic and cultural diversity to the forefront of national policy. The increased cultural diversity created a new context for the struggle by Travellers for cultural recognition, the implications of which are difficult to discern. Increased appreciation of diversity and the increased use of intercultural practices within schools might lead to improved outcomes for Traveller children. However, there have been criticisms of the approach to cultural diversity in school at the time (Bryan, 2010; Kitching, 2010), with claims that it had negative consequences for minority students, particularly for those least endowed with the cultural capital valued by the school.

It was against this background that the *Report and Recommendations for a Traveller Education Strategy (TES, 2006)* proposed major changes in educational provision for Travellers which, if implemented, could significantly change the way Travellers experience education. Although the *TES (2006)* covered all levels of education, the focus here is on two areas in particular: parents and education (Chap. 4) and early childhood education (Chap. 5), as both areas highlight notable policy shifts across a range of areas. The report recognised the additional difficulties for Traveller parents, and indeed the privilege enjoyed by settled parents compared with Traveller parents. There was a specific emphasis on meeting the needs of Traveller parents, including them in all aspects of school life, and getting them involved in representative structures (Department of Education and Science, 2006).

There was an emphasis on early childhood education, on the recognition of difficulties faced by Travellers in education and the importance of measures in the early years to make education more inclusive for Travellers. These included a recognition of racism and the potential for addressing it in early years' education; the employment of Travellers in early years' education; and the non-segregation of Traveller preschool education.

Core Values

Core values underpinning the *TES (2006)* included a focus on the rights of the Traveller child and on the role of parents. The report called for Travellers to be included in the mainstream education system in a way that respected their culture, including nomadism. It acknowledged that this would require equipping mainstream services to deal with diversity in a

way that was “accessible, relevant, welcoming and competent to include Travellers in appropriate ways” (Department of Education and Science, 2006, p. 10). Evident here is a shift from focusing on individual change to systemic or institutional change.

Concepts of equality and inclusion were also central to the *TES (2006)*. The report focused on equality of access, participation and outcomes. This focus on outcomes was important, since increased participation by Travellers in education had not delivered satisfactory outcomes, as demonstrated in the *Survey of Traveller Education Provision* (Department of Education and Science, 2005) where it was noted that, despite the almost full participation of Travellers in primary education, a majority still experienced low levels of achievement in literacy and numeracy.

Inclusion was understood as the integration of Travellers into mainstream education provision, sharing accommodation and other physical resources with non-Traveller learners, and with these resources being provided on the basis of identified need. This reflected developments which had been underway for the past few years, moving away from the separate provision for Travellers which had been common in the past, and which had been a source of resentment for many (Boyle, 2006).

The *TES (2006)* sought an end to separate Traveller provision in education, to be replaced by inclusive provision in integrated mainstream services. Inclusive provision, it was claimed, would help to avoid creating dependency and isolation and would promote “interactive and interdependent engagement with the mainstream service” (Department of Education and Science, 2006, p. 9). Each educational setting would be required to include the “reality, needs, aspirations, validation of culture and life experiences of Travellers in planning the curriculum and in the day-to-day life” (Department of Education and Science, 2006, p. 10).

An implication of the call for inclusion and equality was that all staff development for school personnel should be informed by these principles, and that all involved in education should have an understanding of anti-discrimination and interculturalism. A further implication was the recognition of diversity within the Traveller community, absent from earlier policies, again indicative of policy progression. For example, Travellers with disabilities and their parents, it was held, needed to be affirmed and supported and all Travellers should be able to experience education in a way that accepts and validates their identity while recognising their particular individual needs. Recent constructs of diversity and inclusion have

acknowledged heterogeneity within populations, highlighting not just inter-population differences but also intra-population ones.

The core values of the *TES (2006)* stressed the role of parents and the need for partnership and inclusion in the education system. Although the goals were admirable, much work clearly remained to be done to acknowledge Traveller culture within the education system generally, and to establish meaningful partnerships with Traveller parents. In the absence of such partnerships, there is a danger that policies which are intended to be inclusive may not in practice acknowledge or respect Traveller culture and may instead foster a renewed assimilationism, of the type mentioned by McVeigh (2007). The proposals in relation to early childhood education were dependent upon major changes in the overall provision of services in this area.

Traveller Parents

The benefits of parental involvement in education have been well established. For example, Jeynes (2005) demonstrated in meta-analyses the benefits of parental involvement in primary and second-level education, and there is widespread agreement that parental involvement is a key element in addressing educational difficulties faced by Travellers (Department of Education, 2003, 2005).

In addressing the need for parental involvement in education it was deemed important to recognise the many challenges that Traveller parents faced. Noting that 9 per cent of Travellers lived in unauthorised sites, the *TES (2006)* pointed out that living without access to basic services and being under threat of eviction could have a negative impact on a Traveller child's education. It suggested that parents' capacity to engage with education could depend on such factors as their own educational and socio-economic background as well as, for many, "their negative experience in school, illiteracy and the widespread experience of exclusion" (Department of Education and Science, 2006, p. 22).

Perhaps most illuminating in the *TES (2006)* was the implied acknowledgement of the "privilege" (see McIntosh, 1989) that has accrued to settled parents and their children, with a recognition that "many traveller parents feel that they cannot take for granted things that settled people generally do not even have to consider" (Department of Education and Science, 2006, p. 22). We suggest that this idea of "Settled Privilege" be

given further research attention with a view to understanding not only how Travellers occupy the periphery but also how settled people occupy more favoured positions, particularly in the education arena. It also suggested that Traveller parents could not assume that their children would be treated fairly and respectfully in schools.

The *Survey of Traveller Education Provision* (Department of Education and Science, 2005) reported that most Traveller parents had high expectations for their children in the education system; more than half expressed concern about the attainment levels of their children, particularly in the area of literacy and numeracy, and were disappointed that their children were falling behind the other pupils in the class. They were anxious that their children should benefit from a good education, and they expressed the desire to gain more information on ways to support their children in achieving their potential.

The *TES (2006)* also recommended that Traveller parents should be encouraged and supported to participate in representative structures. Although desirable, representation needed to be meaningful and these structures needed to be examined to see how they operated and ensured that representatives could influence policy. Hanafin and Lynch (2002) noted that the role of working-class parent representatives was quite limited. Members of parents' councils reported that "once they became involved in the council, they found that their role was less influential regarding policy and decision-making than they had first thought" (Hanafin & Lynch, 2002, p. 42). Parents' perceptions of Boards of Management, likewise, were that "membership as a parent didn't involve any opportunity to influence school policy" (Hanafin & Lynch, 2002, p. 43).

Although proposals for parents in the *TES (2006)* were positive, one could argue that they were based on an overly benign view of the education system. Parents were rightly urged to acquire "greater understanding of the value of education and of the education system" (Department of Education and Science, 2006, p. 27), but this needed to be a critical understanding, in which parents would develop an awareness of how educational structures and practices could sometimes create obstacles to their children's progress in school, and it should be complemented by a call on the education system to also consider the same issue. In this context, proposals for schools to facilitate dialogue with parents were welcomed. The *TES (2006)* recommended that schools provide a positive environment for

Traveller parents, who should be "invited and encouraged to partake in all aspects of school life" (Department of Education and Science, 2006, p. 26).

The *TES (2006)* called for the education system "to continue to evolve into an inclusive system that welcomes diversity in all its forms" (Department of Education and Science, 2006, p. 27). It recommended that teachers receive training and development in the areas of equality and diversity, a call which was echoed in the *Survey of Traveller Education Provision in Irish Schools* (Department of Education, 2005, p. 83) which claimed that schools needed support and training in the area of intercultural education. Many schools were uncertain about how to incorporate Traveller culture in the school curriculum and environment and reported that Traveller parents themselves expressed conflicting views about presenting Traveller culturein the school setting (Department of Education, 2005).

This highlighted a dilemma for Traveller parents (and the paradoxical complexity of inclusive educational policies), who might have felt it was easier if their children were not identified as Travellers, thus denying their identity. Negative behaviour towards Gypsy and Traveller pupils is one of the reasons why many pupils from these communities are unwilling to disclose their identity (Bhopal, 2011). In a related vein, O'Hanlon and Holmes (2004, p. 31) claimed that, "for the most part, Gypsy and Traveller children who have succeeded in school and adult learning have done so mainly by denying their identity and presenting as members of the mainstream community, for fear of hostility, prejudice and rejection." They note that this also denies positive role models to other Gypsies and Travellers in the community.

Subsequent Developments

Perhaps the most significant factor influencing policy and practice in Traveller education subsequent to the publication of the *TES (2006)* was financial. The collapse in government finances following economic crisis and the bank failures of 2008 led to many significant changes. Funding for Traveller-related interventions was disproportionately affected, with Pavee Point (2013) estimating that spending on targeted educational interventions for Travellers fell by 86 per cent. Indicative of the fragility of policy in relation to marginalised groups such as Travellers was the withdrawal of

funding for Traveller preschools, which led to their closure in 2011. Funding was also withdrawn for the visiting teacher service and for resource teachers for Travellers.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed Irish State documents on Travellers over five decades. These have ranged from the *Report of the Commission on Itinerancy* (Government of Ireland, 1963) to the *Report and Recommendations for a Traveller Education Strategy* (Department of Education and Science, 2006). The documents demonstrate an evolution in official attitudes towards the Traveller community. In the 1960s and 1970s, Ireland was emerging from a society dominated by Catholic Church teaching, evidenced by the principle of subsidiarity seen in earlier reports, and was becoming a modern welfare state, a process that continued with Ireland's accession to the EEC in 1973. In the early reports (Department of Education, 1970; Government of Ireland, 1963), Travellers were seen as a people in deficit—a community of dropouts and deviants—and their culture was not perceived to have any validity or importance. Later documents (Department of Education and Science, 2003, 2006; Government of Ireland, 1983, 1995) demonstrated a growing recognition of Traveller culture and a determination to address issues concerning the education of Travellers in a spirit of interculturalism and inclusion.

This evolution in attitudes was matched by parallel developments in state policies. The Commission on Itinerancy had seen a solution to the "itinerant problem" in assimilationist policies and a paternalistic approach. By the time of the *Report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community (1995)*, concepts of partnership and participation had come to the fore and it was recognised that Travellers had a right to be involved in decisions that affected them. One recommendation of the *TF Report (1995)* was that Traveller parents should become involved in their children's schools. The *Preschools for Travellers: National Evaluation Report (2003)* recorded various efforts by teachers to involve parents in the Traveller preschools, although most preschools did not have explicit policies on parental involvement. It recommended that such policies be developed, although it did not address the resourcing implications of its recommendations.

The *Report and Recommendations for the Travellers' Education Strategy (2006)* sought an end to separate provision for Travellers in education, including in preschool education. It called for Traveller preschools to be amalgamated with other services to provide inclusive anti-racist integrated preschool education, in settings where Traveller culture is respected and validated. It also called for increased involvement of Traveller parents in their children's education. These are worthy objectives; however, much work remains to be done to acknowledge Traveller culture within the education system, and, indeed, within Irish society generally, and to establish meaningful partnerships with parents within preschool education. We agree with Kitching (2010, p. 213) that "supporting 'integration' and 'anti-racism' in Irish education might require conceptual and political vigilance of the terms of the 'inclusive state' at all times."

There is also a concern that the aspiration for inclusion may, if not properly planned and resourced, lead to a new form of assimilationism. Ethnic-blind policies have led to massive reductions in education spending targeted at, or affecting, the Traveller community. This analysis highlights the importance of taking cognisance of context when attempting to provide cultural capital for minority cultural groups, and it is hoped that it will be instructive for those engaged in similar and related work with cultural minorities internationally.

While this analysis of government policy documents has shown progression in stated policy, this progression appears to have been fuelled by changing policy paradigms in the broader social context rather than by any fundamental change in popular attitudes and systemic practices. Stated policy is necessarily limited in how it helps us to understand the bigger picture. Other recent analyses have raised many concerns about the disconnect between policy paradigms, systemic practices and the lived realities of Travellers' lives (Kenny & McNeela, 2006; Lentin & McVeigh, 2002; Mac Gréil, 2010; McDonagh, 2002).

Various initiatives have failed to eliminate or even to substantially weaken anti-Traveller prejudice among the majority settled population, and have failed to enable Travellers achieve inclusion in Irish society (Kenny & McNeela, 2006, p. 2). Compared with other ethnic minorities in Ireland, negative attitudes are most prevalent with respect to Travellers (Tormey & Gleeson, 2012). Findings from Mac Gréil over several decades (1977, 1996, 2010) show some nominal improvements in positive attitudes towards Travellers but also an increase in negative attitudes (e.g., almost one in five would deny Travellers citizenship and four out of five would be reluctant to

buy a house next door to a Traveller), pointing to a growing polarisation of public attitudes towards Travellers (Mac Gréil, 2010).

Nomadism continues to be the element of Traveller identity which is identified as being most problematic for settled people in general and the state in particular (Donahue et al., 2005). Though, as Kenny and McNeela argue, "it is not Travellers" nomadism that fuels anti-Traveller racism, it is their group identity. They are ostracised whether they "settle" or "not" (Kenny & McNeela, 2006, p. iii). Nomadism is a core value in Traveller culture but the ongoing practice of it is not essential to their sense of ethnic identity (Kenny & McNeela, 2006, p. 62). In Ireland, the vast majority of Travellers no longer travel but, as found elsewhere (Kenny & Danaher, 2009), sedentarist mindsets continue to inform intercultural policy and practice.

Although relatively little research exists that addresses intersectionality and the complexities of Traveller identity, there has been some attention to comparable assimilatory and rehabilitative practices regarding disabled people and Travellers (McDonagh, 2002, p. 135). Policy has lagged far behind in this respect. Importantly, there is a dichotomy between officially policy and practice (Kenny & McNeela, 2006). While principles such as cultural diversity are nominally recognised in current official and media texts, they are often "breached or forgotten in social provision design and practice, in accommodation, education, training and work opportunities" (Kenny & McNeela, 2006, p. 62).

In this chapter, we have shown how policy evolved in relation to Travellers over a 50-year period in Ireland. We have also shown the interconnectedness of policy in relation to Travellers at particular times and the policy paradigms that were dominant at those times in broader social contexts. We conclude by stating that notwithstanding the distance travelled and the speed at which change occasionally occurred, key education practices illuminate clearly the fragility, transience and contingency of policy and paradigms that underpin social change, especially in relation to people on the periphery. It is clear that, if cognisance is not taken of "settled privilege", policies of inclusion and integration may easily revert to practices of absorption and assimilation.

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Local Governments and Social Enterprise: Meeting Community Challenges Together?

Catherine Hastings and John Weate

Introduction

There has been increasing interest in social enterprise in academic literature over the past 20 years, particularly in management structures, and in the similarities and differences between social enterprises, for-profit and other forms of not-for-profit organisations. However, research into the interaction of social enterprises with government is limited, especially in Australia. The Australian Centre of Excellence for Local Government report, *Social Enterprises and Local Government: A Scoping Study* (2013) found very little published information about the relationships between social enterprises and local government—although anecdotally it is believed that these connections have grown in number over the last five to ten years. Our aims for this chapter are to describe some of the relationships that are developing between local governments and social enterprises in rural regions of the state of New South Wales (NSW). We offer an analysis of these relationships within the theoretical frameworks of network governance, place-shaping and public value, centring on Community

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Resources, a community development organisation managing a number of social enterprises in mid-north-coast NSW, and increasingly other parts of regional Australia. Through this chapter, we intend to stimulate discussion about the opportunities for local government-social enterprise relationships to deliver positive social and economic outcomes within regional Australia, as well as consider some of the possible risks and barriers.

Social Enterprise

Broadly, social enterprises are not-for-profit organisations that use trading activity (and the profit generated) to promote social and community goals, develop sustainable business models and create social benefits (Duniam & Eversole, 2013). However, the definition of social enterprise is contested, which is a barrier to understanding the scope and impacts of the social enterprise sector (Barraket & Collyer, 2010). The kinds of organisations that identify as social enterprises vary across cultural, historical and regulatory contexts. Additionally, social enterprise practitioners have diverse opinions on defining issues such as the legitimacy of non-monetary or member-based trade, operating exclusively in quasi-markets, what constitutes ethical business practices, and the degree to which trading type and mission need to be aligned in order to be a 'real' social enterprise (e.g. Barraket & Collyer, 2010; Eversole, 2013).

Over the last 15 years, there has been increasing interest in social enterprise by governments, the not-for-profit sector and philanthropy in Australia. This interest is driven by a desire for more innovative responses to social and environmental problems; pressure on not-for-profits to diversify their income sources; and an increasing number of partnerships by governments with civil society actors to develop and deliver services in response to social policy priorities (e.g. Barraket, Collyer, & Connor, 2010). A 2010 project which attempted to identify the number and range of social enterprises in Australia, admittedly using a very broad definition, estimated that there are 20,000 social enterprises nationally, predominately trading in the service economy in local and regional markets in order to fulfil local and regional missions (Barraket et al., 2010).

Local Government in Australia

Tailored local service provision to meet the needs of local communities is given as an underpinning justification for local government in Australia (Colebatch & Dageling, 1986). Although local government was established in the early nineteenth century for local service delivery and a narrow range

of administrative functions, since World War II, local government's roles have expanded and diversified to include town-planning and additional local services, including in the areas of welfare and leisure (Brackertz, 2013). Growth in local government services has been driven by legislative changes and reforms, market deregulation, industrial relations reform, privatisation of public utilities and competition policy, technological advances and changing community expectations (Brackertz, 2013). However, expansion in function has not been matched by expansion in funding, and there is a backlog of infrastructure maintenance and renewal (Dollery, Grant, & Kortt, 2013), particularly for rural and regional councils (ACELG, 2011).

Australian local government has been subject to continuous reform over the past 25 years (Dollery et al., 2013). State Local Government Acts have changed to allow local governments to engage in more market-orientated management, outsourcing, public/private partnerships and tendering for service provision. State and Federal governments have increasingly tied grants to specific projects or activities in order to influence how they are undertaken, resulting in 'cost-shifting', short-term funding and underfunding. Finally, there have been repeated state government initiatives to amalgamate councils compulsorily. Forced amalgamation remains controversial, with the putative efficiency gains and cost savings not supported by evidence. To the contrary, research from the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Europe and Australia shows amalgamations have been associated with increased total expenditures.

Local government in Australia is characterised by tension between requirements for local governments to embody a principle of local pluralist democracy and a focus on local government as a 'firm' that is required to operate as efficiently as possible (Grant & Drew, 2017, p. 128). There are also increasing demands for public sector workers to work collaboratively with citizens to democratise administration (Smith, 2010). A result of these pressures has been increased interest in new models of governance, especially those involving more players in the process of service delivery so that local governments are not required to 'go it alone' (Hambleton, 2011). Social enterprises have increasingly been included as one of these other players.

Theories of Public Administration: Network Governance, Place-Shaping and Public Value

This chapter argues that there are positive consequences for local governments when they work with social enterprises, particularly in terms of encouraging *network governance* to tackle social and economic problems; increased

capacity to meet place-based development challenges through *place-shaping*; and a greater ability to deliver *public value* to their communities. These concepts are considered in turn to set a theoretical context for a discussion of relationships between the specific social enterprises under the umbrella of Community Resources and the councils with which they collaborate.

Network Governance

Network governance is a process, or the instrument, of collaboration between private, public and not-for-profit sectors to meet community needs as defined by the community itself though consultation and participation. Network governance incorporates a combination of transformative partnerships, information and knowledge transfers, decentralised decision-making, better communication between institutions, and relationships based on reciprocity and trust (Aulich, 2009). Rather than reflecting concepts associated with 'corporate governance' related to accountability and controls for organisational decision-making and behaviour in the corporate sphere, governance in this context refers to the inclusion of actors beyond government to take action to tackle economic and social issues (Pillora & McKinlay, 2011). Overall, changes in the conception of governance represent 'one of the major trends of recent times' and suggest a shift from hierarchy and bureaucracy towards markets and networks, or at least an increased blending of these approaches (Bevir, 2011, p. 3). New ideas of governance are articulated in two distinct forms: sector reform predicated on neo-liberalism and contracting out of previously government functions to the market (exemplified by New Public Management); and network governance which sees the 'wicked problems' policymakers need to confront requiring a network approach at the local level, which rejects division and specialisation (2011).

Through network governance, the emphasis of government action is therefore on steering, influencing and coordinating the actions of others, enabling capacity building in communities, and focussing on more 'bottom-up' approaches to decision-making (Hambleton, 2011; Hendricks, 2014; Pillora & McKinlay, 2011; Stoker, 2006). Whereas 'government' refers to the formal institutions of the state and accountable decision-making within legal and administrative frameworks, 'governance' is considered a looser process of influencing and negotiating between sectors to achieve mutually determined outcomes (Hambleton, 2004 in Pillora & McKinlay, 2011). Network governance, it is argued, offers flexible and

responsive answers to complex social and economic problems, with social actors operating in stable relationships characterised by trust, social participation and voluntary associations (Bevir, 2011). Further, it is suggested that network governance fosters entrepreneurship, self-reliance and trust within civil societies (Davies & Pill, 2012).

Whilst network governance may lead to these positive outcomes, while enabling community participation in local decision-making, there are aspects that conflict with presumptions of representative democracy and can be viewed as shortcomings (Bevir, 2011). Networks blur the boundaries of responsibility between different actors and undermine the accountability of elected representatives to the public; introduce dynamics of power, specifically the power of non-democratically elected actors, into the relationships that determine decision-making; raise issues of accountability compared to traditional models of public management; and reduce the authority of government to act in its own right to get things done. A turn towards networks of private and public organisations to tackle complex problems can be interpreted as recognition that neither governments (nor the market) can solve these policy problems alone (Grant & Drew, 2017, pp. 149–151). This reshaping of the roles of state, market and civil society is seen by some as an unacceptable 'hollowing out of the state' (Geddes, 2005). However McKinlay (2011) argues that statutory powers and the public sector are necessary, but not sufficient to solving the concerns facing local governments' communities, implying that a network of actors is a requirement for better outcomes.

There are ethical aspects to the conflicts between network governance and democratic ideals of representation, public sector responsibility and accountability, and to the challenge to the relevance of the public sector. Jedd and Bixler (2015) suggest that (at least in terms of accountability) the fundamentally social nature of network governance encourages 'pluralistic accountability' as long as there is authentic engagement between actors; norms are developed through interaction and sharing information; there is the potential for occasional recourse to the authority of the state; and there are network 'brokers' (e.g. organisations) that are central to the network and play a strategic and influential role. We suggest that if this brokerage role is an activity embodied by local government taking account of the responsibility of elected representatives to the public, then many of these challenges can be met. Additionally, there are other forms of democratic participation which could temper the challenge to representative democracy, such as forms of *deliberative* or *participatory*

democracy which define the common good through direct engagement with the community and *network democracy* which is inclusive of the voices of all organisations involved in a governance network through negotiation (Haus & Sweeting, 2006). Network governance does not have to mean government abrogating its responsibilities. Rather, it means that empowered citizens—potentially through their civil organisations—and administrators work together on public concerns, with a significant and active role for local government (Smith, 2010).

There is no single prescription for good network governance. There are different concepts, interpretations and theories but few practical guides for local government administrators in supporting network governance approaches (Haque, 2016; Smith, 2010). One framework, suggested by Brown, Nicholson, Stephenson, Bennett, and Smith (2001 cited in Pillora & McKinlay, 2011), seems particularly helpful to this discussion of local government and social enterprise relationships. Brown et al. focusses on the combination of problem-solving and decision-making knowledge that is essential in collaborations and developing long-term alliances among people across government and non-government organisations. These knowledge bases are as follows:

- Local knowledge (local lived experience; place-based knowledge)
- Specialised knowledge (expert knowledge and interpretations; scientific disciplines)
- Strategic knowledge (functioning of governance systems; planning, administration and management)
- Holistic knowledge (shared purposes and ways of synthesising; working across cultures and other knowledge systems)

Networks thus provide an opportunity for local government to harness different types of knowledge from actors outside of government.

Of the levels of government in Australia, local governments are best positioned to engage communities in governance networks (Eversole, 2011). Barraket and Archer (2009) found that social enterprises in rural Tasmania played a role as a point of contact between community and council, with interviewees from both local government and social enterprises describing the value of the relationship as being a 'bridge for residents into the unfamiliar institutional spaces of local government and other service providers' (p. 13). However, the relationships between Australian local governments and social enterprises have not been

examined specifically in terms of their potential to contribute to networked local governance.

Place-Shaping

Network governance is often associated with the role of local government to be conceived of as place-shaping (Pillora & McKinlay, 2011; Stoker, 2011). Authors such as Malpas and Laski argue that human societies have profound experiences of place and that these experiences are important in constituting who we are (Grant & Drew, 2017, p. 133). Place-shaping then refers to the strategic promotion of wellbeing by local government action on economic, social and environmental fronts to enhance the quality of place and quality of life of people. It is not just related to decisions about physical infrastructure, the local economy or service provision, but also encompasses building and shaping local identity, regulating harmful and disruptive behaviours, representing the community and ensuring smaller voices are heard (Lyons, 2007; Rablen, 2012). Compared to local governments in the United Kingdom, where place-shaping was introduced into public policy, Australian councils have less legislated responsibility for social welfare. However, they have become more involved in place-shaping as they extended their activities beyond those of the traditional 'roads, rates and rubbish' paradigm (Pillora & McKinlay, 2011). Driven by community expectations, many local governments have adopted an increased focus on social, economic and community development. These priorities can be seen in Community Strategic Plans and Community Indicator projects developed by local governments through the Integrated Planning and Reporting Framework established by the NSW government (Office of Local Government, n.d.).

'Bottom-up' place-shaping can be achieved through deliberative or participatory democracy, and also through the actions of other actors that have authority outside of the state. The multi-level governance framework attempts to capture, within a local jurisdiction, the importance that individuals, communities, non-government organisations and corporations can make in shaping places by identifying the central players in a community (Blackwell, Dollery, & Grant, 2015). This type of approach acknowledges the potential for place-shaping to be a democratic process through network governance.

Governance theory proposes, and local government practitioners acknowledge, that local government-social enterprise relationships can

support place-based development processes (Duniam & Eversole, 2013). A recent study about the role of social enterprises in community development in regional Tasmania found that social enterprises had strong ties to place and a capacity to create social, economic, cultural and environmental local development outcomes for their communities (Eversole, Barraket, & Luke, 2013). Within local governance networks, social enterprises in partnership with local government can mobilise and generate a range of assets to benefit communities through place-shaping.

Public Value

Promotion of community wellbeing through place-shaping and network governance is consistent with the principles of public value (Rablen, 2012). A conceptual framework for public value was suggested by Moore in 1995 and has since become prevalent in policy debates (see Alford & O'Flynn, 2009; Williams & Shearer, 2011). Moore argues that public managers should aim to create public value—positive social and economic outcomes valued by the community—and that judgement about whether a public intervention creates public value 'can only be made in the context of debate and deliberation … between the relevant stakeholders and government officials' (Stoker, 2006). Within a public value framework, all stakeholders need to be involved for decisions to be legitimate; service delivery can be provided by public, private, voluntary and non-profit organisations; service provision occurs via partnership rather than through client/contractor relationships; and an adaptable and evidence-based approach to the challenge of public service delivery is fostered (Stoker, 2006). Private sector firms may focus on efficiency, quality, security and reliability; however, in order to create public value, public managers must combine these concerns with striving for accountability, as well as attention to public preferences (Benington, 2009).

Public service managers, Moore argues, need to have a proactive and entrepreneurial approach to the creation of value from public resources, in a way that is analogous to value creation within private enterprise but conceived beyond narrow financial outcomes and acknowledging the unique role of public organisations (Moore, 1995; Williams & Shearer, 2011). Although public value has been met with substantial support from practitioners, some academic critics argue that it encourages public managers into the inappropriate role of making strategic policy decisions. However, Prebble (2012) contends officials need to use strategic management to get

anything done. He argues they should be encouraged to exercise 'managerial vigour', within an enabling structure of democratic accountability, in order to add public value. He acknowledges that this means people can make mistakes and these will need to be managed, but in general public servants are mostly 'too timid to develop or argue ideas that could have improved the lives of citizens' (p. 401).

Moore's focus is on the strategic decision-maker, who sits at the intersection of the three dimensions of (1) the operational capabilities and resources of the organisation itself, (2) the environment of stakeholders—individuals and organisations with which the public sector decision-maker is engaged and to whom they are accountable (i.e. the authorising environment of legitimacy and support) and (3) the constraints of the environment in which the public manager seeks to create public value (Grant, Tan, Ryan, & Nesbitt, 2014; Moore, 1995). In this way, Moore's 'strategic triangle' within his public value framework confirms the role of public sector management as requiring expertise, creativity and entrepreneurship, within a binding democratic order and finite resource base. Public value therefore cannot be delivered without public engagement and dialogue (Williams & Shearer, 2011).

Rhodes and Wanna (2007) outline a number of concerns with Moore's idea of the entrepreneurial public sector manager when applied in Westminster systems of democracy. They argue that bureaucracies need the oversight of the polity to restrict self-interest, non-elected officials should not be determining public interest as this is the responsibility of elected officials, there is an ideological problem with advocacy of 'entrepreneurial' private sector-style management in the public sector and there is a lack of engagement with party politics in public value theory. However, Grant and Fisher (2011) argue that the nature of local government in Australia mitigates many of these criticisms—and actually makes local government the best tier of government to explicitly implement public value creation. First, local government in Australia is characterised by the 'council-manager form', where there is cooperation but some degree of separation between the two parts that makes the political/administrative entity. At the local level, depending to a degree on the size of the jurisdiction, the authors assert that to assume that local politicians are technically capable of overseeing local government administrators—in the way expected of ministers at the State and Federal level—is questionable. Second, managers in Australian local governments are already required to take wide-ranging responsibility for decision-making, and set the agenda

with respect to a whole range of policy issues. Third, councils already derive a large proportion of their revenue from the 'sale of goods and services' to fund their activities and are already operating, at least in comparison to State and Federal counterparts, more like private businesses. Lastly, party politics do not play a significant role in local government decision-making procedures, with the views of elected councillors influenced, but not proscribed by, any political affiliation they may have.

Management for public value creation is known as Public Value Management (PVM). At the same time, as there has been a shift from 'government' to 'governance' (as discussed above), there has been a shift from New Public Management which favours private sector principles of efficiency, output targets and conceptions of the citizen as customer—to PVM which is motivated by public value creation, network governance and deliberative forms of decision-making (Grant & Drew, 2017; Stoker, 2006). Kelly and Muer (cited in Stoker, 2006, p. 44) offer a comparative analysis of the paradigms of Traditional Public Management, New Public Management and PVM, and show how approaches to public management can be differently conceived depending on different ideologies about the role of government, the market and citizens in organising service delivery. In the traditional public administration model, public interest is determined by politicians, with services provided through bureaucratic oversight, following procedures in a hierarchical system that delivers accountability through the election process. New public management recasts the citizen as consumer, introduces performance targets to deliver objectives and seeks efficiencies through private sector delivery of services, with public interest determined through aggregation of individual preferences as understood by senior politicians or managers.

PVM re-asserts the unique value of public goods and their role in talking the problems the public cares about most, offers encouragement to public employees to act entrepreneurially and within networks involving democratic exchange to create public value (with the inherent possibility of both success and failure), and recognises that public policy programs are open to influence from those outside government to determine what is publicly valuable (Alford & O'Flynn, 2009; Stoker, 2006). Creating public value through PVM is intrinsically egalitarian as it can be achieved through a broad range of public service roles in local government—from librarian to waste manager to receptionist to CEO (Grant & Fisher, 2011). Grant and Drew (2017, p. 154) argue that, as a theory of public administration, PVM is particularly suited to Australian local government, and in fact reflects the way that contemporary local governments tend to operate.

There is an obvious overlap in normative principles relating to wellbeing, community participation and innovation that connect PVM, place-shaping and network governance, forming the framework used in this chapter to analyse the local government-social enterprise relationship. This connection is also observed by Crosby, 't Hart, and Torfing (2017), who make an explicit link between wicked problems, innovation, network governance and public value when they describe an exciting, yet challenging, contemporary leadership role for public managers. They suggest that 'innovation heroes' in the public sector are 'driven by personal commitment to social outcomes and enabled by a rare mix of courage, strategic nous, and managerial competency' needing to 'defy somehow the laws of gravity that impinge upon their institutional roles within government' (p. 658). As people like this do not exist in large numbers, 'orchestrators of collaboration' are instead required within local government to harness the same impetus for action and range of skills, by recruiting agents outside of the formal authority of the government system. Crosby et al. therefore challenge public organisations to consider how orchestrated and collaborative work can encourage innovation to improve services, break policy deadlocks and create public value—rather than expect these outcomes to be the sole responsibility of an entrepreneurial public manager.

Local Government-Social Enterprise Relationships

The ideas of network governance, place-shaping and public value creation can encourage local governments to engage with their citizens democratically and deliver more effective solutions to social and economic problems within the community. However, as theoretical concepts, they are difficult to put into operation. This chapter's particular focus is on an example of a local government-social enterprise relationship that demonstrates network governance, place-shaping and public value creation put into action. Through profiling real-world examples and applying theory, we hope to encourage local governments and their communities to embrace these concepts.

What Do We Know About Social Enterprise-Local Government Relationships?

There are increasing numbers of partnerships between local government and social enterprises in Australia, but few accounts of examples and limited discussion of the relationship between local government and social

enterprise (Duniam & Eversole, 2013). Exceptions include a paper by Barraket and Archer (2009) which discusses how far social enterprises working at the local level influence local government's way of working and connection to the community. The paper's focus is primarily on the effect that working with social enterprises has on council's internal operational structures, specifically in breaking down silos between departments.

Duniam (2015) developed case studies of eight social enterprises in four Tasmanian local government areas in her PhD thesis. The literature motivating her study showed that Tasmanian local government faces numerous economic and social challenges including high levels of unemployment and disadvantage and an ageing demographic, and suggested that social enterprises are ideally positioned to find local solutions to local social problems through innovation and entrepreneurship. However, even though the literature suggests possible advantages to working together, Duniam did not find strong partnerships between local government and the social enterprises operating in their region. Although some social enterprises acknowledged that their council had been supportive, most expressed dissatisfaction with the relationship and sought increased respect for the value of their work and increased financial support. Interestingly, no social enterprise explicitly identified the benefits for local government that might flow from a relationship with their social enterprise. In these case studies, Duniam found no examples of social enterprises providing contracted services to local government through a social procurement mechanism. She found limited awareness in local government of what social enterprises are, or the potential benefits that might flow from working with social enterprises.

There is also an international literature describing the possibilities of relationships between social enterprises and local levels of government to develop solutions to social policy problems. The social enterprise policy New Deal for Communities (NDC) in the United Kingdom under New Labour from 2002—designed to encourage social enterprise within many aspects of a council's work—and its implementation at the local government level was the subject of doctoral analysis by Somers (2013). She found that, at the local level, engagement with policies designed to 'enable' social enterprises, was primarily by public sector professionals in regeneration and economic development units rather than elected politicians. Instead of being understood as 'charity', the role of social enterprises was identified in this context 'as a mechanism through which policy entrepreneurs are able to achieve their own goals' (2013, p. 351). The research also found

that developing relationships with social enterprises posed challenges to siloed local government work and, despite the policy favouring social enterprise, social enterprises needed to take the lead and educate the various departments about the advantages of their offering. Social enterprises reported that winning social procurement contracts depended on someone within the local authority acting as a champion for the social enterprise, and was less contingent on leadership and support from a council CEO or elected councillors. Perhaps this is a reason why a Labour government policy was equally taken up by Labour and Conservative-led councils. Research since the end of the NDC policy in 2012 has found that post the 'abandonment' of community social enterprises, the policy's legacy is an increase in 'market values' amongst social enterprise professionals in a neo-liberal environment and a lack of recognition by the state for a continuing role of post-NDC social enterprises in urban local governance (Fuller, 2016).

More recently, a doctoral thesis by Joanne McNeill (2017) explored public sector roles in enabling social innovation through a series of case studies from Europe, the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States. In terms of their role contributing to local government objectives, she identified social enterprises as delivering community economic development through employment, design and delivery of social services; development of strategic policy initiatives; and advocacy and capacity building in the community.

Introducing Community Resources

Community Resources (formerly Great Lakes Community Resources) was established in 1987 as a not-for-profit community development organisation in Tuncurry, in mid-north coast NSW, in what was then the Great Lakes local government area. Its strategy has been to develop local business enterprises to assist those identifying as Aboriginal and living in disadvantage, the unemployed, long-term unemployed, homeless, women returning to work, people living with disability and ex-prisoners find employment, and develop social and economic livelihoods in an otherwise 'thin' labour market (Great Lakes Community Resources, n.d.). There is a focus on providing opportunities for professional development through training, mentoring and promotion within the organisation (Barraket, Yousefpour, & Furneaux, 2012).

The coastal region of Great Lakes[1] is about 300 km north of Sydney. It has a population of just over 31,000 people, of whom 5.2 per cent identify as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander compared to the NSW average of 2.9 per cent. The area is characterised by an older population, with 33.3 per cent of residents aged over 65 years, compared to 16.2 per cent of the state (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017). In 2011, the proportion of people aged 15 years and over in the labour force was 42.2 per cent compared to 60.0 per cent in NSW. The Great Lakes labour force more likely to be unemployed (8.4 per cent compared to 5.9 per cent in NSW) and more likely to be working part time (37.4 per cent compared to 28.2 per cent in NSW) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012).

Community Resources employed 267 people in the equivalent of 112 full-time roles in 2016. Over half of their workers (54 per cent) are employed permanently and 25 per cent are Aboriginal, with Community Resources being the largest employer of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the Great Lakes region. The total wages bill for Community Resources in the year to 30 June 2016 was $6.5 million from an annual operating turnover of almost $14 million (Community Resources, 2016). Community Resources invests in the professional development of employees across its enterprises and other activities, with intensive personal and professional support and supervision for staff who have in the past struggled to obtain and retain employment. It also has a commitment to promotion from within the organisation (Soft Landing Mattress Recycling, 2017).

In 2016, just under two-thirds of Community Resources' income (62 per cent) was generated by providing services. Their current key social enterprises are Resource Recovery, Waste Well, Helping Hands and Soft Landing. Additionally, Community Resources provides a number of community services programs in the areas of youth, homeless, unemployment, and Aboriginal health and wellbeing services with income generated from all levels of government as well as through philanthropic sources. They are also involved in local community initiatives aimed at building social and cultural capital, including scholarships for Indigenous students, The Green (a whole-of-community recreation and sustainability venue) and a number of international development initiatives including WasteAid and Heart-2-Heart.

Helping Hands Care Services

Helping Hands was established in 1993 and provides personal care, 24-hour respite, domestic assistance, meal preparation, shopping and transport to 770 clients within the Tuncurry area. In addition to being

contracted to provide services to NSW government local health organisations and through Commonwealth government care services, Helping Hands has been a long-standing contractor to council-led programs such as Community Options and other ageing and disability services. It employs 12 permanent staff of whom three identify as Aboriginal (Community Resources, 2016).

Helping Hands Building Service

Established in 1989, and formally known as the Home Modification and Maintenance Service, the Helping Hands Building Service employs eight staff of whom three identify as Aboriginal. They undertake home modifications and maintenance to allow frail, aged and people with disabilities the option to remain independent in their homes, completing 2800 jobs in 2016 in the Tuncurry and Taree areas (Community Resources, 2016).

Resource Recovery

Resource Recovery Australia (Resource Recovery) is an umbrella for Community Resources' 'waste to wages' social enterprises and initiatives. They are operators of landfills, transfer stations, re-use centres (tip-shops) and a problem waste domestic pickup service—all in partnership with councils—and also provide training and consulting services. In December 2015, Resource Recovery acquired Soft Landing from Mission Australia and also took over WasteWell, a fabricator of products relating to tip-site management such as landfill lids (Community Resources, 2016). Resource Recovery operations were responsible for the diversion of 41,600 tonnes of waste from landfill in the financial year 2015–2016 alone (Soft Landing Mattress Recycling, 2017). In 2011, they won the Australasian Local Government Innovation in Waste Award, and in 2013, they won Social Enterprise of the Year (Resource Recovery, n.d.).

Resource Recovery Great Lakes established their first contract with Great Lakes Council in 1991 to develop a Waste Management and Recycling Centre in Tuncurry. When they won the contract, there was one site with one man on a tractor pushing waste into a hole. Resource Recovery Great Lakes also took over operation of the tips at Bulahdelah and Tea Gardens in the same year. The relationship with local government continues since Great Lakes Council was merged with Gloucester Shire and Greater Taree City councils in 2016 to form the Mid-Coast Council (Resource Recovery, n.d.). In Great Lakes, Resource Recovery employs

16 people of whom six identify as Aboriginal (Community Resources, 2016).

Resource Recovery in Sydney and Southern NSW took over sites in Moss Vale in the Wingecarribee Council area and Dunmore in the Shellharbour Council area in 2015. They also manage a new Problem Waste Mobile Community Recycling Service (domestic pickup) with Cumberland Council and the City of Parramatta. With an online booking system and live collection of data on all recovered items, the service won the 2016 Innovation Award at the Australasian Waste and Recycling Expo (Soft Landing Mattress Recycling, 2017). There are 13 people employed, of whom three identify as Aboriginal (Community Resources, 2016).

Resource Recovery Gladstone managed seven sites for Gladstone Council as an interim contractor over two years until December 2015. During the period of the contract, 25 people were employed, of whom four identified as Aboriginal. Many were assisted into employment with the new contractor (Community Resources, 2016).

Resource Recovery staff have also consulted in waste management and employment, including to East Kimberley Job Pathways in Kununurra, and they have offered Certificate III training in Landfill Operations for Toowoomba, East Gippsland and Hobart councils. Resource Recovery's Organics Program completed a project for Balkanu Aboriginal Corporation, as part of a joint venture with Cape York Partnerships and the Commonwealth Science and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO), to develop a method to create organic fertilisers with the waste from feral animal culling (Community Resources, 2016).

Soft Landing diverts mattresses from landfill and recovers the components for re-use whilst creating both entry-level and sustainable employment opportunities for people who have experienced barriers to employment. In 2016, there were 200,000 mattresses recycled, which saved 148,000 m^3 of landfill space and avoided 5700 tonnes of CO_2 emissions (Soft Landing Mattress Recycling, 2017). Currently operating at six sites, Soft Landing was established in the Illawarra region and is now contracted to the South Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils and Western Sydney Region of Councils, Wangara (Western Australia), Hume (the Australian Capital Territory) and Melbourne (Victoria). Of the 117 customers in June 2016, 30 per cent are councils, with the balance being mostly retail or hotel businesses. In

2015/2016, the enterprise employed over 70 staff (58 permanent and 20 who identified as Aboriginal) with 75 per cent of employees coming from their target employment groups of long-term unemployed, people with a disability (including mental health), Aboriginal people experiencing disadvantage and people leaving the prison system. The organisation also provides work experience opportunities through a partnership with Max Employment (Community Resources, 2016; Soft Landing Mattress Recycling, 2017).

WasteWell was established in 2015 to fabricate patented landfill lids and tip wells for landfills and transfer stations (Soft Landing Mattress Recycling, 2017). They sell to councils across Australia and employ three permanent staff (Community Resources, 2016).

Workplace Services provides labour hire in the areas of manufacturing, transportation and waste management, with an average of 824 fortnightly hours of work generated in 2016 for young people entering the workforce (Community Resources, 2016).

Discussion: Community Resources and Their Local Government Relationships

As outlined at the beginning of this chapter, our purpose is to consider how social enterprise-local government relationships can bring benefits to local government, particularly as understood through network governance, place-shaping and public value. Having introduced these concepts and described the social businesses in the Community Recourses group, we now turn to a discussion of the ways in which Community Resources articulates the benefits of social enterprise activity to local government, and how this understanding informs the relationships they have with councils.

Community Resources believes that in regional settings, where there are 'thin' labour markets, social enterprises are the key to delivering economic and social outcomes. As a community development organisation, they believe that social inclusion is fundamentally about having a job to go to. Therefore, the focus, from the beginning, was on identifying and targeting labour-intensive sectors within the economy that were set to grow. This led to the development of social enterprises focussing on environmental management and repair, and personal services within the ageing community of Great Lakes. At the start, Community Resources did not

have a sense of the strength that could come from a close relationship with local government, but now these relationships are an important part of their contracting and partnership mix.

When Resource Recovery Great Lakes was given its first contract in 1991, it was a young social enterprise. It had not yet established procedures for managing environmental health risks or for the use and maintenance of Council-owned infrastructure and machinery. Nonetheless, Community Resources approached the Mayor and waste management staff and made the case that with the money currently being spent on managing the tip, they could do more to meet community expectations about recycling and tip management. Instead of people just dumping the town's garbage into a hole in the ground, Community Resources said that their social enterprise would give better outcomes. First, they offered environmental benefits by diverting waste from landfill, and second, social benefits by turning the available budget into wages so that, for example, three people would be employed instead of one. The offer was accepted and the contract awarded. Community Resources understands this to be due to the receptiveness of two specific individuals—the Mayor and the Chief Environmental Health and Building Surveyor at the time—who were both prepared to take risks to achieve positive change.

The former Chief Environmental Health and Building Surveyor, John Chadban, recently spoke about how the proposal by Community Resources helped him to solve the problem of a gap between existing tip operations and community expectations on recycling and waste management. Although the idea raised doubts about, among other things, insurance, ownership and risk, it also offered an innovative way to manage the waste depot better and divert waste from landfill. It was challenging for him to change the service this way. The vote by Council to implement a contract with Community Resources was only just carried, with the support of the Mayor who argued 'what harm can it do?' and 'it may even employ some people.' Chadban credits the lobbying of councillors by Community Resources and the information they provided about existing successful examples as crucial to overcoming the concerns of councillors opposed to the proposal (J. Chadban, personal communication, 21 July 2017).

The actions of both the Mayor and Chief Environmental Health and Building Surveyor can be interpreted as delivering public value through improving environmental outcomes by diverting waste in line with

community expectations, and by prioritising employment opportunities for marginalised job seekers in their community. In order to do this, they embraced an innovative approach offered by a non-government community partner, and harnessed the social enterprise's commitment, enthusiasm and expertise in order to enable the change. The successful pitch by Community Resources also demonstrated that 'selling' a community enterprise to local government needs the ability to understand the objectives of decision-makers and frame the benefits to them in the right language for them to respond. It has been critical to appreciate the concerns of both the political and administrative parts of council and get the language right for each when describing the role that the community enterprise can play for council's benefit.

Resource Recovery understands that their offer to councils has two key components. The first is their expertise in waste diversion and waste facilities management. Councils need this expertise to fulfil both their basic waste management functions and the diversion (recycling) targets set by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The second is their expertise in developing employment opportunities for those otherwise marginalised in the jobs market and retaining these staff through intensive personal support and professional development, thereby delivering social and economic benefits for the community.

When offering waste management expertise, the experience of Resource Recovery is that it is the political side of local government that requires extra effort to be convinced. The relevant administrative personnel in local government are increasingly 'well trained' through their tertiary studies (often in engineering) to understand that we live *in* an environment and that environmental management in all its forms is important. Resource Recovery is able to offer councils technological expertise in tip management, waste diversion, recycling and organics, but specifically designed to be labour intensive in order to meet the enterprise's social objectives.

As an employer, Community Resources have specialist expertise in recruiting, training and retaining people from disadvantaged backgrounds. There are requirements under, for example, agreements set by the Council of Australian Government (CoAG) or the *NSW Disability Inclusion Act 2014* for local governments to increase their internal workforce diversity (Hastings, Ryan, Gibbs, & Lawrie, 2015; Local Government NSW, 2015). Social enterprise can help councils meet these targets in the short term whilst internal expertise develops. In the case of both waste management and the employment of people from targeted groups, councils working

with actors, such as social enterprises like Resource Recovery, can evolve networks of knowledge to solve environmental, social and economic problems in the community.

From the beginning of the relationship with Great Lakes Council, and with each subsequent new relationship to a local government, it was critical to find the right person within the council and cultivate a relationship. Many existing contracts are the result of personal relationships, which have developed over time between Community Resources staff and individuals in the political or administrative parts of council. Before a contract is signed, preliminary interactions develop trust and shared understandings of objectives. A presentation at a waste industry conference could be followed by engagement of Community Resources' training or consultancy services—for example, for designing a new cell in the landfill area—or to develop a waste management plan. The longer-term service delivery contracts that offer employment to the enterprise's target groups may only be offered after Resource Recovery delivers first on smaller contracts.

Increased trust, better communication and shared values are important factors in governance networks that incorporate local government, social enterprises and the community, working together to create public value. For Community Resources, the recent council amalgamations have highlighted how the relationship with management at Great Lakes Council had developed over 25 years. Beyond being parties to contracts related to service delivery, the partnership reflects a shared conception of the needs and priorities of the community, and is informed by each organisation's strategic priorities. The partnership enabled community development projects at Tuncurry, such as The Green, the community garden on council land adjacent to the 'tip'. The success of The Green demonstrates that community, social enterprise and council can work together to enable social, economic and community development. Staff at the newly merged Mid-Coast Council, employed at other councils prior to amalgamation, are sceptical about the connection of waste to social and community development outcomes. The ex-Great Lakes Council staff and Resource Recovery now need to work together to begin the process of educating these newer staff, showing them the results and developing a shared understanding of outcomes.

The Community Resources organisation has grown to operate around Australia through Resource Recovery and Soft Landing. This growth has been coupled with changes in the approach to councils, which Community Resources describes as being 'more mature'. Social procurement, the idea

of leveraging procurement to achieve social outcomes, although by no means universally understood or a priority within local governments, is more widely known. There is still a need for social enterprises to explain social procurement to councils, particularly in regional areas, which means that the relationships need to be led by the social enterprise in an educative role. Community Resources sees that a limited appreciation of social procurement continues to constrain the growth of social enterprises. In addition, new social enterprises struggle to be resourced and mature enough to bring a convincing proposal to the table, and invest the resources required over time to win contracts. Hence the importance of the role of Resource Recovery and other larger and more established social enterprises in leading less experienced councils through repeated meetings and incremental steps towards social enterprise partnerships.

We argue there is a legitimate role for local government managers and decision-makers to steer the development of social enterprise-local government relationships. If the value of social enterprise expertise, knowledge and connection to the local community was better understood by local government—and the subsequent shared capacity of government and enterprise to deliver on solutions to local economic and social problems was embraced—then social procurement could become a more prevalent and understood method of public value creation for councils.

Most senior decision-makers in local government are male (approximately 75 per cent), and the majority started their careers in engineering, infrastructure or corporate services (Hastings et al., 2015). Resource Recovery has found that senior managers with a background in social or community services, or even economic development are more understanding of social procurement. Interestingly, older councillors who agree that 'buying local' assists the local community and therefore creates value beyond buying at the lowest price, relate to social enterprises as an extension of this kind of thinking. When talking to councils, Resource Recovery has found that the language of the social and community sectors can be foreign to councillors or administrators, and care is needed in explaining what social enterprises offer to councils. Terms such as disadvantage may need to be elaborated on, as well as the concept of social procurement. New resources such as *Social Procurement in NSW* (Newman & Burkett, 2012), developed for the Social Procurement Action Group (comprising a number of councils, state government departments and regional development organisations), present case studies and show that government can write tenders and contracts specifying a preference for social outcomes.

As a social enterprise approaching local government, Resource Recovery has argued that councils do not have to take the lowest price and instead can make decisions based on ‘best value’, where one of the evaluation criteria for value is the potential for the contract to generate social outcomes. Their key message to councils is that through social procurement policies, councils provide meaningful work to some of their most disadvantaged local job seekers, and this has multiplier effects on social inclusion as well as social and economic outcomes for the whole community. Although local government has specific legislated responsibilities, communities have high expectations of local government’s role in improving their quality of life—sense of safety, social cohesion and levels of amenity—within their localities. Most of the major policy settings that play a role in health, justice and the economy are not the responsibility of local government in Australia. Through social procurement, councils are able to exert some influence in these areas and deliver for the community. By encouraging a ‘healthier’ socio-economic environment, social enterprises contribute to the place-shaping activities of a council.

Resource Recovery also finds it important to approach the decision-makers within local government who are innovative and can tolerate risk and tailor their proposal to each individual’s priorities, constraints and political context. Resource Recovery considers it vital to get the buy-in of senior staff in all areas of council (such as managers of economic development, community development, waste and environmental services) and articulate how the proposal will meet council and community objectives—in both a traditional sense of service delivery and the social outcomes that would flow from choosing a social enterprise to provide the service.

Mayors, general managers and divisional managers have personal agendas and concerns. People in local government often feel embattled: challenged by constant reform, financial constraints and expanding community expectations. Resource Recovery’s experience is that ‘all sorts of carpet baggers have been there before you’ and one visit to the council will not be enough to establish trust and engagement. Tenacity, as well as community support, helps to develop relationships with decision-makers and win them over. In taking on the role of educator, interpreter and political actor, social enterprises are steering the relationship with local government. This chapter argues that local government is missing an opportunity to drive social procurement and gain the associated benefits of innovative solutions to service delivery, social and economic challenges.

Community Resources have found that, over time, relationships with local government that start as contracts develop into a partnership. As trust develops, the two organisations work more closely to solve problems and set objectives. This aspect of the relationship is vital to maximising social and environmental benefits. Partnerships of this kind also exist with local private sector businesses. Resource Recovery is increasingly emphasising the role of the private sector within the social enterprise-local government partnership.

As a 25-year-old social enterprise, Resource Recovery may be well established, but it still has difficulty winning contracts. The process is invariably longer than it was in 1991 in Tuncurry. In the area of waste, for example, social enterprises are competing with large for-profit companies with big capital infrastructure who, therefore, focus on long-term contracts with the local government. Resource Recovery advocates a low capital intensity approach which employs people to create a social outcome, alongside the environmental outcomes of increased diversion from landfill. Barraket et al. (2012) found evidence that social enterprises may price their tenders higher than commercial competitors because of the costs associated with doing higher-value work—doing it better with increased diversion and fewer mistakes—and because it is labour intensive.

Resource Recovery has lost jobs on price, but they argue that the issue is not that obtaining social outcomes introduces additional costs. Reports on a tender application showed that whilst there was confidence in their capacity to do the job, the council was reluctant to accept an additional cost for a better quality service and higher rates of diversion. Councils also perceive benefits from increased mechanisation and capital intensity. Resource Recovery believes that when price and quality are considered alongside the value of externalities—both environmental and social outcomes—the advantages of a social enterprise approach are overwhelming, but the council failed to see beyond arguments of 'efficiency' and lowest price, to those of enhanced public value for the community generated through these outcomes.

From 1994 to 2004, Resource Recovery in Taree employed 30 people in kerbside collection and sorting of 70–80 tonnes of recyclables each week. In 2003, they lost the contract to a firm offering automated sorting and collection using 'wheelie bins' on the basis that the new system would offer increased efficiencies, reduce waste to landfill and require fewer people to operate (Resource Recovery, n.d.). In a review comparing waste

outcomes before and after the introduction of wheelie bins, Watkins (2010) found no increase in the proportion of kerbside waste diverted from landfill. The wheelie bin collection methodology had no impact on positive environmental outcomes for the council. Looking back, almost 15 years on, Resource Recovery realises that they now have better skills to argue both the social benefits and superiority of their systems for delivering environmental outcomes. In 2004, they were unable to make these arguments convincingly enough.

A challenge for social enterprises is to win the argument about the value of the social outcomes they offer and the specific ways that these outcomes support local government's operational and community strategic objectives. The study by Barraket et al. (2012) into social procurement by local government, of services offered by community recycling enterprises, found that social enterprises reported a number of financial and policy barriers to growth, including the significant challenge of communicating the full social, environmental and financial value of their activities. The Community Recycling Network Australia (a peak body for community recycling enterprises (CREs)), with the financial assistance of the NSW Government's Office of Environment and Heritage, has commissioned a tool to measure environmental and social impacts in a standardised way and help explain them to councils. In an environment where 'everybody wants everything' from the council, to be heard, it is important to clearly communicate outcomes, offer concrete proposals and use language that demonstrates the social enterprise's understanding of local government priorities and processes.

Although much of the discussion in this section has focussed on the activities of Resource Recovery, the two related Helping Hands enterprises—offering care and home improvements to keep the elderly and people living with disabilities in their homes—also demonstrate the tension for social enterprises between price and quality (or value) when they are competing for contracts from local government or other service providers. When labour dominates the total cost of a service, such as aged care or child care, at the same contract price, margins can only be increased by lowering the quality. Helping Hands has mature systems that underpin quality and productivity, for example by supporting smaller response times, record keeping, training and off-site supervision. It is difficult for Helping Hands to compete on price whilst maintaining quality and achieving their social employment goals. However, they are often successful in fixed price tenders: the price is set and the tender responds with what they

are able to provide for the hourly rate. This example also suggests the importance of the values of the tendering organisation (local government for example) embodied in the tender evaluation criteria. Social enterprises therefore attempt to influence government so that procurement processes reflect the community's desire for quality service provision, appropriate methods of service delivery to meet local conditions and needs, and the desirability of meeting social and community development outcomes through social procurement.

Community Resources can see that some councils are wary of developing contractual relationships with social enterprises. There is a fear that new enterprises may be underfinanced or lack the management skills or structures to 'make a go of it' and deliver on contracts. Councils also see that social enterprises are often dependent on a particular individual or personality for their operation ('key person risk'). For Aboriginal- and Torres Strait Islander-led social enterprises, there is also the specific risk associated with ongoing changes in the Indigenous policy and funding landscape. These risks are real for local governments, as they are accountable to their communities for delivery of contracted services.

The growth of Resource Recovery, from local mid-coast NSW to a national organisation, followed a desire to develop local social enterprises, and mentor them in making social procurement contracts with their local governments, particularly in the area of waste management and diversion. Experience at the national level has demonstrated how hard it is for new or smaller social enterprises to gain a foothold with councils. The experience of Resource Recovery has been that they, as an organisation, need to be engaged in operations and not just consult, as local government sees less risk in contracting a mature organisation. Resource Recovery is therefore partnering with local employment services and other non-government organisations, such as social enterprises.

Conclusion

To be successful in establishing relationships with local government through social procurement, social enterprises need to be able to clearly articulate their value. The experience of Community Resources and their social enterprises suggests the importance of being able to understand and give a compelling description of what the organisation is doing for the community—in terms of both its social objectives and its business outputs. Second, social enterprises need to know how their work intersects with the

objectives of local government and the way that councillors and management understand the needs of the community. They then need to articulate their shared values and priorities. They need to be able to communicate the outcomes they are offering to people from a range of backgrounds—from engineering to community services. The growth of Community Resources suggests that, although requiring engagement with competition and the market, there is value in developing commercial relationships with councils to deliver services. These service delivery contracts can offer sustainability, growth and strengthened relationships with councils and community partners which increase the potential for delivery on the non-market objectives of the social enterprise.

To be successful in getting contracts, social enterprises cannot go cap in hand as a charity. Instead, they need to take the lead in positioning themselves, explaining what they offer, and educating local government on the benefits and value they offer in comparison to the for-profit alternative. A better understanding of the relevance of public value, network governance and place-shaping to local government will assist social enterprises to do just that. Similarly, for local governments, an increased appreciation of the possibilities of social enterprise and social procurement will assist them to deliver public value to their communities through networks with social enterprise.

Notes

1. Great Lakes are a as defined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics for the 2016 Census (Statistical Area Level 3—10801).

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No One Wakes Up Wanting to Be Homeless: A Case Study in Applied Creative Writing

Francesca Rendle-Short, Ronnie Scott, Stayci Taylor, Michelle Aung Thin, and Melody Ellis

If a Little Dreaming Is Dangerous[1]

Australian novelist and poet David Malouf describes the cities we live in as places of topography, a way of tracing 'the contours of a sensibility' (1985, p. 10). He talks about the physical conditions a place imposes on the body, 'the embodiments of mind and psyche' that belong to mapping place, mapping home, our first homes and for him, his 'first mapping' of Brisbane, Queensland: 'the only place I know from inside.' He writes, 'from my body outwards' (Malouf, 1985, p. 3).

If this 'first mapping' is an experience we can all relate to—mapping place, places of topography—especially for those of us who are 'home-full' and enjoy a stable way of life, what does this mean if you are home*less*, if getting a roof over your head is contingent? How do you write the city if your home—your mapping—is on or belongs to the streets? If the place you know 'from inside, from my body outwards' is without walls, open to all weather, always on the move and insecure, and oftentimes unsafe?

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When a young person has lost everything through cycles of neglect, violence and abuse, their story—a personal story they can tell of their past and an imagined future that they can make differently to the past if they so desire—is sometimes all that they have that they can truly call their own. A future fiction if you like—or *not nonfiction*—at least not the sort of nonfiction they have had to live. If young people write stories-of-self like this, it is a way for them to become visible, to make their experiences come alive, in that Maloufian way of writing topography being the mapping of 'the embodiments of mind and psyche' (1985, p. 3). 'My Story' becomes not just a story that could belong to anyone, a fictional reading, but an embodied reality, an expression of self that is tangible, material and in the case of these stories, in this case study from the streets of Melbourne, connected directly in both concrete and imaginative ways to place. Story as 'sense making' is another way to put it, as defined in conversation about a storytelling project for Melbourne Knowledge Week (City of Melbourne, 29 June 2017). It is through writing that we reclaim our voice and body as our own, as French philosopher and writer Hélène Cixous instructs us: 'Censor the body and you censor breath and speech at the same time. Write your self. Your body must be heard' (Cixous, Cohen, & Cohen, 1976, p. 880).

The RMIT/STREAT Story Mapping Project or #STREATstories is a writing project that connects city dwellers to each other and to the wider community. It aims to foster a meaningful sense of belonging and interrelatedness through the making and distribution of place-based urban stories and poetic expression as a way to foster prospects for social change. It is premised on the idea borrowed for our purposes from Baumeister and Leary (1995) that to belong is a fundamental human motivation, that to create a sense of belonging through the telling of story about one's self and one's own community has power and that these stories as a collection can become an invaluable resource (Rappaport, 1995; Sonn, Quayle, Mackenzie, & Law, 2014). Specifically, #STREATstories is a collaboration between the Melbourne-based social enterprise organisation STREAT and a group of creative artist-contributors at RMIT, all practising writers working in different forms and publishing as essayists, screenwriters, fiction and nonfiction writers; researchers across different fields of writing, publishing and advertising. It is a storytelling project that explores an 'applied creative writing' approach to creative fieldwork, critical perspectives and imaginative

inquiry for researchers keen to employ their writing/research skills and interests to matters of social injustice and inequity.

#STREATstories had its precedence in an earlier project RMIT collaborated on with STREAT where RMIT students and STREAT trainees partnered with each other and 'texted' stories back and forth on phones about their shared experience of the street, one trainee with one student: RMIT students provided their phones and STREAT provided lunch, the trainees showing the students their favourite, often secret haunts, with the pairs sending their Twitter-length compositions back to STREAT headquarters to be uploaded onto a transient blog fit for purpose. The idea of this project was to create a kind of map of the city through a set of anonymous microstories as a 'method of communicating heartfelt, highly charge realities in an immediate, raw and uncensored way: *Free shaving gel given on a street corner. But now i have to carry it all day*' (Rendle-Short, 2010, p. 7).

The current project began in 2015, after a series of conversations with STREAT about collaborating on #STREATstories. STREAT had been approached by Global Properties Trust (GPT) Group with the opportunity to design the annual Christmas wrapping paper for Melbourne Central Shopping Centre. Here was our project: a map of the city as a sheet of A0 paper, which we could use as the starting point for our storytelling collaboration. Over the coming months, in addition to our core team, we gathered together an illustrator, an artist and some musicians. The 'map' we would design for Melbourne Central was to be available to shoppers to the centre and was the beginning of a bigger storytelling project with STREAT.

No One Wakes Up Wanting to Be Homeless

STREAT provides homeless youth and young people who are experiencing severe disadvantage with supported pathways from living on the street to a sustainable livelihood via training and employment opportunities through its four cafés and catering company. STREAT recognises that creating job opportunities is only part of the solution to youth disadvantage. As such, they are also committed to developing creative programs, like writing and storytelling projects for their trainees. Programs such as #STREATstories offer an opportunity for the young people, to re-narrate their stories. #STREATstories is a project that connects homeless and disadvantaged youth directly and imaginatively to other members of the

community. It gives disadvantaged young people a genuine, authoritative voice and sense of place and purpose through the writing and sharing of their stories, as we discuss in the following sections.

Founded by CEOs Rebecca Scott and Kate Barrell, STREAT takes its inspiration from Know One, Teach One (KOTO) in Vietnam. To date, over the nine years STREAT has been in operation, it has served 1.5 million customers, supported 520 young people with 52,000 hours of connection and assistance. By 2022, it aims to be assisting 1095 young people each year—the same number of meals we all eat in a year, assuming we eat three meals a day (Scott, 2016, p. 1).

In Australia, a population of 23 million, there are 105,237 people who are homeless (up from 89,728 in 2006), according to the Census 2011 data, which accounts for 49 out of every 10,000 people (i.e. 0.46% of the population) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012). Sixty per cent of homeless people in 2011 on Census Night were under the age of 35 years. But the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) argues this figure masks the real truth. According to the 2011 Census report, homeless youth estimates are likely to have been underestimated due to couch surfing; their characteristics look no different to other youth who are not homeless because they can be marked down as simply 'visiting'. A young person might not want to report they are in fact homeless, or an adult might have filled out their Census form for them, thinking they will return home later. It is an ongoing challenge for organisations championing homelessness to encourage their clientele to contribute to the Census and to fill in forms (Brown, 2016). Homelessness itself is not a characteristic directly collected by the Census; it can only estimate the population based on a range of processes and methodologies (ABS, 2012). The ABS will release the 2016 Census estimates of homelessness in 2018 (ABS, 2017).

When we think of what it must be like to be homeless or disadvantaged in a city—sleeping rough, couch surfing or seeking shelter on a daily basis—it is similar to a process of redaction or censorship, where you disappear, you are not counted in, you are absent, missing, CENSORED or blacked out—of 'no fixed address'. To write story out of this 'missing' space reverses this state; it is a way to tell 'the only place I know from inside, from my body outwards' (Malouf, 1985, p. 3). Through map-making with story, contributors connect directly to the city in which they live in all its complexities; it becomes a narrative map, a map telling *their* story. #STREATstories is a 'writing the city' project; for readers of these stories and other participants, it is way of 'walking a mile' in someone

else's shoes: 'they will never 'walk the streets of Melbourne' in the same way again' (Rendle-Short, 2010, p. 7). It is also a method of un-censoring the city, or perhaps more accurately *un-redacting* the city—a way of being un-*Census*-ed—because by telling a story the storyteller becomes visible, she or he materialises into the space and they cannot be ignored.

May I Share This Couch with You?

#STREATstories is founded on the idea of collaboration, team effort and cooperation (Rendle-Short et al., 2017). It is an experiment in the making that applies creative writing to spatial modes of representation. It is not finished, in the sense that while one phase of the project has come to an end, the project itself is ongoing. #STREATstories asks what does it means to 'apply story to a map', how is 'giving voice' actually done in the composing and crafting of new work, what does it mean for a story to be made visible (Rendle-Short et al., 2017, p. 4)? Findings to date encompass the notion that to apply creative writing is also to change how the writing is done; this idea is pertinent in both the making of original story and text, as well as in the composing of writing to describe and analyse that writing and research. In other words, the 'writing up' of the collaboration is also an exercise (and experiment) in applied creative writing, where writers and creatives come together in a shared community of practice, a plural space, to bring their skills and expertise together.

Typically, writing is a solitary practice where, to write, you have to be alone. But when collaborating something enigmatic happens, something akin to magic, a process of 'joining hand, eye and mind' (Carter, 2004, p. xiii). Working side by side in this plural 'we' space, in openness and exchange, together you are able to 'make something tangible together that did not exist before' (Rendle-Short et al., 2017, p. 6). This approach challenges the role art can play in the ethical project of becoming (6), demonstrates that any good collaboration needs to be both intimate and far-reaching (pp. 9, 13), and evidences voice as a distinctive characteristic that is fundamental to story: 'found, lost, shared, exchanged and negotiated in the collaborative process' (Rendle-Short et al., 2017, p. 12).

So how do we do it, *write spaces* in the way we are talking about here—'write to taste life twice, in the moment and in retrospect,' as Anaïs Nin famously muses (Webber & Grumman, 1978, p. 38)? How do we write the streets?

No Such Thing as a Finished Story

For us, the writers and creatives who planned this (re)writing of the city, the map started as a kind of touchstone. We wrote emails back and forth, bouncing ideas of each other, getting inspired. Here is an example:

> It occurs to me that the […] street poems work because they are a form of mapping. Maps literally level the landscape so the CEO and rough sleeper are on the same plane of representation. For cultures that do not think in abstract mapping there can be subversions of the map as object (using the underside; sonic maps). (Aung Thin, 2015)

It was exciting playing with words and interrupting meaning. We quoted Georges Perec: 'Contrary to the buildings, which almost always belong to someone, the streets in principle belong to no one' (2004, p. 47). And wasn't that true? The name STREAT itself, with its deliberate substitution of *eat* for *eet*, encouraged a playful (re)writing of what was familiar or expected; a way of seeing what was there not only in the words, but also in sound. It pointed to a doubling of or sliding between contiguity of meanings and of disruption. We could use this playful approach when it came to mapping as a form of storytelling. We could disrupt the map as authoritative, official and exclusive object that also intimidates because it can be so hard to understand and use (ask anyone who has tried to navigate from a street directory as they have driven around an unfamiliar town, or GPS for that matter). We could colonise the map. We could assert belonging. In fact 'belonging' emerged as a core value underpinning the project. We could map those who were homeless and disadvantaged onto the city, make them visible and make them present through their stories. Assert the right of various voices to these streets that, officially, belonged to no one. In fact, instead of using street names at all, we could use familiar landmarks. Or landmarks that were unfamiliar to some, but familiar to the homeless and disadvantaged young people we were working with in conjunction with STREAT, that were a part of their story, their 'topography', such as a shelter tree in the park.

But a space that is deemed empty, seemingly belonging to no one, does not automatically belong to everyone. Australians are familiar with the term *terra nullius* (a Latin expression meaning 'land that belongs to no-one' or 'finders keepers' [Mabo Native Title]) and how it was used as a justification for European settlement and ownership. The idea of what

might be 'owned' on the map was raised in another way too, specifically in our right to use personal stories. For the homeless and disadvantaged young people we were working with, their own personal stories were highly valued. Writers value story, but this very particular sense of ownership is different—we were donating our time and ability, but asking the STREAT trainees to 'give' their stories to the map asks them for something they might not want to give up. We had to be careful not to squander the slenderest of means.

Then there was the issue of map as object. Our map was not just another form of abstract representation but a thing. It would have a top, sides and a bottom. It would also be wrapping paper intended to be folded and cut up. What would happen when the paper of the map folded in on itself, allowing that which was separated in space to suddenly touch? What would happen to a precious story if it were abruptly interrupted by a pair of scissors? In particular, what would happen if a young person's story was cut through the middle and thereby unwittingly censored? This was something we spoke about at length.

Folds, creases and doubling over—this was in effect our process. We doubled back on ourselves, thinking and rethinking what we were doing at each stage of the process. The philosopher Michel Serres nominates these acts of touch as the beginning of self-awareness, of consciousness (2008, p. 22). As we thought through what the map as representation might feel like and how it might be used—map both as wrapping paper for fundraising and as physical object in the world—our awareness of what this might mean to our constituents or 'stakeholders' (stakeholders in the broadest sense of the word, because something important was at 'stake' here) sharpened significantly. We began to articulate (what we already instinctively knew) that mapping as storytelling was by its very nature more than presence, the physical, material object. If we were going to pursue this idea, we would need to find what it was in the process and crafting of storytelling, in combination with the process and discipline of mapping that led to something new and worthwhile being made.

Every story is a form of negotiation (Atwood, 2002). As we considered the ethics of what we were doing, it was the *negotiations* required for storytelling that we brought to bear on mapping. A story negotiates time, point of view, as well as place and space. The philosopher Charles Taylor writes of 'an implicit map of social space' that we all carry inside us, one that includes the bodily 'knowing whom to speak to and when and how'

as well as 'what kinds of people we can associate with, in what ways, and under what circumstances' (2002, p. 107). It is these 'implicit social maps,' each one a series of unceasing negotiation, that a storyteller seeks to understand. This is what we might aim to 'map' onto the blank page.

Thus, our #STREATstories mapping process became not just mapping as storytelling, but storytelling as mapping. We were not colonising the map, but rather we were in constant negotiation *with* the map. Ultimately, in effect, what mapping-as-storytelling/storytelling-as-mapping becomes in this project is a negotiation between the city we thought we lived in, the city we actually live in, and the city we want to live in or dream of. David Harvey, the geographer, argues that '[t]he freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves' is 'one of the most precious and yet most neglected of our human rights' (2008, p. 23). When we change the city, we 'change ourselves' expressing the 'social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we would desire' (Harvey, 2008, p. 23). When we use this map to tell these particular stories, we are expressing our desire for a different sort of city that better reflects who we are and what we would like to become.

Autumn Leaves Covered Me in Carlton Gardens and It Felt Like the Arms of My Mother

Stories for the #STREATstories map came from diverse sources. Some were already gathered by STREAT, in the form of meditations on homelessness by members of the STREAT team, or accounts of lived experience, offered with permission by participants of their programs. Later, members of the STREAT community were invited (by CEO Rebecca Scott) to respond to the prompts 'random acts of kindness' and 'flights of fancy', generating further small lines or longer stories. Others were collected by writer and alumni of the RMIT Bachelor of Creative Writing, an Indigenous writer and First Nations consultant for many films and art projects, who was immediately clear on what areas of the map would best serve the Indigenous content. She arranged the authentication of an Acknowledgement of Country, suggesting these words run through the Yarra River. She compiled stories from Indigenous residents, homeless and otherwise, in the Central Melbourne area. Completing the collections was a number of stories that came from a significant act of *applied creative writing* in the #STREATstories project—that being, the running two creative writing workshops at STREAT fundraisers.

As teachers of creative writing more broadly, we know that our workshops never run as pre-planned. We ask our students to respond to tangible provocations while we ourselves simultaneously (and necessarily) respond to more subliminal prompts, asking ourselves: by what are the students inspired? Questioning? Curious? Confused? Confronted? We go off-script accordingly and take the workshop in new directions. Exercises we have long forgotten re-emerge according to need. Or half-remembered strategies nudge at the corners and are recruited in new forms. Sometimes, disappointingly, we ignore our instincts, persisting with an inappropriate strategy, eager to make good on the invested time and preparation. Other times, thrillingly, a new writing exercise is born on the fly. Always the singular workshop insists on forging its own, unique path, an aspect particularly true of these #STREATstories workshops; workshops designed and delivered for a varied group made up of mostly non-writers (so-called) in the writing space.

We have referred, above, to 'paths' and 'new directions', metaphors well worn, perhaps, in discussions of writing, teaching and creativity, but these are especially congruent for our #STREATstories, centring as they did upon a map of the Melbourne central business district. Participants engaged with their own notions of writing the city, although (almost certainly) without thinking about it in those terms. As with programs such as the Sydney Story Factory (a creative writing centre established in 2011, nurturing the writing and publishing of young people's stories, especially those from marginalised backgrounds), the #STREATstories project 'seeks to create and sustain a vital contribution to the community, by respecting and giving voice to people's stories' (Xerri, 2016), in our case, the voice of young people living with homelessness and disadvantage and, by extension, those in their wider community of support.

The first of our workshops was with the participants of #SleeplessinSeptember an annual fundraiser, which in 2015 was run in conjunction with STREAT and GPT (the property group who own Melbourne Central Shopping Centre). For the event, GPT invited people participating to stay overnight in the mall, partially re-creating the conditions of sleeping rough in the city. Those committed to the sleepover camped out, sponsored by the hour by friends and family for giving up their warm beds, but fortified by the community spirit, program of musicians, food supplied by STREAT and activities of which our creative writing workshop was one. The event took place in an air bridge running over

Melbourne's popular Bourke Street, and between Melbourne Central and the major department store, Myer. This sense of linking two places, of being in that space in between, was a fitting setting for an event designed to forge new pathways of understanding between those living with homelessness and disadvantage and those who are more privileged and homefull. This location felt similarly aligned with our writing station, fitted out as it was, with its stack of photocopied map templates, featuring grids of intersecting roads and alleyways, anchored by icons depicting familiar landmarks. City blocks on these pages were left deliberately blank and awaiting words. Melbourne Central was also pledging donations for each story written during the course of the event. Different price points applied depending on the paper size. What could fit on a luggage tag, for example, was a legitimate offering worthy of two dollars for STREAT—an option for those with a talent for brevity and/or a reticence to share too much.

Our writing station was one of many other activities, including knitting, and Lego. Live music was constant. It should not have been the ideal environment for a creative writing workshop, reliant as they usually are on quiet writing space, instructions delivered and comprehended, and/or the reading aloud of work generated by those willing to share it. Yet the writing station was busy throughout the workshop and beyond, into the night, generating stories.

The participants of the #SleeplessinSeptember workshop included friends of STREAT and STREAT trainees. By the latter, we mean young people who had experienced, or were still experiencing, homelessness and disadvantage. Many of the participants claimed, at the start at least, to be unable to write. Several were self-conscious about spelling and grammar. Illustrations were encouraged. For all of this, the stories flowed. In the process of encouraging the composing and crafting of new work, we aimed to provide opportunities for participants 'to develop the creative voices they already possess, and to tell their stories in diverse ways' (Butler, 2014). These ranged from words that could be contained, as discussed previously, on small canvasses like luggage tags, to those transformed into lyrics (later recorded and linked to the public map with the hashtag #STREATbeats). With all this came the knowledge that this was a workshop that had to be played like a game. Participants were full of soup and bonhomie, excited to be in Melbourne Central after hours, an atmosphere contributing already to the 'sense of community generated through[…] writing workshops' (Richard Short cited in Xerri, 2016). The workshop started late—close to 11pm. This made for an impish atmosphere and

mimicked, perhaps, the irregularity of hours kept by those without the borders of conventional homes. Our provocations were all tethered to our map: sometimes directly ('choose an intersection and share a memory'), sometimes more obliquely—for instance, stories written in pairs, line by line, with each new sentence's first word starting with the next consecutive letter of the English alphabet, using street names and landmarks as potential inspiration if struggling to find a word.

The process was repeated two weeks later in the high-rise city office of a global accounting firm. The Melbourne city branch had arranged their own 'Mini-Sleepless', bunking in at the office overnight. The evening began with a presentation, acknowledging the sponsorship raised for STREAT by the individual participants.

More than once, these office workers protested that they were not creative: 'We're accountants!' At one point, in a small room, we were competing with a screening of *Pitch Perfect 2* (2015). Yet, when the participants were convinced that silliness was not only acceptable but also encouraged, the pages began to fill. The negative self-evaluations and self-criticisms around creative writing and their capacity to write original stories were different, perhaps, to those expressed the week before in the shopping centre air bridge (suggesting anxieties around literacy) but equally as prohibitive, making it necessary to proceed 'by making writing fun, by demystifying the process' (Xerri, 2016). After group and paired exercises produced a series of non-sequiturs (albeit lines of prose that were singularly compelling), we worked with 'story spines', improvising aloud a simplified three-act structure of storytelling where incomplete sentences are provided for each participant to fill in the blank when it comes to their turn. While the workshops' separate participant challenges around literacy and the ability to be 'creative' made for different internal struggles, what united them was the need to dissolve concerns about 'doing writing correctly'.

Eventually, even games designed to be silly and spontaneous resulted in considered collaborations on co-authored stories. For example, playing the alphabet game, two writers built a story of unrest on the waterfront: ***Opposite*** *the 'clocks' a distance unsettles the crowd.* ***Police*** *are on the prowl […]* ***Quietness*** *returns […]* ***Right*** *around the corner, the music and activities continue around the establishments near Swanston Street and Fed[eration] Square.* ***Sounds*** *of drunken laughter start to lift the mood […]* ***Trouble*** *is afoot again…*

These workshops, themselves acts of applied creative writing served to generate stories of the city, inspire those invested in the work of STREAT to invest in their own creative agency.

I'm Not Me Without You!! I'm Not Me Without You!!

We undertook this project knowing the act of mapping, the process of collaboration and the maps themselves would contribute to representations of homelessness. Whatever the impact of our work, it was already engaged with an established social enterprise and, moreover, real lives, which meant it was situated outside the territory of our individual and shared creative projects. The intersection of the real world with the written word was already closer, and necessarily closer, than in creative writing projects not built on the experiences of the vulnerable. After the generative, collaborative and creative processes of the writing workshops, the editing stage was where we began to both 'compose' stories into material artefacts and to consider the implications for who is represented and how they are represented. In other words, we were now asking how to balance the risks of representation against creative possibility.

We were able to consider a range of textual material, the most substantial being handwritten artefacts from the creative workshops. These were composed on the fly: written at odd hours of the night, often at speed, with different pens and an unknown number of fast-changing collaborators. Occasionally, very different sets of handwriting could later be attributed anecdotally to the same author. We had twin goals when transcribing the text on these artefacts: putting them into a form that could be used elastically on the surface of the map and preserving all that was 'real' in the originals.

Asked by an interviewer: 'And the function of an editor? Has one ever had literary advice to offer?' Vladimir Nabokov famously replied: 'By "editor" I suppose you mean proofreader' (Gold, 2003, p. 198). In practice, these editors—whom Nabokov wonderfully called 'pompous avuncular brutes'—can perform a range of functions: conceiving an idea with (or for) an author; constructing sentences, paragraphs, chapters, books or sections; recasting material in a consistent voice or simply rewording for clarity. Editing is really a collection of tasks of varying creativity and intensity; an editor prepares a manuscript depending on its needs.

Compared to the texts editors sometimes receive, the #STREATstories material seemed relatively simple. It was often fragmentary in form, and conversational in both tone and intention. Because most had been collected

from fast-paced, collaborative creative writing exercises, there was the sense that the writing was not finished (or 'meant' to be finished), and moreover that it had been generated and gifted to a community. Contributors signed waivers for the use of their work in #STREATstories, but perhaps within this project there were multiple communities: the community within workshops, sometimes formal collaborators, certainly us, and the eventual readers and recipients of the map. Meanwhile, the nature of the map, which was meant to evoke the shared experience of a city, could not accommodate lengthy stories; the map spatialised stories and would not take a form that suggested a linear reading. It became possible to view the stories as poetic fragments or even as alphanumerical data, meant evocatively, suggestively, materially and spatially, and therefore able to be cut up.

However, as discussed, the workshops were not just composed of Creative Writing academics, STREAT employees, interested businesses and the public; in fact, the purpose of the workshops was partly their status as meeting grounds between these parties and homeless and at-risk youth. In a meeting ahead of the editing process, STREAT staff established clear ethical guidelines for the treatment of text. The priority was respect.

In practice, this was a nuanced brief. For example, we asked the STREAT staff whether or not we should retain the spelling mistakes of the authors, since this is a means of conveying the text's origins in the real world. As experienced youth workers, they quickly vetoed this. What a hypothetical reader may see as 'authentic' or even 'charming' falls secondary to the need for an author to feel not just 'represented' but '*well*-represented'. Reading and especially transcribing—an intimate encounter with handwritten text—we had the sense that the writing process was special and enlivening to all participants. Some were more vulnerable than others, yet all had produced stories that had been collected in good faith; therefore, all had at least to be correctly spelled. Beyond this rule, though, the need to ensure the material was well represented and entailed creative decisions.

I'm not me without you!! I'm not me without you!!

Do we retain the repetition, and if so, what does the repetition suggest—desperation or excitement? Or just a person sitting with an idea? If we retain the repeated words but cut the repeated exclamation points, how does that change the effect?

I went to the State Library and saw some lovely paintings. I loved it.

Does the repetition evoke speech and thought (one word becoming another), or even more than speech or thought, participating in a writing exercise, the trace of the material process of producing text?

In general, the idea was to do a light copy-edit, retaining stylistic differences and usage when it sounded the way people spoke. But in a long-form narrative that describes the childhood of a homeless young person, is it better to keep the phrase 'group of men with a gun' or change to 'group of men with guns'—is it better to feel as though you are hearing a person tell you a story, or to engage with a person through a lens that makes its subjects agree with its objects? Meanwhile, the work of processing text creates its own realities. For a long time, a favourite phrase was 'We are all making this us,' until we realised this was a transcription typo (originally 'We are all making this up'). In many cases, we left queries in documents and deferred to STREAT, allowing experience to guide ethics.

What began as a technical exercise was quickly revealed to be an ethical enterprise. To apply creative writing was more than just to apply experience with prose; instead, it applied experience within a creative and ethical space.

Thank You Human for Being Human

Melbourne's CBD is planned on a grid, a seemingly no-nonsense approach to navigating the city. King Street runs parallel to William, Queen to Elizabeth—if you can name the historical characters, you can find your way. But running through is a series of hard-to-find alleyways, analogous to the stories that came from our workshops in writing the city. Just like navigating the streets, there are more complex through-lines awaiting discovery.

In making a map of the CBD, for this project, we literally wrote stories up and down the streets: one-liners, words and phrases, lolly-wrapper-sized stories on A0 sheets. In exchange for a gold coin donation, Christmas shoppers at Melbourne Central could have their presents wrapped up in these stories, or could take home the wrapping paper sheets to keep as an artwork or to use in some other way. The map was full of content: of stories, of illustrations capturing key Melbourne landmarks, and of Indigenous stories and an Acknowledgement of Country. In addition to all of this there was various embedded content, which included links to long-form stories on the STREAT website (of which just snippets had been used on the wrapping paper), and a suite of songs collected on SoundCloud and identified by the hashtag #STREATbeats. Anecdotally, when Christmas Day came and people opened their presents, there was a

spike of activity on the STREAT website where much of this additional content could be accessed. The map caught the attention of Architects for Peace who wrote that the map gave readers an opportunity to think about the city from the perspective of others in one of the world's most 'liveable' cities (2016). A story about the project also ran in RMIT's newsletter (2015). Other associated projects—cups with snippets of story, a series of stories that opened out the underside of the map—were mooted, pursued, but ultimately did not get off the ground in this iteration of the project.

If we take maps to be representative documents, this case study asks: what is the potential for the act of mapping through a process of collaboration, and the maps themselves, to reconfigure representations of homelessness? In other words: what does it mean to write the city? And how do you write the city if you live on the streets? We wanted to explore the implications (and limitations) of writing (and editing) the city through a collaborative creative project, and through the making of material objects. The biggest outcome, at least in research terms, is that this project allows us to think about what a creative writing project is. To ask: what does a creative writing research project look like? How is it done? What *is* applied creative writing, and what does it allow for? Through facilitating workshops, collecting stories and 'composing' the stories into material artefacts, we explored both the potential for shared storytelling to positively affect participants and their communities—and the potential for applied creative writing to enrich the aims of social enterprise itself.

The #STREATstories map is the visible outcome of what we are describing as an applied creative writing project, but being applied creative writing, it does not just map a collaboration, it creates a model of practice. For example, the researchers found 'the effects and ethos of the partners and projects' fed back into their practices (Rendle-Short et al., 2017, p. 4). They 'borrowed the worldview suggested by the [...] project, and allowed the terms of the project to extend to their own creative practices' (4). This has resulted in ongoing collaborations, in ideas about mapping to influence individual creative works and in the publication of research that questions collaboration, while working within a collaborative form, towards a collaborative outcome.

Notes

1. Titles for each section come from story-contributions made to #STREAT stories.

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‘Shooting the Filigreed Breeze’: Reconsidering Older Men’s Trust Relations in Digital Social Enterprise

Lisa McDonald

Introduction

The well-being of older men in rural and regional Australia has received significant recent attention, with men over 65 years of age identified as those at the highest risk of suicide (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012; National Rural Health Alliance, 2009). This chapter explores selected concerns of critical gerontology by reviewing the potential for digital interventions to positively influence the incidence of older men’s risk of suicide in regional Australia.

Through the conceptual framework of ‘shooting a filigreed breeze,’ a framework evoking complex intricacies as well as everyday conversation sharing, the chapter presents a series of perspectives in social and cultural theory to outline what may constitute ‘social enterprise’ in older men’s lives. Implying the interlacing of possibilities and effects, the reflexive figure of a filigree is used to frame complex interactions between institutional, social and research practices and their influence on inquiry (Saukko, 2003). In this sense, then, the chapter further asks how older men’s social interactions may be transformed from ‘in-person’ relations, which emerge

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from a broader organisational setting, to a digital platform. Central to this shift is the element of 'trust' and its role in older men's peer support networks. What might a consideration of 'trust' bring beyond its tacit status to the formation of a 'digital trust network,' and how might such a network facilitate older men's support practices?

The practice of university community engagement between USQ and TOMNET has underpinned the development of a collaborative research and digital development project to effect the transition of the in-person support network to a digital platform. In this way, the project has also highlighted the role of civic process in designing collaborative research. While not the focus of the chapter, the interplay of relations between a research institution and its community partner is highlighted, presenting thoughts on how the basis of the peer support network, in this instance, older men's understandings of themselves and their environments, may also extend university understandings of community. Predominantly, however, the chapter elicits from philosophies of trust, a basis from which to further consider how 'digital trust relations,' in combination with changed organisational practices, may support an extended process of change in older men's lives.

The chapter continues with an outline of TOMNET and how its current practices foreground the 'digital trust' proposal.[1] A discussion is included about the potential for digital technologies to enable sensory, alimentary and therefore socially sustaining engagements for older men so that notions of health and well-being may trouble the dominant psycho-medical discourse often proposed in sociological gerontology (Swinnen & Port, 2012). Such a revision considers how the sensory practices of older men may challenge what constitutes situated regional well-being as well as understandings of 'social enterprise.'

The Filigree: Elements of Enterprise—TOMNET

Since its formation in 2001 TOMNET has focused directly on the physical, mental, emotional and social well-being of men over the age of 65 who are currently identified as the most at-risk-of suicide in Australia (MindFrame, 2014). TOMNET promotes a 'life enhancement' approach, which incorporates all older men without exception, and under the principle of 'older men supporting older men,' TOMNET has enhanced their social networks and addressed risk factors for suicide such as social and physical isolation, mental health concerns, grief and loss, poor health and

sudden changes of lifestyle like retirement or moving into aged care (TOMNET, 2013).

TOMNET has approximately 265 members and a meeting space in Toowoomba in the Darling Downs. Thirteen affiliated groups expand in its broader network to reach close to 500 older men across South West Queensland. Approximately 50 men are involved in a Residential Aged Care Facilities men's support group. Current membership numbers alone suggest that older men are seeking involvement in groups that provide companionship, social activities and care for one another at difficult times specific to their own generation (TOMNET, 2013). Acknowledged here are the struggles that many men have in facing retirement in a society that can at times dismiss older Australians (Menyen & Adair, 2013), with recent TOMNET programs emphasising older men's abilities to make contributions, at times well into their 80s.

Through a range of community care programs, the skills of older men are enhanced in the areas of communication, organisation, leadership, volunteer management, conflict resolution and suicide prevention (TOMNET, 2013). In the volunteer program, for example, the associated volunteer training creates a reciprocal benefit by increasing the volunteer capacities of those men who, in turn, provide further support to other vulnerable men (TOMNET, 2013).

Through this and other correlative approaches, TOMNET has expanded the reach of its peer support programs as older men in numerous rural communities engage in worlds beyond their own. Correspondingly, TOMNET aims to become a digitally based resource and communications leader in the facilitation of older men's community care programs in rural, remote and urban Australia. Yet, in moving towards this aim, TOMNET has maintained a concern about how the largely tacit, if socially proven, 'trust model' between TOMNET, its members and others might work in a digital context.

In planning the digital transition project, which fundamentally aims to extend the delivery of TOMNET's community care programs through digitally facilitated peer support networks, TOMNET General Manager Louise Adcock noted that the 'trust elements will be [in] how we use the technology, not the technology itself. It's the challenge of building relationships that takes time' (personal communication, 22 August 2014). In thinking through potential project outcomes, Adcock additionally noted that any 'dynamic portal' should 'respond to the needs of vulnerable older men … to foster positive relationships and outcomes between each other

[and] … build individual capacity, sustainable and meaningful connections' (personal communication, 10 October 2014).

In no way a minor undertaking, such a portal would work to support a culture of ageing which 'values and fosters concepts of older men in society' (Adcock, personal communication, 10 October 2014). Co-extensively, opportunities would be opened to re-contextualise TOMNET's existing parameters within the enormity of a digital cultural sphere, coaxing fresh understandings of well-being and cohesion from worlds beyond the local (Ling, 2008).

Engaging the Network

Surrounding this venture was the institutional imperative of performing an academic research practice that was 'engaged with community.' The researcher's broader context was situated within addressing the social and policy challenges of a digital future in rural and regional Australia.[2] Her practice was influenced by her previous strands of inquiry into how a 'university's mission' may be constituted when a role for affect is brought forward in research methodology (Crowley & McDonald, 2015). In this sense, she wondered if her own sense of affective civic responsibility could drive engagement practice beyond engagement only as 'core business' of a contemporary university (Goddard & Vallance, 2013; Gunasekara, 2004). All in all, however, it just seemed like a stimulating and creative use of digital technologies that would serve the dual purpose of illuminating the advocacy mission of TOMNET and providing a potential new funding line for USQ.

Is it enough to suggest, then, as others have, that the corporatisation of the university sector has forced engagement practices to invert what have been termed the 'neoliberal economic policies that have led the drive towards the corporatisation of the university sector' (Ang, 2006, p. 191; Frow, 2009)? Might a more complex relationship be what actually happens? One which sees 'service-led' community engagement productively hinge on the 'gradual repositioning of universities, over the past few decades, as organisations that are 'networked' not only to 'industry' but also to 'communities' at local, state, national and international levels' (Ang, 2006, p. 191)? In other words, and in this instance, does what TOMNET brings to the engagement 'network' antagonise a simplistically rendered neoliberal mantra to offer the engagement imagination a conceptual challenge (Watson, Hollister, Stround, & Babcock, 2011)?

While the aim is to address complex turns in rural and regional societies, TOMNET's process is relatively simple and can be paraphrased as that which enables conditions that are conducive to generating meaningful change in older men's lives (TOMNET, 2013). Thus in an attendant model of engagement, where institutional practices confront the actual lived experiences of older men who are agent in transforming their lives, it could be said that TOMNET tests the engagement imagination against these self-generating community practices, against practices which appear to do little more than encourage 'older men to support older men' (TOMNET, 2013).

As noted above, it is not the focus of this chapter to articulate in detail the engagement imperative; however, beyond the emerging need for a university service model is the inherent social agency of community in the collaborative process (Ang, 2006). Where ageing communities are concerned, rejecting the deficit basis upon which engagement may be made asks how, in particular, this agency is constituted.[3] How might this constitution revise understandings of an ageing social and have relevance for a 'digital social enterprise?'

Conceptualising Later Life

It has been put forward that 'embodied experience through the senses (and their necessary and unnecessary mediations) is how we think' (Jones, 2006, p. 5). If this is true, then what counts as effective peer support, or support that has positive influence in the lives of older men, is largely a question of how older men negotiate felt, or sensory, engagements with the world around them. Felt or sensory engagements are, in this sense, engagements of the body (Probyn, 2005) and therefore philosophically and materially complex (Grosz, 1994; Probyn, 2005; Probyn & Evers, 2010).

With current discussions of ageing often set at the limits of the psycho-medical model (Swinnen & Port, 2012),[4] the current tendency is to locate discussions about ageing in the social sciences. More particularly, these perspectives collect under the broad umbrella of sociological gerontology (Kolb, 2014), which may itself benefit from further disciplinary stimulation as it has also been proposed that both multi- and interdisciplinary perspectives could profitably generate reciprocal gerontological dialogue between distinct social sciences and the humanities (Swinnen & Port,

2012). Swinnen and Port (2012, p. 12), for example, have identified four conceptualisations of ageing which seek this reciprocity:

- Cultural age, which discusses how meanings of age might be extended beyond a biological function or chronological understanding of age, a 'calendar mark.'
- Age as a narrative, which situates narrative as a 'travelling concept' and age as negotiated around events and stories through time.
- The performativity of age, which discusses age not as a state of being but 'through acts of doing.'
- The materiality of age, which understands age as embodied experience, notably how bodies are 'disciplined to people's body images, the management of disabilities, and (post)phenomenological approaches to bodily aging.'

In the TOMNET context these conceptualisations provide qualitative directions for approaching gendered ways of ageing that may, in turn, influence the structure of a 'digital trust network,' as neither notions of age or network are resolved (Kolb, 2014; Ling, 2008). As we can already see, TOMNET rests on the performativity of age through older men's 'acts of doing' in the volunteer process, as well as narrative acts, the sharing of 'events and stories through time' (Swinnen & Port, 2012, p. 12). This particular rendition of an ageing social, then, tempts the production of a digital network which is material and enduring. It is a rendition which can be mobilised to effect new dialogues seeking change. Might a similar materiality be possible where the appearance of trust has so far been implicit and intangible? Which are the qualities of trust that may progress an articulation of older men's peer support in a digital network?

Exposing Trust

Understandings of trust extend beyond its status as tacit, or implied, despite the view that varying positions on trust may not resolve its presence or absence in a given situation (Jarvenpaa, Shaw, & Staples, 2004). Considerations of trust in Western thought can be traced from the European Enlightenment about which the philosopher Martin Hollis (1998) has written that what appears absent about trust, that is, the explicit reasoning which is thought the opposite of implicit trust, does not undermine it. Rather, Hollis contests that what constitutes reason should be

rethought to consider its contingent, perhaps contextualised, nature that 'remains subversive of any practice or social arrangement which cannot be fully justified' (Baker, 2000, p. 419). For Hollis, trust involves 'following rules' through rational cooperation between individuals whose rationality, in a generalised way, endorses certain social relations. Hollis's project is to make explicit how social relations work in order to highlight the internal workings of cooperation so that, in turn, the mechanisms of trust can also be identified (Baker, 2000).

In other considerations it is thought that trust responds not to explicit demands for its evidence: the more one seeks trust the more elusive it is. Rather, trust is more often insinuated, appearing in unvoiced dialogues and felt observations that tend to be understood through generalised notions of the world (Kohn, 2008). Similar to Hollis's 'generalised rationality' (Baker, 2000), generalised trust involves a 'standing decision to give most people the benefit of the doubt' (Rahn & Transue, 1998 cited in Kohn, 2008, p. 121). This decision appears through a sense of duty, perhaps responsibility, to trust others as you would trust yourself.

Commenting on the work of Rahn and Transue (1998), Marek Kohn (2008, p. 122) draws parallels between generalised trust and Christian principles such as 'love your neighbour as yourself' but goes on to suggest that a more secular approach to this 'standing decision' is based in idealism, in the exchange between a general social optimism about the world and the potential for reciprocal relationships with it. In writing about secularity and trust, Kohn (2008, p. 122) notes:

> Social or political idealism may also encourage [us] to assume that others will treat [us] as they would wish to be treated. The decision is to make oneself vulnerable in order to build trusting relationships, which will reduce vulnerability by increasing the probability of cooperation. With reciprocity, if you care for your neighbours, you should come to care about them, and if you act as though you trust others, you should come to trust them.

Trust also draws comment from political theorists who place it at the core of understandings about contemporary social and economic crises in the modern world. Following Robert Putnam's seminal text *Making Democracy Work* (1993), Francis Fukuyama's book *Trust* (1995) and Adam Seligman's *The Problem of Trust* (1997), Christopher H. Anderson (2005) notes that traditional models of trust, which were based on an individual's proximity to, and understanding of, others within a given

locality, could not be viably sustained in the modern era. Anderson's discussion traces select responses to the traditional model in early modern political theory through the writings of Hobbes, Locke and Hume, incorporating the theological view of Seligman that trust is a 'peculiarly modern problem' (Anderson, 2005, p. 37).

For Anderson, these thinkers remain relevant to present-day liberalism and its foundational concern for individual freedom. In summary, Anderson (2005, pp. 36–37) outlines why this is the case by showing how Hobbes, Locke and Hume understood trust in response to widespread social and economic change:

> Hobbes presented a case for the essential fatuousness of interpersonal trust in a world without an unlimited authority to enforce [social] contracts. Locke assumed a comparatively high degree of trust within civil society, concentrating instead on forming and maintaining government that is worthy of civil society's trust. Hume offered us a vision of a social world in which persons are naturally trustworthy, but can become less so as the result of politics or speculation.

Anderson (2005, p. 76) goes on to state that the past 30 years have seen a rapid decrease in trust between strangers, his view being that, 'if trust and trustworthiness declines, the prospects for an improving social life become bleak.' It is predictable that Putnam's legacy is influential here and places screen-based activities, such as watching television, at the heart of such civic decline (Anderson, 2005, pp. 6–77). Contemporary studies of screen and digital media have shown, however, that civic engagement has shifted, that it is, at the very least, inspired by the appearance of new 'social' media and its extensive participatory reach (e.g. Manovich, 2013). This indicates that activities like watching digital television can underpin broad engagement with new screen and media structures that include globally interconnected content (Straubhaar, LaRose, & Davenport, 2013).

To the extent that TOMNET's organisational structure is that of an incorporated not-for-profit entity, a notion of trust that sees 'digital peer support networks' through the lens of 'virtual team structures' may also be useful. A virtual team, here, is defined as 'a self-managed knowledge work team, with distributed expertise, that forms and disbands to address a specific organisational goal' (Kristof et al., 1995 cited in Jarvenpaa et al., 2004, p. 251). The view of trust in this argument is drawn from research into the Information Technology sector where trust is placed at the centre

of relations between humans and machines. It has been reasoned that 'technology can change conditions in terms of their physical infrastructures, tasks and social dimensions. Changes in context can lead to differing levels of trust' (Jarvenpaa et al., 2004, p. 250).

Correlatively, a change in context can alter the role of trust as well as the degree to which it is needed or it exists. One of the tenuous factors identified about virtual work is the almost complete absence of any structural context, given the dispersing nature of virtual organisational processes. Structure is not inherent. Rather, it needs to be imposed from the outside and agreed upon to be effective (Jarvenpaa et al., 2004).

In ostensibly 'global' work environments it could be assumed, then, that virtual teams have a relatively high dependence on trust. But what is evident in that research is that trust is mediated by either the strength or weakness of particular applied work structures rather than in its tacit presence or absence—the stronger the communicative process is between members of a team (e.g. defining goals, processes and expectations), the less requirement there is for the appraisal of trust relations (Jarvenpaa et al., 2004).

This research would seem to effect a more instrumental understanding of trust than is offered in the philosophical and socio-political views mentioned above, a view which is based on the degree to which the socialisation of virtual teams can be effected. Indeed, the study applied simple socialisation exercises, such as having team members send introductory messages, professional descriptions, learning or work objectives to each other, as well as note the perceived challenges of virtual teamwork. Subsequently, members had to devise agreed 'terms of reference' for negotiating team relations, such as listening to others, expecting participation, assisting each other and so on (Jarvenpaa et al., 2004, p. 265).

What has emerged from this structural approach is an evidence base for achieving high levels of trust in digital contexts that are built by the team members themselves. Were TOMNET to employ a deliberate and applied approach to generating trust with a similarly agreed upon structure between peer network participants, a culture of trust may emerge which is initiated, defined and experienced by the men themselves.

Following the establishment phase of the project, a cultural research component would seek insights from TOMNET members about their own understandings and experiences of trust that may open a much needed dialogue about how a 'digital trust network' could evolve. But pending these insights, the selected perspectives presented here position

trust as complex, politically and historically situated, yet conceptually and materially viable in building a digital peer support network. Both trust and age may prove, then, to be performative and expose dominant understandings of ageing as detached from the generative and therefore interventionist (Dey & Steyaert, 2012) experiences of later life (Bell, 1999; Swinnen & Port, 2012).

'Network': Connection Through Dispersal

Emerging from a study of digital technologies, mobile cultures and cultural practices is the view that place-based analyses of digital technologies are not consistent with mobile cultural trends (Ito, Okabe, & Matsuda, 2006). The adoption of digital technologies in a particular country, for example, is seen to respond to that country's local conditions, which then inspire new regional engagements through extrinsic, or outward-looking, mobility practices (Matsuda, 2006). Navigating community support networks in digitally inspired settings, which are predominantly framed by principles of 'uncertainty,' may not immediately seem relevant to suicide prevention strategies that generally rely on known proximities of trust.

Yet, uncertainty is still a solid basis for effective community activities. Affiliations that emerge from digital bases depend less on individuated identity actions than on dispersive connectedness. This is why many social networks are based on momentary and selective engagements rather than on established commonality indicators of connectedness (Lovink, 2008). These engagements are not deficit positions but indicate that intermittent and mobile social relations are as important to cohesive social practices as established place-bound relations.

It is from these thematic approaches that the often silent quality of digital engagement emerges to demonstrate how distinct moments of social cohesion work even when cohesion is not apparent. As communications theorist Rich Ling (2008) has suggested, one of the challenges facing contemporary ideas about social inclusion is the tendency to downplay the way that apparently unrelated elements underpin strong social bonds. The example given shows how mobile phone interactions nurture friendship and other 'co-present,' or spatially renegotiated, relationships. This nurturing can occur through the 'mundane,' or every day, aspects of social organisation such as arranging dates, meeting places and so on or by providing more complex starting points for interaction like conversational inflections or gossip. Socially cohesive communities which are mobile and

'on the move' occur through an individual's sense of proximity to another individual or group but not necessarily by their physicality (Ling, 2008, p. 64; Wei & Lo cited in Ling, 2008, p. 164).

This sense of proximity moves with facets of communication practice because of the delivery structures of mobile technologies. The interactions are experienced in 'real time' and incorporate the simultaneity of being in one place as well as another (Ling, 2008). In this sense, these facets of interaction are culturally dispersive as well as intimately significant, suggesting a dialogue about 'network' which relaxes the need for coherence as a dominant indicator of worthwhile cultural exchange (Bakke, 2006). This rationale suggests a shift away from an identity-centred digital context to a narrative of the self that involves the non-exclusion of others in one's subjectivity. It is therefore inter-corporeal, outward looking and open to risk. Being mobile through technology can therefore heighten the intensity of feeling we have for each other and for significant events in our lives (Ling, 2008).

Conclusion: Tempting Enterprise

While the project discussed above involves specific sites in regional Queensland, communities are also dispersed, casting into doubt known parameters of 'place' (Ling, 2008). Place, however, remains a key theme in conceptualising the specificities of older men's networks, and the specificity of place as it is lived, discussed and experienced can be well explored through the contributions of older people living in selected areas of regional Queensland, even though place, as a performative experience, is therefore also a volatile reference point for sense-making in older age (Swinnen & Port, 2012).

In this way, place is foundational to questions of social enterprise through connectedness and belonging because it is both imagined and experienced, giving into notions of mobility which are not only exalted by the presence of digital mobile devices but which situate place-making poetically across, 'overlapping territories and intertwined histories … [as well as] visible and invisible networks' (Chambers, 2008, pp. 3–5). Place is, then, an arbiter of changing conditions (Carter, 2005) but is also conceptually reticent in settling a sense of belonging through digital spheres. In exercising questions of place, a focus on people's experiences, and on how place reciprocally affects a sense of self and belonging in relation to, and beyond, digitally inspired peer support networks, is crucial.

The TOMNET 'trust philosophy' attempts these non-linear moves beyond simple information provision into the unexpected terrain of older men's sensitivities. The digital platform hopes to trial this philosophy in ways that support the nuanced and delicate interactions the support network generates even though the detail of these interactions is largely known only to TOMNET members. While the urgency of innovatively addressing the broader suicide prevention agenda is an integral part of TOMNET's mission, so too is the need for expansion. Community care programs have a significant positive impact on the well-being of communities, and digital technologies have already been linked to improving the well-being of older regional Australians through increased connectedness and a greater sense of social inclusion (see McDonald, 2014; Warburton, Cowan, & Bathgate, 2012). By opening out the conceptual and digital infrastructure of TOMNET, it is hoped that innovative ways to advance both regional peer support networks and understandings of what constitutes a contemporary and felt digital social enterprise will emerge.

Notes

1. This outline has been adapted from The Older Men's Network (TOMNET) Inc. (2013), *Community Connections Program, Phase 3* (Final report). Toowoomba, QLD: TOMNET.
2. The research informing this paper has been funded by the Australian Government, Department of Education, through the *Digital Futures-Collaborative Research Network*, University of Southern Queensland.
3. For a detailed discussion about agency and negativity see, McNay, L. (2000). *Gender and Agency: Reconfiguring the Subject in Feminist and Social Theory*, Cambridge, UK: Polity.
4. This assertion rests on decades of feminist scholarship addressing the obfuscation of 'lived bodily experience' through, for example, the discourse of biological determinism. While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to critique that discourse, it is worth noting its lingering significance in understandings of age favouring 'decline.' See for instance, Elspeth Probyn, *Sexing the Self: Gendered Positions in Cultural Studies* (London; New York: Routledge, 1993). See also, Ien Ang (2013) 'Who Needs Cultural Research?' *Consortium of Humanities Centres and Institutes*, http://chcinetwork.org/about/library/who-needs-cultural-research-ien-ang/.

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Gender-differentiated Social and Human Capital and the Use of Microcredit in Bangladeshi Female Entrepreneurship

Muntaha Rakib, Sayan Chakrabarty, and Stephen Winn

Introduction

Microcredit and microenterprises are recognised factors that contribute to the economic development of a country. Poor people do not have access to formal credit owing to their lack of capital, and they choose not to access informal credit because of its exploitative character. In Bangladesh, several non-government organisations (NGOs) initiated microcredit programs to alleviate credit constraints on poor people seeking to initiate microenterprises. These microenterprises have an added gender dimension, because it is women who are specifically targeted for microcredit loans. These microcredit loans are instalment-based, small loans given to poor people, typically women, without collateral. It is assumed that this access to microcredit will be used for productive purposes.

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The use of credit for productive purposes is defined as using credit for income-producing purposes (Chakrabarty, 2012), whereas the non-productive use of credit is defined as personal consumption purposes or repaying other loans (Chakrabarty, 2015). However, it has been identified that, owing to sociocultural norms and traditions, the credit has not always been used for productive purposes or for the intent for which it was made available—that is, to use the funds to start a personal microenterprise. Rather, it has been found that the credit may be used to support non-productive activities such as a daughter's marriage or to support other family members, or it is used to support a husband's business or income-earning activities (Chowdhury, 2009). Analysing data from the three largest micro-finance institutions in Bangladesh, Chowdhury (2009) argued that access to microcredit does not have a positive influence on female entrepreneurship.

Group membership offers a way of building capital for those who do not possess or have access to physical and natural capital, or for those with low levels of human capital (Anderson, Locker, & Nugent, 2002). To be precise, participation increases social capital (Godquin & Quisumbing, 2008), and some groups provide credit and training that may be used as collateral to invest in other forms of capital. For example, group-based microfinance programs often increase the earnings of group participants by allowing them to invest in necessary assets to support small-scale, income-generating activities such as livestock, sewing machines and looms (Anderson et al., 2002).

Social capital, which can be defined as resources within communities, is created through establishing high levels of trust, reciprocity and mutuality, shared norms of behaviour, formal and informal social networks, effective information channels, and so on (Grootaert, 1999; Narayan & Pritchett, 1999), all of which can be generated by group activities. While studies exist on the relationship between group participation and household welfare, the fact that the social capital of men and women, or participation in groups by gender, may have different impacts on the accumulation of capital has not been explicitly addressed (Grootaert, 1999; Narayan & Pritchett, 1999). This chapter attempts to fill this gap.

Human capital is measured by education, skill, training, work experience and so forth (Becker, 1962; Coleman, 2007), which might also play a role in the use of microcredit and growth in entrepreneurship. Godquin and Quisumbing (2008) found wealth and human capital to be positively associated with group membership in general and that, to be more specific, education can have a particularly positive effect on the membership of

women in groups. Educated men and women may have ideas and scope to use the credit that they receive in productive ways. The importance of group activities and human capital therefore extends beyond the purely social aspect, which lays the foundation for this study.

Various studies show that the involvement of rural women in home-based economic activities, through microcredit programs, has a positive socioeconomic impact on their lives and their families. However, it is not clear whether they are using the credit in productive ways or not (Hashemi, Schuler, & Riley, 1996). Several studies have highlighted the barriers to, and the importance of, female entrepreneurship and uses of credit. Other than the factors related to social capital (e.g. networking), components of human capital such as education, skills, and so on, are also included among the barriers (Roomi, 2013). Various other factors such as employment status, education and social networks also affect women's entrepreneurship (Harding et al., 2005). The current literature remains unclear about the impact of microcredit in general and its impact on women specifically, and to what extent human and social capital influences the use of microcredit. It is also unclear how loans are accessed, who accesses them (the applicant or another family member) and how the credit is used.

This chapter examines whether social capital and/or human capital play an influential role in how males and females use borrowed microcredit for productive purposes. The chapter's main aim is to identify the determinants of the productive use of credit by males and females and also to examine the repayment of the credit by the household. This chapter also focuses on the recipients of microcredit, the source of the microcredit and its purpose.

The remainder of the chapter is structured as follows: the section "Review of Literature" discusses a brief literature review. In the section "Data and Descriptive Statistics", we describe the data with descriptive statistics. In the section "Empirical Approaches", we provide the estimation techniques, and the section "Results and Discussion" presents the results and the discussion. Section "Conclusion" concludes the analysis.

Review of Literature

Microcredit, Social Capital and Women's Empowerment

Microfinance has generally evoked social capital in the form generalised by sociologist Robert Putnam (1993) as being "features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, which can improve the efficiency of

society by facilitating coordinated actions". Microfinance yields not only financial payoffs by increasing access to financial services but also empowerment payoffs for women by bridging and linking social capital that emerges from participation within the networks of borrower groups (Servon, 1998). Mosley, Olejarova, and Alexeeva (2004) describe social capital creation from the angle of trust and association: (1) between members, (2) between members and microfinance groups and (3) between members or groups and an intermediary organisation. In particular, borrowers' interactions at "centre meetings" facilitate their ability to establish and strengthen networks outside their kinship groups and to generate social capital (Lawrance, 1998). Studies have found that social capital enhances and incubates entrepreneurship and promotes business growth in microentrepreneurs and small enterprises (Kickul, Gundry, & Sampson, 2007; McGowan, Cooper, Durkin, & O'Kane, 2015; Roomi, 2013). Thus social capital plays a role in creating collective consciousness amongst disempowered women.

The microfinance literature has emphasised the role of intermediaries in creating social capital among program beneficiaries during forming, norming and performance by women, and in fostering their empowerment (Ledgerwood, 1999; Newman, Kiazad, Miao, & Cooper, 2014; Newman, Schwarz, & Borgia, 2014; Panda, 2009). Rolands (1997) defined empowerment as a process, whereby women become able to organise themselves and increase their own self-reliance, to express their independent right of making choices and to control resources. Poor women gain access to both social and financial resources using microfinance, as it allows them to access networks, relationships, social interactions and empowerment (Foley & O'Connor, 2013) through the market mechanism (Fernando, 1997; Mayoux, 1995; Morduch, 2000; Rankin, 2001). Therefore, social capital plays an important role in the entrepreneurial process for accessing tangible and intangible resources (Ferri, Deakins, & Whittam, 2009), which are an important element of new venture creation (Debrulle, Maes, & Sels, 2014) and of start-up growths (Pirolo & Presutti, 2010). Microcredit enables the beneficiaries to meet regularly with borrowing members, which helps to create social capital (Anderson et al., 2002). However, some researchers found that credit groups were more motivated to encourage people to repay the loan rather than to promote their social capital and their health-related activities (Haque, 2010). In this situation, there is little contribution towards creating social capital.

Economic empowerment, especially of women through social capital via microcredit, is an entrepreneurial instrument enacted for joint problem-

solving capability (Bowey & Easton, 2007), risk mitigation capability (Gao, Sung, & Zhang, 2013) and decision-making capability (Jansen, Curseu, Vermeulen, Geurts, & Gibcus, 2013), as well as creating a better bargaining position at home and in the community.

The Use of Microcredit

Credit markets fail if poor people are unable to borrow for socially beneficial projects, that is, projects with an excess of social benefits over social costs. Becker (1993) highlighted the problem of credit market imperfections, which often undermine human capital investment. The multiplier effect of microcredit increases income and generates employment for poor households. However, how much income and employment are generated via small credit depend on the nature of the investment, that is, how productive the investment is (Chakrabarty, 2015). The proponents of microcredit believe that there is a direct link between microcredit expansion and the real growth of output and employment. However, an International Labour Organisation (ILO) study found that unproductive investments, like the repayment of another loan or credit, is the second highest use of credit after small business creation (Chakrabarty, 2012).

Microcredit, Social Capital and Repayment

Generally, the term of social collateral through social capital is synonymous with the microfinance loan and is created through trust, network, group pressure and training (Conning, 1996; Rotzer, 2007). Zeller (1998) found that group lending related positively to social cohesion within groups, trust lowered the monitoring costs of group members and peer monitoring appeared to have a positive effect on group loan repayment (Gargiulo & Ertug, 2006). Previous researchers found that the trust between the group members influenced the repayment performance of the microrecipients (Khandker, 2012; Postelnicu, Hermes, & Szafarz, 2013). However, trust can also turn into a liability. Excessively strong social ties within groups appear to make it more difficult to pressure fellow members to repay loans (Wydick, 1999). Karlan (2005) and Cassar, Crowley, and Wydick (2007) differentiated between trust and trustworthiness, and they indicated that individuals' trustworthiness and social and cultural homogeneity within groups improve repayment. Coleman (1988) emphasised the importance for the members of the network to be geographically close for better monitoring and repayment.

Data and Descriptive Statistics

This study uses data collected in 2012; use the following link: https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/27883

For the baseline statistics, refer to: https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/27704

The study was undertaken with 800 agricultural households in various unions (administrative units) in Bangladesh. The International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), together with the Center for Development Studies (ZEF) and Data Analysis and Technical Assistance Limited (DATA), conducted a study that examined the Economics of Adaptation to Climate Change in Bangladesh. The study is known as the Bangladesh Climate Change Adaptation Survey (BCCAS). Baseline data were collected by IFPRI and DATA in 2010. These data did not include information about social capital, which is therefore not used in this study. The survey covers 31 of 64 districts (for the list of districts, visit https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_districts_of_Bangladesh) all over Bangladesh, including all of the agro-ecological zones (AEZs), categorised by the Bangladesh Centre for Advanced Studies (BCAS). With detailed information about social capital, credit use by gender and complete information about asset ownership, this dataset provides the opportunity to examine the correlates of gender-differentiated entrepreneurship, measured by the productive use of credit money accessed by main adult males and main adult females. Of the sample households, 89% were headed by men and 11% were headed by women. Among the female-headed households, about 32% were widowed or separated. Of the remainder, the husbands had left the home, mostly for work purposes.

Sources and Uses of Credit

Table 9.1 shows the sources of credit received by the households in the sample. Questions were asked of the main male and the main female of each household, specifically asking where he or she received the credit. Most of the male (40%) and female (39%) beneficiaries received credit from informal sources such as neighbours, relatives or friends. The next preferred source was NGOs, which operate microcredit programs actively in Bangladesh, targeting female members of households. Table 9.1 shows that more females (35%) than males (25%) received credit from NGOs, which reflects the female-targeting activities of NGOs in Bangladesh.

Table 9.1 also shows that the informal credit sector, with high interest rates (*Mahajan*), is relatively less dominant in the sample in this study.

Table 9.2 provides responses from the main male and the main female of each household about why they took out a loan. It is interesting to note that there was little difference between males and females. This most likely reflects the fact that both males and females borrowed credit in times of family necessity and spent it by mutual understanding. Main females spent relatively more than their male counterpart on education rather than on food consumption, the development of the dwelling, land purchase, or dowry and marriage expenses, which are mainly male responsibilities in traditional Bangladesh. This also supports previous research findings (Quisumbing, Kumar, & Behrman, 2011; Rakib & Matz, 2015[2]). Another notable point is both males and females (6% and 7%, respectively) took a loan to repay another loan,

Table 9.1 Sources of credit as a percentage

Sources	*Main male (%)*	*Main female (%)*
Neighbours/friends/relatives	40	39
NGOs	25	35
Government cooperatives	16	9
Commercial banks	4	3
Mahajan	9	8
Others	6	6
Total	100	100

Table 9.2 Reasons for taking credit by main adult male and main adult female

Reasons for taking out a loan	*Main male (%)*	*Main female (%)*
Food consumption	10	9
Education	1	2
Doctor/medicine/health	9	9
Farming (crop and fish)	25	24
Farming (livestock & poultry)	3	4
Business, cottage industry and self-employment	13	13
Repayment of loan	6	7
Marriage expenses and dowry	6	5
Purchase and mortgage of land	10	8
Going abroad to work	4	6
Development of dwelling	9	7
Other	4	6
Total	100	100

which shows the vicious circle of loans in the rural credit market. Females spent more in migrating a family member abroad, which is similar to previous econometric results using the same data sets (Rakib & Matz, 2015[2]).

Socioeconomic Factors and the Productive Use of Credit

Table 9.3 shows the age distribution for main males and main females using microcredit loans for productive purposes. In the 0–30-year age group, there were 63% of male recipients and 68% of female recipients. While the main productive time for males was from ages 31 to 40, females used their credit in productive ways either before age 30 or after 40. This study found that most women were rearing children between 31 and 40 years of age. Table 9.3 shows that males were involved in productive investment until they reached 60 years, but that females were involved in productive investment only until they reached 50 years. This finding is similar to previous studies (Roomi, 2013).

Table 9.4 highlights the productive use of credit by main males and main females against educational level. Studies have indicated that education has a positive relationship with the productive use of credit (Madsen, Neergaard, & Ulhoi, 2003). These results showed that 59% of males and 55% of females with no education were productive users of credit. As expected, the higher the level of education, the higher the proportion of

Table 9.3 The use of credit for productive purposes in households by gender and age for the main decision-maker

Age distribution	*Males (%)*	*Females (%)*
Up to 30	63	68
31–40	73	58
41–50	60	61
51–60	65	51
Above 60	54	50

Table 9.4 The productive use of credit by level of education of main adult male and main adult female

Education level	*Males (%)*	*Females (%)*
No education	59	55
Class I–V	66	56
Class VI–VIII	65	67
Class IX–X	64	79
Class XI–XII	67	100
Higher education	88	100

males and females who used credit in productive ways. Results from this study confirmed this premise, with 88% of males and all females with higher secondary education using credit for productive purposes.

Reviewing the theory and the existing literature, an index of social capital is constructed using Principal Component Analysis (PCA). The components of the social capital index are listed in Table 9.8 in the appendix. The index is normalised to range from zero to one for comparability with larger values implying larger social capital.[1]

Table 9.5 shows gender- and user-differentiated asset distribution by different types of assets. For example, a total value of current physical assets worth 50,788 Taka (Tk) (US$635) was owned by a main adult male who used credit in productive ways, while a non-productive male user had a total asset value of 42,531 Tk (US$531). Similarly, a main adult female who owned a total value of physical assets worth 11,778 Tk (US$140) was a productive user, but a non-productive female user owned a total asset value of 9872 Tk (US$123). This suggests that using credit in productive or non-productive ways in no way varied the physical asset ownership of users. This type of capital includes household durables, agricultural tools, vehicles, and so on. It is likely that the people who received credit did not spend the money to buy physical capital, although ownership varied between male and female users. It appears that social capital was an important distinguishing factor between males and females becoming productive or non-productive users.

Generally, most of the credit users were members of groups, even though their social capital varied between productive and non-productive users. This indicates a difference between group participation and active partici-

Table 9.5 The different asset levels of productive and non-productive users

Variable	*Main adult male*		*Main adult female*	
	Productive user	*Non-productive user*	*Productive user*	*Non-productive user*
Total value of asset	50,788	42,531	11,778	98,72
Livestock in TLU	0.77	0.65	0.40	0.41
Total plot size (in square meter)	3335	3089	40	12
Years of schooling	4	3	3.5	2.5
Social capital index	0.62	0.44	0.62	0.42
Network index	0.21	0.18	0.21	0.19

pation. Those who participated in regular meetings and who participated actively in other group activities were endowed with more social capital, which enabled them to increase their awareness and capacity to build. They might thereby have been motivated to use their credit in more productive ways rather than those who were non-productive users. Likewise, defined natural capital, which is measured by plot size in Table 9.5, also varied between productive and non-productive users. It is quite common for the people of Bangladesh to want to accumulate more land assets. Accessing and receiving a line of credit could be seen as a good way to achieve this. Besides, productive users often received higher returns from their borrowed money, which helped them to enhance their asset portfolio, while non-productive users used the credit differently—for example, for medical treatment or for a daughter's' marriage—so often they did not have the opportunity of a return from the one-shot investment.

Empirical Approaches

To identify influencing factors around the productive use of credit, a probit model was defined. To identify the correlates of the productive use of credit, the dependent variable was a binary variable, taking the value of one if the main male or the main female used the borrowed credit in productive works, and if not, the value was zero. To identify the determinants of credit repayment among the receivers, a simple probit model was defined, with the dependent binary variable being measured by value one if the receiver repaid the credit amount, and by zero if the receiver had not yet paid the credit back.

The explanatory variables consisted of a set of capitals—for instance, a social capital index for the individual (main male and main female) in the household, human capital of the household measured by years of schooling of males and females and livestock capital of the household measured by Tropical Livestock Unit (TLU). The individual characteristics of the recipient of the credit included age, occupation, work experience and household-level characteristics, including household size, the male-to-female ratio, the dependency ratio, and so on.

Description of Variables

To ensure similar analysis, many relevant studies in the field include physical capital and land ownership variables, even though there may be reverse

causality or simultaneity among the different types of assets and the dependent variables. For example, current asset ownership might influence the decision whether or not to use the credit for productive purposes or to use the credit for non-productive purposes. Therefore, the asset variables, physical capital, livestock and social capital were calculated as a "leave out village mean" instead of a regular mean within each village. This has been based on the tendency that people from the same village appeared to have similar asset endowments. The "leave out village mean" of each household's asset base was the mean value of the rest of the household assets in the same village, excluding the household in question (Goldstein, 1999; Jacobi & Mansuri, 2006). The hypothesis behind using the "leave out village mean" technique is that the percentage of assets of other households in the village is not in a direct cause-and-effect relationship with choosing to use credit for a productive purpose of a specific household (Quisumbing & McNiven, 2010; Rakib & Matz, 2015). The robustness of the results was evaluated by both including and excluding the asset variables in the models to minimise the simultaneity bias. The influence of social capital on the productive use of credit was examined by including a social capital index in the model and then to a disaggregating level by including the social index components individually.

A set of explanatory variables was chosen according to relevance and on the basis of theory and existing studies. The independent variables included years of schooling, work experience, the age of the household head, household land ownership, physical assets (measured by an index generated using a PCA),[2] livestock ownership (measured in TLUs), and the social capital of the main adult male and female household members.[3]

The social capital index was constructed by applying a PCA in a similar way to the physical capital index mentioned above.[4] Land ownership was defined by household plot sizes.[5] Experience with climate change related shock included whether the households had experienced flood, drought or cyclone in the last two years. Experience with negative shocks measured whether the households had suffered from the illness or the death of the household head or other family members and whether they had had to pay dowry or wedding expenses. These were used as control variables because shock-affected households are expected to understand better the necessity of using credit for productive purposes relative to others. Experience of positive shocks was defined as whether the household had received remittance or dowry receipts in the last two years.[6]

Results and Discussion

The results of the econometric analysis are presented in this section of the chapter.

Associating Factors of the Productive Use of Credit by Gender

The factors associated with using credit for productive purposes by gender are examined, and the marginal effects of the probit model are presented, in Table 9.6. These factors were examined separately for main adult male and

Table 9.6 Social capital and other factors associated with the productive use of credit by main male and main female, marginal effects presented

Factors	*Productive users of credit*	
	Main adult male	*Main adult female*
Social capital of main adult male (leave out village mean)	0.933* (0.503)	
Social capital of main adult female (leave out village mean)		−0.612 (0.979)
Years of schooling of main adult male	0.011** (0.005)	
Years of schooling of main adult female		0.016** (0.008)
Total plot size in square metres (leave out village mean)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Physical asset index (leave out village mean)	−0.270 (0.457)	0.130 (0.478)
Total livestock in TLU (leave out village mean)	0.093 (0.068)	0.060 (0.068)
Affected by climatic shocks	0.148*** (0.048)	0.161*** (0.048)
Affected by non-climatic negative shocks	−0.220*** (0.049)	−0.214*** (0.049)
Affected by positive shocks	0.064* (0.049)	0.054 (0.050)
Age of main adult male	−0.002 (0.002)	
Age of main adult female		−0.006** (0.003)
Main adult male employed off-farm	−0.159 (0.071)	
Main adult female employed off-farm		−0.084* (0.152)
Work experience of main adult male	−0.002*** (0.002)	
Work experience of main adult female		0.005*** (0.002)
Household size	0.023** (0.014)	0.018** (0.014)
Men to women ratio	−0.041** (0.028)	−0.050** (0.029)
Dependency ratio	0.121 (0.160)	0.000*** (0.165)
Pseudo R-squared	0.104	0.088
N	492	492

Source: Authors' calculations based on the survey data

Note: Robust standard errors are given in parentheses. The coefficient indicates the impact of a marginal change on the probability

***$p < 0.01$; **$p < 0.05$; *$p < 0.1$

main adult female member of the household. Main adult males with social capital were more likely to use credit in productive ways. Probably the groups in which they participated, their networks and the exposure that they received from social interaction provided them with opportunities to use the credit for productive purposes. Human capital, measured by the years of schooling of both males and females, had significant positive association with the productive use of credit by males and females, respectively.[7]

Among the other factors, households experiencing climatic shocks were significantly and positively related to the use of credit in productive ways by both genders, while non-climatic negative shocks were likely to be negatively associated with the productive use of credit. It can be assumed that, in times of negative shocks—for example, the illness of a family member or a wedding or dowry payment—male and female credits were used for coping with the shocks rather than for investing in productive uses. Positive shocks were positively significantly associated with the male use of credit, probably because males received the cash payment of the remittance or dowry payment, and therefore, they had the flexibility to use the credit for productive purposes rather than in smoothing consumption.

Asset endowments were not likely to be associated significantly with the productive use of credit. However, larger household size signified greater available labour and thus had a significant positive association with the productive use of credit for both main adult male and main adult female. Elderly main female members of the household and those who worked in off-farm activities were less likely to use their received credit in productive ways. Main adult males of the households, with more work experience, were also less likely to use credit in productive ways. It was possible that they had many years of work experience coupled with diversified asset portfolio, and as such, they were less likely to use credit in enhancing assets. They might instead have used the credit as an asset-smoothing strategy to cope with any sudden contingencies. Dependency burden drove the adult female to use credit for a productive purpose, probably because females, who have been targeted by NGOs for credit programs, often played a major role in household work and took care of elderly relatives and extended dependent family members. Therefore women felt the necessity to earn by using the microcredit in productive ways.

Tables 9.9 and 9.10 present the same data with disaggregated major components of social capital—namely, meeting attendance and community participation—by males and females. Meeting attendance by females and community participation by males and females suggested that they were more likely to use the credit in productive ways. It was likely that the exposure that both men and women received by becoming group

members—where they could exchange ideas and enhance awareness—might have been a driving component in social capital, motivating them to use credit for productive purposes.

Correlates of Credit Repayment

Table 9.7 highlights the associating factors of credit repayment among those who use such credit. Livestock assets, detailed in Table 9.7, were

Table 9.7 Factors associated with the repayment of credit by main male and main female, marginal effects presented

Factors	*Credit repayment*	
	Main adult male	*Main adult female*
Social capital of main adult male (leave out village mean)	−0.374 (0.502)	
Social capital of main adult female (leave out village mean)		0.085 (0.983)
Years of schooling of main adult male	−0.005 (0.006)	
Years of schooling of main adult female		−0.004 (0.008)
Total plot size in square metres (leave out village mean)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Physical asset index (leave out village mean)	0.074 (0.471)	−0.070 (0.478)
Total livestock in TLU (leave out village mean)	0.168** (0.070)	0.161** (0.068)
Affected by climatic shocks	0.025 (0.050)	0.024 (0.050)
Affected by non-climatic negative shocks	0.060 (0.051)	0.078 (0.050)
Affected by positive shocks	0.190*** (0.050)	0.199*** (0.050)
Age of main adult male	0.000 (0.003)	
Age of main adult female		−0.001 (0.003)
Main adult male employed off-farm	0.182*** (0.068)	
Main adult female employed off-farm		−0.093 (0.150)
Work experience of main adult male	−0.002 (0.002)	
Work experience of main adult female		−0.002 (0.003)
Household size	−0.018 (0.014)	−0.019 (0.014)
Men to women ratio	−0.026 (0.029)	−0.032 (0.029)
Dependency ratio	−0.167 (0.167)	−0.220 (0.170)
Pseudo R-squared	0.064	0.052
N	492	492

Source: Authors' calculations based on the survey data

Note: Robust standard errors are given in parentheses. The coefficient indicates the impact of a marginal change on the probability

***$p < 0.01$; **$p < 0.05$; *$p < 0.1$

Table 9.8 Components of the social capital index

Social capital
Active in group decision-making
Monthly meeting attendance
Heterogeneity of groups in terms of economic status
Availability of close friends to discuss private matters
Availability of close friends/neighbours to borrow from in times of need
Availability of individuals to help in case of long-term emergency
Others seeking help from respondent in past 12 months
Availability of neighbours willing to take care of children if needed
Trust in neighbours and fellow villagers in general
Participated in community-based activities in past 12 months
Labour contributed to groups
Yearly fees paid for group membership
Monthly fees paid for group membership
Registration fees paid for group membership

Note: All components are indicator variables

likely to be positively associated with credit repayment. This is similar to the findings of Rakib and Matz (2015), whereby livestock was the most liquid asset for rural agricultural households, who often sold livestock rather than land or physical assets, which are less liquid and difficult to re-accumulate once sold. Notably, males and females who owned livestock assets and who also experienced positive shocks were more likely to repay the borrowed credit. Males whose main occupation was off-farm activities were also more likely to pay back the credit than those who were agriculturally based.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we considered the different dimensions of capital of men and women, and we investigated whether they are associated with the productive use of microcredit borrowed from formal and informal sources. Social capital and human capital are positive determinants of the productive use of microcredit, while cash inflow, defined as positive shock in this study, correlates positively with credit repayment along with livestock asset ownership. From this study, it can be said that social capital and human

Table 9.9 Meeting attendance and other factors associated with the productive use of credit by main adult male and female, marginal effects presented

Factors	*Productive users of credit*	
	Main adult male	*Main adult female*
Meeting attendance of main adult male (leave out village mean)	0.074 (0.048)	
Meeting attendance of main adult female (leave out village mean)		0.082* (0.048)
Years of schooling of main adult male	0.010* (0.006)	
Years of schooling of main adult female		0.016** (0.008)
Total plot size in square metre (leave out village mean)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Physical asset index (leave out village mean)	0.063 (0.426)	0.018 (0.440)
Total livestock in TLU (leave out village mean)	0.112* (0.066)	0.043 (0.068)
Affected by climatic shocks	0.141*** (0.048)	0.154*** (0.049)
Affected by non-climatic negative shocks	−0.209*** (0.049)	−0.225*** (0.049)
Affected by positive shocks	0.066 (0.049)	0.045 (0.051)
Age of main adult male	−0.002 (0.002)	
Age of main adult female		−0.006** (0.003)
Main adult male employed off-farm	−0.171** (0.071)	
Main adult female employed off-farm		−0.102 (0.153)
Work experience of main adult male	−0.002 (0.002)	
Work experience of main adult female		0.006** (0.002)
Household size	0.024* (0.014)	0.020 (0.014)
Men to women ratio	−0.041 (0.028)	−0.049* (0.029)
Dependency ratio	0.155 (0.157)	0.024 (0.165)
Pseudo R-squared	0.102	0.091
N	492	492

Source: Authors' calculations based on the survey data

Note: Robust standard errors are given in parentheses. The coefficient indicates the impact of a marginal change on the probability

***$p < 0.01$; **$p < 0.05$; *$p < 0.1$

capital provide men and women with the opportunity for self-development, awareness-building and scope for using credit in productive ways. This is supported by existing research findings (Orso & Fabrizi, 2016).

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Appendix

Table 9.10 Community participation and other factors associated with the productive use of credit by main adult male and female, marginal effects presented

Factors	*Productive users of credit*	
	Main adult male	*Main adult female*
Community participation of main adult male	0.085* (0.046)	
Community participation of main adult female (leave out village mean)		0.131** (0.059)
Total plot size in square metre (leave out village mean)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Physical asset index (leave out village mean)	0.033 (0.426)	−0.041 (0.441)
Total livestock in TLU (leave out village mean)	0.114* (0.066)	0.045 (0.067)
Affected by climatic shocks	0.145*** (0.048)	0.160*** (0.048)
Affected by non-climatic negative shocks	−0.219*** (0.049)	−0.222*** (0.049)
Affected by positive shocks	0.060 (0.049)	0.055 (0.050)
Years of schooling of main adult male	0.009 (0.006)	
Years of schooling of main adult female		0.014** (0.008)
Age of main adult male	−0.002 (0.002)	
Age of main adult female		−0.006** (0.003)
Main adult male employed off-farm	−0.160** (0.071)	
Main adult female employed off-farm		−0.099 (0.151)
Work experience of main adult male	−0.002 (0.002)	
Work experience of main adult female		0.006** (0.002)
Household size	0.021 (0.014)	0.020 (0.014)
Men to women ratio	−0.037 (0.028)	−0.046* (0.029)
Dependency ratio	0.170 (0.156)	−0.004 (0.165)
Pseudo *R*-squared	0.104	0.093
N	492	492

Source: Authors' calculations based on the survey data

Note: Robust standard errors are given in parentheses. The coefficient indicates the impact of a marginal change on the probability

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$

Notes

1. Formula used: $PAIz = \frac{\text{Index} - \text{min}}{\text{max} - \text{min}}$ Here, PAIz = normalised physical capital index.

2. See Rakib and Matz (2015) for the physical asset index construction details. The results were largely robust from using the total value of household physical assets measured by the leave out mean at the village level.
3. As not all of the household heads were married, the responsible adult male and female members of each household were asked directly for information about their membership and about the extent of their participation in formal and informal groups, and in voluntary and involuntary associations.
4. See Rakib and Matz (2016) for the social and political capital index construction details, and Rakib and Matz (2015) for the details of the physical capital index construction.
5. Note that the results were mostly robust based on the variable of total plot size of households calculated in the leave out village mean.
6. For details of shock definition and classification, see Rakib and Matz (2016).
7. Another measure of human capital was obtained by measuring the access to information and training by males and females, which also reflected a positive and significant relationship with both main male and female members of the household.

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Social Enterprise and CALD Refugee Settlement Experience

Eric Kong, Sue Bishop, and Eddy Iles

Introduction

The Australian Federal Government announced in early September 2015 that the country would commit to taking an additional 12,000 Syrian refugees in the face of the current Middle East crisis which is one of the world's largest to date (Bourke, 2015). This one-off intake is in addition to the existing humanitarian programme of an intake of 13,750 refugees. The existing humanitarian programme is set to increase to 18,750 over the next three years. This commitment represents a very significant increase in Australia's humanitarian intake and is a generous response to the current emergency in the Middle East. The resettlement does not always mean a smooth journey to all culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) refugee settlers. While some people from CALD refugee backgrounds experience

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success and enjoy positive outcomes, many of them are facing challenges when settling in Australia. For instance, they may have language issues or face difficulties adapting to life in Australia. In the long run possibly the most significant challenge that these people face is having difficulties transferring prior labour market experience into the Australian labour market, and thus they often have higher unemployment rates or are at an earnings disadvantage that may lead to disaffection and community unrest (Green, Kler, & Leeves, 2007). One way to create pathways to better settlement experience for these people is through social enterprises.

Social enterprises have emerged as a strategic response to the challenges that traditional non-profit organisations face since the introduction of the public sector reform movement in the 1980s (Weerawardena & Sullivan-Mort, 2006). The organisations help to formulate social capital that fosters greater social interaction and learning in a diverse society (Hasan, 2005). In the case of resettlement experience, CALD refugees are more likely to be able to practise day-to-day English, gain necessary skills for social interaction and networking, advance their knowledge and skills for employment or for becoming entrepreneurs and participate equitably in the society if they are involved in social enterprises during their settlement. This chapter aims to critically review the literature and argues that social enterprises can help to facilitate life satisfaction and self-reliance for CALD refugees in Australia. A qualitative storytelling narrative research method (Webster & Metrova, 2007) was conducted to review whether social enterprises would be useful for a group of CALD refugees resettling in Toowoomba, a city in the Darling Downs of Queensland in Australia.

Contemporary CALD Refugee Challenges in Australia

CALD settlers can be divided into subgroups such as humanitarian, skilled and family arrivals. Among western nations, in relative terms, Australia has received one of the largest and most diverse intake of immigrants (Collins & Low, 2010). The Australian Federal Government had recently announced that the country is committed to taking an additional 12,000 Syrian refugees in the face of the Middle East crisis which was one of the world's largest to date (Bourke, 2015). This commitment is in addition to the existing humanitarian programme of an intake of 13,750 refugees, which in turn is set to increase to 18,750 over the next three years. For analytical

manageability, this chapter focuses on CALD refugee-humanitarian settlers in Toowomba, Queensland, for two reasons. First, Queensland is a CALD state with a population of around 4.3 million that consists of people from over 200 cultures speaking over 220 languages and thus is one of the most diverse places in the world (Queensland Council of Social Service (QCOSS), 2010). The Toowoomba region has for many years been designated by the Federal Government as a refugee and humanitarian settlement area due to its success of well-established collaboration and partnerships at different levels of government, settlement services, NGOs and the diverse community who have provided new arrivals support and thus is one of the largest refugee settlement areas in Queensland. Toowoomba began taking in hundreds more refugees as part of Australia's commitment to resettle more than 12,000 people displaced from the crises in Syria since December 2015. This makes the regional city a very significant region for this study.

Second, migrants bring much needed skills and labour to Australia. An economy with high unemployment is not using all of the resources, specifically labour, available to it. Unfortunately, CALD job seekers commonly experience poor employment outcomes. Many, especially refugees and refugee claimants, experience long-term unemployment (Department of Immigration & Citizenship, 2011). According to the latest available data from a report of Queensland Council of Social Service (2010), CALD refugee-humanitarian entrants are particularly vulnerable to earnings disadvantage due to higher unemployment rates among them. This particular group faces up to 71% unemployment rate six months after their arrival and this rate remains high (43%) even 18 months after arrival. They often suffer the highest unemployment rates, 3–4 times greater than the national average (Hugo, 2011). This suggests that these CALD refugees face greater difficulties transferring prior labour market experience into the Australian labour market and/or do not have the required industry skills that meet the employability needs of local business and industry (Green et al., 2007). CALD refugee settlers often lack English proficiency. Even though they may have met certain formal English language proficiency requirements, they may still face an 'accent ceiling' which often creates employment barriers (Collins, 2003). Issues related to language and accent often shape minority immigrant experiences in the labour market and devalue their human capital (Collins & Low, 2010). Their language ability may have a negative impact on their self-esteem and confidence,

which is likely to affect their opportunity for employment (Department of the Prime Minister & Cabinet, 2010). One way to create pathways to employment for these people is through social enterprises.

Social enterprise's primary objective is to create social value for their community (Kong, 2010). A social enterprise with a mission to assist CALD people can provide a relatively less stressful environment for them to practise on-the-job industry training and gain work experience. CALD settlers are more likely to move back into the mainstream workforce with an understanding of the Australian culture, the right knowledge and skills and improved self-esteem and confidence after working in social enterprises (Kong, 2011). They may potentially develop their entrepreneurship skills for running small businesses that create more employment for the group and wider community. This action helps to create pathways to better settlement experiences for these people. In other words, CALD refugees' involvement in social enterprises may help to provide the settlers a successful transition into the Australian labour market by providing them with the opportunity to gain self-esteem, confidence and emotional security in the community. Very little research today has been empirically conducted to investigate the effectiveness of utilising social enterprises to facilitate CALD refugee settlement experiences. This research study aims to fill this gap.

This chapter first discusses how social enterprises have emerged as a strategic response to many of the challenges that traditional non-profit organisations have faced today. A discussion of the sphere of social enterprises in civil society is then presented. This is followed by a discussion of the relationships between social enterprises and CALD refugee settlement experiences. The research method adopted for this research study is then presented. In the final two sections, findings from the interview data and conclusion are presented.

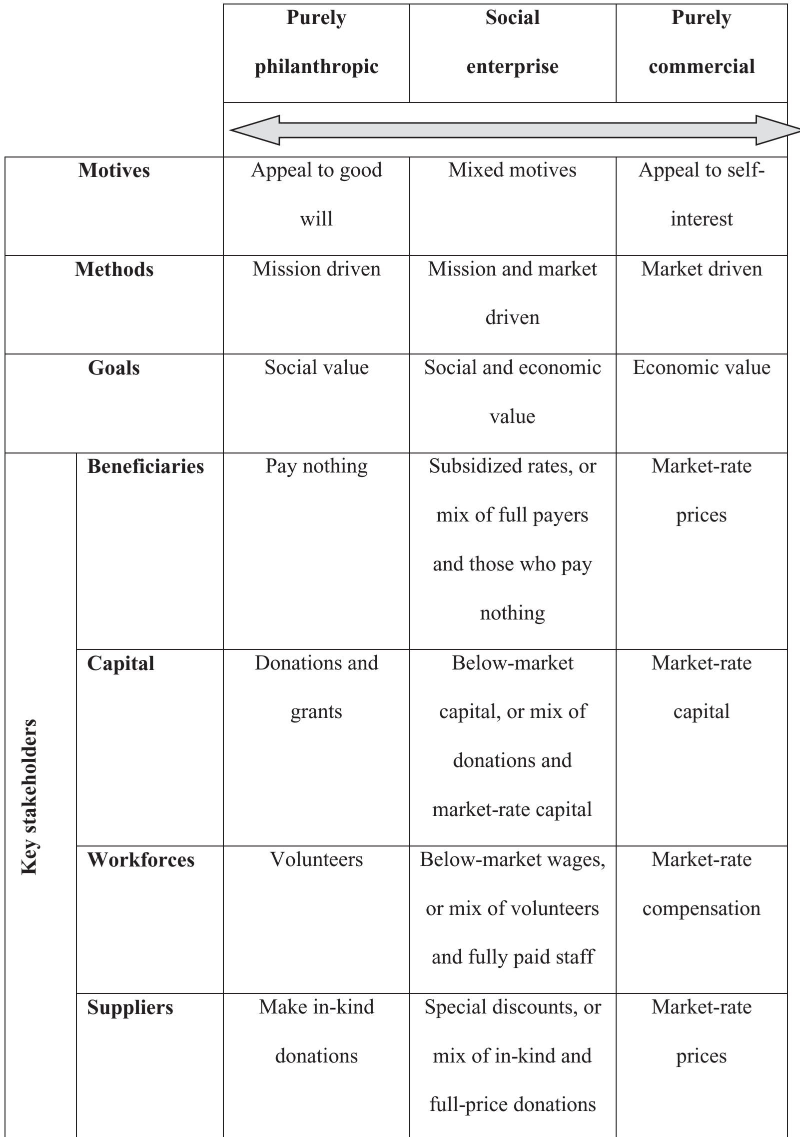
From Traditional Non-Profit Organisations to Social Enterprises

Historically non-profit activities were conducted mainly in the context of bureaucratic models of public administration. Under traditional bureaucratic arrangements, non-profit organisations were sheltered from the market by enjoying relatively secure, non-competitive financial support through direct grants (Ko & Kong, 2012). The changing landscape of the public sector environment since the 1980s through to the current era

through the extensive use of commercialisation, competition and contracting out in non-profit activities means that traditional non-profit organisations are increasingly facing many of the varieties of environmental turbulence and situational challenges (Kong, 2008; Kong & Ramia, 2010). These challenges include greater financial constraints (Craig, Taylor, & Parkes, 2004), growing competition for service delivery with for-profit organisations (Kong & Prior, 2008), declining volunteer support (Lyons & Fabiansson, 1998; Osborn, 2008; Yanay & Yanay, 2008) and losing commitment from non-profit employees (Cunningham, 2001; Eisenberg, 1997, 2000). These challenges have increased significant strategic pressures on non-profit organisations, particularly in the current global turbulent economic times (Kong, 2010). Many non-profit organisations increasingly seek alternative financial sources, such as fees or service charges and other essentially commercial forms of income (Fowler, 2000; Salamon, 1996, 1999; Weisbrod, 1997). Nonetheless, non-profit organisations remain relatively restricted from using trade as a means to raise capital, making them heavily dependent on donations and grants for achieving their social missions (Mason, Kirkbride, & Bryde, 2007).

Social enterprises have emerged as a strategic response to many of the mentioned non-profit challenges (Dart, 2004; Gray, Healy, & Crofts, 2003; Sullivan-Mort, Weerawardena, & Carnegie, 2003; Thompson, 2002; Weerawardena & Sullivan-Mort, 2006). Some of the contributing factors for the emergence of social enterprises include the decline of government involvement in general in social service delivery; the shift of culture that now focuses more on self-reliance and personal responsibility; the rise of entrepreneurship more generally due to the technological change around the world; and the move from grant aids to competitive tendering and contracts (Bull, 2008). Social enterprises adopt for-profit management techniques in day-to-day non-profit operations (Defourny, 2001). They are a hybrid form of organisations that "enact hybrid non-profit and for-profit activities" (Dart, 2004, p. 415) all "under one roof" (Fowler, 2000, p. 645). Thus, the organisations are not purely commercial and yet, they are not purely philanthropic (Borzaga & Defourny, 2001; Dees, 1998; Kong, 2010). The adaptation from Dees' (1998) Social Enterprise Spectrum, Fig. 10.1, shows the differences among traditional non-profit organisations, social enterprises and business corporations.

A social enterprise can be defined as "a business with primarily social objectives whose surpluses are principally reinvested for that purpose in the business or in the community, rather than being driven by the need to



		Purely philanthropic	Social enterprise	Purely commercial
Motives		Appeal to good will	Mixed motives	Appeal to self-interest
Methods		Mission driven	Mission and market driven	Market driven
Goals		Social value	Social and economic value	Economic value
Key stakeholders	Beneficiaries	Pay nothing	Subsidized rates, or mix of full payers and those who pay nothing	Market-rate prices
	Capital	Donations and grants	Below-market capital, or mix of donations and market-rate capital	Market-rate capital
	Workforces	Volunteers	Below-market wages, or mix of volunteers and fully paid staff	Market-rate compensation
	Suppliers	Make in-kind donations	Special discounts, or mix of in-kind and full-price donations	Market-rate prices

Fig. 10.1 The social enterprise spectrum. Adapted from (Dees, 1998, p. 60)

maximise profit for shareholder and owners" (Department of Trade & Industry, 2002, p. 7). In other words, social enterprise activities are framed as jointly generating profits and social benefits in a manner that Emerson and Twersky (1996, p. 3) have described as "double bottom line". Social enterprises are driven by a mission other than profit-making. Commercial revenue and business activity are only seen as strategic means to generate income to support the mission or to carry out mission-related functions expeditiously (Young, 2001). Thus, "[t]he key to social enterprise involves taking a business-like, innovative approach to the mission of delivering community services" (Pomerantz, 2003, p. 26). Social enterprises characterise an alternative for resourcing new services, particularly service innovations that do not fit neatly within government-funding guidelines (Gray et al., 2003). The organisations' primary objective is to create social value for the communities that they serve by adopting innovative business approaches for dealing with complex social problems (Pomerantz, 2003; Thompson & Doherty, 2006). These organisations often challenge the status quo and conventional thinking about what is feasible to alleviate social problems and to improve general public well-being (Seelos & Mair, 2005) and often use innovative business approaches in trading of products and services (Spear, 2001).

Social enterprises are more flexible than traditional non-profit organisations in terms of raising capital through commercial revenues and business activities. The organisations are consistently required to balance the usage of existing resources and generation of new resources for achieving commercial objectives and social missions (Chaharbaghi & Lynch, 1999). They aim to gradually become less dependent on public donations and government grants by self-financing through organic organisational growth (Mason et al., 2007). In contrast to for-profit organisations, in which profits are often distributed to their owners and shareholders, economic value creation through commercial revenues and business activities is often perceived as a strategic means that allows social enterprises to achieve sustainability and self-sufficiency, generate income to support their social mission and perform mission-related functions expeditiously (Seelos & Mair, 2005; Young, 2001). Any production surplus in social enterprises is reinvested in the development of organisational activities that ensures viability in tackling social problems or to be used for the benefit of people that the organisations serve (Defourny, 2001). Economic value creation is therefore perceived as a by-product which allows the organisations to achieve sustainability and self-sufficiency (Fowler, 2000; Seelos & Mair, 2005).

The social, economic and environmental impacts of social enterprises on local economies are increasingly recognised (Bull, 2008; Nicholls, 2010; Peredo & McLean, 2006; Ridley-Duff, 2008; Weerawardena & Sullivan-Mort, 2006). Social enterprises offer a range of contributions to local economic development by "providing goods and services which the market or public sector is unwilling or unable to provide, developing skills, creating employment … creating and managing workspace … and enhancing civil public involvement" (Smallbone, Evans, Ekanem, & Butters, 2001, p. 5). For instance, social enterprises in the United Kingdom are located in the most deprived areas, creating job opportunities for workers with low competitiveness, building their capacities, fulfilling community needs and meeting a service gap and generating social capital by promoting community inclusion, renewal and development (IFF Research Limited, 2005). Social enterprises thus represent a step forward from the concept of traditional non-profit organisations in achieving social needs (Manfredi, 2005).

The Sphere of Social Enterprises in Civil Society

As suggested by Thompson and Doherty (2006), organisations that fall neatly into the category of social enterprises must conform to several criteria. These include having a social purpose, pursuing social purpose with (or at least in part) trade in a market place, using assets and wealth to create benefit to its community, involving members or employees in decision-making and/or governance, being seen as accountable to both its members and a wider community, being non-profit distributions to its shareholders and owners and having either a double or triple bottom line paradigm (Thompson & Doherty, 2006). Social enterprises remain a fairly new concept to at least some academics and practitioners. Thus, it is not easy to describe where the social enterprise sector is in civil society. Figure 10.2 outlines the possible sphere of social enterprises in civil society, though it does not represent the relative size or population of each category.

Social enterprises can take a number of legal forms including not-for-profit associations, partnerships, proprietary limited companies and cooperatives (Talbot, Tregilgas, & Harrison, 2002). They characterise an alternative to traditional non-profit organisations with the aim of creating social value for the community that they serve by adopting innovative business approaches for dealing with complex social problems (Pomerantz, 2003; Thompson & Doherty, 2006). The Grameen Bank (also known as 'Bank for the Poor') is a notable example of social enterprise. The Grameen Bank was founded in 1976 by Muhammad Yunus, an economics professor,

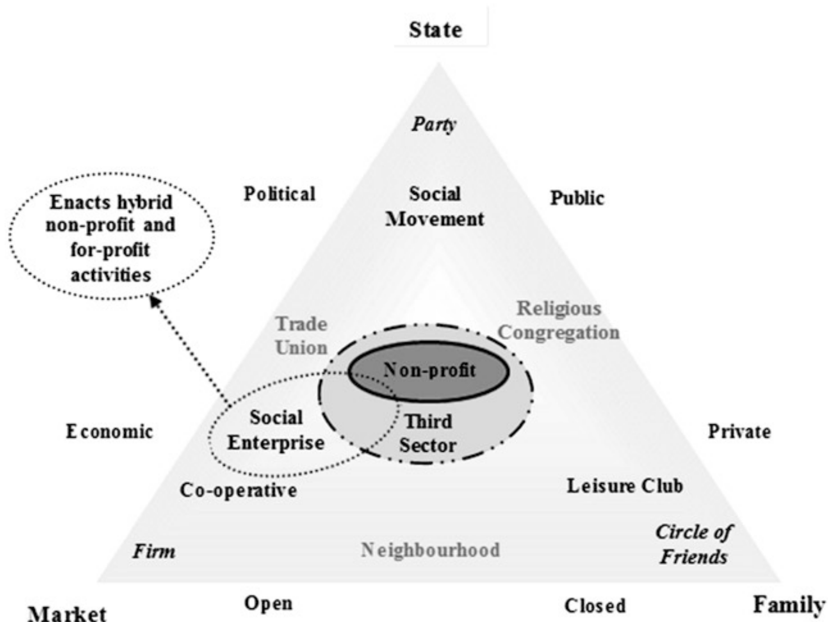


Fig. 10.2 The sphere of social enterprises in civil society (Kong, 2014)

in Bangladesh. The Grameen Bank aims to improve the condition of its clientele by extending unsecured loans to the poorest villagers who would not normally qualify as customers of established banks. The Bank has adopted an innovative group-based credit approach using peer pressure within groups to ensure that borrowers eventually repay their loans and develop good credit standing (Seelos & Mair, 2005). Today the Bank is owned by the rural poor whom it serves. Borrowers of the Bank own 90% of its shares, while the remaining 10% is owned by the government (www.grameen-info.org). The Bank is so profitable today that it can fund many other social projects.

Social Enterprises and CALD Refugee Settlement Experiences

CALD refugees are facing challenges when settling in Australia. For instance, they face greater difficulties transferring prior labour market experience into the Australian labour market and thus often have higher

unemployment rates or are at an earnings disadvantage that may lead to disaffection and community unrest in the long run (Green et al., 2007). Previous research has suggested that immigrants from non-English-speaking backgrounds are more likely to be able to practise day-to-day English, gain necessary skills for social interaction and networking, advance their knowledge and skills for employment or for becoming entrepreneurs and participate equitably in the society if they are involved in social enterprises during their settlement (Kong, 2011). Hasan (2005) also argues that social enterprises help to formulate social capital that fosters greater social interaction and learning in a diverse society. Social capital is defined as something of perceived benefit to individuals and communities at large (Thompson & Doherty, 2006). It testifies to the critical level of trust among the members of a society that makes collective action possible (Putnam, 1993). In the social sphere, generalised trust facilitates life in diverse societies and fosters acts of tolerance and acceptance of otherness (Hooghe & Stolle, 2003). Trust-based social capital often fosters greater communication which improves social interaction and learning in a diverse society (Hasan, 2005).

As mentioned above, Australia will welcome the first of 12,000 more Syrian refugees by Christmas, and many of them may be resettled in the Toowoomba region. This research study has become timely as it aims to examine if and how social enterprises may create pathways to better settlement experience for CALD refugee settlers. The findings are likely to assist in the development of social enterprise strategies for enhancing CALD refugee settlement experience in Australia. For example, a social enterprise community café may predominantly hire CALD refugees with a social mission to offer employment to the group in the food and hospitality industry. The on-the-job training not only presents CALD refugee settlers with the opportunity to a successful transition into the Australian labour market but also assists them to gain self-esteem, confidence and emotional security in the society. This is because interactions with the local community will likely assist the group to gain confidence, especially through the practice of day-to-day English at work.

Confidence is related to factors such as competence or past performance (Siegrist, 2010). CALD refugee settlers who have problems in expressing themselves in English in the past (i.e., competence and past performance) will likely have confidence issues in communicating with other people. Although CALD settlers are offered English language training through the Adult Migrant English programme (AMEP), practising

day-to-day English in the workplace will likely benefit them more as they will have to respond in English instantly. The confidence that these people require through practising English in a safe and open environment is critical to them. Social enterprises can provide such a place for CALD settlers to overcome their self-confidence barriers and they can still advance their knowledge and skills for employment or for becoming entrepreneurs and thus participate equitably in the society.

Self-esteem reflects the perception individuals have of themselves as important, meaningful, effectual and worthwhile within their community and society (Mayer, Fraccastoro, & McNary, 2007). The ability to contribute to Australian society through social enterprises is likely to enhance the immigrants' self-esteem as the settlers may feel that they are making a living by their own efforts.

Resettlement is not simply a matter of adapting to a new culture but at the same time includes the challenge of maintaining lifelong beliefs and practices and learning new ways to establish a harmonious life in the receiving country (Choudhry, 2001). CALD refugee settlers may find uprooting and resettlement more difficult than other migrants. A better understanding of the Australian culture will help them to feel more emotionally secure as they are likely to be less susceptible to bouts of depression triggered by cultural differences when they are interacting with local people in the community (Deumert, Marginson, Nyland, Ramia, & Sawir, 2005). In other words, social enterprises may help to integrate CALD refugee settlers into a culturally diverse socially cohesive nation.

This study argues that social enterprises are likely able to offer knowledge and skills for social interaction, employment and entrepreneurship and allow the settlers to participate equitably in the society simultaneously. Figure 10.3 shows a conceptual framework that indicates the close relationships between social enterprises and CALD refugee settlement experiences.

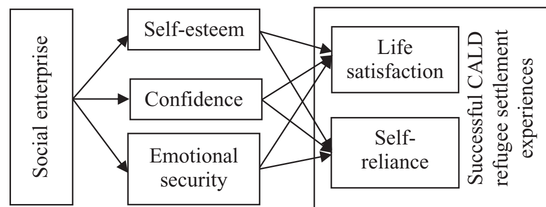


Fig. 10.3 Relationships between social enterprises and CALD refugee settlement experiences. Adapted from (Kong, 2011)

Without the 'first-step' opportunity to engage in the Australian labour market, it might be difficult for CALD refugee settlers to enhance their life satisfaction and self-reliance in the community. In other words, social enterprises will likely help the settlers to create a sense of belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition and legitimacy and increase their chances of being employed or becoming successful entrepreneurs.

Research Method

As mentioned already, the purpose of the study is to examine if and how social enterprises may help to facilitate life satisfaction and self-reliance for CALD refugees and thus to enhance CALD refugees' settlement experiences in Australia. It would be appropriate to interview CALD refugee newcomers to gather their views on the role of social enterprises in facilitating their settlement experience in Australia. However, CALD refugee settlers may have experienced trauma prior to settling in Australia and may not feel comfortable sharing their settlement experience unless they are with someone whom they trust. Some may have difficulties expressing themselves in English and interpreter and counselling services are often required. This research study adopted a storytelling narrative approach (Webster & Metrova, 2007) collecting necessary data from a Case Manager of the Multicultural Development Association (MDA), Toowoomba, who had been working in the area of refugee settlement for more than ten years in order to achieve the same purpose but without giving anxiety and stress to the targeted study group. The Case Manager was interviewed because he had a very good understanding of CALD refugees' needs and their settlement experience in Australia. Also, he was involved in an MDA-owned social enterprise project specifically for CALD women refugees who had resettled in the Toowoomba region. His view of CALD refugees in general and particularly of a group of CALD women who were involved in the social enterprise project offered insights regarding how social enterprises might assist in facilitating life satisfaction and self-reliance for CALD refugees and thus to enhance CALD refugees' settlement experiences in Australia.

As this approach does not interview CALD refugees directly, interpreter and counselling services were not required for this study. An audio-taped qualitative semi-structured interview was conducted at the Case Manager's MDA office in Toowoomba to understand his past experience in interacting/working with CALD refugees who had settled in

Toowoomba or nearby areas within the last five years and to examine how the CALD refugees perceive that social enterprise might enhance their settlement experience in Australia. The Case Manager had worked in the area of refugee settlement for MDA, Toowoomba, for more than ten years. He had extensive experience interacting with CALD refugees and gained their trust. Specific interview questions were designed to tap into the Case Manager's knowledge pool of CALD refugees in relation to their thoughts about social enterprises and social entrepreneurship. The Case Manager was reminded that no identifiable personal details would be mentioned in his interview. The interview with the Case Manager took about 60 minutes. The data collected helped to gain a better understanding of the role of social enterprises in facilitating CALD refugees' settlement experience in Australia. Collected data was transcribed by the one of the researchers and then NVivo was used for data analysis for searching for themes. All personal details of CALD refugees mentioned by the interviewee, if any, were erased and/or coded prior to data analysis.

Findings from Storytelling: The Journey Towards Social Entrepreneurship

As the MDA Case Manager revealed, the majority of CALD refugees he had first contacted with were women from Afghanistan. Some of them were living in countries outside of Afghanistan such as Iran and Pakistan. This, however, will likely change if the first group of Syrian refugees arrives in the region.

The MDA Case Manager emphasised that the key contacts for learning new skills related to settlement service were through institutions such as the Southern Queensland Institute of Technical and Further Education (TAFE) and Skills for Education and Employment (SEE) programme providers. Under the current system, CALD newcomers are strongly encouraged to attend their English classes through AMEP where they receive 510 hours of English language skills development. Following this they are able to access another 800 hours of language acquisition through SEE. English language acquisition was deemed to be a priority for both spoken and written as CALD settlers will be able to negotiate everyday tasks if they have a high level of English language skills. Often the imperatives are about acquiring formal education particularly for CALD people with refugee backgrounds who come from countries where education is restricted. Skills acquired through formal study are often new skills based

on Australian cultural concepts. Formal learning such as TAFE was seen to be able to assist CALD refugees to negotiate through the bureaucratic processes to achieve independence and to be better able to use the resources around them. For many CALD refugees who are often heads of households, acquiring formal learning enables them to maintain the decision-making roles within their families. This is because children who go off to school often have better information about how to interact and negotiate within the available systems whereas often their mothers struggle within existing systems for years before achieving social competency and confidence. As the Case Manager highlighted, the importance of acquiring new skills was not just about acquiring the skill itself but more importantly acquiring an understanding of the contexts in which the skills would be useful. Formal learning was often designated among CALD refugees as important because it would offer them the opportunities to improve their lives which would in turn help them to support their families and create opportunities for them to engage in the community. However, the Case Manager also stressed that formal learning was not the only form of learning and informal learning often took place within the community itself where some skills such as cultural difference and cultural respect would not always translate through formal learning.

For CALD settlers, the journey towards social entrepreneurship has never been a smooth one. As the MDA Case Manager revealed, many of the women that he had contacted had not experienced the concept of social enterprise before. Thus they had very little knowledge of what social enterprises do. A number of the women had considered enterprises and businesses in one form or another but generally only as an offshoot of their normal business activity. Very few of them had considered full-time entrepreneurship. For example, one woman was employed as a carpet weaver during the day where she worked for three months on a carpet. During that period she was paid minimal wages. At night when she went home she did weaving for herself which she sold to other people to gain extra income. Some other women worked in garment factories as machinists but also went to markets and did clothing repairs for additional income or worked as domestic servants in private homes.

The Case Manager highlighted that the key motivation for these CALD refugees when they were resettled in Toowoomba or nearby areas was to earn income or extra income for their families. They did not consider themselves as entrepreneurs and certainly had very little knowledge of what social enterprises are. A group of 22 CALD refugee women were first

introduced to the concept of enterprise development in a meeting in October 2013. The meeting was initiated by MDA to attempt to discuss with the group ways in which they could build potential income for themselves and their families. During the meeting the concept of social enterprise was discussed. The women were asked which activities they thought would be of value to them in their new communities and universally the women identified cleaning, cooking, laundry and craftwork. While the concept of social enterprise and its benefits were introduced to the group, the concept of being part of a greater social enterprise was something they could not necessarily grapple with at the initial meeting. The majority of the group did not understand what social enterprises really were and what the organisations could do for them. However, they were very interested in getting income or extra income for their families.

Not long after the initial meeting in October 2013, a social enterprise project was set up based on an entrepreneurial approach to building economic independence within migrant communities through the provision of employment, training, real-time work experience and meaningful employment opportunities for women at risk. The Case Manager emphasised that the project aimed to build on the resilience of the women from a variety of cultural communities to develop new enterprises (both social and private) for pathways towards economic independence, to foster innovation and creative approaches to income-generating activities with the multicultural community and to build and develop community skill strengths to nurture sustainable alternative enterprises. A number of entrepreneurial activities including cleaning, cooking, laundry and craftwork were identified as the focus in the project. The project was designed to generate income rather than profit. Accordingly, any surplus that was generated from the programme was fed back into the programme. The idea was for the group to collaborate and help each other. It was expected that community skills would be developed and participants would gain relevant industry skills and skills relating to the establishment of enterprises. Also, one key objective for the programme was to assist the participants to gain relevant and recent work experience within an Australian context.

The Case Manager revealed that 15 of the 22 women who participated in the initial meeting had joined in the social enterprise project and 12 of them had been with the project since it first launched in 2013. Additionally, 22 family members of these 15 women had casual involvement in the project for some sort of income-generating activities. Though it varied greatly

from individual to individual, the Case Manager revealed that the reasons these women wanted to get involved and stay on in the project could be summarised into three main categories: financial, social and learning. The financial reason was that they would like to earn an income or extra income so that they could finance and assist their families both in Australia and overseas. The social reason was that they wanted to meet new people, feel they belong here and are useful, have something to do and give something back to the local communities. The learning reason was that they would like to improve their English language skills, maintain their own skills and learn new skills.

One of the successful examples through the project was a group of six women who were involved in entrepreneurial activities providing catering for community, private and social events. The women provided traditional menus and techniques and developed a range of products they could offer to the hospitality market. At the time the interview was conducted, the Case Manager revealed that the group had served government departments, community organisations, private parties and cultural events. The group devised their own menus, did their own shopping and determined the manpower they would need for the operations and activities. Based on the Case Manager's understanding the majority of the women felt they achieved what they wanted to do after they joined the project for financial, social or learning reasons (or a combination of three of them). The Case Manager received positive comments from most of the women when working within the social enterprise project. The majority of the participants also reported that they had positive experiences and felt comfortable about their level of activity and the skills they had been able to bring to the entrepreneurial activities. Many of the skills the women learned during participation in the project had a direct impact on their everyday living. For example, when the Case Manager asked the women what they had learned through the project, they said they learned how to shop, how to listen to what people want, how to communicate with local people using day-to-day English, how to broaden their English vocabulary and how to manage their time to complete tasks. All these skills may seem to be taken for granted by many people but for CALD refugees, developing these skills was necessary and valuable to them.

In addition, the women learned the context of different hospitality environments, learned to manage food resources and discovered new ingredients to achieve the same outcomes. More importantly, they learned to navigate through social situations and understand different levels in the

Australian society. All these were essential to the group. Participating in the project also allowed the women to develop new skills and ideas in terms of engaging in entrepreneurial activities. The Case Manager's view that the participating women gained satisfaction through entrepreneurial activities can be demonstrated from the following quote:

> We held a Christmas in Kabul event at the University of Southern Queensland last year where people paid $50.00 per head to attend. The fact that people were willing to pay that amount of money to taste our food meant a lot to [the women]. The women felt good about what they were able to achieve.

The Case Manager reported that when the women were asked to identify the most important thing they learned through the project, they indicated that the project provided them with hopes and goals. Most participating women were able to recognise opportunities that were available to them after joining the project. They felt satisfied that their children could benefit from seeing them become more independent. The project showed them they could still contribute in many ways even at late stages in life. Also, through the entrepreneurial activities they felt they had offered value to other people and could accomplish things they needed to do. The women also pointed out that the process of learning different skills could take a much longer time if they were not involved in the entrepreneurial activities because learning in context would bring about better understanding and a better grasp of many situations that they would not normally come across in their everyday lives.

However, some of the participants felt disappointed as the scope of the project did not allow all women to participate fully in various entrepreneurial activities. The Case Manager also revealed that there was generally a lack of available opportunities for CALD refugees to engage in social entrepreneurial activities, and information relating to these activities might be distributed in English only or in an Australian context which, to some extent, restricted CALD refugees' participation. Others were frustrated that there were so many regulations and tax implications and that significant training was therefore required when getting involved in enterprise activities. Although the social enterprise project was run competently by MDA, local informed supports are definitely required in order to assist CALD refugee settlers to sustainably carry out social entrepreneurship.

Conclusion

Australia is a nation of immigrants and immigration helps to create a strong economy, to drive prosperity and to build Australia's future. However CALD refugees often have higher unemployment rates or are at an earnings disadvantage that may lead to disaffection and community unrest in the long run. This study critically reviewed the literature and argued that social enterprises are likely to facilitate life satisfaction and self-reliance for CALD refugee settlers in Australia. Using a storytelling narrative approach gathering insights from an MDA Case Manager who was involved in a social enterprise project with a group of CALD women refugees, this research study found that the concept of social enterprises is likely to assist CALD refugee settlers to enhance their life satisfaction and self-reliance. The study also revealed how social enterprises might help to integrate the refugees into a culturally diverse socially cohesive nation. This chapter contributes to the literature by providing researchers with a better understanding of the issues in relation to social enterprises and CALD refugee settlement experiences. As social enterprises remain a fairly new concept to some, academic and practitioners, the sphere of social enterprises in civil society, at least to some extent, helps to describe where the social enterprise sector is in civil society. The conceptual framework proposed in this chapter in relation to the relationship between social enterprises and CALD refugee settlement experience offers a visualised framework that assists researchers to conduct further empirical research in the area. As the Case Manager already highlighted, many of the CALD refugee women joined the social enterprise project because they wanted to earn income or extra income to support their family in Australia and/or overseas. The financial reason (or motivation) was very obvious. Many of them had very little knowledge of what social enterprises did and could do to assist them. However, their knowledge of social enterprises improved significantly after they got involved in the project. Many of them were able to learn different skills and had a better understanding of their community within the Australian context. As revealed by the Case Manager, CALD refugee settlers felt they had a life that was easier, happier and more confident in the diverse society if they were able to get involved in social enterprises during their settlement as they had the opportunity to practise day-to-day English, gain necessary skills for social interaction and networking, advance their knowledge and skills for employment or of becoming entrepreneurs and participate equitably in the society. Also, they were

able to make informed decisions and of being able to see a different future for themselves.

The success of the social enterprise project suggests that social enterprises help to create pathways to better life satisfaction and self-reliance for CALD refugee settlers and thus help to create better CALD refugee settlement experience. However, the findings also suggest that it is important for Australia to work together to improve outcomes for CALD people, especially those who experience marginalisation and disadvantage. The research study becomes timely as 12,000 Syrian refugees will be resettled in the country and the findings are likely to assist in the development of social enterprise strategies for enhancing CALD refugee settlement experience in Australia.

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Becoming and Being a Social Entrepreneur in Regional Australia: What Can Be Learned and Shared

Luke Terry and Marian Lewis

Introduction

This is a case study of Luke Terry, a successful social entrepreneur currently operating in Queensland, Australia. It seeks to discover what being a social entrepreneur means in the case of Luke and to reflect on what has contributed to Luke's journey towards becoming a social entrepreneur, from the time of his childhood in Tasmania. Luke is one of a growing number of successful social entrepreneurs across the globe, each with their particular life histories and motivations. This story is presented as a means of throwing light on the journey of one social entrepreneur and in the process considering some of the guiding principles for success that have emerged.

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The Need for Social Enterprise

The growing interest of governments, businesses, the not-for-profit and philanthropic sectors in social enterprise in recent years reflects the realisation of the need for innovative responses to 'wicked' social and environmental problems (Barraket, Collyer, O'Connor, & Anderson, 2010). Social enterprises are businesses that trade to intentionally tackle social problems, improve communities, provide people access to employment and training, or help the environment (http://www.socialtraders.com.au). They trade and reinvest the majority of their profit to fulfil their social mission (Barraket et al., 2010). According to Dees, social entrepreneurship "combines a passion for a social mission with an image of businesslike discipline" (2001, p. 1). This indicates the bringing together of two different world views—using business enterprise to create positive social outcomes. While the motivation for social enterprise is different, entrepreneurial skills are required for success. According to Borstein and Davis, "We need people who possess a ground-level view of problems and a mountaintop vision, who have a talent for building teams and the freedom to experiment" (2010, p. 25). Such people may emerge in different ways, and, certainly, in very different contexts. As a result, the category 'social entrepreneur' encompasses a good deal of diversity. While all have the aim of doing well, their starting points may vary considerably. Case studies included in, for example, *How to Change the World: Social Entrepreneurs: the Power of New Ideas*, (Bornstein, 2007) and *The Social Entrepreneur Revolution* (Clark, 2009) clearly demonstrate this.

Many social entrepreneurs start with very limited resources, but this is not always the case. For example, Branson argues that corporations have the social responsibility to 'do well' and approach the many challenges faced in the world in a brand new entrepreneurial way. In *Screw Business as Usual* (2013), Branson recognises the many social and environmental challenges facing the world and argues that better, longer-term solutions require a move away from charity to partnership. Corporations can use their wealth, networks, influence and reach to facilitate the establishment of social enterprises that address problems at individual and community level. They may employ social intrapreneurs whose role is to apply the principles of social entrepreneurship inside their corporations (Agoada, 2014; SustainAbility, 2008). In summary, a growing number of corporations are providing well-resourced support for social enterprise and providing the opportunity for people to gain the skills necessary for success.

This approach increases the chance of successfully addressing the social problems because successful social enterprises not only generate money, they also have the potential to generate further employment, increasing the likelihood of sustainable change. Branson argues that corporations can have significant social (and environmental) impact while improving their profitability (Branson, 2013).

Successful social entrepreneurs make a valuable contribution to meeting social challenges, and, through their work, help to take some of the pressure off government. However, social entrepreneurs are a very diverse group. While some will originate in or through business, many emerging from the social sector may begin with very scant resources. Luke is one such social entrepreneur.

Becoming a Social Entrepreneur: The Early Years

According to Bornstein (2007), all social entrepreneurs have a strong ethical impetus, and many recall the profound influence a highly ethical adult (often a parent or grandparent) had on their thinking from an early age (Bornstein & Davis, 2010). Many also remember being actively encouraged by an adult in an entrepreneurial initiative, and then being supported in the process, learning to "value and act on their own ideas" (p. 27).

Both of these early experiences were true for Luke who with parental support began to develop his entrepreneurial skills at an early age, along with a keen sense of social justice. This proved to be a fortuitous combination. Luke recalls that he fell in love with business at a young age and how selling Christmas trees for $2 each, with full parental support and assistance, was a tipping point. That support for his entrepreneurial endeavours continued through his childhood—and was accompanied by a family focus on altruism—helping people in need in the community, where his father was a community-based pastor and an inspiration. After the family moved to Sydney, Luke's parents continued to support him, encouraging and motivating him to set up his own business. Luke recalls how they let him make mistakes and that realisation that an entrepreneur makes mistakes was critical. He volunteered at the Wayside Chapel in Kings Cross—an experience that left a deep impression—and soon after, with his sister, set up a social enterprise working with people on a Glebe housing estate. Seeing this enterprise growing, developing and moving forward was another critical experience. Luke was both deeply concerned with helping others and looking for more entrepreneurial outlets.

The next stage of Luke's journey was serendipitous. MIND, a London-based mental health charity, advertised for someone to set up a social enterprise for people with mental health problems. The job was a perfect match for Luke's talents and aspirations, and the four years he worked there, setting up social enterprises, were an incredible experience. Luke was officially a social entrepreneur and had gained valuable experience in helping people with mental health issues to find employment. This was an experience he was able to build on his return to Australia.

Becoming a Social Entrepreneur: The Middle Years

In 2009, a small mental health charity (NGO) with three full-time staff members and annual turnover of $380,000, in Toowoomba, Queensland, was looking for a CEO. Luke returned from the UK to run the Toowoomba Clubhouse (TCH) for a year—or so he thought. The Clubhouse had been established in 1996 in response to the move to care for people with a mental illness within the community. In 2009, when Luke commenced as CEO, it was largely a drop-in centre for socialisation but with little focus on employment opportunities for the members, many of whom had not been employed for long periods. The position of CEO did not require Luke to engage in social entrepreneurial endeavours. However, crucially, the TCH Board allowed Luke to continue to pursue his social entrepreneurial activities 'on the side'.

Building on his experience in London, Luke sought to change the culture of the TCH through focussing on the creation of pathways to employment. Talks with potential employers began, and negotiations were carried out with sensitivity. The concept of social enterprise—having a successful business that also has good social outcomes—is compelling. However, even well-meaning employers who can see the benefits may lack the confidence to employ people with a mental illness and a history of unemployment. A resolution of this tension is illustrated in one of the first successful negotiations—with the City Golf Club. TCH members were employed to drive patrons to and from the car park in golf buggies. To alleviate any employer anxiety, a Clubhouse staff member learned the role alongside the employee and the Clubhouse guaranteed shift coverage for the first six months. The employer was also provided with an after-hours number to call. This solution provided reassurance for the employer and the opportunity for a positive employment experience for the employee. It also indicated a high level of commitment by Luke and his staff.

Identifying a potentially successful social enterprise requires some inspired thinking and a creative eye for opportunities. The groundwork has to be laid through a large number (and wide range) of ongoing conversations, attention to detail and a degree of doggedness. Once an idea has taken shape, approvals and permissions need to be sought and funding procured. Not all projects are successful, however. A good idea may seem to be progressing, with backing secured and funding allocated, only to fall through because of the last-minute withdrawal of support or failure to gain all the necessary approvals. A great deal of time and effort may come to nothing. This has happened to Luke more than once, and his response illustrates that the successful social entrepreneur requires resilience as well as persistence. Sometimes, despite months of negotiations, a particularly promising social venture can fail, and it is necessary to move on.

Luke's experience provides an example of the kind of resilience required by a social entrepreneur—the ability to bounce back and see opportunity in a disheartening situation. For one particular venture rather than hand back all the funding secured from Social Ventures Australia for a halted project, Luke asked to retain half of it on the understanding that it would be returned after two months if it was not used. The Bounce City Cafe grew out of this seed funding in 2012. The Bounce project illustrates an aspect of Luke's core beliefs:

> *Everyone in the world can work if they have the willingness to work—and there is a job for anyone, it is just about finding the right opportunity for them. I completely disagree with the subsidised wages model where an employee is assessed as only 50% of the going wage or less … employment needs be focussed around people's abilities.*

Aware that NGOs can risk their core funding through projects such as cafes, Luke sought to use this money to establish a social enterprise that would be self-sustaining. He engaged in discussion with two socially minded brothers who ran a successful café in Toowoomba and who had leased a small space to house a coffee shop in the Central Business District (CBD), trialling the idea of them working with Clubhouse participants. Listening to the brother's talk about their values and aspirations reminded Luke of his earlier self. It was a fortuitous coming together of values and core skills. A mutually beneficial contract was drawn up. The funding, treated as a depreciable asset over five years, was used to establish the 'Bounce City Cafe'—an open and sustainable business. Clubhouse participants received training at

the Clubhouse and became part of the regular workforce. They also had the opportunity to make friends and connect to the community. Luke had facilitated the establishment of the commercially viable social enterprise but was not involved in its day-to-day running. This illustrated an important principle—all parties were working with similar values but sticking to their own core skills. The TCH goals focussed on getting people into employment, while the Bounce City Cafe gained media attention and nominations for awards. The partnership has been beneficial. A second café, Bounce at the University of Southern Queensland (USQ) subsequently opened. While this café operates differently because full commercial rent has to be paid to the university, parts of the model have persisted and, from Luke's perspective, the competing values of social outcomes and entrepreneurism have generally been well managed. This has required hard work though there is always the possibility that as commercial enterprises, the Bounce cafes could be sold and the social outcomes slip away.

The changing focus of the Clubhouse was helping to enrich its culture, and members were encouraged to engage in a range of activities and learning opportunities, providing potential pathways to employment. Momentum was building in 2012. In April, various groups in the Toowoomba region, including TCH, established the Toowoomba Social Procurement Group. Through its association with this group, the Toowoomba Regional Council was able to deepen its understanding of social procurement, and in September 2012, the council awarded a $2,000,000 waste management contract to Ability Enterprises—a social enterprise Luke had helped to establish, with support from Social Ventures Australia. This was another breakthrough. Ability Enterprises employs 40 individuals with a disability (i.e. 80% of its total staff). At least half of these 40 employees had been out of work for ten years or more (Social Procurement Australia, n.d.). The TCH links to the community were becoming stronger, and Luke's own profile was growing.

In 2012, Luke had been contacted by St Vincent's Private Hospital in Toowoomba about the possibility of opening a social enterprise café there—as part of a move to strengthen the Catholic hospital's social mission. The café did not eventuate but other projects did. The hospital was interested in social procurement. More discussions followed in 2013, and it was from these conversations that the vision of what was to become the Vanguard Laundry began to emerge.

Luke's experiences illustrate another facet of his life of the social entrepreneur. Along with his work as CEO of TCH, he was exploring multiple

projects concurrently. One more project emerged relating to the establishment of a Toowoomba School for Social Entrepreneurs that would act as a regional hub. The national body had allocated $75,000 on the condition that $25,000 could be raised locally. This exciting prospect meant training for local social entrepreneurs and providing opportunities for mentorship. This was important for Luke who was himself being mentored by a local, highly successful, property developer. Luke had been negotiating with the government for land to develop housing for homeless people and asked the TCH Board if anyone of them knew a property developer. One of them did, informally, and there was an element of serendipity in the subsequent pairing. Though initially promising, the housing development came to nothing, but the mentoring relationship flourished—that was in relation to the laundry project. The type of advice Luke was now receiving, and the level of networking he was engaged in gave him access to influential and well-connected members of the community. Introductions followed to other business entrepreneurs: Luke's credibility was becoming more firmly established. The laundry project was taking a more definite shape, the School for Social Entrepreneurs had funding attached, and its impact could be far reaching—and more Bounce Cafes were looking possible. Ultimately, the School for Social Entrepreneurs project was unable to proceed, but the vision of the social enterprise laundry was gaining traction with St Vincent's hospital getting close to signing a nine-year lease. Then several million dollars' worth of funding would need to be found to fund the project.

Increasing Recognition and a Watershed Moment

With the growing success of Luke's social enterprises came increased recognition of his ability as a social entrepreneur—and growing understanding of the benefits of both social enterprise and social procurement within the community. Under his leadership, the Clubhouse continued to build on its successes. Clubhouse membership was growing and the staff team was expanding. More opportunities for learning were being offered, the range of activities was increasing and pathways to employment were opening up. Luke continued to take his day job very seriously, but in the background and largely in his own time, retained his focus on the possibility of a state-of-the-art, social enterprise laundry.

It is relevant that during this time, Luke's achievements began to attract formal recognition of his success. In 2015, Luke won the inaugural 'Social

Enterprise Champion Award', presented by Social Traders Australia. The same year Social Ventures Australia awarded him a scholarship to attend an executive education course in non-profit management at Harvard Business School. The ABC Australia Wide program highlighted Luke's work in October 2015, when it ran a segment showcasing Ability Enterprise, Bounce Café and the planned laundry. One year after his Social Enterprise Champion award, Luke reflected on its impact "For me [the award] was brilliant, but I underestimated what would happen from it" (Social Enterprise Awards, 2016 up). Luke reflected that the award had changed his life, starting conversations and opening doors, helping his work as a social entrepreneur. The awards, and his study at Harvard Business School, attracted more media attention, and as a result, support for other projects also increased. It was also an affirmation for Luke—who, when he stood on the stage accepting the award, finally realised that be had indeed become a social entrepreneur.

Being a Social Entrepreneur

It is significant that winning the 'Social Enterprise Champion' award was a watershed moment for Luke. For him it was a symbolic moment in his journey when becoming actually became being. Luke was right—his journey had changed. While it is possible to see a logical progression from those early years of being an entrepreneurial child with a strong sense of social justice, to the CEO of the TCH engaging in social enterprise in his own time; what was to happen next was qualitatively different.

To gain an understanding of these later developments, it is opportune to return to the Vanguard Laundry Service. This idea had arisen in 2013 in discussions with St Vincent's Private Hospital and a contract was signed the following year. Ian Knox, the property developer who had become Luke's mentor, had then purchased a suitable block of land. This was clearly a good idea. St Vincent's was supporting a social enterprise but at no additional cost to itself. The planned state-of-the-art laundry would provide real employment in a supportive work environment. For people living with mental health issues, this was both a pathway into employment, and, potentially, with career guidance, a pathway to ongoing employment. Then with a nine-year contract in place, this good idea had wings. A good idea is not enough in itself however. As Bornstein points out: "If ideas are to take root and spread … they need champions … an obsessive individual working behind the scenes—a person with vision, drive, integrity of purpose, great persuasive powers, and remarkable stamina" (2007, p. 94).

This description captures what could be described as the essence of Luke's journey as he worked to make the laundry a reality. He was a champion who worked tirelessly, building on the earlier successes and growing legitimacy as a social entrepreneur. His network of successful business people and politicians grew as his clear communication of an inspiring vision also caught the imagination and attention of others.

It is interesting to briefly consider how Luke's lived experience as a social entrepreneur compares with definitions found in the literature. According to Dees, a seminal author in this area, social entrepreneurs play the role of change agents in the social sector by:

- adopting a mission to create and sustain social value
- recognizing and relentlessly pursuing new opportunities to serve that mission
- engaging in a process of continuous innovation, adaptation, and learning
- acting boldly without being limited by resources currently in hand
- exhibiting heightened accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes created (2001, p. 4)

While this is an idealised definition and social entrepreneurs "will exemplify these characteristics in different ways and to different degrees" (p. 4), it is a useful list of characteristics which rings true when applied to Luke, and its elements are well illustrated in his story. His willingness to learn has led to him developing a deep knowledge of laundries. If a different opportunity had presented itself, his learning could have been in a very different area. The final point, heightened accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes created, is evidenced in the mission statement of the Vanguard Laundry Services (VLS)—which is:

- Build a sustainable social enterprise business with a positive open employment environment.
- Together we will offer supported pathways from unemployment to a sustained livelihood through successful employment.
- The overall economic inclusion of the new employees will create a positive attitudinal shift in the broader community towards people living with mental health issues. (http://www.vanguardlaundryservices.com.au)

Drawing on Bornstein's (2007) description of the qualities of successful social entrepreneurs, we can also add the willingness to act in a number of ways: to share credit, to break free of existing structures and cross-discipline boundaries, and to have a strong ethical impetus. Again, these descriptions ring true. Bornstein uses the particularly evocative phrase of being a "social alchemist" (2007, p. 241) bringing people together in fresh (and maybe surprising) configurations. This certainly describes one of the key aspects of Luke's success.

An additional characteristic may be 'being realistic'. In *How to … be a serial social entrepreneur*, Luke commented:

> *It is not easy to be a social entrepreneur. We do this stuff on Sunday afternoons and at nights and we often have other jobs. It has to be something that comes from yourself and your soul … Social entrepreneurs need to find the balance between creating a social impact and paying their rent. It's a challenge.* (Brewster, 2015, p. 2)

Coda

In January 2017, the Australian Prime Minister, Malcolm Turnbull, visited Toowoomba to formally open VLS. It is a state-of-the-art laundry and fully operational since the start of the year. Through his belief, persistence and social entrepreneurial skills, Luke had achieved his vision. The laundry has been built, and employment is changing lives. Through Luke's extraordinary efforts, over $6,000,000 was raised in funding, finance and in-kind support. As Westpac reported:

> *The sponsors included Westpac, Westpac Foundation, The Paul Ramsay Foundation, AMP, Ian Potter and local philanthropist Ian Knox. Social Ventures Australia (SVA) was instrumental in working with all parties to raise the capital to establish the business. Twenty-nine cash donations have been made worth $3.2 million [this included $1,000,000 from the Federal Government] and over $770,000 in pro bono and in kind support from 26 project partners. It has also borrowed over $2.1 million from social impact financiers.* (Westpac, 2017, 16 January)

Clearly, Luke had reached a stage in his journey where he was perceived as a significant social entrepreneur and working in partnership with corporations, government, the not-for-profit and philanthropic sectors to achieve his vision.

Some of this funding had been targeted to allow Luke to focus on the project full time, and he was released from his position at the TCH for several months. In May 2017, he resigned to become the CEO of VLS. The sustainability of VLS is assured through its contract with St Vincent's Private Hospital, and the new customers it will service. The profits will be used for social good—and no doubt other social enterprises are in the offing. Luke is now a well-established and highly regarded social entrepreneur but his journey continues. A final word: "If I can do it in Toowoomba, you can do it anywhere. This is the solution to poverty in Australia and if we don't embrace it we're in trouble" (Luke).

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The Thrive Programme at Toowoomba Clubhouse: Building Social Connections and Reducing Stigma Experiences for People with a Lived Experience of Mental Illness

Sueanne M. Gola and Lorelle J. Burton

Introducing Thrive

Toowoomba Clubhouse was developed in 1996 and has maintained accreditation with Clubhouse International since 2011. It is a community-based mental health service, based on the evidence-based Fountain House model for psychosocial rehabilitation. Toowoomba Clubhouse offers a non-institutional, restorative environment designed to assist adults living with mental illness to develop the skills and confidence necessary to live satisfying and productive lives within the local community. It provides members, who each have a lived experience of mental illness, with a non-clinical environment where they are encouraged to take a leading role in their own personal recovery. Toowoomba Clubhouse prides itself on offering a range of evidence-informed programmes, based on the principles of the recovery model, to meet members' needs.

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In May 2015, Toowoomba Clubhouse introduced a new programme called 'Thrive'. Thrive is a supported socialisation programme which matches Clubhouse members (Clubhouse companions) with community volunteers (community companions). Unlike more traditional peer and mentoring programmes the links between Clubhouse companions and community companions are based on common interests and goals with an aim to develop companionships of equality and friendship. Toowoomba Clubhouse promotes this programme as a stigma reduction intervention that provides opportunities for members to build social connections. The current research aimed to evaluate the impact of participation in the Thrive programme, a supported socialisation programme, on Clubhouse members' experiences of self-stigma, community stigma and perceived well-being. It focused on determining whether participation in the Thrive programme impacts on community stigma and perceived well-being of community volunteers.

This chapter first provides a brief review of the recovery model, which is the framework underpinning the operation of Toowoomba Clubhouse. It then reviews existing literature on stigma and supported socialisation. Finally, the chapter summarises the preliminary findings from a research evaluation of the Thrive programme which was conducted as a component of the first author's Masters of Psychology (Clinical) postgraduate degree at the University of Southern Queensland in 2015–2017.

Clubhouse

Psychosocial clubhouse programmes are one environment in which people with a lived experience of mental illness can access a network of support and social interaction (Pernice-Duce & Onaga, 2009). Clubhouse programmes encourage skill development with the aim of assisting people to resume community-orientated, fulfilling lives (Anthony, Cohen, Farkas, & Cagne, 2002). Individuals with a lived experience of mental illness who join a Clubhouse are referred to as 'members'. There is no time limit on membership which is voluntary (Pernice-Duce & Onaga, 2009). At Clubhouses, members participate in task-oriented, work-ordered days and voluntarily operate various departments, such as preparing daily meals, performing clerical work, gardening and house maintenance. Clubhouses have a low staff to member ratio and are non-hierarchical in structure (Chang et al., 2014; Pernice-Duca, 2008). The Clubhouse model can be

found in 320 locations in 30 countries around the world (Clubhouse International, 2016).

There is a large evidence base documenting the benefits of participation in Clubhouses for people with a lived experience of mental illness (Anthony & Blanch, 1989; Anthony, Cohen, Farkas, & Gagne, 2002; Biegel, Pernice-Duca, Chang, & D'Angelo, 2013; Chang et al., 2014; Pernice-Duca, 2008; Pernice-Duce & Onaga, 2009; Young & Ensing, 1999). These benefits include enhanced well-being due to strengthened friendships and social connections and better transitions to employment (Clubhouse International, 2017). Clubhouse programmes have also been shown to reduce hospitalisation rates (Di Masso, Avi-Itzhak, & Obler, 2001).

Participation in Clubhouses builds social interactions and capabilities for people with a lived experience of mental illness. These include learning social skills (Biegel et al., 2013) and increased interpersonal support and greater belonging (Carolan, Onaga, Pernice-Duca, & Jimenez, 2011). Chang et al. (2014) recommended that Clubhouse staff pay attention to members who are at risk of loneliness and help them develop social connections via increased Clubhouse exposure to access other sources of network support.

At inception, the Clubhouse model was built on a commitment to improving the human condition via social connections without a guiding model or theory. The Clubhouse model has evolved over time and incorporates evidence-based programmes into a recovery model framework (Pernice-Duce & Onaga, 2009).

Recovery Model

The recovery model is important to the current research for several reasons. Firstly, it is the framework on which Toowoomba Clubhouse operates. Secondly, researchers Jacob (2015) and Synovec (2015) each identified a growing evidence base which supports the recovery model's supposition that participating in social, educational and employment opportunities can enhance the recovery process. Thirdly, Slade (2009) identified four areas in which clinicians could intervene and support an individual's recovery. These include fostering relationships, promoting well-being, offering treatments and improving social inclusion. The Thrive programme specifically aims to foster relationships and improve social

inclusion. It is anticipated that improvements in these areas will also improve overall well-being.

There are numerous definitions and conceptualisations of recovery developed over the years by clinical professionals and people with a lived experience of mental illness (Slade, 2009). The modern, widely accepted, definition stems from the mental health consumer advocacy movement of the late twentieth century (Jacob, 2015; Warner, 2010). From this perspective, recovery is a process which acknowledges a person's ability to have a fulfilling life whilst experiencing symptoms of mental illness (Davidson, O'Connell, Tondora, Styron, & Kangas, 2006). Recovery capitalises each individual's agency and strengths to identify and achieve self-purpose, quality of life and engagement in social roles (Anthony, 1993; Markowitz, 2001; Slade, 2009; Sterling, von Esenwein, Tucker, Fricks, & Druss, 2010). At the heart of the movement were the concepts of distrust of professionals, reduction of stigma, promotion of community and the provision of adequate care for disadvantaged members of society (Back & Taylor, 1976, as cited in Young & Ensing, 1999). The recovery movement and subsequent recovery model were shaped by deinstitutionalisation policies and programmes (Young & Ensing, 1999).

The recovery model has become one of the core guidelines for mental health services. It is recommended in clinical guidelines and mental health policies around the world including the Third National Mental Plan of 2003 in Australia (Anthony, 1993; Marston & Johnson-Abdelmalik, 2014; Slade, 2009). Several recovery models have evolved over time into the currently accepted model (Jacob, 2015; Marston & Johnson-Abdelmalik, 2014; Sterling et al., 2010; Warner, 2010; Young & Ensing, 1999; Gerhart, 2012, as cited in Young, Schactman, & Snyder, 2014). The currently accepted recovery model was developed in 2004 by Substance Abuse and Mental Health Administration in conjunction with the Interagency Committee on Disability Research and in partnership with six US federal agencies (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Service Administration, 2004). A review of the model in 2010 led to discussions with key stakeholders, including consumers, individuals in recovery and family members. Advocates, policy-makers, administrators and service providers were also consulted to develop 10 guiding principles for recovery (del Vecchio, 2012). The four dimensions that support a life in recovery include Health (remission or management of symptoms and making informed health choices), Home (stable, safe accommodation), Purpose (participation in society and meaningful daily activities) and Community

(supportive relationships and social networks; del Vecchio, 2012). Recovery was defined as a 'process of change through which individuals improve their health and wellness, live a self-directed life, and strive to reach their full potential' (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2014, p. 3).

The 10 principles of recovery proposed by del Vecchio (2012) in the recovery model include:

1. Hope: People can and do overcome obstacles related to their health.
2. Person-driven/self-direction: The path to recovery is self-determined and self-directed.
3. Individualised and person-centred: Recovery pathways are non-linear and individual enabling multiple pathways unique to a person's strengths, needs, preferences, experiences and cultural backgrounds.
4. Holistic: Recovery focuses on people's entire lives, including mind, body, spirit and community. Additionally, services should be holistically focused providing integrated coordinated models of care.
5. Peer support: Social learning is invaluable to an individual's growth. Individuals share knowledge and skills via mutual support.
6. Relationships and social supports: Accepting, supportive and encouraging family and friends are vital to recovery.
7. Culturally based and influenced: Culture and cultural background including values, traditions and beliefs are central to a person's recovery journey. Services should be culturally grounded, sensitive and competent.
8. Supported by addressing trauma: The experience of trauma is often a precursor to or associated with mental health problems and related issues. Services and supports should be trauma informed.
9. Involves individual, family and community strengths and responsibility: Individuals, families and communities each have roles and responsibilities within the recovery journey and their strengths and resources support recovery.
10. Respect: Acceptance and appreciation by society and community, including consumers themselves, are crucial to recovery and protecting individual rights.

Stigma of Mental Illness

People with a lived experience of mental illness are frequently stigmatised and rejected by society (Albrecht, Walker, & Levy, 1982, as cited in Link, Cullen, Struening, Shrout, & Dohrenwend, 1989). More than 20 years later, Pescosolido et al. (2010) found negative attitudes towards people with mental illness continue to be pervasive throughout the USA. Wahl (2012) found that stigma remains an ongoing obstacle to recovery. Indeed, more recently, Clement et al. (2015) evaluated peer-reviewed empirical articles and found more than 100 articles evidencing the barrier impacts of stigma.

Stigma is a complex concept that has continued to evolve since Erving Goffman (1963, as cited in Link & Phelan, 2001) coined the idea of a 'spoiled identity'. People who are stigmatised lose their identity as a 'normal person', they are perceived differently by others and themselves when labelled with a mental illness (Linz & Strum, 2003). Link and Phelan (2001) examined experiences of discrimination, noting that people experience unjust rejection because of the socially discredited mental health attribute they possess. Stigma is a process whereby an attribute of an individual or social group is deemed as negative by the majority. Via this process, the majority group creates distance from, and limits the rights of, minority groups and individuals who are deemed tarnished and discredited (Hinshaw & Stier, 2008; Goffman, 1963, as cited in King et al., 2007). At its core, stigma involves the development and application of stereotypes, cognitive labels, prejudice and discrimination (Hinshaw & Stier, 2008).

Private and public experiences of stigma have been differentiated in the literature (Corrigan, Druss, & Perlick, 2014). Public experiences of stigma include community stigma and perceived discrimination in the community. Community stigma refers to the stereotypes held by society about individuals who have a mental illness. Link et al. (1989) found widespread endorsement in the belief that people with a lived experience of mental illness are both devalued and discriminated against by the community. Private, internal experiences of stigma are referred to as internalised or self-stigma (Link & Phelan, 2001). Once an individual is diagnosed or labelled as being mentally ill by society or themselves, they become affiliated with community and self-held stereotypes about mental illness. Internalised stigma is the subsequent application of these negative stereotypes about mental illness onto oneself and the consequent adoption of

membership to the marginalised group (Ritsher, Otilingam, & Grajales, 2003). According to Link and Phelan (2014), people with psychosis are cognisant that their standing in society is constantly evaluated and frequently experience daily indignities.

Modified labelling theory proposes that during early socialisation, people obtain mainly negative beliefs about mental illness. This includes beliefs about how other people react to a person with a mental illness. Subsequently, when a person is labelled as having a mental illness, the existing negative beliefs become attributed to self. The individual is then likely to endorse coping strategies such as secrecy and social withdrawal (Link et al., 1989).

Addressing internalised stigma is important as it often leads to experiences of devaluation, shame, secrecy and social withdrawal (Drapalski et al., 2013). Hinshaw and Stier (2008) established that even at low levels, mental illness stigma taints social interactions. Yanos, Roe, Markus, and Lysaker (2008) ascertained that stigma is negatively correlated with recovery-related outcomes and argued for standardised, replicable interventions to target internalised stigma. Corrigan and Penn (1999, as cited in Collins, Wong, Cerully, Shultz, & Eberhart, 2012) identified three key targets for stigma reduction interventions: Contact, education and protest and advocacy. However, Collins et al. (2012) believed fostering interactions with people with a lived experience of mental illness would have greater impact on stigma reduction than educational or protest strategies. The importance of contact is consistent with broader social psychological theories of prejudice and discrimination reduction. Collins et al. argued that to be effective, the contact requires conditions of equal status and shared goals in the absence of competition, plus support for the contact from people in positions of power or authority. They further argued that the intervention needs to be targeted towards a specific population and be locally based.

Collins et al. (2012) believed that stigmatisation of mental illness is a key factor in the negative social interactions experienced by people with a lived experience of mental illness. Pernice-Duca (2008) found repeated hospitalisation, loss of daily living skills, disruption in relationships, psychotic symptoms and withdrawal associated with symptoms, stigma and social rejection can be attributed to social isolation. Thus, social contact and connections are important elements of the recovery process (Collins et al., 2012; Drapalski et al., 2013; Pernice-Duca, 2008) linking individuals with a lived experience of mental illness to each other or to a mentor,

and providing opportunities to interact with non-stigma affiliated populations (Davidson et al., 2004; Hinshaw & Stier, 2008).

In Australia, the link between social inclusion, health and well-being has been sufficiently established to be incorporated into national police documents such as the Social Inclusion Agenda (Australian Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Social Inclusion Unit, 2009). Over the last decade, the social inclusion agenda has gained momentum as a policy driver in mental health services (Shevellar, Sherwin, & Barringham, 2014). However, Shevellar et al. (2014) concluded that the social inclusion agenda needs to move beyond focusing on activity and programme as indicators of social inclusion; rather, it needs to capture the depth and complexity of people's experiences in everyday life that acknowledge the emotional and spiritual experience of inclusion, a sense of belonging.

The Toowoomba Clubhouse Thrive programme is a supported socialisation programme which was developed in line with recommendations by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006). The programme was designed to increase social connections by introducing Toowoomba Clubhouse members to community volunteers. Both members of the duo—Clubhouse companions or community companions—are referred to as 'companions' based on their shared interests and goals. The programme aimed to assist the companions to develop friendships through mutually enjoyable activities (Toowoomba Clubhouse, 2015). Participation in the Thrive programme was expected to reduce internalised stigma experienced by Toowoomba Clubhouse members by improving their experiences of social interactions. The current study examined whether participation in the Toowoomba Clubhouse Thrive programme helped reduce the levels of community stigma experienced by members and whether it influenced perceptions by community companions.

Methodology

The Thrive programme links trained and supported community volunteers (community companions) with Clubhouse members (Clubhouse companions) who have a lived experience of mental illness. This Toowoomba Clubhouse programme was scheduled to begin in mid-December 2014, however, due to recruitment issues, did not begin until May 2015. The objective was for the companion pairings to engage in ordinary community activities including sporting events, recreational clubs or simply chatting in a coffee shop. It was expected that they would

develop supportive friendships and mentoring relationships, whilst engaging in social and recreational activities in the wider community. As in any friendship, volunteers and their friends spent time together enjoying activities of mutual interest. The friendship was supported by a volunteer coordinator at Toowoomba Clubhouse who promoted the programme, selected and recruited volunteers, and provided induction and ongoing training, including monthly supervision sessions with volunteers and monthly group supervision sessions. It was anticipated that these relationships would enable people with a lived experience of mental illness to engage in community connectedness and create sustainable community linkages.

The research utilised a mixed methods design comprising self-report questionnaires, focus groups and individual interviews. Analysis of the quantitative data is beyond the scope of the current chapter. Qualitative data is reported in this chapter and involved three data collections points: October–November 2015, March–April 2016 (unreported) and October–November 2016. At baseline, there were 21 Clubhouse companions matched with 18 community companions. Over time, an additional 11 participants were recruited (six Clubhouse companions and five community companions), 10 of whom (five Clubhouse companions and five community companions) participated in either a focus group or individual interview, depending on preference and availability.

Prior to the second point of data collection there was a change in staff at Toowoomba Clubhouse resulting in a brief period where the Thrive programme was not actively managed by a dedicated Clubhouse staff member. During this time, a significant number of companions decided not to continue with the programme. Only four Clubhouse companions and three community companions from the first point of data collection continued with the programme. However, the new programme coordinator actively promoted the programme and participants increased to 25 (11 community companions and 14 Clubhouse companions) at stage two data collection (unreported).

Participation in the research was open to all Thrive members. A total of nine companions (five Clubhouse companions and four community companions) participated in individual, semi-structured interviews at the beginning of the programme (first data collection point). At the end of the programme (final data collection point), five individual, semi-structured interviews were held with three Clubhouse companions and two community companions.

A preliminary analysis of these interviews is outlined below.

Qualitative Analysis and Interpretation

Initial Qualitative Data Analysis

Participant interviews were analysed for common themes. In the second stage of data collection, thematic analysis of participants' experiences in the Thrive programme identified three core themes: Friendship, increased social activity and personal growth. These themes were consistent across the community companions' and Clubhouse companions' perspectives. Each theme is described in more detail below.

Friendship

During the initial data collection point, each of the matched participants reported that they felt the relationship with their companion was friendship. For example:

> *It's definitely made me feel more connected with the world around me, it's made me feel like I can have friendships and people will treat me like a normal person. (Clubhouse companion 1)*
>
> *I have a friendship with my companion because we're on an adventure … it's about enjoying each other's company … I've made a friendship and I think it's important for, for my companion and for myself. (Community companion 1)*
>
> *It's a friendship, very easy going, respectful all that sort of stuff. (Clubhouse companion 5)*

The three participants who were not yet matched to a companion each identified friendship and expanding their circle of friends as their primary goal for participating in the programme.

Increased Social Activities

There was a consensus amongst all participants that they were doing more activities and trying new activities that were previously outside their comfort zone. They felt more connected and engaged with the broader community. For example:

> *It keeps me occupied and it's good for your mental health. (Clubhouse companion 6)*

Afternoon tea at Picnic Point … .That was pretty cool … I got to take my dog for a walk … we went camping overnight. Which was absolutely wonderful and relaxing. So I enjoyed that. It was great. (Clubhouse companion 1)

We do try and do something different every time we meet and it is, it's for us. We look at it as an adventure. (Community companion 1)

Just my presence there encouraged him to do things, to come back there and also he started participating in the larger group even on those days when I wasn't there. (Community companion 4)

Personal Growth

Two-thirds of the community companions reported personal growth since joining the Thrive programme. Clubhouse companions generally commented on increased self-confidence and growth, both for themselves and for their Clubhouse companions. For example:

It was beneficial for my growth in compassion as a person. (Community companion 1)

It [Thrive] enlivens life for both people. (Community companion 4)

[…] seems to be a lot more relaxed communicating with not just with me, but with other people in the, in his community. (Community companion 2)

With regard to stigma reduction, interviews with community companions indicated there was a minor movement towards a shift in their perceptions of Clubhouse members or more generally, people with a lived experience of mental illness. One community companion indicated a shift in their perception of mental illness, for example:

I have come to understand the problems of mental illness a lot better. (Community companion 2)

Follow-up at stage three of data collection, however, was needed to determine whether or not the Thrive programme could help reduce or minimise community stigma towards people with a lived experience of mental illness in the longer-term.

Final Qualitative Data Analysis

At both data collection points, there was unanimous support for the programme with all companions confirming an intention to remain with the programme and recommending the programme to others. Unfortunately,

however, only five companions from the initial two data collection points remained with the programme at the end of the first year of the Thrive programme (third data collection point). One of the former Clubhouse companions had recently graduated to the role of community companion and shared experiences from both roles at interview.

A thematic analysis of the interviews again identified three core themes: Friendships, increased social activities and personal growth. Clubhouse companions generally commented that they had experienced an increase in self-confidence which they attributed to participation in the Thrive programme. Additionally, four of the five companions noted challenges in sustaining the programme over time, specifically due to limited resources. Each theme is discussed in more detail below.

Friendship

There was unanimous consensus from Clubhouse companions that their relationships with their community companions (or vice versa) were genuine friendships. Both partner companions described their relationships as being 'relaxed' and that they could 'talk about anything'. It became evident that the Thrive programme was helping Clubhouse companions to make social connections with members of the broader community. Example quotes include:

> *My companion moved to NSW which stopped interactions … I can still talk to her if I want to … it's still a friendship. (Clubhouse companion 1)*
>
> *I'm not a counsellor but as a friend I think every day that discussion is positive and beneficial for her. (Community companion 2)*
>
> *I've made, apart from my companions that I go with, the members, I've made a lot friends at Clubhouse with people I see coming and going all the time. (Community companion 3)*
>
> *It take time to build up relationship but it's a really good thing to do. (Community companion 2)*
>
> *It was good, it was friendly, it made me feel like I was just a normal person in the community who had a friend to hang out with which was nice, it was good. (Clubhouse companion 1)*

Increased Social Activities

Over time, both Clubhouse and community companions continued to enjoy social activities together. Both partner companions found the social

experience to be very pleasant and something they were wanting to fit into their daily activities which they directly attribute to the Thrive programme. For example:

We go out and have a cup of coffee or we go to a park. (Community companion 3)

It gets you out more, gets you out of bed. (Clubhouse companion 2)

Personal Growth

Clubhouse companions indicated they had experienced personal growth and increased self-confidence by participating in the Thrive programme. Two of the three Clubhouse companions reported having the confidence to take on new roles as part of their daily tasks. The Clubhouse companions also reported a readiness to return to mainstream employment, either in work experience or paid employment, due to enhanced self-confidence. One Clubhouse companion explained that they had volunteered to become a community companion and had been matched to support a Clubhouse companion. They enjoyed feeling confident to actively contribute both to Clubhouse, specifically, and to society, more generally. For example:

I'm getting in the community with all different types of people and spending time with them. (Clubhouse companion 3)

I just saw how effective it was in my life and how it made me feel and thought if I could pass it on it might be good. (Clubhouse companion 1)

Additionally, two of the three community companions reported observable changes in their Clubhouse companions' confidence in social situations. For example:

Both of them, one in particular, has really improved his social skills and got a lot more confident I reckon. (Community companion 2)

They seem to relax a lot more when talking to me now. (Community companion 3)

With regard to stigma reduction, two out of the five companions (one community companion and one Clubhouse companion) reported changing as a result of participation in the Thrive programme. The Clubhouse companion noted feeling 'wanted' and 'accepted' which may indicate a

shift in internal stigma. The community companion noted a shift in their perception of mental illness and that they thought differently now about people with a lived experience of mental illness as a direct result of participating in the Thrive programme. For example:

> *It made me feel more wanted and accepted (Clubhouse companion 3)*
>
> *It's given me a different perspective on mental illness and it's made me aware of the people that are members of the Clubhouse and they are just mostly normal people. (Community companion 3)*

Ongoing Challenges

The Clubhouse companions recognised some systemic issues that impacted on the sustainability of the programme in the longer-term. For example, two community companions noted that contact with Clubhouse companions typically occurred at Toowoomba Clubhouse as members don't have mobile phones and it was impossible to organise another venue for their social get together. They felt it was difficult to arrange or reschedule social outings in advance, although they would enjoy the opportunity to connect socially with their Clubhouse companion away from the Clubhouse location.

Three Clubhouse companions hoped that more group activities could be arranged by Clubhouse staff to facilitate additional opportunities to build social relationships with their community companions. They said they would like to be able to participate in various social events in the community with their community companions. Similarly, one community companion noted that they would like to see more social gatherings and suggested some 'volunteer only' events to develop a support network for community companions. Such events could be held in parallel to larger Thrive social events where Clubhouse companions and community companions can meet and socialise in a more informal environment and potentially strengthen companionship matches. Another Clubhouse companion noted that additional Thrive-managed activities would also help to reduce financial strain on Clubhouse companions by providing a free or subsidised activity involving companion pairs working together or socially connecting on a more informal level.

Financial strain was a common theme mentioned by both Clubhouse companions and community companions. They recognised that limited financial resources minimised the social activity options available for

companion pairs and impacted on their ability to be spontaneous in their friendship activities. The Clubhouse companions did not have their own vehicles and were dependent on public transport or their community companion for transport to attend scheduled social activities. Lack of private transport by Clubhouse companions also limited when and where they could participate in various social activities with their community companions.

Discussion

The Thrive programme underwent a significant upheaval following Toowoomba Clubhouse staff changes just prior to the scheduled second data collection period. This resulted in a substantial change in the continuity of the programme and in subsequent level of engagement by companion partners. Nevertheless, the current research reports on the experiences of three companions involved over the full year of the programme and two companions who had participated in the programme for at least six months.

A key finding of this research is that friendships developed between Clubhouse companions and community companions who were paired as part of the Thrive programme due to shared interests. Increased social activities was also a prominent theme identified by companions in the programme. Such findings are consistent with McCorkle, Dunn, Wan, and Gagne (2009) who found the supported social relationships enabled people with a lived experience of mental illness to become more active outside the home or Clubhouse environment, and generally speaking, become more sociable. For example, Clubhouse companions generally felt 'wanted and accepted'. Additionally, the current data replicates McCorkle et al.'s findings showing that community companions enjoyed being there for their Clubhouse companions and generally felt good about helping someone in the community.

Contact is espoused as being vital to stigma reduction (Corrigan & Penn, 1999, as cited in Collins et al., 2012). The Thrive programme was shown to facilitate personal growth by both Clubhouse companions and community companions and to enable Clubhouse members to feel more socially connected in the community. Current qualitative data analyses indicate that the programme also had a positive effect on internalised stigma. Specifically, the programme helped Clubhouse companions to feel more socially connected; they felt a sense of belonging that helped to minimise

any self-stigma associated with their diagnosis or their lived experience of mental illness.

Additionally, the Thrive programme enabled community companions to expand their knowledge of mental illness and to minimise any stereotypes they previously held about individuals with a lived experience of mental illness. Two community companions reported a better understanding of mental illness after participating in the programme. For example, they said that their perception of both mental illness and people with a lived experience of mental illness had changed as a direct result of their participation in Thrive. It therefore appears that this programme offers potential to influence the stigma associated with a lived experience of mental illness by building friendships and increasing social connections in the broader community.

It is recommended, however, that future research consider a longitudinal review of supported socialisation programmes to enable time for companion friendships to be substantiated. Like any friendship, companion relationships will experience natural attrition over time. It is therefore important to allow sufficient time for individuals to socially connect via various community activities and for friendships to deepen.

Overall, both Clubhouse companions and community companions were positive about their Thrive programme experiences. All participants were keen to continue with the programme and recommended it to others. However, they also recognised a number of issues that potentially impact on the longer-term viability of the programme, specifically in regard to the lack of resources, including both lack of finances and transportation for social events. Several Clubhouse companions suggested that Thrive group activities were a means to meeting a social 'match'; the programme enabled them to socially connect with another person in the community who shares similar interests. It is evident that the programme was successful in terms of providing opportunities for Clubhouse companions to socially connect with volunteer community companions who offer friendship and support.

In conclusion, the Toowoomba Clubhouse Thrive programme was designed to build social connections for Clubhouse members and reduce stigma associated with a lived experience of mental illness. The current data indicate that some individuals—both Clubhouse companions and community companions—changed their perceptions of mental illness over the course of the programme. However, longer-term follow-up is needed to determine the impact of the programme in influencing stigma from both partner companions' perspectives.

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Men of Business '*Pay it Forward*' Program: A Model for Building Social Capital in Disenfranchised Youth in High Schools

Lorelle J. Burton, Éidín Ní Shé, and Sue Olliver

Introducing the MOB Program

The goals of the Men of Business (MOB) programme, initiated at the Gold Coast, Australia, include MOB mentors working with disenfranchised male youth to help them achieve a positive attitude to life and a healthy lifestyle. Each programme day includes an hour of boot camp facilitated by a qualified trainer, helping the MOB boys to improve their physical fitness and strength. This is followed by an hour with an MOB mentor, who 'shares his story' to help instil in the MOB boys the core values of trust, respect and responsibility. Marco Renai, director of the MOB programme, outlines why he initiated the MOB programme:

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> *I don't know, I think it was just purely for life change…I really understood what health had done for me and how it had changed my life and I thought it would be a good point for people to start with something that's controllable…If you go and get people healthy then they might become a bit more motivated and then if they become a bit more motivated they might push the boundaries a little bit or try to succeed a bit more or even with the kids, just try and give them a different path…I just saw a massive hole in that market especially for young men at risk, there was no real programme or no real connection there…I feel like my purpose in life is life change and motivation…what parts of life do you need to work on that can help you with a chance of success in the future?*

The eight-week MOB programme involves a MOB fitness facilitator and mentors working with the boys in high schools to cultivate their communication skills, help control their emotions and address any anger management issues. The boys learn to work as a team and together they explore how to build positive relationships with friends and family. A key focus of the programme is exploring each MOB boy's passion, purpose, and dreams and each MOB boy sets some life goals he would like to work towards achieving. Each week, a different MOB mentor shares his life experiences and lessons learned, and this can inspire the MOB boys to pursue their dreams. MOB Director, Marco Renai, summarises his vision for the MOB programme:

> *When we first called it MOB and when we first started it was very much about being a gang, it was very much about being a cool gang…so instead of gangs doing the wrong things it was alright, we're going to be a MOB and instead of it being for bad it's for good…let's go and fight all the negatives with a whole heap of opposite positives because it's very rare…we're offering a support network and a MOB family for kids to belong to.*

Disenfranchised Youth in Schools

Sustained engagement in high-quality education is directly related to the realisation of positive life outcomes for individuals and societies (Te Riele, 2014). The likelihood of experiencing financial hardship and poverty is increased for early school leavers, and this can have a wide range of impacts including debt, homelessness and housing stress, family tensions and breakdown, boredom, alienation, shame and stigma, increased social isolation, crime, erosion of confidence and self-esteem, the atrophying of work skills and ill health (Deloitte Access Economics, 2012).

Extensive research has investigated the issue of youth disengagement to explain school dropout. Such research has predominantly focused on youth aged 15 and older (Beck, 2010), indicating that leaving school prior to the completion of Year 12 can have negative consequences for both individuals and society. Individual costs for those who leave school early include difficulty in gaining and maintaining employment, lack of earnings and a comparatively lower standard of living to the general population (Porter, 2000). Indeed, research from the USA argues that employing early interventions within schools, focused on positive engagement with students and families, can have multiple long-term benefits (Henry, Knight, & Thornberry, 2012). However, past research has failed to capture the multifaceted and interactive nature of school engagement with even less studies using longitudinal data to explore how school engagement and problem behaviour can reciprocally influence each other in ways that lead to dropping out of school (Wang & Fredericks, 2014). Further research is needed to redress this imbalance.

In Australia, flexible learning programmes are key to supporting students to remain in schools; such programmes enable disenfranchised students to develop their skills and confidence necessary for life, work and future learning (Queensland Plan, 2014). Thus, by approaching schools as an 'enabling space', programmes such as the MOB programme, can support students to 'form respectful relationships and derive a sense of meaning, connection, and control over their lives' (Wyn et al., 2014, p. 7). In the USA, Charter schools advocate that 'all, regardless of race or class or economic status, are entitled to a fair chance and to the tools for developing their individual powers of mind and spirit to the utmost' (Gardner, 1983, para. 1). Charter schools offer a more flexible and targeted educational experience students who disengage from mainstream schooling (Bankston et al., 2013). However, research has shown mixed results with respect to student achievement and educational outcomes. Berends (2015) identified increased class time over longer days, a school culture focused on achievement, positive behavioural policies and decision-making driven by data, as key factors contributing to the success of charter schools.

The MOB programme is closely aligned with the goals of the Australian Queensland Plan (2014), which outlines the State's shared 30-year vision for growth and prosperity. The Queensland government's response to the Queensland Plan indicates that they will support vulnerable Queenslanders who are disengaged or at risk of disengagement from mainstream schooling.

Of particular relevance are two short- to medium-term educational targets identified in the Queensland Plan, namely that:

1. All Queenslanders enter adulthood with life skills and broad knowledge (Target T2).
2. Education is highly valued by all Queenslanders (Target T3).

Internationally, youth mentoring has been of interest to policymakers and relevant community service providers looking to adopt a delinquency prevention approach. Broad reviews suggest mentoring compares favourably to other approaches to youth intervention (Tolan, Henry, Schoeny, Lovegrove, & Nichols, 2014). A significant gap of the mentoring process in the literature is the lack of evaluation, including more careful identification of the mentors, inclusion criteria, and the support skill development and training of mentors. Further research is needed to understand the full social and economic impacts of alternative educational programmes. Specifically, longer-term tracking (i.e., documenting and describing) of the change process, relating to individuals, schools, families and communities, is needed.

Additionally, the health, social and economic benefits of participating in sport and active recreation are well documented in the literature (Fujiwara, Kudrna, & Dolan, 2014; Lee, Cornwell, & Babiak, 2012; Lunn, Kelly, & Fitzpatrick, 2013; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010). Governments are recognising the potential of sport and active recreation to support achievement of mental and physical health, crime prevention, and social development policy objectives (Cameron & MacDougall, 2000; Schmitz, Kruse, & Krugler, 2004). Internationally, there is evidence of sport/physical activity programmes being used to re-engage young people in education and society more broadly (Chamberlain, 2013; Kelly, 2013). Physical activity is a key component of the MOB programme and has the potential to benefit the health and wellbeing of MOB boys, mentors and the wider school community. Longer-term tracking, however, is beyond the scope of this chapter and is required to determine the impact of the MOB programme over an extended period of time.

Methodology: A High School Case Study

Helensvale State High School is a public secondary school located in the northern suburb of Helensvale on the Gold Coast, Queensland. Helensvale State High School is a co-educational high school that caters for more than 2000 students from year 8 to year 12. Mr Mark Blackshaw was

appointed as Executive Principal of the School in 2014. The School's mission is *One Student, One Community, Many Futures*. The School has a small number of positively stated school-wide expectations and appropriate behaviours based on the following school values: *I am respectful, I am responsible and I am resilient* (DETE, 2014). The MOB programme was introduced to Helensvale State High School in 2013 by Todd Firth, School Chaplain. A pilot programme, funded from the School's budget, was trialled in Term 1 that year and anecdotal evidence of the programme's success led to the School Parents and Citizens (P&C) Committee agreeing to fund the MOB programme for another year, with approximately 50 students having completed an MOB programme at the School.

This chapter reports key findings from the MOB programme offered at Helensvale State High School in July 2014. A total of 14 boys enrolled in Years 8–12 participated in the eight-week MOB programme. The MOB boys ranged in age from 12 to 16 years. Eighty-seven per cent of the MOB boys were born in Australia. They were identified as potential participants in the MOB programme by the School Chaplain in consultation with the MOB Director and the School Principal, Mark Blackshaw, who explains why he integrated the MOB programme into the School curricula:

> *We identify the kids that need to go in MOB by data from the SWPBS [school wide positive learning behaviour support]… the kids can be identified cause they're high absenteeism, high behaviour referrals or there might be a critical incident where they swore at a teacher or something so they're identified often through conversations that stem from the data.*
>
> *The P&C put the funding in to roll out the MOB programme and I want to have a model whereby we have access to the broader MOB network of mentors and I want to make it about parent and male support so we might have a breakfast once a term and we have a guest speaker and mental health or social worker on male wellbeing…so it's about MOB but it's also about how we look after each other as a community.*
>
> *MOB's really effective for relationship building to have further conversations and ongoing support for the boys…I try to check in with the fellas when I see how MOB's going, just some acknowledgement even if it's just incidental, how's it travelling, how's it going, I heard you did really well in MOB…it's actually a starting point for further conversations and I suppose the other thing is the quality of the mentors that come in and I think that's been really important and the ability to have the physicality cause I know as a male that's really important.*

The MOB boys completed weekly activities in an MOB workbook. However, it became evident that the boys did not regularly engage with

this book during their weekly sessions, which was handed back to the Chaplain at the end of each session.

The MOB programme was supported by a part-time administrator who helps to coordinate the programme across the various schools. The administrator organises the timetable for mentors, deals with general MOB programme enquiries and develops various communiqués (including online sites) to keep the extended MOB community informed of key events and/or activities. Open and transparent communications between the various MOB programme facilitators, trainers and/or mentors are an important element of the programme.

The funding of a male Chaplain (or equivalent) is vital to the programme's success. The School Chaplain was shown to have his ear to the ground, and had the trust and respect of the MOB boys. The MOB programme needs to be grounded with the boys' school life and home life and therefore relies on the support of a Chaplain (or equivalent) to provide the 'just-in-time' support to ensure the MOB boys remain connected and sustained in the programme.

In this study, the School Chaplain, Todd Firth, explains why the programme works for disengaged male high school students:

> *They always ask me why are we here, is it because we're naughty? I say some of you, yeah, some of you have been referred because you're naughty, but that's not why I'm putting you in it…I share some of my story. I was quite misunderstood like you are, and I understand, fellas, that school is hard and when you've got stuff going on how can you think about doing an assignment or obeying the teacher? And I sell it to them that way in I share my story and what it was like for me going to school, and then they suddenly go 'oh, this isn't a punishment, this will actually be really good'…It's got to flip in their minds.*
>
> *A lot of the boys have behavioural issues at school, in trouble a lot, detentions all the time, suspensions, in fights. A lot of them have anger issues, really big ones…People react in different ways to circumstances in their life, so some of them have been like really chronically suicidal, struggle with suicide ideation every day, have attempted several times, just their reaction. It's just really they're spiralling down. If I could describe a typical MOB boy, they're spiralling down and they need someone to give them a new pathway. It's like rewiring their brain to go forward and progress with their life instead of just continuing to follow the behaviours they've learnt.*
>
> *I think the workout session is important for guys especially those with massive anger issues and problems. They get to work out their energy and like they're totally worked, so then they're rested, and so they have the attention span to be able to sit in class and they're not fidgeting. Some of the guys have ADD and this*

lets them work that out and then they're so 'stuffed' they can't be bothered doing anything and so take it in. That's why most of them don't survive in normal classrooms.

The boys get lined up with really positive male role models and like you find the different personalities connect with different role models and mentors, and it's really good. It kind of aligns them with where they need to go…it's all good doing a programme, but unless they can relate it back to their normal life, unless it matters when they go back home or when they're at school…you've got to ground it where they're situated.

Summary of Data Analysis and Interpretation

In total, more than 700 students have participated in the MOB programme at various schools in the broader Gold Coast region since its inception in 2011. A number of mentors expressed a desire to know what happened to each boy after he had graduated from the MOB programme. What impact did the programme have on their lives? Did it help put them on the pathway to success, either through further study or employment?

The research involved interviewing key stakeholders of the programme, including MOB Directors, School Principals, School Chaplains, MOB mentors and MOB boys who had previously participated and graduated from the programme. This chapter summarises the key qualitative research findings.

Storytelling was shown to be a powerful way for the MOB mentors to share their life experiences and lessons learned, to resonate or connect with the MOB boys, and to inspire them to believe they can achieve their life goals. Their personal stories show they had courage to give things a go in life, to strive for meaning, to work hard and always give their best. Mentors who generously share their personal story are open to putting themselves out there, to feeling vulnerable and exposed, and to risking rejection, and this is what makes their real-life stories so inspirational for the MOB boys. It's about embracing your passions and sharing what you learn in life. Such life stories were shown to help the MOB boys to understand what they have in common with the mentors and to imagine what they might achieve in the future. The simple act of telling a personal story can also help the boys to process what happens to us and make sense of it. The MOB mentors' stories also gave the boys insight into how they might overcome life's struggles and keep moving forward with strength and character.

The following quotes from mentors indicate that they participated in the MOB programme and shared their stories with the boys because they felt they can make a difference in the lives of the boys. They also appreciate

the support network that becomes available for the broader MOB community as part of the MOB programme:

It's the opportunity to give the boys a whole bunch of stuff, not the least of which is a bit more of a moral compass in making the decisions that affect their own lives.

The programme resonated with me and I thought I can give a couple of hours a month to give back to the kids but I also liked the fact that there's that support network for the blokes as well.

I've always seen your main motivation is to help those boys, but what's coming out is that camaraderie amongst the mentors.

A key area of interest for the mentors was establishing the influence of the MOB support network for men across the Gold Coast region, and determining its impact on the health and wellbeing of MOB boys, and mentors in the longer term. One mentor indicated the potential to use the boys' personal stories of triumph in the next series of MOB audio visuals, and paying forward for the next generation of MOB boys. Another MOB mentor reinforced the value of the programme in strengthening male support networks:

It's great for the boys…it's actually the Men of Business as a network for each other as a support base so it's sort of a double benefit. You're helping young fellas but you're also there to sort of help yourselves because we're all going through the same sort of things trying to run businesses and family … you've got all the balls up in the air and sometimes you just need to chat to someone whether you're 16 or 36, I think it's still the same.

Importantly, the MOB mentors revealed their personal values in their stories. A brief induction process helped assure each mentor that his story is 'enough'. Those personal stories that connect to the larger-shared values of the MOB programme—trust, respect and responsibility—gave the boys reason to believe in them. MOB mentors who opened up about their past make their story more relatable to the boys. The boys saw the honesty in the story, and this made the story more meaningful and memorable. It also opened the way for a group discussion of life's key lessons and enabled each boy to share his personal connection with the story. For example:

Just hearing about all the amazing stories from all the visitors and speakers. There are some who survived from having terrible accidents to just changing their life with one simple move of their groups or their friends….I loved every moment of it—just loved coming out of class, just hanging out with Marco and all the boys—just kicking around a footy and just listening to someone about their lives. It was amazing. (MOB graduate)

I learned to just respect other people more and respect myself and be responsible more and stuff like that. (MOB graduate)

Every mentor is bound to have a different approach and probably every mentor will click differently with certain kids ... there's the kids that you understand have got trust issues particularly with males so they need that sort of softer approach. (MOB mentor)

Some kids are in Grade 9 so they're here for a lot more sessions, whether it means you start to see the same faces again and again that builds trust and relationships. (MOB mentor)

The following quotes from graduates of the MOB programme highlight that the MOB boys enjoyed the programme because it provided a safe place for them to learn from other male role models who simply shared their story:

It was good to express your opinion to an unbiased audience...just have a laugh, get things off your chest not in a room where you're secluded and you're one-on-one with someone and it feels uncomfortable. It's more just mates talking about stuff they've done.

It was really good and it helped me get a lot off my chest as well, and also try harder at school. And the guys that came in and did talks and stuff, it helped me out a lot.

Long-term tracking of the MOB boys and mentors is required to better establish the social and economic impact of the programme. Of particular interest is determining the extent to which the MOB programme facilitates positive attitudes, optimistic futures, and further education and career opportunities for the boys. Additionally, depending on the availability of mentors, it would be of interest to explore a model, whereby the MOB mentors had repeat sessions within any one eight-week MOB programme. This would potentially facilitate personal connections between mentors and boys, and strengthen the boys' sense of belonging to the extended MOB community. At a practical level, having the MOB mentors participate in the training session with the MOB boys provides additional opportunity to build trust and respect and develop relationships.

The following quotes from MOB graduates demonstrate how the mentoring programme helped strengthen the boys' self-confidence and connections to the broader community:

I learned to never really give up on yourself and never tell yourself that you're not good enough to be able to complete something...I've been trying to get an application in for Air Force Cadets, and for a while there they weren't getting

back to me for work experience and stuff. And they finally got back but yeah I just kept persisting with it and telling myself that, 'Just because they haven't got back to you doesn't mean they don't want you.' So I kind of told myself that I am good enough for the right job that I'm after.

They gave a lot of good advice to which path to choose and where you want to get in life, and they even offered to help us even. I didn't have a traineeship at the time, and they were offering to help me find one and helping me find things that I like and trying to set me up and help my future.

The following quotes from graduates of the MOB programme further demonstrate how it had helped change the boys' attitudes to school and life, more generally:

I know how to deal with my bullying now, instead of reacting the way I used to, I just calm myself and ignore them and move away.

I didn't really have motivation to do anything and they taught me how to be motivated and push myself, so I'm going to start getting motivated to go for jobs and all of that.

You've only got pretty much one chance at school, so you might as well do the best that you can and obviously make the best of it while you can, and just not to mess up pretty much anymore, because I used to mess up a lot, but pretty much not now.

It's a really, really good experience and it's definitely worth it if you're struggling with any aspect, home life, school, or you're stressed about anything, work. And it was really just an all-round good programme for anyone … get out there, get a bit of exercise, talk about stuff, it was really good.

You'll get confidence in schooling and you'll make more friends and you'll help people out, you'll learn a lot more and you'll just get to enjoy school a bit more.

MOB Operating Model

An operating model of the MOB programme with discreet but interlocking activities (Fig. 13.1) was developed from the qualitative data to enable the programme to be tailored to its local context and rolled out in other schools both nationally and internationally. The MOB operating model comprises two halves: (a) Program *inputs* (i.e., the MOB programme, schools and boys) and (b) Program *outputs* (i.e., outcomes relevant to the boys, mentors, school, community and public policy). The three key programme inputs are interconnected and are essential ingredients for the successful implementation of the MOB programme at any one school.

The outputs are not necessarily interconnected; however, they are typically informing of one another and connections between the various output sectors will strengthen over the life of the programme and into the future.

As shown in Fig. 13.1, traversing anticlockwise, the MOB programme inputs represent the resources required to set up and run an MOB programme within any one school, comprising support from MOB director, fitness trainers, mentors and the extended MOB community. Inside the

Fig. 13.1 MOB operating model

school, the MOB programme requires support from the school principal, teaching staff and support staff such as chaplains and school counsellors. Finally, the last piece of the jigsaw requires commitment from the boys themselves, both those new to the programme and those returning to the programme as leaders. Support from the boys' families and friendship networks is also important to help the boys engage in the full eight-week MOB programme. On completion of the eight-week programme, five areas of output can be identified, each with their corresponding impacts. These are summarised from each key stakeholder's perspective.

Future Directions of the MOB Program

The MOB programme strives to help boys at risk of disengaging from school to take action and show responsibility for their future. It encourages MOB boys to follow their passions and realise their dreams. The values instilled in the MOB boys have the potential to influence their self-confidence, trust and communication skills.

It would be worthwhile to consider how the MOB programme might be rebadged as a leadership programme as a number of earlier MOB programmes involved a mix of boys 'at risk' and those earmarked as future leaders. Qualitative research evidence indicates that having a mix of boys in the MOB programme could have the potential to elevate the 'at-risk' MOB boys to new heights of aspiration. It would also help to remove any stigma associated with the MOB programme being only for 'at-risk' or 'problem' boys.

Some MOB boys repeat the programme because they are unable to commit to the full eight-week programme. Additionally, conflicting priorities on school calendars impacted on some boys' ability to attend all sessions. Depending on the individual need of each MOB boy, an alternative model might involve boys engaging in the programme for two consecutive terms to strengthen relationships with mentors and help the boys feel part of the MOB community. In this model, each boy is a 'rookie' in his first term. Upon graduation, he is an MOB leader. If repeating the MOB programme as a leader, he can 'pay it forward' by buddying with an incoming rookie during the subsequent programme. This model will enable a leader and rookie to 'buddy' and develop a partnership over time. This model could also potentially address the current inconsistent attendance by boys across the eight-week programme and make the boys more accountable. Any MOB leader who is shown to 'pay it forward' either

inside the MOB programme itself or outside the programme in the school, or broader community, will be elevated to the highest level of recognition within the programme, being distinguished as a 'Mobster' or 'Mob star'.

The qualitative analyses also indicated that greater parental involvement in the MOB programme has the potential to increase the boys' engagement in the programme. This would also facilitate improved communication regarding permission slips from parents and/or guardians. It is recommended that the boys' parents and/or family support be invited to share each boy's journey through the MOB programme. Perhaps a more formal end-of-year MOB graduation could be incorporated into the school calendar to enable MOB boys (MOB leaders and MOB stars), mentors, schools and families to come together and share the MOB stories of inspiration. Additionally, the MOB boys could share their personal stories with the broader school community, including the School P&C. MOB leaders who are shown to 'pay it forward' can receive special recognition with the 'MOB star' award. This public celebration would enable the MOB boys to show their appreciation for the support and funding offered by the School P&C and also helps to strengthen the boys' leadership skills.

Overall, the qualitative research data informed the development of a logic model for introducing the MOB programme to new schools (Fig. 13.2). In short, a logic model is a graphical representation of how an activity or process is intended to bring about a desired change. The logic model helps to test how plausible a proposed change is in realising the desired outcomes. Logic models can be used to plan, evaluate and refine the content of a proposed change in order to improve the outcomes intended. Building on the work of Wyn et al. (2014), the project team created a logic model to articulate all the inputs, processes and outcomes of the MOB programme.

Towards a Social Impact of the MOB Mentoring Program

Social impact is the change that a community has created or effected over time. Undertaking an assessment or establishing a framework to measure social impact 'includes the processes of analysing, monitoring and managing the intended and unintended social consequences, both positive and negative, of planned interventions (policies, programmes, plans, projects) and any social change processes invoked by those intervention' (Vanclay, 2003, p. 5). The concept of social impact should be just as clear as the

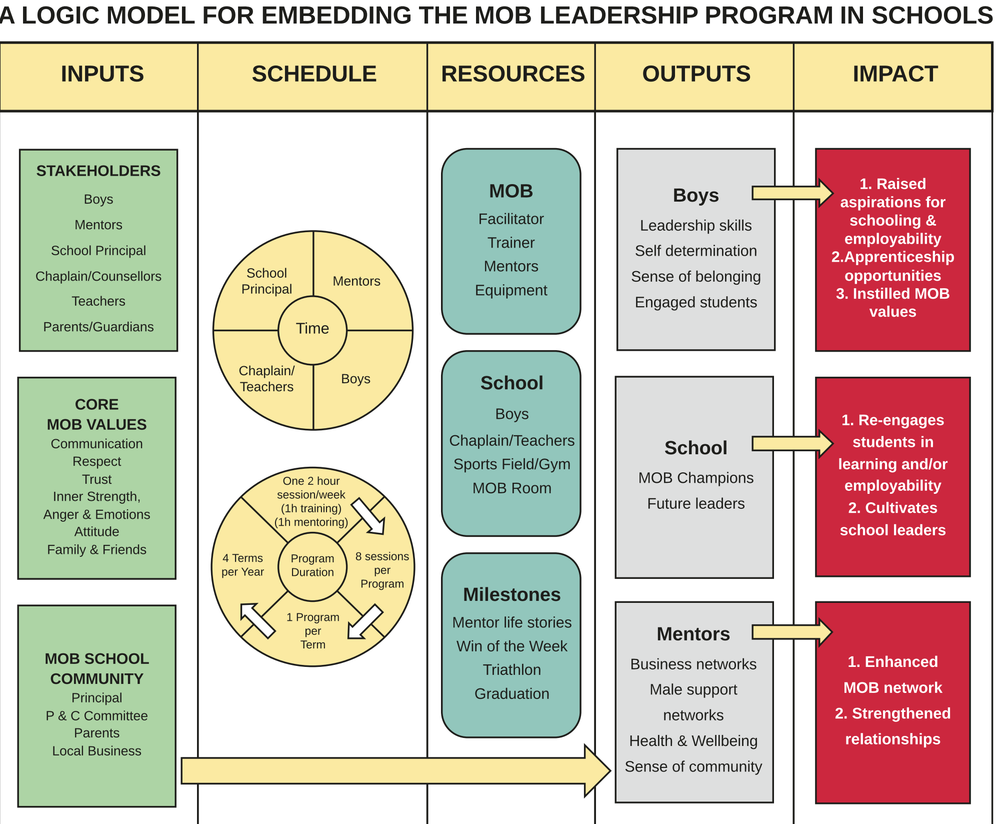

Fig. 13.2 Logic model for implementing the MOB program for new schools

economic impact. However, as the Housing Associations' Charitable Trust (2014, p. 3) indicates, 'though there is a belief in the social impact of these activities … there has been little genuine evidence of the value generated'. Individual and community social change occurs over extended time frames, usually involving many years. Such approaches focus on developing understanding, over extended time frames, of the 'how' and 'why' of change processes—for individuals, communities and organisations. Work in the UK by Fujiwara et al. (2014) and Trotter, Vine, Leach, and Fujiwara (2014) stress that in order to map effective social impacts, long-term impact targets should be established, and complementary long-term reporting needs to be undertaken.

Thus, understanding the full social impacts of the MOB programme requires the longer-term tracking of the change process, relating to MOB boys, MOB mentors, schools, families and community. Physical activity and mentoring are both key components of the MOB programme and long-term research will enable their respective impacts on the health and wellbeing of MOB boys and MOB mentors to be determined. This chapter provides a framework for further research devoted to this goal.

Conclusion

The MOB programme is designed to encourage disenfranchised male youth to follow their passions and realise their full potentials. The school is a key success factor in the MOB programme because it provides an enabling space for male youth to develop their physical health and socially connect with businessmen in the community. It might be useful to consider alternative mediums for engaging boys in the weekly topics. An online portal or app might be more appealing to the boys, for example. It would be worthwhile to get feedback from the boys on their preferences to better document each boy's growth over the course of the programme. Additionally, beep test and other fitness test results could be recorded on a master sheet held by the MOB facilitator/trainer to better establish impact of the programme on the fitness of the boys.

It is recommended that the MOB programme be rebadged as a leadership mentoring programme, involving a mix of disenfranchised boys and those earmarked as future leaders. This has the potential to raise aspirations of the more vulnerable MOB boys. Rookies who graduate from the MOB programme become MOB leaders; MOB leaders who are shown to 'pay it forward' can achieve distinction with the 'MOB star' award. Overall, the

MOB programme has the potential to cultivate future leaders by MOB mentors sharing their life stories with the MOB boys and inspiring them to believe they can achieve their life goals. Long-term research is required to understand the full social and economic impacts of the MOB programme on the health, wellbeing and livelihood of MOB boys and MOB mentors.

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Clemente Toowoomba Programme: Enabling Pathways to Higher Education and Employment for Marginalised People in Community

Rebecca J. Lane, Lorelle J. Burton, and Gavin Beccaria

Introduction

The search for solutions that address disadvantage and marginalisation of individuals and communities has been an ongoing priority for researchers, governments and communities since the mid-nineteenth century (Vinson, Rawsthorne, & Cooper, 2007). Today, disadvantage is considered to be any challenge or difficulty which impacts on an individual and prevents full engagement within society (Skinner, 2003; Vinson et al., 2007). Such disadvantage is often all encompassing, involving a complex interaction of factors across multiple life domains. Factors relating to disadvantage can include poor physical or mental health and disabilities (Vinson et al., 2007), limited skills, social discrimination, inequitable treatment (Howard, Butcher, & Egan, 2010), community marginalisation, social deprivation (Skinner, 2003), low income or financial difficulties, underemployment or unemployment (Vinson et al., 2007), inadequate housing, homelessness

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(Vinson et al., 2007) and refugee status (Skinner, 2003; Howard et al., 2010).

Disadvantage can be experienced in various ways and in varying degrees across our lives. While such challenges can potentially impact on an individual's participation in the community, for many people these challenges are temporary, confined to the experience of one or two life domains and readily resolved (Howard, Butcher, & Marchant, 2014). However, for almost 5 per cent of adults, or one million Australians, the experience of disadvantage and adversity is more disabling. For these Australians, such challenges impact across three or more life domains, are not readily resolved and cause a significant reduction in their capacity to build their desired lives, overcome adversity and transition out of disadvantage (Howard et al., 2014; Vinson, Services, Rawsthorne, Beavis, & Ericson, 2015).

People who experience multiple disadvantage often disengage from society, leading to social exclusion and marginalisation. This is understood to limit the accessibility of a range of empowering opportunities (Saunders & Wong, 2009), including commonly available opportunities often considered to be basic human rights, and thereby perpetuating the cycle of disadvantage. One such basic right which disadvantage impacts is access to education (Howard et al., 2010).

Education and Social Capital

Education is considered to support personal well-being and enhance outcomes across a number of life domains. Education is central to developing empowerment and is pivotal in supporting people to move beyond disadvantage, out of cycles of marginalisation, poverty and homelessness to increased social inclusion (Cherednichenko et al., 2010; Howard et al., 2010). Current research suggests that education improves overall health and well-being (Feinstein & Hammond, 2004; Hammond, 2004; Hartog & Oosterbeek, 1998); increases hope for the future (Field, 2011; Hammond, 2004); improves self-efficacy and self-esteem (Hammond, 2004; Hammond & Feinstein, 2005; Wertheimer, 1997); results in increased personal and social confidence (Dench & O'regan, 1998; Hammond, 2004); builds social inclusion, friendships and social connections (Gervasoni, Smith, & Howard, 2013; Rowe & Stewart, 2011) and supports a clear sense of self-identity, self-understanding and self-image (Hammond, 2004; Stevenson, Yashin-Shaw, & Howard, 2007).

Hammond (2004) suggests life-long education develops capacity for independent and critical thought; education strengthens a sense of purpose, helps in managing stress, protects from mental health challenges and improves coping skills. According to Hammond (2004), education builds competence which enables individuals to access opportunities, including alternative ways to overcome challenges. Education also strengthens communication skills and engagement, allowing participants to be more readily understood, taken seriously and socially integrated in community (Hammond, 2004). Further, research evidence indicates that such benefits are more profound in vulnerable populations (Field, 2011), demonstrating the transformative nature of education (Gervasoni et al., 2013). However, because marginalisation can influence access to education, there is a need to better understand the role that education can play in overcoming disadvantage.

Clemente Toowoomba Programme

The Clemente programme was originally developed by Earl Shorris in 1995 and first implemented in New York in 1999 with homeless people. The Clemente programme was conceptualised as an innovative approach to providing a value-based, transformational humanities education to poor and marginalised people, who otherwise would have been locked out of university education (Gervasoni et al., 2013; Howard et al., 2010; Shorris, 2000). Through the use of a Socratic-based teaching paradigm, Shorris (2000) promoted an education of "riches for the poor," which offered disadvantaged and marginalised people "the rich cultural capital of citizenship." Hence, the original Clemente framework aims to re-engage people experiencing isolation and profound social disconnection through education. The goal is for education to become a pathway for moving the socially disenfranchised out of the disadvantage cycle (Gervasoni et al., 2013; Howard et al., 2010; Shorris, 2000).

The Clemente programme differentiates itself from other vocationally oriented courses that seek to build routine and move people from welfare to work (Shorris, 2000). Clemente is premised on Socrates' apology that "the unexamined life is not worth living" or, more positively, "the examined life is worth living" (Stevenson et al., 2007). It was argued that humanities education will enable disadvantaged students to become more engaged and empowered; an education in humanities will help the disenfranchised to learn to think and reflect upon the world in which they live

(Shorris, 2000). Shorris (2000) argued that such an education would mean individuals were less likely to simply react and more likely to examine, question, and contemplate (Shorris, 2000). The Clemente programme was grounded in the notion that through contemplation and reflective practice, students would begin to become engaged public citizens, develop autonomy, and overcome the routinisation commonly experienced by the poor (Gervasoni et al., 2013).

Clemente Australia

Since its establishment in 1999, Clemente has been adopted internationally, with sites across the United States, Korea, and Australia. Clemente Australia was established in 2003 in East Sydney by the Australian Catholic University (ACU) in collaboration with St Vincent de Paul Society (Egan et al., 2006; Howard et al., 2010). Clemente Australia has continued to grow and 2017 was operating in nine cities across Australia, comprising various partner universities and community organisations. The ACU Clemente Australia programme was closely modelled on Shorris' (2000) vision of the Clemente programme, adopting four key pedagogical concepts: (a) course content was generalist, (b) dialogue was used for purpose, (c) classes were a public space and an escape from isolation and (d) success was measured by level of participation (Gervasoni et al., 2013). However, Clemente Australia also comprised an element of formal assessment in each unit of study (Howard et al., 2010), with the course and individual units designed to be sensitive to the particular needs, requirements and capacities of disadvantaged people while maintaining minimum academic standards (Howard et al., 2010).

Clemente Australia has continued to evolve with prior research focusing on evaluating the efficacy of the programme and understanding its impact on participation. However, published research and findings regarding Clemente within an Australian context remain preliminary; current data indicates positive support for the Clemente programme as a means for addressing social injustices faced by many Australians (Gervasoni et al., 2013; Howard et al., 2010).

Stevenson et al. (2007) assessed self-reported changes in participants during Clemente Australia participation, particularly in regard to habitus and body hexis and dispositions. Participants indicated that the Clemente Australia programme provided empowering learning experiences. O'Gorman, Butcher, and Howard (2012) applied a social cognitive model

to understand the development of personal agency and social inclusion of participants in the programme. They concluded that developing and expanding personal agency is fundamental to the success of the Clemente Australia programme. Their research showed that expectations and goals imbedded within the structure of the programme led to self-reflection and broader changes in hopes, identity, meaning, and purpose (O'Gorman et al., 2012).

Howard et al. (2010) reviewed existing Clemente Australia research, in the context of hope theory, as a case study for transformative education for people experiencing disadvantage and social isolation. Their research acknowledged the initially positive impact of the Clemente Australia programme on participants' personal goals, sense of agency and sense of hope for the future. According to Howard et al. (2010), the Clemente Australia programme provided an appropriate pathway for transformative learning and concluded that Clemente Australia enhances life opportunities and choices for disadvantaged Australians.

Howard et al. (2008) utilised a "methodology of engagement" to examine levels of engagement by students and established six key themes: self, social interaction, relationships with others, learning, community participation and the future. They found that participants experienced an enhanced sense of self, increased self-esteem, confidence and personal development. Participants indicated enhanced social participation through the programme and reported positive change in their relationships. They found a sense of inclusion in learning and community participation which was absent prior to Clemente Australia, and they explored a newly developed sense of control of their future. Howard et al. (2008) concluded that participation in the Clemente Australia programme led to various benefits, including supporting disadvantaged individuals to re-engage educationally, socially and personally through education.

Gervasoni et al. (2013) studied the Clemente programme run in Ballarat, a regional Australian city. They explored the experiences and life journeys of women living regionally and rurally as they participated in Clemente Australia, with a specific focus on students' engagement in learning and re-engagement in the community. Gervasoni et al. (2013) found Clemente Ballarat to be "life giving." Their findings were consistent with previous Clemente Australia research by Howard et al. (2008) demonstrating improvements in students' well-being and self-esteem, overall mental health, pride and achievement, personal strengths, aspirations and social connections and friendships. The programme was shown

to enhance future life choices and included the perception of a future outside poverty and highlighted the unique challenges of offering Clemente within a rural and regional setting.

Clemente Toowoomba Programme: A Case Study

Clemente Toowoomba is an award pathways programme delivered by the Open Access College at the University of Southern Queensland (USQ), in partnership with St Vincent de Paul Society in Toowoomba and other community agencies to support people experiencing multiple disadvantage to connect with education. This programme differs from the Clemente Australia model in that it is a blended (supported online and face to face) programme to develop students' digital literacies in addition to academic capabilities. It is similar to the original Clemente model in that the programme involves community mentors who provide a 'helping hand' to support Clemente Toowoomba students in their learning journeys. However, another point of difference in the Clemente Toowoomba programme is that students are enrolled in an award degree, a four-course Certificate of University Studies at USQ. This Certificate of University Studies will prepare Clemente Toowoomba students for the demands of higher education studies and the professional workplace. It will enable graduating students to enter into various undergraduate programs or a range of Foundation Diploma programs. Clemente Toowoomba students who successfully complete the Certificate of University Studies will be ready to pursue most undergraduate degrees on offer at USQ, including Foundation Diplomas. Alternatively, graduates may choose to follow pathways to employment in the broader community.

Transition Models

Transition theory offers insights into the individual in transition, the transition as a whole and the context and environment in which the transition takes place (Thupayagale-Tshweneagae, Mgutshini, & Moleki, 2012). Transition theory describes adults in transition as they deal with the everyday and unexpected challenges of living and applies to individuals of all ages (Evans, Forney, Guido, Patton, & Renn, 2009). It has been applied in a number of settings including education and employment (Anderson, Goodman, & Schlossberg, 2011), addiction treatment (Streifel & Servanty-Seib, 2006) and across the lifespan, from adolescents (Rall,

2016; Thupayagale-Tshweneagae et al., 2012) to older adults (Anderson et al., 2011; Schlossberg, 2011).

Schlossberg's (1981) transition theory provides context for understanding transitions and how Clemente Toowoomba can support marginalised students transitioning out of disadvantage (Anderson et al., 2011; Schlossberg, 1981). According to this theory, transitions are any event or non-event that results in changed relationships, routines, assumptions and roles (Anderson et al., 2011), including changes in self-perception, worldviews or behaviours (Schlossberg, 1981). Schlossberg's transition theory is centred on the notion that individuals continually experience transitions throughout life and such transitions are defined by the person experiencing them. Thus, the perception of the transition is more important than the transition itself (Anderson et al., 2011; Goodman, Schlossberg, & Anderson, 2006; Schlossberg, 1981). Schlossberg suggests that there is no end to transition, rather, "the transition processes is continual and includes phases of assimilation and continuous appraisal" as people move in and out of different life challenges (Anderson et al., 2011, p. 59).

The capacity of an individual to cope with a transition depends on the type of transition, their perceptions of the transition, the context in which it occurs, and its impact on their lives (Schlossberg, 1981). Schlossberg identified four key factors that influence a person's ability to cope with transition: situation, self, support and strategies, known as the "4 S's" (Anderson et al., 2011, p. 61). According to Anderson et al. (2011), situation refers to an individual's assessment of the circumstances surrounding the transition, such as their sense of control, the trigger of the transition, their role in the change, and overall stress experienced. Self encompasses the individual's previous experience, personal and demographic factors which increase vulnerability or serve to protect them, and the personal strengths and weaknesses of the individual. Support includes anything available to the individual, including people, institutions and abstract concepts from which the individual feels a sense of support. Strategies relate to coping strategies and the approach taken by the individual, including strategies which change the situation, change the meaning of the situation, or which manage the stress of the situation (Anderson et al., 2011; Thupayagale-Tshweneagae et al., 2012).

Schlossberg's (1981) theory of transition takes a holistic approach to identify the factors impacting on the success of a transition, considering an individual's strengths and deficits (Thupayagale-Tshweneagae et al., 2012). If a person is experiencing prolonged or multiple disadvantage

they are likely to experience deficits in one or more of the 4 S domains, leading to potential difficulty with transition (Schlossberg, 2011). On the contrary, individuals can be assisted in increasing the ease of transition by tailoring interventions and programs to build personal strengths and resources, thus improving the interplay between, and the balance of, strengths and deficits of an individual (Schlossberg, 2011). Hence, if supported education programs such as Clemente Toowoomba are facilitating the development of strengths across the 4 S's, they would likely be improving the ease and success of transition through education, out of disadvantage and towards pathways for the future.

This chapter applies Schlossberg's (1981) theory to understand the effectiveness of the Clemente Toowoomba programme in facilitating students' transition (Thupayagale-Tshweneagae et al., 2012). The current research aimed to provide insight into the factors that support marginalised students in their transition out of disadvantage through education (Hamrick, Evans, & Schuh, 2002).

The Current Study

Emerging research regarding Clemente models of supported education within Australia has identified encouraging outcomes both in metropolitan and in regional areas. Clemente Toowoomba has diverged from the original Clemente model and warrants an independent review of its impact. This study aimed to investigate students' experiences in Clemente Toowoomba in its first year of operation. The research focused on students' experiences of the programme in facilitating transitions or pathways to education and employment and, more broadly, in determining how the Clemente Toowoomba programme influences students' lives. The current research adopts a qualitative research design, involving thematic analysis of qualitative data gathered from multiple individual interviews (Shaughnessy & Zechmeister, 1985). Qualitative data was considered crucial in developing an understanding of the experiences of students of Clemente Toowoomba.

Method

Participants

The interviewed participants included five Clemente Toowoomba students. Data was collected at two time points, six months apart. Due to the

rolling start with enrolments over the 12 months of operation, students were interviewed at different stages of engagement in the programme. One student was interviewed at the beginning of their first semester, another after three weeks of participation. Four students were interviewed after completing the first course in the programme, approximately six months into the first offer of the programme. Two students were re-interviewed following completion of their second semester, after 12 months of study. Participants came from diverse backgrounds, including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander heritage, refugee or migrant communities, and three participants reported lived experiences of mental illness. As the research was de-identified and strengths focused, limited details regarding demographics and the nature of the students' disadvantage are reported here.

Interviews

The interviews were semi-structured in nature and revolved around six key questions designed to elicit the discussion of participants' experiences with Clemente Toowoomba. The questions covered motivations for initial involvement, experiences across involvement, skills learned, perception of the most beneficial aspects of Clemente Toowoomba, challenges faced and recommendations for the improvement of the Clemente Toowoomba programme.

Procedure

Students currently enrolled in the Clemente Toowoomba programme were invited to participate in the research. The principal researcher organised an interview with interested students. Participants were informed that we sought their feedback on their experiences in Clemente Toowoomba. Before commencement of the research, participants were provided with an information sheet outlining the proposed research which indicated participation and time requirements. The principal researcher made certain that all participants understood the information sheet prior to obtaining informed consent. Participants' capacity to provide informed consent was determined verbally on site; following this, consent was provided in writing. Participants who were capable of providing informed written and verbal consent were deemed eligible to participate and the interview was conducted.

The interviews were held in various locations of convenience to the participants. Locations included private study rooms and private spaces in the library at USQ; in a private interview room at USQ, at Toowoomba Public Library; and in a private room at one participant's workplace. The interviews ran for approximately 30 minutes and involved discussions of the participants' experiences with Clemente Toowoomba. The interviews were audio recorded, transcribed and de-identified prior to analysis.

No payment or remuneration was made to participants. Human Research Ethics approval was obtained from USQ prior to beginning research.

Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to identify and analyse themes arising from students' interview responses to investigate and provide deeper insights into students' experiences at Clemente Toowoomba. Following Braun & Clarke's (2006) guidelines, the interview transcripts were read multiple times, with interesting or significant points noted and emerging themes across multiple interviews documented. On completion of transcription coding, connections were identified between the emerging themes and clustered together. As this was an inductive phenomenological study, no a priori hypotheses were posited regarding emergent themes.

Results

Although some participants were more verbose than others in their responses, all readily responded to interview questions and were willing to share their experiences with Clemente Toowoomba. Analysis of their responses revealed five emergent themes: growth, connection, support, overcoming marginalisation and other life challenges, and pathways for the future. Each theme is discussed in more detail below.

Growth

The participants conveyed a strong theme of growth through all interviews as a result of their access to education "*I see education for me personally has been the biggest growth aspect.*" Participants described growth to have occurred on both a personal and a professional level, "*the Clemente programme hasn't just given me that opportunity to do well like professionally*

or career wise or academically, it's also promoted a sense of wellbeing and social inclusion which is so important." These two subthemes of development (personal and skill) are explored in depth below.

Personal Development

The participants described growth in regard to aspects of personal development at length and frequently cited the positive impact that such growth has had for them and their peers *"We've got quite a few shy members in our group too who've blossomed.*" Personal growth was described as primarily impacting the participants' self-awareness, confidence, resilience and self-efficacy.

The participants indicated an increased sense of self-awareness, "*I love learning but … it's personally encouraged me to learn more and more about my world, about me*", and insight into their own strengths and weaknesses as a result of Clemente, "*We are learning where the strengths and weaknesses are.*" They reported development of "*reflective practice*" through the course which included self-reflection and has assisted in building self-awareness. "*I have gained a lot more insight into my own behaviour; my own resilience; my own weaknesses and the fact that I do like studying and learning.*"

Confidence was consistently touted as a benefit of participation, mentioned in six of the interviews, "*I've gained a lot of confidence in myself and who I am.*" The participants explored confidence in themselves personally and confidence in their capabilities with regard to study and their ability to achieve longer-term goals, "*I've grown in many ways, just a lot of more confidence, more strength in wanting to go further with studies at uni, knowing that I can,*" and to understand this confidence as transferrable to whatever pathway they choose in the future, be it study, employment or any other.

Almost all students quoted development of resilience as one of the most notable gains of the Clemente Toowoomba programme: *"I'm more confident and more resilient.*" They described their development of resilience as central to their ability to overcome disadvantage and marginalisation and access pathways for the future and described utilising improved resilience in managing challenges, *"It's the ability to say well this has happened—okay what am I going to do to actually overcome it?*"

The majority of interviewees discussed developing a sense of achievement and a belief in their ability to succeed through Clemente Toowoomba.

That is, they developed self-efficacy, "[I'm] *a lot more confident that I can achieve things, whereas before I felt that I couldn't achieve anything and overcoming*." The participants described feeling good about themselves as a result of their achievements, "*when you achieve something like doing well in semesters you personally feel good about yourself*," and the discovery of a sense of self and personal talents and qualities, "*I have talents and qualities too that can contribute to society … that's been something Clemente has really encouraged*." They further described an increased sense of self-esteem through success and a sense of equality: "*what this programme has done in the last year has actually promoted my self-esteem because it's not just passing the exams. It's who the people are involved in this programme believe in you so much and it's the equality. They treat you are like you are equal.*"

Skills Development

The Clemente Toowoomba participants reported significant growth and development in their professional skills. They cited skills development to include, but not be limited to, communication skills, problem-solving skills and computer skills. Participants discussed the development of literacy skills and improvements in language, writing and reading, in addition to research skills and reflective practice. The skills were perceived as relevant and useful for their current Clemente studies as well as for future studies: "this [Clemente] gave you the full basic skills of learning to study at the uni which was great." Additionally, the skills gained were considered transferable skills for employment.

Clemente was described as assisting students in developing and improving communication skills: "[It] *improve my communication skills as well*." It was considered to have improved communication skills across a range of formats—interpersonally: "[improved] *interpersonal skills, how to deal with other people*"; in a written format: "*I improved my academic English in terms of writing*" and publicly: "[opportunities to discuss Clemente] *in news interviews—in another thing—promoting it in the community. So that public speaking—that ability to hold my own voice and hold my own*."

Participants highlighted growth in how they confront and manage challenges and problems. The Clemente Toowoomba students discussed developing a new ability to work through challenges in a systematic way and described significant skills development in the area of problem solving: "[I've] *developed a lot of skills how to go about troubleshooting.*" Participants described situations in which they worked through a successful

problem-solving approach in challenging situations. One student described pre-emptively problem solving by *"putting some strategies into place"* to manage challenges related to disadvantage. Another participant described successful implementation of problem-solving strategies with problems during an exam, while another student learned how to approach challenging study situations with renewed confidence:

> *So now when I have a struggle with my learning it's not so much panic as much as well what I can put into place to ease the burden of the issue that I'm coming across in my studies, and how can resolve that in more effective ways?*

Connection

All participants identified experiencing a strong sense of connection though Clemente Toowoomba, facilitated by the development of relationships with others and friendships with peers: *"Sometimes we are calling as friend, brother, sister, something like that. So it* [Clemente] *was well connected. It has been one another supporting and sharing."* They discussed the impact of marginalisation as decreasing their sense of connection and inclusion in the community and the positive impact Clemente Toowoomba was having on increasing connection:

> *When you are in a marginalised group and you are a little bit down on yourself you don't communicate as well.* [With] *That social inclusion, communities—you tend to communicate a lot more and relationships with people start to form. On campus, you start to develop a little bit of network of friends.*

All participants emphasised the acceptance and inclusion felt when entering the programme, and throughout their studies *"I've found everyone within the Clemente programme to be very open minded and accepting,"* as well as connection to university life and the university community: *"I've started to be involved in a lot more community life in uni. I go to seminars that are being held and workshops and things like that."*

Further, participants emphasised the development of a sense of connection through social inclusion and the development of a sense of identity as a student: *"Yeah and meeting other people that are studying and you know that you're part of them."* This sense of inclusion was broader than the university community, and participants highlighted a sense of connection and support from the local community through community partnerships with the university: *"The positive things is like the, the help and assistance,*

from the University here, and the learning partners, mentors, the communities." Perhaps unsurprisingly, this sense of community and inclusion was described as a driver for overcoming disadvantage:

> *They treat you are like you are equal. Like we might be a marginalised group … and I see myself as marginalised because people that suffer from mental illness are marginalised in the community but I see myself as being given a wonderful opportunity to be integrated into normal society.*

In addition to connecting with community and their cohort, participants highlighted a sense of connection and shared experience with their fellow online students and a sense of connection to the greater digital world by utilising skills developed with Clemente Toowoomba. "*I think for us learning to get a chance to be able to be a digital citizen see … using things online,* [learning] *how to communicate with different* [people], *whether the student like links up on a campus or online."*

Support

In each interview, students reflected on the breadth and the quality of support they have received through Clemente Toowoomba, *"I haven't really felt this much support while I've been studying before,"* and the need for support to assist with transition to study and overcoming their personal challenges: *"Well,* [Clemente] *definitely supports the people that need support. It's very open."*

Students discussed their sense of support originating from involvement in the Clemente Toowoomba programme, including university teaching staff and facilities such as the Learning Centre, community partners, community mentors and, most notably, their fellow Clemente students:

> *The positive experience with that is that we had other members in the group … positive experience was that we did have classes once a week which was very, very supportive and it kind of like suited me individually as well as the others because it provided that extra support where we were lacking in areas and just helped us to skill up in—the wonderful thing is that we did have the support not just from our own group members, but from the USQ through Lorelle and Marcus, and from Saint Vincent de Paul. That extra support from—what did they call them, community mentors, that all was very, very positive and uplifting, because if you look at the core group we had a lot of struggles and issues with our backgrounds and that made a tremendous impact sometimes on our study, but with the extra support we were able to rally and push through.*

Each student emphasised their mentors as central in supporting them through the course; however, a number of students highlighted the importance of a student-mentor fit and the need for the mentors' approach to be tailored to the needs and specific challenges of the students: "*It's a relationship, it's a rapport and for me it's more emotional support which I have got with my mentor—for the others it's more like the logic support.*" The overall approach and environment of Clemente Toowoomba were considered to be supportive of the students and their success: *"So being able to have that environment where there was probably compassion about my situation and just people saying you can do this—just use your strategies—you will be okay."*

The collegial peer group was considered to be one of the strongest supports experienced by the students: *"Whatever challenge comes, we work as a team. The good thing is we work as a team and we're supporting one another and cheering for different ideas and also encouraging."* Interestingly, with all discussion of support experienced though Clemente Toowoomba, a sense of gratitude and appreciation was clear, *"I'm happy, I'm grateful that I've got all of this support from the University, from the community,"* with students recognising the role of the support network in assisting them to grow and succeed while in the programme, "*we've really, really been grateful for the support.*"

Overcoming Marginalisation and Other Life Challenges

Clement Toowoomba participants' responses and reflections highlighted a strong theme of overcoming and working though difficulties. The theme of overcoming was classified into two subthemes: (a) overcoming disadvantage and marginalisation and (b) overcoming challenges. Both were important to students developing a sense of achievement, success and hope for the future.

Overcoming Disadvantage and Marginalisation

The participants came from diverse backgrounds; however, all had experienced disadvantage and social marginalisation in the past and thus brought a unique set of challenges to overcome. A common theme which students described in interviews related to how their background influenced their learning experiences: "*when you're dealing with vulnerable people you're*

dealing with some with issues as well." The participants all agreed that the Clemente Toowoomba programme had supported them to overcome their personal disadvantage and help build their self-confidence:

> *If you look at the core group we had a lot of struggles and issues with our backgrounds and that made a tremendous impact sometimes on our study, but with the extra support we were able to rally and push through.*

Participants described fear, uncertainty and nervousness relating to initial engagement with Clemente Toowoomba. However, they also showed strong self-belief in their capacity to complete the course and described a sense of achievement and pride in successfully navigating through the first course in the programme: "*it was petrifying at first, I thought my gosh with my background … I thought maybe this is not going to work. But I thought no, nothing ventured, nothing gained … and it's—it's been good ever since.*" Participants described a sense of pride in overcoming their disadvantage by successfully completing the course and accessing new life experiences: "*if I hadn't have done Clemente I would still have been stuck in a box at home and I took that brave step out to find out what it was all about because I love learning."* The participants suggested that they learned vital life skills by participating in the programme and they became more willing to access the various supports available:

> *You develop a lot of skills, how to go about troubleshooting and things like that, where I used to panic before and I'd go into panic attacks and anxiety, I get a little bit anxious and think, whoa okay there's help available, you can ask the uni, you can ask your mates and you can ask—you can ask people for help.*

They explored the process of overcoming their personal struggles and experiencing a sense of achievement when they were successful in their studies: "*I didn't leave so for me it's a real big achievement; it's a real sigh of relief and I think I'm proud of myself. I don't say that arrogantly but I am quite thrilled with the achievements that I've achieved because I honestly thought I would never survive it.*"

Students highlighted the way that "success" in the programme helped overcome any prior disadvantage that was impacting on their sense of self: "[Clemente] *has challenged me to understand that I do have a brain and I am not just a person with mental illness. I have talents and qualities too that can contribute to society.*"

Finally, the students conveyed a sense of gratitude for the opportunity to overcome their personal challenges and a desire to give back to the community and support others newly enrolled in the programme: "*I come from the country that the policy of the genocide and war crime was implemented. And I also experience with extreme violence. So, I want to live in peace and to live in the community … and support them back. So, these* [skills] *will help me to be able to help some* [people in the] *community.*"

Overcoming Life Challenges

The participants discussed a large number of challenges which they had to manage and overcome while studying the Clemente Toowoomba programme. Each student described facing a unique set of challenges; however, common issues were identified by students, including a sense of achievement and pride when overcoming such challenges. Students indicated that their key challenges included limited access to resources, finding balance between work, study and self-care, and developing computer literacy skills.

The students described the challenge of having limited access to resources. Most of the students did not have access to a computer or internet at home resulting in students having to travel to the university daily to complete assignments and tasks, which a number of students described as a *"challenge"* and as *"overwhelming."* The students described working to overcome this by seeking support from university staff and the community. The issue was resolved by the university providing free second-hand laptops for students to use and access to equity scholarships to facilitate their studies and enable their successful progression in the programme.

The students also described challenges in balancing the demands of study with their personal lives, whether it be employment or self-care: "*I am continuously involving my studies because I want to do well, but at the same time because I'm a bit too enthusiastic, sometimes I do neglect other areas of my life as well so this semester is more a raincheck of self-care,"* or family commitments, "*Work life and—work life as well as studying and then other things yeah. So just your personal life with your family and issues with them."* They described these challenges to be exacerbated by their personal experience of disadvantage; however, they explained how they implemented strategies to manage their study and life priorities and achieve balance. The students indicated that they developed a sense of pride in their ability to overcome such challenges and to succeed in their studies.

They also experienced a sense of hope in their ability to overcome future challenges.

One student, however, made the decision not to continue with Clemente Toowoomba due to gaining employment and the need for financial stability: "*I got a job recently so I just decided to work, save some money, because yeah, as much as Uni is fun and I like doing it. I still—I need to get my priorities right, earn some money.*" The student further described the challenge of managing work and study commitments as a key factor in his decision to leave, however, hoped to reconnect with the Clemente Toowoomba programme or engage in another university study in the future.

A theme across all participants was the challenge of learning and adjusting to the digital and online formats of the course. A number of the students had not previously been exposed to digital media: "*I can call myself [a digital citizen] now because before I was being left behind, because I spent all my life without compute*r." Others struggled to adjust to the technological requirements: "*I was really out of the workforce for 12 years before coming to university. I had odd jobs here and there but I wasn't exposed to technology which is a big thing for online learning.*"

The participants stated that having to learn to use technology, in addition to the course content, was challenging and impacted on their confidence: *"I probably lacked a lot of skills in the digital field, so my experience was a bit daunting, so it felt like I was thrown in the deep end.*" However, they reported overcoming these challenges and developing their computer skills by drawing on the knowledge of other peers and by accessing university supports such as the learning centre, *"there is a lot of online skills that you need so I have already put strategies in place where I've linked in with the learning centre,*" and the broader Clemente Toowoomba support network such as the community mentors.

Despite their difficulties, students discussed how they accessed support networks to overcome any language barriers. In particular, peers and their community mentor played a key role: "[With] *someone helping you from the community it's okay,*" and university supports, *"the Learning Centre also helped me with lot of things, a lot. Sometimes like if I've got writing and I—they proof read my writings at the Learning Centre.*" They recognised their personal achievements and conveyed a sense of pride and growth in their results: *"I can say that now I'm more confident in terms of language skills like writing and reading.*" One student stated: *"I learned a lot of things. I improved my academic English in terms of writing and also I enhanced skills in terms of ICT."* Overall, the students were hopeful and saw their university

studies as an opportunity to further develop their skills: *"I'm looking forward to find like if there's opportunities to improve my current writing."*

Pathways for the Future

The participants also described how the Clemente Toowoomba supported pathways to a positive future, allowing access to opportunities which would not have been previously possible: *"Clemente is saying you can do so much more with your journey. They subtlety say you can do so much more with your life. Here's the opportunity for study and to get your credentials up because it is a job market out there."*

Most participants described Clemente Toowoomba as life-changing and supporting pathways out of disadvantage:

> *I did have work … but I thought that was just going to be the world. After Clemente, I see there is more than that. I can grow from that, and in terms of having a hand up which the Clemente programme has, I see myself getting a hand up going into bigger and better salary than what I was before whereas before I was just in this marginalised group going nowhere.*

Other students described the programme as *"a great opportunity … [a] dreams come true."* All participants discussed Clemente Toowoomba as supporting them to develop pathways for the future, *"I think it's good for me now, it give me some direction so I can see myself going [forward], you know,"* and allowing them to discover opportunities previously unavailable to them: *"What Clemente encouraged me to do was get outside the box again and look outside the square. So I had no idea that this whole avenue would open that—it's a bit of a mind bender at the moment."* Many of the participants described Clemente Toowoomba as a *"stepping stone"* which opened doors and allowed them to develop their dreams and aspirations for a brighter future: *"it is a stepping stone to a career path. What that is I don't know, I have two ideas."*

All participants explored their goals after completing the Clemente Toowoomba programme, with all participants indicating a desire for further study and learning: *"I want to continue my studies. And these [Clemente] are only programs that like give me the chance to go on with my study."*

Interestingly, participants indicated a strong desire to give back and hoped this to be a central part of their future, whether it was with the community, *"So these will help me to be able to help some community around*

maybe. So now as a result of this I do volunteering, helping," or mentoring future Clemente students, "*I'm hoping to be probably not a mentor this—beginning of this year but maybe later on I'll be a mentor for someone else,"* or supporting their own family with their knowledge, *"I've got a daughter and I'm not going to be able to help her with her homework unless I know how to study myself."* This sense of wanting to give back to the community stemmed from gratitude for the opportunity to reconnect with education and a desire to help others in a similar position to themselves.

Overall, participants believed that Clemente Toowoomba was preparing them to be able to follow their aspirations and overcome disadvantage, *"I feel a lot more settled but certainly for the future I believe it is going to equip me for where I want to go,"* and is a step towards their future, *"It seems small … certificate two in USQ studies, but it's a big thing for all of us, because it's like a little stepping stone to get to the bigger stone,"* including future employment, "*it can help me to be able to get to study in the future and a future job as well. Because if I didn't able to continue in the future so I can go and get a job and work."*

Summary

In summary, the qualitative analysis revealed that five key themes underpinned students' experiences with Clemente Toowoomba: growth, connection, support, overcoming marginalisation and other life challenges, and pathways for the future. Growth comprised personal development including changes in self-awareness, confidence, resilience and self-efficacy, plus skills development, including communication and problem solving. Connection encompassed the students experiencing a sense of acceptance and feeling socially included by developing relationships with peers, mentors, educators and broader community members. Support included the mechanisms which assisted the students to strengthen their relationships with the university, learning partners, community mentors and other members of their collegial peer cohort. Overcoming marginalisation and other life challenges involved the students overcoming personal vulnerabilities such as challenges in maintaining a healthy balance between work, study and family. Pathways for the future involved the students' hopes and dreams for a positive future. All five themes provided insight into the experiences of students enrolled in the Clemente Toowoomba programme and demonstrated how it supported them to develop skills and open up pathways for the future.

Discussion

This study examined the learning journeys of students in the Clemente Toowoomba programme in the context of transition theory. The data identified various barriers faced by participants during their initial engagement with the programme; however, the programme was considered life changing by students. The Clemente students felt that the programme had opened up opportunities to develop their self-confidence and provided pathways for the future which included education and employment. All students interviewed found Clemente Toowoomba to provide opportunities for growth, development, learning and connection. The programme was seen as challenging yet supportive and enabled success by equipping them with the skills and confidence to overcome a myriad of personal and professional challenges stemming from their prior experience of disadvantage.

Clemente Toowoomba was shown to support students' personal growth and self-awareness; it helped to build student confidence, resilience and self-efficacy. The programme also strengthened students' problem-solving and communication skills and facilitated a sense of connection and social inclusion, supporting the transformative nature of education (Hammond, 2004). The qualitative data supported the value of education for individuals; it showed that education can support an individual in overcoming disadvantage and open pathways to new beginnings (Gervasoni et al., 2013; Hammond, 2004).

The current findings are consistent with Schlossberg's (1981) transition theory, which posits that the ease of a transition is based on an individual's perception of the transition itself and the factors surrounding the transition (Anderson et al., 2011; Schlossberg, 1981). The insights gained from Clemente Toowoomba students sharing their experiences indicate that the programme enhanced students' personal development and provided support across all four transition domains: situation, support, self and strategies. In terms of situation, Clemente Toowoomba enabled students to develop a sense of achievement by successfully navigating the online learning management system and actively contributing to discussions both online and face to face. Support was a key theme underpinning the Clemente students' experiences. The students felt supported across all aspects of their learning journey, both in the programme and more broadly in the community. University teaching staff and other Clemente students were the primary pillars of support; community mentors also played a key

role in ensuring the students never felt isolated and could access any "just in time" support needed for them to progress with their studies. Development of self was evident in students' strengthened self-confidence in their capability to pass the course; they recognised that everyone in the programme had a back story and they bonded and supported each other to overcome any prior vulnerabilities. Finally, the students described how they had learned to strategise; they managed and overcame challenges within the programme by developing their problem-solving, personal and communication skills. By facilitating personal growth and development across the four transition domains, Clemente Toowoomba assisted individuals not only in transitioning into university but also in building personal agency to successfully transition out of cycles of social isolation and disadvantage (Anderson et al., 2011; Schlossberg, 1981) and be optimistic about the future (Field, 2011).

Despite current research into Clemente Toowoomba indicating positive influences, there is an important limitation to this research. At the time of interview, none of the student participants had successfully completed the Clemente Toowoomba programme. Thus, longer-term tracking of student experiences is required as these may change over time. Research currently underway is tracking the journeys of the Clemente Toowoomba students, including pathways post-graduation.

Conclusion

The five themes underpinning Clemente Toowoomba student experiences highlight the personal and professional benefits gained from participation in university-enabling programs offered in partnership with not-for-profit community organisations. Insights gained from students support the growing body of evidence showing how education can help overcome disadvantage (Shorris, 2000). The current findings indicate that Clemente Toowoomba enables socially marginalised individuals to participate in education and pursue ongoing pathways to further education and employment (Gervasoni et al., 2010). The programme was shown to be transformative in the sense that students engaged in purposeful learning and experienced confidence in their ability to not only be successful in their studies but also active and valued members of the broader community.

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Democratising Economies Through Place-Based Thinking

Patricia Inman

The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes, but in having new eyes
Marcel Proust

Introduction

Today's economy does not have room for everyone. In the United States, the economic divide is the greatest that it has been since 1928 (United States Census, 2015). Large corporate enterprises increase the gap between the haves and the have-nots (Sundstrom, 1998). They use local resources and infrastructures as long as it benefits their bottom line and, when this is no longer profitable, they leave the community bereft. No one wins in this scenario. As society becomes more polarised, the wealthy corporations distance themselves from the lower class that they have created, fearing the violence that ensues as communities struggle to provide even the basics of housing, food and education.

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Most current government policy expands global economies, paying little attention to local assets and connections with place. Greater attention is paid to escalating corporate influence and less to the building of vibrant places. Such places meet the basic needs of communities (access to healthy environments and lifestyles, secure housing and access to lifelong learning opportunities) while developing a sustainable economy around assets that are developed locally. Meaningful employment organised around local assets supports dignity for individuals and families.

This chapter refers to such economies as "place-based", indicating a focus on respect for local landscapes and resources. The Office of Conservation, Planning and Community Affairs in Raleigh, North Carolina defines such place-based economic development as:

- being rooted in a community's interest in the "triple bottom line" of economic, social and environmental returns on investment;
- being focused on the unique features of a particular landscape or culture;
- being locally driven and capitalising on existing local assets: and
- providing a balanced, long-term approach to the sustainability of resources, and being dependent on creative entrepreneurship and long-range vision (http://swpermits.nc.gov/web/deao/ea/denr-forms/conservation).

Such an economy is shaped by cultural assets and innovative, independent enterprises such as local food production or community revitalisation. Such enterprises can foster revitalised civic and economic arenas.

Support for Place-Based Economies

In June 2014, the Center for Governmental Studies at Northern Illinois University in the United States prepared a report for Arts Alliance Illinois, an advocate for non-profit agencies supporting the arts. The premise of the study was the belief that "creative enterprises could provide jobs, income and revenue; enhance quality of life in communities; and showcase and celebrate our multi-faceted culture" (Arts Alliance Illinois, 2014, p. 1). Creative enterprises were defined as those individuals and businesses producing and using creativity of thought, form, design and language for sustainable economic growth. These might include advertising, broadcasting, architecture, crafts, culinary, cultural, design, fashion, film, fine arts, publishing and software. The artist, the small-scale farmer and the

musician are examples of those working in such an economy. The study found that these smaller-scale economies were characterised by a smaller initial investment. Because of this, growth in the creative economy is characteristically slower than that of larger corporate entities where massive initial investment is intended to result in the rapid aggregation of wealth.

As the work continued, it became obvious that the economy being studied was focusing not only on the creative arts but also on a unique type of economic growth of smaller scale and characterised by smaller initial investments. This made such economic growth more entrepreneurial and within the reach of populations previously marginalised by larger corporate economic activity.

These findings suggested several policy directives that would leverage local resources in this type of economy. These directives included:

- the identification of the physical space or region that would set the stage for business collaboration;
- the development of infrastructure that would facilitate both the sharing of knowledge and physical supports that would take advantage of both in-person consultation and social media opportunities;
- the identification of both formal and informal educational opportunities to assure continued opportunities for innovation; and
- the provision of appropriate metrics that would measure "sustainable" growth for regions.

These enterprises were found to be more dependent on one another and tending to cluster, making it easier to collaborate and to share resources. The report concluded that "Connections among small to medium-sized enterprises allow for flexible adaptation to changing local needs. Entrepreneurial initiatives are at the core of the creative economy, serving to expand the number of jobs in the state and strengthening the overall economy" (Arts Alliance Illinois, 2014, p. 2). Building an infrastructure that facilitates such collaboration is essential. The success of such an economy is enhanced by clustering local resources, thereby keeping transportation costs to a minimum.

This economy of smaller scale is not only organised around creative enterprises but also creates an economy that is easier to enter and more supportive of local communities. This is truly a creative economy that is more organic but that needs unique supports for cultivation and growth. Because this economy depends on local resources, attention must be paid to preserving natural wealth. This is the story of an economy of place,

connection and collaboration rather than of competition. While more slowly growing, it is more equitable in nature as it depends less on capital investment. The ability to share tools and space means that economic opportunities are open to a greater number of individuals.

Currently, small farming opportunities for minority populations (including women and migrant workers) have been shown to be profitable (Fortier, 2014). More often than not, these farms are organic, supporting the health of the environment as well as the population that they support. Census data increasingly show women farmers to be the fastest growing group of individuals entering the agricultural sector in the United States (United States Department of Agriculture, 2007). Its entrepreneurial nature allows greater flexibility in work schedules, thereby providing support in child or elder care. More dependent on local resources and talent, individuals are called to honour place, providing indirect (environmental sustainability and social awareness) as well as direct impact of increased local revenue. Rather than massive initial business investment, a creative economy depends on the development of an infrastructure that allows for shared local resources.

Because local resources play such an important part in the development of such an economy, political boundaries with their resulting complex budgets play less of a role. Bioregions serve as the organisers, with regional policy helping to pave the path forward. Collaboration, both within a region for business success and interregional collaboration for business growth, plays an important role.

This need to honour a local landscape gives rise to a more descriptive term for such an economy: a place-based economy. Considering that infrastructure plays a primary role, the focus becomes one of organising the backdrop.

Such a local economy gets lost in a global context. A place-based economy is one of scale and connections. Leadership rests less on strength and more on the ability to develop connections with a region and with the communities within it.

The Need for a Regional Focus in Place-Based Policy

Regionalism provides an organising principle to address economic and social issues while maintaining the priority of environmental integrity. The basic premise of regional policy is that economies have a physical sense (Kemmis, 1990). The strength of an economy is based on utilising and

preserving the resources around which the urban hubs are structured. Commerce and economic development are centred on natural rather than political centres.

> Regionalism is an integrative approach that follows this geographical focus, looking beyond political and jurisdictional boundaries. This allows for the study of social, economic, and environmental issues through the creation and sustaining of organizations that do not fit into the established framework of local, state, and federal governments. (Inman & Swanson, 2007, p. 181)

Cities provide the business hub, but rural communities extend and are connected with this hub. Jane Jacobs (2005) explained that natural resources are an inheritance from the earth's past expansion that initiated the first cultures of economic development (p. 54). Economies follow natural rather than political centres. The seminal unit of organisation filters down to the community, which addresses the need to connect the human community with what Ivan Illich (1973) referred to as "convivial tools". Convivial tools "respect natural scales, enhance relatedness, and foster autonomy as well as natural competence" (Cayley, 1992, p. 110). By honouring the environment, we honour those with whom we share our local space. We are connected globally, but it is the web of local connections that provides the tapestry of adequate strength to support our transformed world. So regional definition becomes essential in setting the table for collaboration. Regions are organised around natural resources and their use.

Setting Up Infrastructure for Success

The Australian government is one of the few to recognise the need for connected communities within regional frameworks in developing resilient economies. Regional Development Australia (RDA) is a national network of local champions (public and private) that have a strong, grassroots understanding and appreciation of their regions. The 55 RDA committees identify opportunities, challenges and priorities for action. These are local people developing local solutions to local issues. The mission for members of RDA is to build relationships:

- within communities, including with business, industry and the non-government sector;

- across communities, with groups such as young people, women, Indigenous Australians and people from a variety of social and cultural backgrounds; and
- between regions, across boundaries, and in cities and towns (https://rda.gov.au).

Just as the Australian government is recognising the importance of a local and regional focus, universities are understanding the need for regional focus and collaboration. The Regional Universities Network (RUN) is an alliance of Australian, regionally headquartered universities committed to making strong contributions to the economic, social, cultural and environmental development of their regions and to the nation. Universities involved include CQUniversity Australia, Federation University Australia, Southern Cross University, the University of New England, the University of Southern Queensland and the University of the Sunshine Coast. The Network was established in October 2011 with three key objectives:

- to provide policy advice to government, particularly with regard to tertiary education and regional development;
- to strengthen and promote the contributions of regional universities to regional and national development;
- to build institutional capacity and sustainability through the sharing of best practice in educational delivery, training, research and organisational management, particularly with reference to regional contexts (Regional Universities Network, 2013, p. 1).

This collaboration of institutions has focused on looking at the unique issues of each region and on providing formal educational opportunities to different students and communities. The universities have looked at the distinctive characteristics and opportunities of each region, and they have developed academic programmes appropriate for supporting resilient communities. The issues raised are those identified by the regional stakeholders and relate to concerns of national and global significance:

> …for each of the universities, its regional engagement "story" simply couldn't exist anywhere else…. [E]ach institution and each campus … has a strong sense of place and unique identity that is inextricably linked to the historical, physical, demographic, social, cultural and environmental characteristics of its region. (Regional Universities Network, 2013, pp. iv–v)

They are place-based. Universities must have a deep understanding of their contexts as they listen to the issues raised.

The Role of Higher Education

Institutions of higher education are well positioned to participate in such sustainable regional development (Inman, 2015). The challenge in development is to integrate this participation with appropriate technology and leadership. This integration requires universities to develop curriculum in the context of relationship to people and planet. The untapped energy of higher education to address regional issues is endless. Challenges less defined by political boundaries, and increasingly defined by place, call for a new type of engagement. Generating knowledge *with* communities, rather than *for* communities, contrasts sharply with traditional university attitudes that offer expertise rather than appreciation of Indigenous knowledge. Developing policy with such a worldview requires new skills focusing on developing relationships and facilitating collaboration. Finding common ground among diverse stakeholders requires innovative action.

Connecting Supports for Regional Learning

PASCAL Observatory is an international organisation supporting regional development and honouring people and place in sustainable economic development. PASCAL uses the tools of collaboration to build partnerships between public and private agencies spanning political boundaries. Lifelong learning provides the basis for understanding and appreciating the diversity that exists in our world. Engagement with our universities utilises an energy previously untapped in building resilient regions.

In 2008, PASCAL initiated a project focused on universities and regional engagement (PURE). The University of Southern Queensland (USQ) explored the possibility of the Darling Downs in southern Queensland becoming a participating region. A more formal arrangement was established in 2011 when USQ and the RDA committee for the Darling Downs and South West Queensland agreed to commit to a PURE engagement.

The first consultative visit took place in December 2011, with a follow-up visit in July 2013 (Duke, Garlick, & Inman, 2013). The first visit faced the challenges of an emerging mining expansion through fracking in an area known to be “the breadbasket of the Australian nation”.

Southern Queensland is a region of abundant agricultural diversity supplying many of the food and beverage needs in the growing South East Queensland area of Australia. It has the only geographical indication (GI) wine region in Queensland, and it has an innovative food manufacturing and value adding sector (Wright, 2012). A report (Wright, 2012) commissioned by the Toowoomba Golden West and South Burnett and Southern Downs and Granite Belt regional tourism organisations, in partnership with Tourism Queensland; the Queensland Department of Employment, Economic Development and Innovation; and the Tourism Research Extension Unit at Southern Cross University, found that, while regional assets include rich soil to support local food systems, the Southern Queensland region is largely dependent on food sourced from an industrial, central market. Options for smaller farms to sell their produce are limited. The report emphasised the importance of smaller family farming enterprises to the future of the Southern Queensland region to support the local economies. PASCAL was asked to look at ways to engage universities in building regional food systems and to look at the challenges for communities of the mining operations.

The Queensland College of Wine Tourism: An Example of Institutional Collaboration

The wine industry, a part of Queensland's rich agricultural history, supports the vibrant health of this burgeoning region. Most of Queensland's approximately 180 wine businesses are small, family-run enterprises. To operate successfully, they need multiskilled workers across the full business cycle. Workers with specific viticulture skills (processing, marketing, sales and industry-specific skills) are also in demand. The Queensland College of Wine Tourism at Stanthorpe has been established to address regional skill needs.

The Wine Tourism Gateway Schools Project recognises the importance of industry and schools collaborating effectively to provide direct pathways for students to succeed in obtaining work or entering higher education. In 2006, this project was launched as part of the Department of Education, Training and the Arts Industry School Engagement Strategy in support of the Queensland College of Wine Tourism to create targeted education and training solutions to address the growing demand for a

skilled workforce in the Queensland wine tourism industry. The project started with seven schools representing five wine regions in Queensland. In 2008, the project expanded to 13 regions throughout the state. The Stanthorpe programme is forming strong partnerships with their local wind tourism region to:

- raise the profile of careers in wine tourism;
- develop and implement curriculum that encompasses a wide range of wine tourism-related activities;
- create opportunities for work experience, structured work placements and school-based apprenticeships and traineeships;
- strengthen industry collaborations;
- provide professional development to teachers to enhance their knowledge and skills in wine tourism; and
- recognise the best and brightest through annual awards.

The Stanthorpe programme not only supports the success of the Australian economy but also allows students the opportunity to develop skills that can be used in their own region, thereby minimising the rural flight to urban settings. A recurring theme regarding the success of the Stanthorpe programme was the importance of relationships among disciplines. Its beautiful campus highlights examples of creative arts programmes. The chemistry laboratory donated by USQ provides state-of-the-art technology in the sciences. The cellar where the wines are sold provides a showcase for the hospitality programme. The formation of strong partnerships among departments, schools, the higher education sector and industry has provided capacity for this project to expand and develop the curriculum and to provide hands-on experience for students in a growing Queensland industry.

What Are the Implications for Future Regional Learning Opportunities?

Collaborations building a grounded, regional economy are best served by both formal and informal learning opportunities. Rather than relying on the political support of the state, a place-based economy depends on collaboration with and learning from partners or cluster associates. The

example above serves as just one illustration. Regional learning opportunities, in general, are characterised by the following activities:

- organising institutions and support services according to bioregions rather than political jurisdictions provides an effective basis for regional policy development;
- providing the definition of an area that, once identified, can set the stage for regional problem-solving within a community of lifelong learners. The focus on stakeholder education provides the process to move forward;
- assuming a resource-based form of economic development ensures that clusters or groups of businesses and/or services organised around these resources can provide a dynamic core of opportunity for individuals while respecting regional assets;
- organising around an urban core but integrating rural support brings together both kinds of residential experiences;
- identifying cluster-based economic development helps to connect individuals and businesses to existing resources;
- utilising systemic partnerships within economic clusters provides highly flexible frameworks for diverse stakeholders;
- identifying issues and concerns that form barriers to collaboration helps to render these challenges transparent.

Opportunities for university engagement with institutions grounded in their regions are crucial. This means listening to issues raised by regional stakeholders rather than jumping in as “experts”. Regional collaborators learn from one another and move forward together, sharing not only knowledge but oftentimes space or tools. Attention is paid to relationships rather than to competition, and learning is focused on and organised to facilitate the leveraging of local resources.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed a new model of economic development that focuses less on the bottom line than on building resilient, place-based economies. Such an enterprise respects local resources and culture. This smaller-scale enterprise requires a lesser initial investment, making entry into this economy more equitable for marginalised populations. Economic growth is slower and depends on sharing resources such as space or tools

for farmers. Success depends on connections of skill clusters and collaboration. Participants in this economy depend on learning rather than on state support for success. Engagement with regional universities offers an untapped energy to support such economies but only if they listen to the issues raised by stakeholders and if they connect appropriate knowledge and technology. Celebration of place offers opportunities for communities to own their own economy and to define their space.

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Afterword: Issues and Implications

Glen David Postle

Introduction

It is difficult to evade the conclusion that the world is facing a global crisis of unprecedented proportions and with uncertain solutions. This crisis has multiple elements, including worldwide issues ranging from food insecurity (Rosin, Stock, & Campbell, 2012) and water scarcity (Harris, Goldin, & Sneddon, 2013) to fragile ecosystems (Lindenmayer et al., 2014) and climate variability (Wheeler & von Braum, 2013) to unstable capitalism (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013) and unravelling governance (Broome, Clegg, & Rethel, 2015). The sheer number and scale of these issues can engender a sense of hopelessness and of being overwhelmed by forces that are difficult to understand and impossible to control.

There are multiple proposed explanations of the contemporary global crisis, some complementary and others contradictory, yet each of them helps to illuminate the fundamental phenomenon of that crisis. For instance, Robinson (2014) phrased his analysis explicitly and poignantly in terms of *Global capitalism and the crisis of humanity*. Based on that analysis, he elicited four dimensions of globalisation's constitution of:

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> a qualitatively new epoch in the ongoing and open-ended evolution of world capitalism, marked by a number of qualitative shifts in the capitalist system and by novel articulations of social power. (p. 2)

The fourth of these dimensions was the one that was most relevant to and resonant with the preceding chapters in this book:

> novel relations of inequality, domination, and exploitation in global society, including an increasing importance of transnational social and class inequalities relative to North–South inequalities that are geographically or territorially conceived. (p. 2)

As the preceding chapters in this book have amply demonstrated, these inequalities are manifested in multiple forms. One such form is gender (Griffin, 2013; Sjoberg, Hudson & Weber, 2015); another is Islamophobia, with a recent book about this issue tellingly entitled *Islam is a foreign country* (Grewal, 2014). Inequalities abound and are starkly illustrated in contemporary cities (Krätke, 2014). Education, which could and should provide a platform for creating more equitable futures, is framed and in some ways constrained by powerful "actors' narratives of quality and equity…" (Faul, 2014, p. 12). Such narratives operate also in relation to sometimes competing constructions of "migrants" and "refugees" that often assign responsibility and sometimes blame the individuals and groups involved in these movements of populations rather than acknowledging the impact of the underlying structural conditions of late modernity (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016). These are just a few of the complex influences helping to shape the profound challenges confronting the planet today.

Unsurprisingly, given the complexity and diversity of these challenges, it is correspondingly difficult to identify and implement productive and sustainable solutions to these challenges. Such solutions are likely to be situated in the criss-crossing and multi-layered contexts in which the challenges are located. Such solutions are likely also to require a combination of factors that are equally challenging to assemble, including visionary leadership, an openness to diversity, well-functioning communities, dynamic public–private partnerships and effective structures for facilitating transformative educational and employment pathways.

This afterword takes up this task of elaborating potential strategies for engaging with the global crisis outlined above in two distinct ways. The next section of the text elicits some answers to the three research questions underpinning this book, gleaned from the preceding chapters. Then I out-

line a personal vision of possible new connections linking social capital, social enterprise and the modern state (the book's three foci) that might be worthwhile avenues for future research.

Some Answers to the Research Questions in This Research Book

The editors closed their opening chapter in this book by posing three research questions, distilled from the literature that they had surveyed and emerging from the array of issues informing the intervening chapters:

- What is the role of the modern state in enabling social capital and social enterprise?
- What are the current experiences of social enterprises and community organisations, and which opportunities and challenges underpin those experiences?
- Which examples of empowerment and innovation are occurring within communities in relation to social capital and social enterprise?

Readers of this book are likely to have developed their own responses to these questions, and no doubt have proposed additional questions arising from their own contributions to policy, practice and theory in this crucial domain of contemporary debate. Those responses are likely to converge with some elements of the answers elaborated here and also to diverge from other elements of those answers. This is an entirely appropriate and healthy outcome: we need a comprehensive panoply of conceptual, methodological and strategic resources if we are to move beyond the debilitating situation currently besetting our world.

The Role of the Modern State in Enabling Social Capital and Social Enterprise

Chris McInerney used Chap. 2 in this book to explore ways in which the previously accepted role and functions of the modern state have been challenged and contested on multiple fronts. At the same time, he elaborated the notion of the enabling state (which the editors introduced in Chap. 1) from the perspective of public administration, which he called "the machinery of the state". McInerney explained the complex relationship

between the ideas of the welfare state and the enabling state, with the latter focused more explicitly on reducing the dependence by service recipients on such service provision. His corollary argument was that, for the Enabling State+ (which he differentiated from earlier understandings of the enabling state) to succeed, the public administration system on which it depends must also be enabled, and he posited five specific capacities for public administrators to enact their responsibilities effectively: leading and collaborating, legitimising, listening, learning and licence.

In Chap. 5, Anne Boyle, Marie Flynn and Joan Hanafin exemplified the power of the Irish state in both positive and negative ways as revealed in six policy documents since the 1960s pertaining to the Irish Travellers, particularly in relation to Traveller education. Their analysis of official policy on Travellers was organised around three themes: how Traveller culture was perceived, the emphasis on absorption and assimilation in early documents, and a move towards equality and partnership in later documents. Despite some positive changes in constructions of Travellers in the more recent documents, Boyle, Flynn and Hanafin contended that these changes are not necessarily mirrored in accompanying developments in popular attitudes and systemic practices. Moreover, the capacity of stakeholders, whether the state, community organisations or others, to give practical effect to these more positive constructions was hampered significantly by the impact of the 2007–2008 global financial crisis on Ireland.

Current Experiences of Social Enterprises and Community Organisations, and the Underpinning Opportunities and Challenges

Alan Morris used Chap. 3 to identify some of the opportunities and challenges attendant on social housing in inner Sydney, Australia, and in particular on the process of residualisation, whereby social or public housing is made available to the most vulnerable and seriously disadvantaged households, against the backdrop of a significant shortage of such housing. Morris analysed a number of older social housing residents' narratives about the impact of residualisation on their lives, with the interview data being clustered around five themes: the undermining of community, feeling insecure and threatened, vandalism and littering, invasion of privacy and stigmatisation of the area. These narratives illustrated starkly that social capital is not always developed incrementally: it can easily and

quickly be unravelled, in this case as unintended consequences of a change in public policy towards social housing.

In Chap. 6, Catherine Hastings and John Weate elaborated the connections between local governments and social enterprise through the conceptual prism of network governance, place-shaping and public value, exemplified through examples of such connections in regional New South Wales, Australia. They distinguished network governance from corporate governance to highlight the former's focus on partnerships, decentralised decision-making, and reciprocity and trust. They linked place-shaping with specific approaches to local government, centred on the strategic promotion of well-being through local government strategies in the local and regional environments, with public value referring to outcomes of public interventions that are valued by community members. These ideas informed the framework for analysing social enterprise initiatives under the umbrella of Community Resources, a community development organisation in mid-north coast New South Wales acting in collaboration with the Great Lakes Council. These initiatives included Resource Recovery, Waste Well, Helping Hands and Soft Landing. The chapter is a salutary reminder of the opportunities and challenges underpinning these kinds of social enterprises.

Other kinds of opportunities and challenges were evident in Chap. 7, in which Francesca Rendle-Short, Ronnie Scott, Stayci Taylor, Michelle Aung Thin and Melody Ellis explained how #STREATstories functioned as an innovative collaboration between Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) University and STREAT, a social enterprise working with homeless youth and young people in Melbourne, Australia. As with place-shaping in Chap. 6, Chap. 7 highlighted the importance of place-based urban stories and poetry, oriented to generating a sense of belonging, as a catalyst for individual development and social change. The authors of the chapter encapsulated the experiences of contributing to this crucial social enterprise in their deployment of a number of poignant and powerful metaphors, centred on mapping and storytelling, that accentuated the creative joy to be gleaned from working together on a very worthwhile project in which all residents of the city are stakeholders, whether they acknowledge this fact or not.

Lisa McDonald used Chap. 8 to explore the opportunities and challenges afforded by introducing a digital element to the services provided by The Older Men's Network (TOMNET), located in Toowoomba, Australia. TOMNET as a social enterprise is committed to maximising the

well-being of, and reducing the risk of suicide by, older men, many of whom experience disconnectedness and isolation from family members and friends and hence the absence of cultural capital. McDonald accentuated the importance of the older men feeling trust towards TOMNET and the community at large, as well as towards one another. In doing so, she mobilised the reflexive figure of a filigree to depict the incredibly intricate and multi-layered dimensions of trust, and thus the complexity of generating and sustaining trust relations in this digital social enterprise.

In Chap. 11, Luke Terry and Marian Lewis elaborated the first-named author's aspirations and outcomes as a social entrepreneur working currently in Queensland, Australia. The chapter makes an important contribution to the growing literature about social entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship, and about the underlying principles that can contribute to their success. The chapter presented a compelling narrative of the opportunities and challenges attending specific initiatives, including the Toowoomba Clubhouse, the Bounce cafes and the Vanguard Laundry Services, which provide employment and skills development for people with a mental illness. Industry, resilience and the ability to recognise the potential of new ventures were among the attributes that were adduced to explain Luke Terry's success as a social entrepreneur.

Chapter 13 presented an account by Lorelle J. Burton, Éidín Ní Shé and Sue Olliver of "Pay It Forward", an initiative of the Men of Business program on the Gold Coast, Australia. The program was directed at disenfranchised male youth in local secondary schools, and it focused on physical health and well-being, productive relationships and communication skills, with mentors providing positive role models for the participants. In common with some of the other chapters in the book, the mentors used a storytelling approach to communicate with the participating boys. The program is supported by local businesses, and this social enterprise approach has been demonstrated to enhance social capital and to generate social impact, thereby reflecting the program's "pay it forward" philosophy.

Examples of Empowerment and Innovation in Communities in Relation to Social Capital and Social Enterprise

In Chap. 4, Matt Gregg, Éidín Ní Shé and Lorelle J. Burton noted that a crucial element of the rationale of METRO Care, a not-for-profit company that is based in Toowoomba, Australia, and that operates the METRO

Care Street Crews in Toowoomba on three nights per week, as well as several other volunteer programs, is empowerment. In this context, empowerment was understood in terms of the provision of knowledge and skills so that individuals can live healthier lives, and also in relation to the promotion of social inclusion and non-violent communities. From this perspective, empowerment functions simultaneously at personal and collective levels, with powerful parallels with the notions of social capital and social enterprise.

Muntaha Rakib, Sayan Chakrabarty and Stephen Winn used Chap. 9 to interrogate access to and the use of microcredit in Bangladesh as a gender-differentiated phenomenon with regard to its capacity to enhance social and human capital. In doing so, they pondered microcredit's effectiveness in maximising women's empowerment. They posited microfinance as potentially generating female empowerment on account of its strong links with social capital and hence with the collective consciousness of participating women. The chapter reported data collected in 2012 from 800 Bangladeshi agricultural households compared with baseline data collected in 2010. The findings demonstrated that microcredit benefits women and men alike through their increased social capital and human capital.

In Chap. 10, Eric Kong, Sue Bishop and Eddy Iles investigated the experiences of culturally and linguistically diverse refugees settling in Toowoomba, Australia's largest inland city, and the potential of social enterprise to render those experiences more positive and productive. The authors used a storytelling narrative approach to interview a case manager from the Multicultural Development Association in Toowoomba to distil his reflections on the refugees' experiences. The chapter explored some of the refugees' involvement in a social enterprise project that afforded the participants opportunities to boost both their financial capital and their social capital, while noting also the limitations of those opportunities, and the need for more comprehensive approaches and strategies to include refugees in local communities, and to learn from and with them.

Sueanne M. Gola and Lorelle J. Burton used Chap. 12 to focus on the Thrive Program at the Toowoomba Clubhouse in Queensland, Australia, as a community-based mental health service oriented towards psychosocial rehabilitation. Thrive functions as a supported socialisation program that matches Clubhouse members with community volunteers. The chapter presented preliminary findings from an evaluation of the program. The evaluation distilled three core themes from the qualitative data analysis:

friendship, increased social activity and personal growth. Despite the noted challenges (such as financial constraints), there was evidence of Thrive's success in helping to empower Clubhouse members, including in relation to reducing the social stigma of mental illness.

In Chap. 14, Rebecca J. Lane, Lorelle J. Burton and Gavin Beccaria reported on the Clemente program in Toowoomba, Australia, which was developed to enhance the enabling pathways to higher education and employment for marginalised individuals and groups. The program is centred on a value-based, transformational humanities approach to education, based on principles of dialogue and self-reflection. The program as delivered by the Open Access College at the University of Southern Queensland uses a blended model combining face-to-face and online activities to develop students' academic capabilities and digital literacies. This particular program also contains a four-course Certificate of University Studies that can lead to undergraduate programs and/or Foundation Diploma programs. Accordingly, the program exhibits both empowerment and innovation in the ways that it has been developed and adapted to align with the participants' specific aspirations and circumstances. Finally, in this chapter, Patricia Inman outlined a number of examples of innovative approaches to social enterprise derived from understanding economic development as being at once place-based and asset-based. Specific food and wine initiatives in regional Queensland, Australia, were posited as helping to empower community members without relying on the centralised decision-making of the modern state.

Reimagining the Connections Among the Modern State, Social Capital and Social Enterprise

The preceding section of this afterword synthesised the previous chapters' responses to the book's three research questions that the editors introduced in Chap. 1. In combination, those responses demonstrated that multiple actors are involved in the delivery of services to variously identified groups in need of such services. In addition to government, these actors include businesses, churches, non-profit organisations and universities, among others. The breadth and depth of these actors accentuate the modern state's radically changing role, not only in relation to enabling social capital and social enterprise but also with regard to its fundamental relationships with its citizens and other inhabitants. Furthermore, the varied experiences of social enterprises and community organisations, as represented by the case studies in the book, highlighted multiple opportunities and challenges in enacting their respective missions. Moreover, while there were several examples of

transformative empowerment and innovation taking place in the case studies, it is clear also that there are significant absences and gaps in service provision, and that there is a growing divide of disconnectedness and inequality that is not being addressed holistically and systematically.

Building on these distilled responses to the book's three research questions, I articulate here a personal vision for reimagining the connections among the modern state, social capital and social enterprise. This articulation is certainly not intended to be self-indulgent and solipsistic. On the contrary, I see this vision as residing within, and as complementing, the excellent initiatives and the accompanying research canvassed in the preceding chapters, and more broadly as being animated by the committed and passionate scholarship to which this book seeks to contribute.

In presenting this personal vision, I have revisited the afterword (Postle, 2014) that I wrote to *Community Capacity Building: Lessons from Adult Learning in Australia* (Postle, Burton, & Danaher, 2014) that in part prompted the development of this book. That previous afterword focused on university–community engagement and partnerships, with the case studies in the preceding book being written collaboratively between community organisation leaders and university academics (as was also the approach taken to some of the case studies in this book).

And so, reflecting on the previous afterword as well as on the preceding chapters in this book, I proffer the following five imperatives as proposed elements of an alternative vision of the modern state and its connections with social capital and social enterprise:

- ***Give full rein to the "enabling" in the notion of the "enabling state".*** This notion should not be constrained by its origins in updating the concept of the welfare state. Provided that it is not patronising in manner or assimilationist in intent, enablement can be a noble aspiration, resonating with ideas such as capacity building and empowerment, and facilitating individual and group learning and development that can build on the affordances of social capital and social enterprise.
- ***Give equally full rein to the "social" in "social capital" and "social enterprise".*** Social capital and social enterprise differ profoundly from their individual counterparts by being directed towards the generation of common wealth and a more equitable and socially just sharing of the outcomes of activity and the fruits of labour. They are characterised by collective collaboration rather than by individual competition. And they are predicated on invaluable values such as reciprocity, respect and responsibility.

- ***Give due place—but not primacy or pride of place—to the economic domain.*** The economic domain is crucial to generating wealth and to underpinning prosperity. Yet many of the issues being challenged in the preceding case studies in this book have arisen because too much weight has been assigned to the economic, and too little to the social, the cultural, the philosophical and the spiritual, dimensions of life.
- ***Give due acknowledgement of what is immeasurable and invisible but all the more important for that.*** The creeping—or in some cases galloping—menace of metrics, of measuring and comparing those measurements, must be resisted at all costs. Diversity is, by definition, founded on difference. We should celebrate and cherish that difference, and feel joy that such difference abounds, rather than seeking to contain it, reduce it to the lowest common denominator and wrap it up in leagues tables with no substance but growing power.
- ***Acknowledge and embrace the central responsibility that all of us have in rendering the modern state more empowering, inclusive and transformative.*** In many ways, the modern state is changing beyond recognition, much like late capitalism. A crucial role remains for the modern state in providing security and in facilitating prosperity for its citizens and other inhabitants. Likewise, social enterprises and community organisations of varying types can and do render vital contributions to these aspirations. Yet it behoves all of us, individually and collectively, to take up these same aspirations ourselves, to make them our own and everyone else's, and thereby to work powerfully towards the common cause of caring for and serving one another.

These five imperatives are clearly idealistic—such is the character of personal visions. Yet the preceding chapters in this book demonstrate compelling evidence of what can be achieved when the modern state and various social enterprises work in concert to enhance individual and community social capital.

Conclusion

This afterword, and the book that it concludes, have been conceptualised, in part, as acknowledging and analysing an unprecedented global crisis. The impact of that crisis is evident all around us, in the daily demonstrations of

meanness of spirit and violence of character, in the often unconscious othering of those who differ from us, in the depths of despair to which we retreat when the world is too much for us and when the modern state seems to be crumbling before our very eyes.

These feelings and responses are understandable, given the scale of the issues confronting the world today. Yet the preceding chapters present empirical evidence that things can be different, and that good things can be done, including when social enterprises are supported to succeed in maximising the social capital and the accompanying well-being of their clients and participants. The five imperatives of the personal vision presented in this chapter also encapsulate practical policies and sustainable strategies that can be mobilised to rescue and rehabilitate the modern state from oblivion, and to render it more equitable and just.

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[1]Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes.

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