

Pathways for Graduates into the Not-For-Profit Sector

Author: Eleanor Quinlan, MPASR, BA.

Degree: Master of Research (MRes), Department of Sociology, Macquarie University.

Submitted: 18 October 2018.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	3
STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY.....	4
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	5
INTRODUCTION	6
GRADUATE LABOUR MARKETS IN THE ‘NEW AGE OF PRECARIOUS WORK’	6
WHY STUDY THE NOT-FOR-PROFIT SECTOR?	9
MY CONTRIBUTION TO THE EXISTING FIELD OF RESEARCH	11
ORGANISATION OF THIS THESIS.....	13
LITERATURE REVIEW	14
RESEARCH ON RECENT CHANGES IN GRADUATE LABOUR MARKETS	14
THE NEED FOR MORE DEMAND-SIDE STUDIES	17
USING ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS TO STUDY LABOUR MARKET INEQUALITY	19
METHODOLOGY	21
RESEARCH DESIGN	21
DATA SOURCES	23
RESEARCH PROCEDURES	24
PAID WORK.....	29
ENTRY-LEVEL WORK OPPORTUNITIES.....	29
ORGANISATIONAL DEMAND FOR EDUCATION, PERSONAL TRAITS, AND WORK EXPERIENCE	31
THE MARKET SUPPLY OF WORKERS	36
ORGANISATIONAL CATEGORISATION OF PAID WORK AS ‘GRADUATE’ WORK	38
UNPAID WORK.....	44
UNPAID WORK IN THE NOT-FOR-PROFIT SECTOR	44
THE LEGALITY OF UNPAID WORK	46
THE LANGUAGE OF UNPAID WORK.....	48
DOES UNPAID WORK REPLACE PAID ENTRY-LEVEL JOBS?	50
UNPAID WORK AS A PATHWAY INTO THE NOT-FOR-PROFIT SECTOR	52
VARIATION IN ORGANISATIONAL PRACTICE	54
CONCLUSION	57
MAIN FINDINGS	57
FUTURE RESEARCH	58
SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS	59
REFERENCES.....	61
APPENDIX: FINAL ETHICS APPROVAL	75

Abstract

This thesis expands the boundaries of existing research on rising precarity in graduate labour markets. Sociological research disproportionally focuses on the experiences and employability of graduates, the supply-side of the graduate labour market. In this thesis I argue for the importance of a demand-side analysis focused on the decisions of hiring organisations. Looking at the largely unstudied graduate labour market of Australia's not-for-profit sector, I investigate how not-for-profit organisations structure entry-level work hence shaping graduate pathways into employment. I ask: How do organisations shape graduate pathways into the not-for-profit sector? To answer this question, I gathered organisational data for use within a mixed methods research design. I monitored a website that posts job advertisements for not-for-profit organisations, EthicalJobs.com.au, and conducted semi-structured interviews with managers of recruitment at not-for-profit organisations. In contrast to much of the existing research, I also include both paid and unpaid forms of entry-level work in my analysis. Such an approach, which explores the relationship between entry-level work and organisational practice, deepens our understanding of contemporary labour markets and the difficulties encountered by young job seekers.

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself. I have complied with the terms of the Human Research Ethics Committee approval reference number 5201800072 (R).

18/10/2018

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to a number of people who – through their time, knowledge, and support – made this thesis possible. The first person I would like to acknowledge and profoundly thank is my supervisor, Prof. Gabrielle Meagher, who expertly guided me through this process over the last year. I would also like to express my gratitude to the wider sociology department at Macquarie University, particularly the academics who have assisted me over the last few years and my fellow MRes students with whom I have shared so much. I am also very grateful to the organisations and people who agreed to take part in this study. Lastly, I would like to acknowledge my parents for their continuing encouragement and support.

Introduction

‘When we recognize the role of organizations as inequality-generating settings, it becomes clear that there are as many education returns or gender wage gaps as there are workplaces.’

Stainback, Tomaskovic-Devey and Skaggs 2010: 242

‘Invariably however, the advice I offer reflects the fact that the voluntary sector does not offer clear and accessible pathways into employment. The number of opportunities that are specifically targeted at students and graduates are tiny.’

Christie 2008: 3

Graduate labour markets in the ‘new age of precarious work’

University graduates have traditionally occupied a highly privileged position within labour markets but are now increasingly experiencing precarious work. Meanwhile, a growing number of Australians enter university and obtain a degree. In 1989, only 12.3 per cent of Australians aged 25 to 34 had a degree but by 2014 this number had more than tripled to 37.3 per cent (Department of Education and Training 2015: 28-29). Traditionally, graduates were largely insulated from the low pay, poor working conditions, and insecurity that characterised work for many other groups. Evidence that goes against this tradition points to a tough labour market for many recent graduates, including difficulty finding suitable paid work (Quality Indicators for Learning and Teaching 2018: iii, v; Productivity Commission 2017: 103) and a growth in unpaid work (Oliver et al. 2016; Stewart and Owens 2013). In this thesis, I argue that identifying the reasons why a degree is increasingly not enough upon entry into the labour market requires further conceptualization of the ways in which various organisational actors structure entry-level work, hence shaping graduate pathways into employment, in a ‘new age of precarious work’ (Kalleberg 2018: 11).

The new age of precarious work began to emerge in the 1970s in rich countries. It involved a loss of stability and protections in working arrangements (such as the full-time hours, permanency, and paid leave, previously associated with the standard employment relationship or SER) and, more broadly speaking, a prevailing sense of vulnerability under a new phase of capitalism (Kalleberg 2018: 11-15). Many social scientists have studied these phenomena, generating an abundance of theory that underpins this thesis. A common thread among many theoretical and empirical studies is their emphasis on the global rise of neoliberalism (Beck 2008; Webster et al. 2008; Kalleberg 2013). Though precarious work has been a continuous feature of capitalist society – with the partial exception of the long postwar boom 1945-1974 – a distinction can be drawn between its earlier forms of precarious work and contemporary manifestations under a neoliberal political economy. Wilson and Ebert (2013: 265) draw on industrial relations theory to distinguish between precarity that arises from ‘the nature of the labour contract and labour process’ and ‘a political economy that generates both aggregate and specific labour market conditions’. Kalleberg (2009: 3-4) correspondingly identifies the global rise of neoliberalism and its stress on the centrality of markets, privatisation and commercial types of regulation, with the growth of modern-day precarious work. Under neoliberal domination, ‘increasingly asymmetrical’ power relations developed between labour and capital (Centeno and Cohen 2012: 323, 326) that enabled organisations to shift more and more risk to their workers (Kalleberg 2018: 13-14).

Entry-level workers are particularly vulnerable to the structural changes in working arrangements that have resulted from this power imbalance as well as the ideological assumptions that underpin these changes. Entry-level workers, for instance, are more dependent upon workplace training due to their relative lack of experience in the workplace. As identified in a recent report from the International Labour Organisation (ILO), however, there is an ‘an increasing reluctance by employers to invest in training’ (Stewart et al. 2018: xi). Internal training was once a fundamental component of entry-level jobs at organisations but this has ‘diminished, effectively shifting this cost to the worker’ (Owens and Stewart 2016: 682). Under neoliberalism, which has been dubbed ‘the accepted logic of our time’ (Schram 2015: 174), training is viewed more and more as an individual responsibility. This logic is seamlessly captured through the shift in public discourse from employment to employability wherein ‘employment’ is primarily concerned with the availability of jobs but ‘employability’ is primarily concerned with human capital and individual marketability (Brown et al. 2004: 18). Finding work is increasingly seen as a supply-side issue since the demand for workers is presupposed and individuals need only adapt to this demand (Brown et al. 2004: 18; Handley 2018: 242).

Insufficient attention is accordingly given to the role of organisations on the demand-side of the labour market in structuring graduate entry-level work. This thesis joins a number of other studies that have sought to address this gap using organisational data and analysis (Brown et al. 2004; Rivera 2011; Tholen et al. 2016). I further move beyond the commonplace separation of paid and unpaid work within the sociological literature to embrace a more complex, dynamic and integrative approach to the forms and concept of entry-level work. This, in turn, guides my exploration of why entry-level work is becoming more precarious for graduates. The definition of precarious work that I use is Kalleberg's (2018: 33):

'Precarious work denotes the extent to which work arrangements are: (1) insecure, unstable and uncertain; (2) associated with limited economic rewards such as wages and associated benefits, and provide few opportunities to obtain greater economic rewards over time; and (3) not accompanied by legal and social protections and rights. Precarious workers largely bear the risks of work, as opposed to employers or governments'.

The forms of precarious work that are engaged with in this thesis include temporary (that is, fixed-term) work, casual work, and unpaid work.¹ Unpaid work both *is* and *is not* a form of precarious work. Many types of unpaid work (for example, many unpaid internships) fit Kalleberg's definition of precarious work because they are insecure, they involve limited (or arguably no) economic rewards, lack protections and rights, and the worker bears the risks. What is missing, however, is the presence of an employment contract although, in some cases at least, an employment relationship has been subsequently recognised to legally exist (Fair Work Ombudsman 2018a). I argue that such forms of unpaid work, which are on the rise and need further attention in research and policy, deserve to be included within a broad definition of precarious work. In 2012, the Fair Work Ombudsman commissioned research into the emerging issue of unpaid work (Stewart and Owens 2013: ix-xiii). The report stated that no comprehensive statistical data on unpaid work exists in Australia and the number of people doing internships is unknown but 'there is scarcely an area of professional life that is untouched by them' (Stewart and Owens 2013: ix-xiii, 28). A subsequent report, commissioned by the formerly named Department of Employment, contained the first national survey of unpaid work experience in Australia (Oliver et al. 2016: 60). It found that 58 per cent of respondents aged between 18 and 29 reported at least one experience in the last five years (Oliver et al. 2016:

¹ Here I refer exclusively to unpaid work in the workplace as opposed to unpaid domestic labour.

5). The growth in unpaid work in Australia is highly suggestive of a decline in paid employment opportunities for entry-level graduates.

The three forms of unpaid work that are engaged with in this thesis consist of internships, student placements, and volunteering. Grant-Smith and McDonald (2018: 561) recently argued that ‘terms used to designate unpaid work are vast, imprecise and ambiguous’ which further ‘extends to a lack of clarity around the legitimacy and legality of some unpaid work practices’. There is no commonly accepted definition or standard, for example, for what constitutes an internship (Higgins and Pinedo 2018: 3; Stewart et al. 2018: xi). Stewart and Owens (2013: xii) noted that: ‘In Australia as elsewhere, the term “internships” is without fixed content. It has a broad and uncertain meaning covering everything from unpaid or paid entry level jobs to volunteer work in the not-for-profit sector’. Frenette (2013: 371-372) has argued that this ‘ambiguity’ helps to produce and maintain internships in the economy. Ambiguity can be found in the tasks that the intern performs (which range from mundane tasks such as ordering coffee to highly skilled tasks such as preparing reports) as well as ambiguity in the benefits that interns accrue (which might include an eventual job offer, work experience, industry contacts, or simply a line or two on their resume) (Frenette 2013: 371-372, 374). Unpaid internships, broadly speaking, involve a limited period of time with an employer in order to gain work experience but should not require the kind of productive labour that would ordinarily be undertaken in an employment relationship. Student placements involve a similar arrangement but one that is mediated through an educational institution and undertaken while still a student in order to obtain course credit.² A volunteer, by contrast, is ‘someone who willingly gives unpaid help in the form of time, service or skills, through an organisation or group’ (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2015). As my research shows, the boundaries between these three forms of unpaid work tend to shift and consequently they will often overlap. This is especially the case within a not-for-profit (NFP) setting.

Why study the not-for-profit sector?

The graduate labour market of Australia’s NFP sector is largely unstudied. Given the size and significance of the sector, and its historical association with low paid jobs with minimal rights and poor working conditions (Briggs et al. 2007: 498), this is a significant omission for researchers concerned with graduate labour market precarity. The NFP sector has an

² Student placements are sometimes optional. Other times they are a requirement of the degree. They can also be mandatory to qualify for work in the industry.

increasingly important function within society as a provider of services and a large-scale employer. The growing importance of the sector is also closely connected to the rise of neoliberalism. Over the last couple of decades, government outsourcing of social services to the NFP sector has massively expanded (Productivity Commission 2010: 300).³ Outsourcing to the NFP sector has been implemented using New Public Management (NPM) policies and practices. Neoliberalism constitutes the ‘ideological driver’ behind NPM (Fawcett and Hanlon 2009: 435), which is characterised by the ‘use of market-orientated mechanisms and private sector management techniques in delivering services, and the principles of efficiency, value for money and greater service user choice’ (Cunningham et al. 2014: 583).

The shift towards greater marketisation in the NFP sector has created uncertainty regarding its distinctive character as the boundaries between the for-profit and NFP sectors are blurred (Considine 2003). Baines et al. (2014b: 85-86) write that NFP organisations are compelled by ‘business-like models of accountability and management...to think ever more in narrow, economic, business terms’. Marketisation of Australia’s NFP sector has encouraged precarious work arrangements due to the strong emphasis placed on cost-cutting and the proliferation of short-term government contracts (Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia 1998; Cunningham et al. 2014). While any specific effects on graduate recruitment or employment remain under-researched, studies have shown that marketisation and precarity have profound effects on NFP organisations, their employees, and the marginalised groups they serve (Baines et al. 2014b: 75). The Community Council for Australia (2016: 1, 7) recently stated that ‘application of market based theory to human service delivery has the potential to create irreversible harm to many organisations and the communities they serve’.

The NFP sector in Australia is large and diverse (Cortis et al. 2016: 10-11). It is made up of tens of thousands of organisations whose work impacts upon the lives of millions of Australians along with people from all over the world. According to the Australian Charities and Not-for-profits Commission (ACNC), approximately 10.6 per cent of all employees in Australia, or almost 1.3 million people, worked for NFP organisations in 2016 (Powell et al. 2017: 11). This represented an increase of 10 per cent, or more than 100, 000 jobs, from 2015 (Powell et al. 2017: 44). As the size of the NFP sector’s paid workforce grows, so does the value of understanding precisely how its labour market operates. There are also nearly three million volunteers working in Australian NFP organisations and every year volunteers in the NFP sector contribute billions of dollars in unpaid labour (Powell et al. 2017: 11, 47). While volunteer labour

³ Data reveals that total government funding grew from \$10.1 billion in 1999-2000 to \$25.5 billion in 2006-2007 (Productivity Commission 2010: 300).

has long been part of the NFP sector, recent studies set in the UK and Canada (Leonard et al. 2016; Baines et al. 2017) indicate that there has been a shift into new, and more exploitative, forms of unpaid labour such as unpaid internships that target university students and graduates. My research investigates similar arrangements in Australia's NFP sector.

As previously mentioned, little has been written on the graduate labour market of Australia's NFP sector. A decade ago, however, a report published in the UK aimed to 'build a picture of the nature and range of opportunities for graduates in the voluntary and community sector with a particular focus on management and administration roles (including fundraising, marketing and communications, HR, finance, IT, volunteer management, policy, campaigning and research)' (Christie 2008: 3).⁴ The key findings of the report included (Christie 2008: 3, 6-9):

- Many NFP organisations expect new hires to already have relevant work experience. Jobs at these organisations seldom provide entry-level workplace training.
- Volunteering is an important and, in some cases, essential pathway into the NFP sector. On the other hand, some staff also stressed that volunteering was not a guaranteed pathway.

These findings largely match my own observations of the NFP sector over several years within a contemporary Australian setting. During this time, I observed that opportunities for paid entry-level work in the NFP sector appeared scarce (at least for graduates with certain degree qualifications) and that completion of unpaid work by university students and graduates was expected by some NFP organisations. My interest in the NFP sector partly stems from this insight that I gained as a graduate job seeker, volunteer, and employee in the sector.

My contribution to the existing field of research

My study contributes to knowledge of how entry-level work is structured by exploring the role of organisations within the largely unstudied graduate labour market of Australia's NFP sector. Sociological research disproportionately focuses on the experiences and employability of graduates (Tomlinson 2008; Bathmaker et al. 2013; Shade and Jacobson 2015). In terms of the labour market, the predominant focus is hence on the worker who supplies the labour (the

⁴ The report was funded by an independent research charity based in Manchester called the Higher Education Careers Service Unit (HECSU). The author of the report, Fiona Christie, was an academic and careers consultant at Manchester University at the time. Data for the report was primarily gathered by interviewing both graduates and human resources staff currently working in the NFP sector and through a survey of higher education career consultants with a specialist interest in the sector (Christie 2008: 4).

supply-side) rather than on the organisation or employer that creates the demand (the demand-side). In this thesis, I argue for the importance of a demand-side analysis focused on the decisions of hiring organisations. This will enable sociologists to better conceptualize the role of organisations in structuring graduate entry-level work including comparisons between different organisations, industries, and sectors. My aims are twofold: first, to find out more about how NFP organisations approach and perceive entry-level work for graduates and, second, to consider the implications for graduate pathways into the NFP sector. To address the asymmetry in sociological literature on graduate labour markets, my research concentrates not on graduate experiences and employability but on the meso-level of organisational practice that, at least in part, determines such experiences and defines employability. For my main research question, I ask: How do organisations shape graduate pathways into the NFP sector? My follow-up questions are: Is entry-level work offered by these organisations as paid or unpaid? If paid, is the work secure or precarious? And what level of experience is defined as necessary for entry-level graduates? To answer these questions, I gathered organisational data for use within a mixed methods research design. I monitored a website that posts job advertisements for NFP organisations, EthicalJobs.com.au, and conducted semi-structured interviews with people in charge of recruitment at NFP organisations.

Key terms in my research call for further conceptualisation ahead of my analysis. Throughout this thesis I refer to the ‘demand-side’ of the labour market as largely synonymous with organisational practice. In doing so, I adopt the view that organisations (particularly larger, more well-resourced ones) retain significant discretion in setting the working arrangements and standards of entry for graduates at their organisation. I follow the new structuralism tradition in sociology, which began in the late 1970s, by focusing on the structure of work and how it is embedded within organisations through processes such as hiring and training (Scott 2004: 9-10). On the other hand, organisations are located within a much wider environmental (or macro-level) context that involves various laws, policies, and normative practices that institutional approaches argue typically ‘push organizations in a field toward similar structures, routines, and practices’ (Stainback et al. 2010: 235-236). In other words, NFP organisations impact graduate job seekers by deciding to offer entry-level work as either paid or unpaid but such decisions are influenced by external forces including industrial laws, government funding arrangements, professional associations, and the market supply of workers. Focusing on the meso-level of analysis allows me to make connections between these micro- and macro-levels more explicit throughout my research.

Organisation of this thesis

This first chapter has introduced my thesis and placed it within the context of current research and knowledge. The remaining chapters are arranged in the following manner. The second chapter reviews the sociological literature on precarity in graduate labour markets. It then presents organisational analysis as an alternative to the more dominant supply-side approach. The third chapter outlines my research methods. It explains in detail the design of my mixed methods study, my sources of data and their limitations, and the procedures I have undertaken to gather and analyse the data. In the fourth chapter I commence my analysis with an examination of paid work for entry-level graduates in the NFP sector. The fifth chapter contrasts this with an analysis of unpaid work. The sixth and final chapter concludes the thesis with key findings and suggestions for future research.

Literature Review

In this chapter I review the research on precarity in graduate labour markets. Analysis of this research reveals that much effort has been directed towards understanding the labour market experiences of recent graduates using empirical research methodologies that rely predominately upon supply-side data. Some of these studies have indicated that fundamental changes are occurring in the world of work, for instance, there is growing evidence that unpaid internships are replacing entry-level jobs in a number of countries within various industries and sectors (Frenette 2013; Siebert and Wilson 2013; Shade and Jacobson 2015; Leonard et al. 2016). Yet, there is a need for more empirical studies that collect data from the demand-side of graduate labour markets. Such studies will enable sociologists to better conceptualise the role that organisations from diverse industries and sectors play in graduate precarity and how this, in turn, relates to broader changes to graduate entry-level work that are closely aligned with neoliberal ideology such as the rise of unpaid internships. I firstly review the research on recent changes in graduate labour markets, including research on the growing number of unpaid internships in rich countries. I then present organisational analysis as an alternative to the more dominant supply-side approaches. Lastly, I discuss the emergence of the new structuralist tradition in sociology and highlight its significance for understanding labour market inequality using organisational analysis.

Research on recent changes in graduate labour markets

Sociologists have produced a burgeoning international literature on recent changes in graduate labour markets (Tomlinson 2008; Wilton 2011; Shade and Jacobson 2015; Tholen 2017). This literature is particularly concerned with the expansion of higher education and the increasing numbers of graduates entering labour markets around the world (Brynin 2013; Klein 2016). The effects of educational expansion are not entirely new. Collins (1979: 191), for instance, wrote of a ‘crisis’ in the credential system in America that began in the 1960s following decades of rising educational requirements for jobs that higher levels of education no longer guaranteed as accessible. Around the same time, Berg (1972: 190) asserted that there needed to be a better ‘balance between “too much” [education] for some and “not enough” for others’. The process of educational expansion has seen more and more graduates absorbed within the wider labour market (Pearson 2006: 76) where they are more exposed to precarious work and experience

fewer of their traditional advantages such as high wages. This is demonstrated in the work of Brynin (2013: 284-7) who argues that the expansion of higher education in Britain has ‘altered the risk environment’ by changing the structure of some occupations to blur the boundary between graduate and non-graduate work. The term ‘graduatisation’ refers to the growing number of graduates moving into occupations that were not traditionally graduate destinations (Tholen 2013: 36). Brynin (2013: 284-6, 290) uses data from the British Labour Force Survey (1993-2008) to track the number of employees in occupations with graduates and their expected pay. He found that more graduates are only earning average pay (or less) so while a degree is increasingly required for ‘good’ jobs, it is also less economically beneficial for many graduates (Brynin 2013: 290, 296). Hence, while more people enter the labour market in possession of a university degree, economic rewards are increasingly ‘unevenly distributed as the relationship between education, jobs and entitlements is being reconfigured’ (Allen et al. 2013: 432).

In order to study and explain recent changes in graduate labour markets, many sociologists have drawn on the concept of human capital and the theories of Pierre Bourdieu (Bathmaker et al. 2013; Leonard et al. 2016; Burke 2017). Human capital can be described as the ‘attributes, possessions, or qualities of a person’ that is ‘exchangeable for goods, services, or esteem’ (DiMaggio 1979: 1463). Bourdieu’s use of ‘human capital’ differs from use of this term in neoclassical economics in a number of crucial ways, such as his emphasis on class relations, power, and the role of social structures (Swedberg 2011: 75, 78). Bourdieu (1973: 56-57) saw the education system as the primary institution for the ‘reproduction’ of class privilege. This function is concealed behind an outward show of meritocracy while the actual value of an educational qualification is dependent upon the capital of its holder (Bourdieu 1973: 60-61, 67). This view is consistent with the widely held view within sociology that the labour market is ‘an arena where individuals and groups are struggling to obtain advantage over others, using means that do not necessarily relate to skill, ability or work-related capacity’ (Tholen 2012: 270). The human capital approach is exemplified by Bathmaker et al. (2013: 723-724) who argue that increasing competition in graduate labour markets means that students must mobilise different forms of capital as ‘a degree is no longer enough’. Bathmaker et al. (2017: 724-725) employ the conceptual tools of Bourdieu to study capital mobilisation and acquisition by working-class and middle-class undergraduates. They conclude that universities could improve equity by providing opportunities for disadvantaged students to have ‘more than just a degree’ (Bathmaker et al. 2013: 741).

Internships, many of which are unpaid, are an increasingly common way for graduates to try to improve their employment prospects in tight job markets by expanding their skills, work

experience, and personal connections (Allen et al. 2013: 432; Frenette 2013: 383; O’Conner and Bodicoat 2017: 435). Much of the recent sociological research on unpaid internships has also drawn upon the concept of human capital to explain graduate experiences, especially how capital affects access and exclusion (Allen et al. 2013: 434, 440; Tholen et al. 2013: 149; Leonard et al. 2016: 385). Sociological research on unpaid internships has identified their role in (re)producing social inequality, especially in relation to class but also gender and race (Allen et al. 2013; Shade and Jacobson 2015; Leonard et al. 2016). Studies have shown that completing an unpaid internship can reflect social advantage such as access to financial support and social networks (Siebert and Wilson 2013; Shade and Jacobson 2015). Much of this research is concentrated in the creative sector where sociologists have highlighted that there is an oversupply of graduates seeking work (Allen et al. 2013: 432; Frenette 2013: 370). This sector is said to be ‘characterised by unstructured pathways, intense competition and informal recruitment practices’ such as the widespread use of social networks (Allen et al. 2013: 437, 440). Moreover, Frenette (2013: 370) argues that the sector lacks ‘a clear, formal sorting mechanism for entry’. Unpaid work is identified as one of the few pathways into the creative sector but frequently does not lead to paid employment (Frenette 2013: 365, 384; Siebert and Wilson 2013: 715). Shade and Jacobson (2015: 188-189, 193-194), for instance, found that all twelve of the young Canadian women they interviewed had ‘cycled through various unpaid internships in an ongoing attempt to gain an entry-level position’. One woman stated: “I’ve done everything in the book and it hasn’t worked” (Shade and Jacobson 2015: 196).

In their article on unpaid work in the creative sector, Siebert and Wilson (2013: 718-719) point to a need to collect data from multiple parties including those excluded from unpaid work as well as those working in the sector. An equally important group, however, are the organisational agents who make decisions about whether work will be offered as paid or unpaid. Few studies have collected data from these agents. An exception is the work of Allen et al. (2012; 2013), which includes interviews with employers alongside interviews with university staff and students. Allen et al. (2013: 447) found that work placements (including student placements and internships) in the creative sector privilege the middle-class. These students have greater access to resources (e.g. time, money, contacts) that make it easier for them to work for free and to present themselves as the ‘ideal future creative worker’ (that is, in neoliberal parlance, wholly committed to their work and entirely self-reliant) (Allen et al. 2013: 447). Employers were also found to privilege middle-class students through judgements about individual attributes (e.g. motivation and commitment) that worked in their favour (Allen et al. 2013: 439-440).

There has been limited sociological investigation of the use of graduates as unpaid interns within the NFP sector, a focus of the present study. An exception is Leonard et al. (2016: 384) who assert that internships for graduates in Britain are becoming an increasingly common entry-route into work in the NFP sector and may even be required for entry: a ‘new degree’. Leonard et al. (2016: 387) select one environmental organisation, which they called ‘WasteFoodie’, for use as a case study. Leonard et al. (2016: 395) found that WasteFoodie internships were ‘legitimated, sustained and, even, glamorised’ despite being recognised as potentially exploitative and exclusionary for those without access to middle-class resources because of the chance ‘to be proud of being young, “green” and politically engaged’. While they concentrate most on the interns, Leonard et al. (2016: 387) also ‘present other voices from the organisation’. WasteFoodie internships are unpaid, last for six months, and mostly involve mundane work (e.g. cooking and cleaning) but Sara (a trustee) depicts them as “stepping stones to get jobs” (Leonard et al. 2016: 388). One trustee, George, had ‘ethical concerns about the antithetical nature of internship practices to the aims of the sector’ but Josh, the Chief Executive, claimed that the lifestyle offered at WasteFoodie offset the absence of pay (Leonard et al. 2016: 393-394). Leonard et al. (2016: 396) conclude that if unpaid internships are seen as ‘the new degree’, or the means through which young people gain access to the sector, then NFP organisations are missing out on talented young people of different backgrounds and risking their reputation as an ethical employer.

The need for more demand-side studies

Sociologists frequently highlight how labour market changes, such as the rise of unpaid internships, have the potential to increase inequality by reducing social mobility. There has been an emphasis on social mobility within research on graduate labour markets due, in part, to use of the concept of human capital. This concept readily captures the escalating competition within graduate labour markets as well as the increasing reliance on family, social networks, and skills gained outside of higher education, which all tend to have an adverse impact on disadvantaged groups with less access to resources. By itself, however, the concept of human capital only challenges the view of a meritocratic society – where the division of labour hinges on tangible qualities of merit such as the ability to do the work better than others – but not fairness in working conditions. Writing in 1979, DiMaggio (1469-1470) compared Marx’s writings to Bourdieu’s and stated that the ‘members of Bourdieu’s classes are strategists, not strugglers’ who ‘are consigned to dart in and out between the cracks of social structure, never questioning the rules, seeking only to manipulate them’. More recently, Sukarieh and Tannock (2017: 258-259) argued that there are ‘contradictions and limitations that come with the embrace of individual

social mobility as the frame for defining educational justice'. Sukarieh and Tannock (2017: 246-247) contend invoking 'educational status, process and promise' is a powerful tool used to justify diminishing 'wages, working conditions and worker power' in contemporary societies that 'has come to shape...much of contemporary youth and entry-level employment'. More studies are needed that focus specifically on the availability of 'good' jobs and the nature of graduate entry-level work. This is, by and large, a function of the demand-side of the labour market.

Though many sociological studies acknowledge the significance of structural changes in graduate labour markets, their focus is less suited to shed light upon the reasons behind these developments. Recent studies that view graduate labour markets as increasingly precarious frequently employ a research methodology that is primarily based on supply-side data, especially interviews with graduates (Tomlinson 2008; Wilton 2011). Bills et al. (2017: 292, 294-295) have recently cautioned against the conflation of demand-side and supply-side processes that occurs when the 'preferences and practices of employers' are inferred from 'observing the characteristics' of job seekers and job incumbents. Such studies raise questions about employer expectations and recruitment strategies that can best be answered through a demand-side analysis. In their article entitled 'What we know and what we need to know about graduate skills', James et al. (2013: 958-959) observed the need for more research focused specifically on employer demand for graduates, including the skills sought during recruitment and studies of graduate and graduatizing occupations.

A few studies have sought to address these issues. At an early stage, Brown et al. (2004: 208) identified the need to rethink how organisations structure graduate entry-level opportunities. Their study observed graduate recruitment at six organisations from both the public and private sectors (Brown et al. 2004: 1). Brown et al. (2004: 91, 149) discovered that organisations are 'raising their expectations of what represents the threshold for entry into their workforces' with graduates now expected to be 'proficient from day one' and many graduate jobs requiring 'a list of personal capabilities which in a previous life may have resulted in canonization'. In another study, Tholen et al. (2016: 510-512) explore the processes whereby the formerly non-graduate job of estate agent is now graduatising in Britain. Their methods include an industry-wide survey targeting both employers and employees (Tholen et al. 2016: 512-513). While Tholen et al. (2016: 513-15) found that many employees were graduates, 91% of employers did not believe a degree was necessary. Employers faced with a growing number of applicants instead used university qualifications as a 'sifting mechanism' and as an indication of desirable skills,

especially soft skills (Tholen et al. 2016: 514-515).⁵ Focusing alternatively on the upper echelons of graduate labour markets, Rivera (2011: 72, 74) examines hiring in top-tier law firms, investment banks, and management consulting firms, using interviews with hirers and participant observation of a hiring committee. Rivera (2011: 72) found these elite employers first focused heavily on screening applicants' resumes on the basis of the prestige of the university they had attended and, secondly, on the 'status and intensity' of their extracurricular activities. As in Tholen et al.'s (2016) study of graduate estate agents, the focus for the hiring decisions is not on the substance of what the applicant has learnt. This appears to verify concerns about the job allocation process within graduate labour markets.

Using organisational analysis to study labour market inequality

Several major review articles over the last decade have argued that there exist significant benefits to including organisational analysis in studies of labor market outcomes (Fligstein and Dauter 2007; Neckerman and Torche 2007; Stainback et al. 2010; Bills et al. 2017). Organisations make decisions about which recruitment practices to adopt and how they will select job candidates (Bills et al. 2017: 292) as well as working arrangements including standard and non-standard forms of employment. Stainback et al. (2010: 230) have argued that studying inequality at work without organisational data is 'inherently problematic' because inequality is 'developed within the routines, policies, and practices that organizations employ to recruit, evaluate, hire, and retain employees'. Bills et al. (2017: 292) further view the demand-side as 'more fundamental as a determinant of inequality, opportunity, and organizational attainments than the supply side'.

This emphasis on organisational analysis draws on approaches that can be traced to the emergence of new structuralism in the late 1970s (Fligstein and Dauter 2007). These approaches represented a shift toward the increased use of structural explanations in studies of inequality and work (Baron and Bielby 1980: 737, 760). They contrast with the dominant sociological approach of the 1960s and 1970s that primarily used the status attainment model in which labour market outcomes were viewed as based on individual characteristics such as education, gender, and race, and hence 'the problem of the demand for labor, and thus the role of the firm, was outside its purview' (Fligstein and Dauter 2007: 111-112). In 1980, Baron and Bielby (738, 760) argued in favour of 'bringing the firms back in' to new structuralism and stratification research. Their article increased academic interest in organisational approaches to labour market

⁵ This is also known as 'credential inflation' which Bills (2003: 453) defines as the 'unreflective employer practice of raising the ante over time in hiring standards'.

inequality (Stainback et al. 2010: 226). All the same, Bills et al. (2017: 292) maintain that ‘new structuralism never broke sufficiently with status attainment research to permit a rich understanding of the demand side’ and there continues to be a disproportionate focus on the supply-side of labour markets in sociology. Similarly, Jackson (2007: 370) has labelled the job allocation process as ‘underconceived’ and called for ‘a real demand-side explanation’ because ‘ultimately employers get the final say about which characteristics of employees are rewarded in the labour market’. Sociological study of organisations has additionally been increasingly separated from the study of work as a result of specialization and the rise of business schools (Kalleberg 2009: 11). The location of organisational studies within business schools has led a number of sociologists to express concerns over a loss of critical analysis and sensitivity to issues of inequality (Halford and Strangleman 2009: 118-119; Watson 2009: 867-868; Bratton and Gold 2015: 497, 504).

A major contribution of new structuralism is its insistence that the allocation of people into positions depends on organisational practices that ‘elide a purely individualistic lens’ (Vallas and Prener 2012: 337). Organisational analysis offers an alternative approach for studying precarity in graduate labour markets. Previous sociological research has explored precarity in graduate labour markets from a predominately supply-side angle. This has left the demand-side underexplored and under-conceptualised (James et al. 2013: 959). This, in turn, has obscured broader questions such as what is a graduate entry-level job and to what extent these jobs are made available. These are questions that are explored in my study using organisation-level data and analysis. My focus is on the extent to which NFP organisations shape forms of work for entry-level graduates, hence shaping graduate pathways into the sector.

Organisational analysis has the potential to make a significant contribution to our understanding of graduate labour markets and how they function. This chapter’s literature review has identified the need for more such studies. It has further suggested a problem with the focus of much of the existing literature that, with some exceptions, fails to explore the role of organisations in graduate labour markets by directly examining the roles of organisational agents. The next chapter outlines the methodological issues raised by focusing directly on organisations and how my research responds to the need for such research by collecting and analysing organisational data from a variety of sources.

Methodology

This chapter gives a detailed account of my research methodology and identifies why such an approach is appropriate for my study whilst also acknowledging its limitations. The chapter is arranged into three sections. The first section on research design outlines the overarching strategy behind the research. The second section on data sources covers the various types of data I have collected and how each one provides different information to build a more complete picture. The third section on research procedures explains how these data sources were gathered and analysed.

Research design

A theoretical focus on the demand-side of the graduate labour market, and the meso-level of organisational decision-making, frames the design of my research and sets it apart from much of the existing literature. The datasets I have drawn on contain primary information from multiple organisations in the NFP sector. These datasets are comprised of:

1. Job advertisements from NFP organisations posted on the EthicalJobs.com.au website.
2. Posts from the blog also found on EthicalJobs.com.au. The blog targets job seekers and many of its posts include information obtained from NFP organisations.
3. Transcripts of interviews with people in charge of recruitment at NFP organisations.
4. The organisational websites and annual reports of NFP organisations.

This non-nested data (i.e. data from multiple NFP organisations rather than a single organisation) allowed me to acquire a wide range of information on entry-level work in the sector. As mentioned in chapter one, my research is designed as a mixed methods study. Mixed method designs involving different kinds of data and employing both quantitative and qualitative techniques have a number of advantages. The overall design for my research falls under the classification of ‘convergent parallel’ because I collected and analysed different kinds of data during the same phase of the research process and then combined the information within my overall interpretation of the research findings (Creswell and Clark 2011: 77). Bringing methods together in this way assists in overcoming their inherent weaknesses and attaining a more complete picture (Diefenbach 2009: 882; Small 2011: 60). My use of multiple datasets

allowed me to engage in ‘methodological triangulation’, that is, I was able to test and extend my findings based on one dataset (e.g. the job ads) using another dataset (e.g. the interviews) and achieve a greater level of understanding than either dataset could alone provide (Turner et al. 2017: 243-246). Turner et al. (2017: 251) refers to such triangulation studies as both convergent (i.e. examining the level of agreement across research methods) and holistic (i.e. jointly providing a more comprehensive understanding of the area under investigation).

The main reason I examined data from different NFP organisations was to compare their constructions of entry-level work and approaches to graduate recruitment. I explain similarities and differences with reference to internal organisational processes and the external environment – and how the two interact – because, as Froschauer and Lueger (2009: 217-218) maintain, organisations are ‘both condition and consequence of the social world’. In other words, organisations often act in accordance with external circumstances but their actions also directly shape their environment (Froschauer and Lueger 2009: 217-218). In this context, the organisations are ‘cases’ within a particular environment in which what they do (agency) and what they endure (structure) ‘embody and represent meaningful experience-structure links’ (Crouch and McKenzie 2006: 493). Where possible I draw on additional sources of data that help to illustrate the external environment of NFP organisations. In the chapter on paid work, for instance, I draw on broader labour market statistics to situate my empirical findings within the context of national trends. Similarly, in the chapter on unpaid work, I draw on industrial laws surrounding the regulation of unpaid work.

The design of my study allows for valuable insights into how organisations shape entry-level work in the NFP sector. It also provides a foundation for further work. My datasets are together a relatively efficient way to gather data, to compare practices across organisations, and to achieve a depth of understanding, but the limited period of time in which the data was collected means they cannot capture changes over time for what is observed in graduate recruitment (Lamont and Swidler 2014: 158-159, 163, 165). This would require a long-term study, and such a study is also needed to better understand the lasting effects of rising precarity in graduate labour markets. Many aspects of my project are also exploratory and further investigation will be required to substantiate the research findings and to determine the extent to which they capture variation across Australia’s large and diverse NFP sector. My research is capable of producing ‘moderatum generalizations’ (i.e. non-statistical generalisations) that have a moderate scope and remain ‘testable’ through the acquisition of further data that could sustain, modify or refute my findings (Payne and Williams 2005: 295-297). I limit any claims within my research to ‘basic

patterns' or 'tendencies' of NFP organisations, which means other studies of NFP organisations will probably observe similar patterns/tendencies (Payne and Williams 2005: 306).

Data sources

1. Job advertisements

Previous methods of research have revealed much about graduate labour markets. Yet, there are other avenues through which data (especially from the demand-side) could be obtained. Bills et al. (2017: 304-305) assert that technological progress 'gives researchers ample opportunities to be creative in their data gathering efforts' through, for instance, 'the text mining of job ads'. The EthicalJobs.com.au website, which caters first and foremost to Australia's NFP sector, launched in 2009 (EthicalJobs.com.au 2016: 1). Jobs data from EthicalJobs.com.au was manually collected over a period of roughly six months. Quantitatively, this data enabled me to determine how many graduate entry-level positions, paid or unpaid, had been advertised on this website over a six-month period. Qualitative content analysis of these job advertisements also offered valuable information on entry-level work (e.g. what level of experience is required) and graduate pathways into the NFP sector (e.g. whether unpaid work is portrayed as a means to enter the sector). As a result of analysing the ads on EthicalJobs.com.au I additionally gained a strong overview of work in the NFP sector.

2. Blog

EthicalJobs.com.au offers advice to people seeking jobs in the NFP sector in the form of a blog, which published articles weekly from May 2009 until June 2017 and fortnightly since then. The blog on EthicalJobs.com.au is targeted at job seekers and its posts typically offer advice on how to get a job in the NFP sector. A number of these posts are aimed at university students and recent graduates. Topics covered include volunteering and internships, skills that are desirable to NFP organisations, and how to write a great cover letter or perform well at an interview. The blog also features a series of posts offering advice to job seekers from recruiters at NFP organisations such as The Smith Family's national Human Resources Manager. I selected these posts (fifteen in total) to identify, again using qualitative content analysis, what these leading NFP recruiters reveal about the ideas, norms, and values, that circulate within the NFP sector.

3. Interviews

Interviews were conducted with managers and directors of recruitment at NFP organisations. Participants were selected on the basis of their involvement in high-level decision-making at their organisation. Littig (2009: 100, 103) argues these people can be thought of as both 'experts',

who possess knowledge (not readily accessible to researchers) about the internal structures and decision-making processes at their organisations, and ‘elites’ because of their position of power within that organisation. Gaining access to these people is often very difficult (Littig 2009: 108-109) as I discovered but interviews with relatively few individuals in their position are still useful because of their informative capacity (Kristensen and Ravn 2015: 724). While interviews with individuals on the demand-side of the graduate labour market are underrepresented in the literature, these individuals offer a different perspective on graduate recruitment and a unique insight into recruitment practices. Only recently, Bills et al. (2017: 293) asserted that the ‘organizational agents in charge of recruitment and selection decisions [are] key to bringing the firms back in’. Semi-structured interviewing is appropriate for exploratory analysis of an issue that is not well understood and where the researcher is trying to uncover the narratives of how various participants understand their role and motivations. On the other hand, participants will often present a particular worldview and, especially in the case of the elite, ‘provide little more than official statements, mainstream buzzwords and fads-and-fashions’ (Diefenbach 2009: 875-876, 880, 892). In my analysis, the interviews are therefore treated as both factual data and normative discourse (whereby the ideological positioning behind such statements is identified and they are placed within a wider societal context, see Diefenbach 2009: 889, 892).

4. Organisational websites and annual reports

An examination of publicly available information from NFP organisations – including their organisational websites and annual reports – provided insight into their services, workplace policies, sources of revenue, employee numbers, and use of volunteers. This information was gathered from the organisations that participated in the interviews. Information on total annual revenue was additionally gathered from the organisations that posted the job ads for entry-level graduates on EthicalJobs.com.au. In the chapter on unpaid work, for instance, I use annual reports to uncover the revenue of the organisations that placed ads for unpaid work.

Research procedures

Data gathering – job advertisements

Jobs data from EthicalJobs.com.au was manually collected on a weekly basis over a period of roughly six months. Due to the amount of effort required in manual extraction, the extracted job ads are all Sydney based. They include every NFP job in Sydney advertised on EthicalJobs.com.au between 27 October 2016 and 13 April 2017. The total number of Sydney-based jobs advertised over this period was 2,131. Sydney was observed to have the largest number of NFP jobs advertised on EthicalJobs.com.au with only Melbourne having a

comparably large number. This matches data from the Australian Charities and Not-for-profits Commission (ACNC) which shows that the largest number of NFP organisations operate in NSW (39.7%) followed by Victoria (31.1%) (Powell et al. 2017: 19). A limitation with this dataset is that these advertisements cannot be assumed to capture and represent the number and nature of all the jobs that are available in the NFP sector. Many positions may only be advertised elsewhere (such as on other job sites or the organisation's website) or not advertised at all because they were filled internally.⁶

Data gathering – interviews

The interview stage of the study required ethics approval from Macquarie University, which was obtained in February 2018. Following ethics approval, a purposive sampling strategy was adopted in which the largest social service organisations were targeted for participant recruitment. There were several reasons behind this decision. First, social service organisations provide essential services within Australia and are largely funded by government. Second, social service organisations are the largest area of employment in the NFP sector (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2015) and have experienced significant growth in their workforce in recent decades (Healy and Lonne 2010; Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017). Thirdly, there exists a literature on how these organisations have changed their workplace structures as a result of NPM reforms and marketisation (Garland and Darcy 2009; Charlesworth et al. 2015). Finally, the focus on larger organisations was justified through their greater recruitment needs. The largest social service organisations in the NFP sector were identified using the sector explorer tool of the ACNC, which enabled filtering by sub-sector (social services) and by size (revenue size XXL) with the largest social service organisations displayed in the resulting diagram.

Initial contact was made with the selected NFP organisations by calling their offices and asking to speak about the project with the assistant of the most senior person in charge of recruitment (e.g. an executive director who was identified via the organisation's most recent annual report). If successful this was followed by an email to that senior person that included more information about the project and asked if they would participate. Overall, participant recruitment proved a significant challenge. Multiple calls were made and emails sent over a period of several months, many of which went unanswered. The challenges of organisational recruitment can be immense and organisations may decline to participate for a multitude of reasons such as strained resources

⁶ SEEK (<https://www.seek.com.au>) is a larger, more well-known job website than EthicalJobs.com.au. SEEK likely advertises a greater number of graduate entry-level positions than EthicalJobs.com.au and might therefore be more representative of their availability within the NFP sector as a whole. The SEEK website, however, is constructed in a manner that would have made manual extraction of these advertisements (from only NFP organisations) a difficult and time-consuming task beyond the scale of the current project.

or the topic being seen as irrelevant or too controversial, which then impacts on the data collected and the voices that are heard (Pettigrew and Duncan 2017: 36, 40, 42-44). On the other hand, Kristensen and Ravn (2015: 734) contend that insights can be gained during the recruitment process, including from ‘resistance to participation’. Most of the organisations that declined to participate in my study offered no explanation for their decision, however, the two organisations that did offer an explanation claimed to have based their decision on their limited availability or the topic. The organisation that mentioned the research topic indicated that they lacked any formal program for the recruitment of entry-level graduates. In addition, internships and related forms of unpaid labour have been a subject of increasing controversy within the Australian media (Tweedie and Ting 2018) and this may have influenced the decision of some organisations.

Interviews were conducted at three of the largest social service organisations in Australia’s NFP sector. These organisations had operations throughout Australia and were large enough to have their own team focused on recruitment and other related areas of workforce management. One senior person from this team at each organisation was interviewed, either a senior manager or the director. There is disagreement among researchers over the optimal number of participants, however, a smaller number can be sufficient for some studies (Magnusson and Marecek 2015: 36). A National Centre for Research Methods paper found that the appropriate number of interviews depends upon methodological and practical considerations such as the aims of the research and the available time and resources (Baker and Edwards 2012: 2). Interview questions covered the five interconnected themes of graduatisation, entry-level work, skills, experience, and unpaid work. Some examples of questions are: *What jobs are performed by graduates at your organisation? Are these jobs always performed by graduates? How often do entry-level jobs for graduates come up at your organisation? Does your organisation offer internships? What skills and qualities do you look for in entry-level graduates?* The interviews were semi-structured to allow the participants to fully express their thoughts during the interview but still facilitate comparison between the data obtained. Participants were asked for their prior written consent for the interviews to be digitally audio recorded for the purposes of transcription. All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and thematically coded.

Quantitative analysis

Out of the 2,131 jobs collected from EthicalJobs.com.au the number that were targeted at (or at least suitable for) entry-level graduates needed to be determined. The number of paid entry-level jobs for graduates was determined by the number of jobs that either said they were graduate entry-level and/or asked for a degree but required no prior work experience in a related

role. A very small number of paid positions asked for a university student and these were also included. Little distinction is sometimes made between university students and recent graduates, for instance, a job advertisement might ask for someone who is ‘currently studying or recently graduated’.

Many of the jobs advertised on EthicalJobs.com.au explicitly stated the amount of experience that was required (e.g. ‘minimum of four years’). This made them easy to exclude from my analysis of entry-level positions. A sizable number of positions, however, only stated that experience in a related role was a requirement. They did not specify how much experience was necessary. These positions had to be excluded on the grounds that there was no evidence that they were entry-level positions (i.e. they did not say they were entry-level and they asked for prior relevant work experience). Nevertheless, it cannot be known for sure whether any of these positions might have been open to recent graduates. This is especially the case because some university degrees make it compulsory for students to complete training at a host organisation.

The number of paid entry-level positions for graduates that involved non-standard employment arrangements (i.e. temporary, casual, or part-time work) was subsequently determined. Every unpaid position out of the 2,131 jobs was also examined. If they asked specifically for a university student/graduate and/or used language that indicated they would suit a university student or entry-level graduate (this language, which distinctly targets entry-level workers with limited workplace experience, is discussed in detail in chapter five) then they were classified as unpaid entry-level work for graduates.

Qualitative analysis

I used qualitative content analysis, and a thematic approach, on the majority of the organisation-level data I collected. Hsieh and Shannon (2005: 1278) define qualitative content analysis as a ‘method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes’. I applied this method, using the same coding process, to all the textual data I obtained from the interview transcripts, the job ads, and the blog. The development of a coding frame, which ‘is at the heart of [this] method’ of research, involved establishing the main categories that represented aspects of the material about which I wanted more information (Schreier 2013: 174, 176). Using my prior knowledge and existing research, I identified five key concepts as coding categories (this is known as deductive category application, see Hsieh and Shannon 2005: 1281). This approach has some inherent limitations because the data is regarded in an informed but also predetermined manner (Hsieh and Shannon 2005: 1283). The concepts I selected were graduation, entry-level work, skills, experience,

and unpaid work. In the next two chapters, these concepts are arranged into themes that show the main findings of my research.

This chapter explained how my methodological approach, specifically my use of organisation-level data, enables me to engage with the aims of my research. My findings are now presented in two parts. In chapter four I investigate forms of paid work for entry-level graduates in the NFP sector. This is followed by an investigation of forms of unpaid work in chapter five.

Paid Work

In this chapter I examine the pattern of demand for paid entry-level graduate employees in the NFP sector. My analysis is directed toward the internal decision-making of NFP organisations together with those external forces (e.g. government regulations, neoliberal discourse, and the market supply of workers) that exert influence over these decisions. The questions I outlined in the introductory chapter about graduate entry-level work – which relate to whether this work is precarious and the level of work experience that is required – are now explored. Last of all, I consider why NFP organisations define certain work as ‘graduate’ and how this categorisation affects entry into the sector.

Entry-level work opportunities

Analysis of the EthicalJobs.com.au website indicated that there were only a relatively small number of paid entry-level jobs for graduates and these positions existed alongside unpaid work for university students and graduates in the form of internships and volunteering. Between 27 October 2016 and 13 April 2017, the total number of Sydney-based jobs advertised by NFP organisations on EthicalJob.com.au was 2,131. Figure 1 shows the distribution of this total between jobs for entry-level graduates and jobs for non-graduates or more experienced graduates. The total number of positions for entry-level graduates, paid or unpaid, was fifty-five or about 2.6% of the 2,131 positions. The NFP organisations that posted these fifty-five job advertisements tended to be larger organisations but they otherwise capture much of the diversity of the NFP sector. The oldest organisation was established in 1813 (The Benevolent Society) and the most recent in 2014 (Code Club Australia). Annual revenue ranged from no more than \$500, 000 (Australian Pro Bono Centre 2017: 46) to over \$870 million (Australian Red Cross 2017: 62). The primary mission or services of these organisations included legal advocacy, disability services, humanitarian aid, environmental conservation, social services, childhood education, refugees, climate change, youth advocacy, and housing. The prevalence of larger organisations is unsurprising given that data from the Australian Charities and Not-for-profits Commission (ACNC) shows that employment is concentrated in these organisations with 72% of employees in either XL (34.3%) or XXL (37.7%) sized organisations (Powell et al. 2017: 45).

The number of paid entry-level jobs for graduates was thirty-six or 1.7% of these 2,131 positions. This includes roles in administration, fundraising, union organising, case management, accounting, program coordination, policy and research, which demonstrates the diversity of roles that are available. Of the thirty-six paid positions posted by NFP organisations for entry-level graduates, only twelve were full-time ongoing roles. The disability organisation, Cerebral Palsy Alliance, advertised three of these full-time ongoing positions (Occupational Therapist, Exercise Physiologist, Speech Pathologist). The remaining twenty-four paid positions for entry-level graduates involved non-standard employment: fourteen were temporary, eight were casual, and two were part-time.⁷

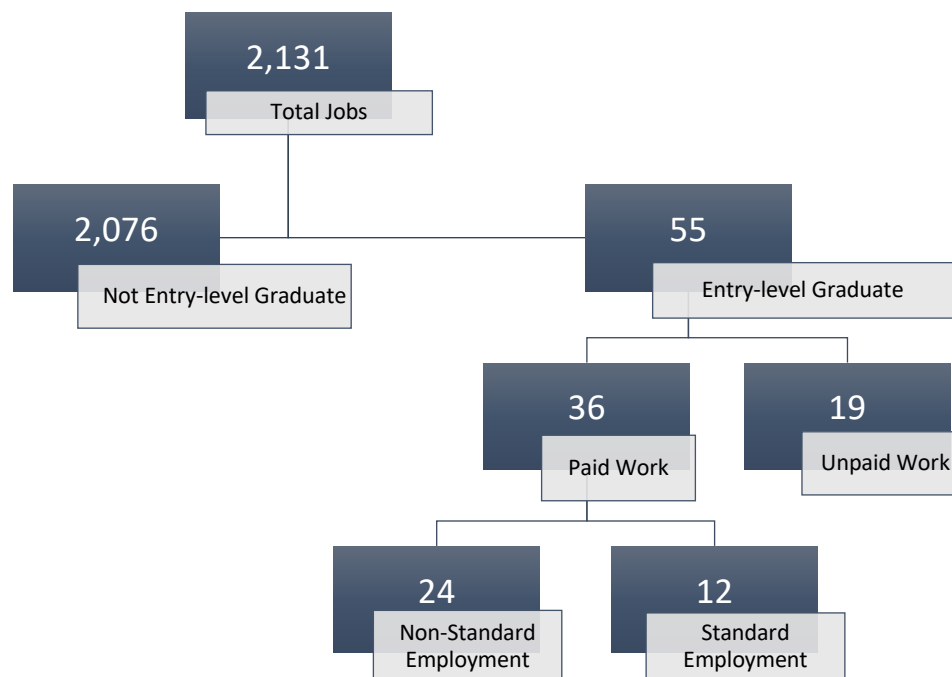


Figure 1 - Diagram of job advertisements

The data from EthicalJobs.com.au accordingly indicates that entry-level opportunities are limited. In their research on youth unemployment in Australia, the Brotherhood of St Laurence (2017: 4) noted that ‘a key factor for today’s generation of young people is the lack of entry-level job opportunities...and the mismatch between employers’ demands and the skills and experience young people have acquired’. While their research focuses on young people without a university education (who suffer greater disadvantages in the labour market), similar difficulties were found to exist for graduates in the NFP sector where entry-level opportunities appeared to be scarce and employer expectations high. There was also evidence of a ‘competitive

⁷ This level of precarity is consistent with other studies of the NFP sector, for instance, a case study of a large NFP organisation in Australia by Cunningham et al. (2014: 590, 594-595) found that most of the workers were ‘employed on fixed-term or casual contracts’.

neoliberal labour market’ in which a ‘degree does not suffice as adequate evidence of one’s abilities to be employed in a meaningful way’ (Jacobson and Shade 2018: 320).

Organisational demand for education, personal traits, and work experience

Findings from my study suggest that a university education was often considered to be of secondary importance for job applicants in the NFP sector. Prior work experience in a related role and certain personal traits were more highly regarded. NFP organisations variously referred to these personal traits as ‘attitude’, ‘passion’, ‘commitment’, ‘motivation’, and ‘values’, however, they appeared to have similar connotations. This pattern of organisational demand was highlighted in the interviews. At Organisation One it was maintained that ‘we don’t even actively use the degree really as the selection criteria’. According to Participant One, if experience is ‘taken out of the equation’ then there are just two things that are really important: ‘attitude’ and ‘motivation’. Organisation Two similarly perceived ‘attitude’, ‘commitment’, and ‘passion’, as the most important criteria. Participant Two said ‘I think we would probably still be one of those employers where attitude is probably much more important than qualifications. You know – attitude, commitment, passion for what you are doing – is probably a lot more important than the formal qualifications.’.

This pattern of demand for education, personal traits, and work experience, was also observed on the blog on EthicalJobs.com.au. For instance, a post entitled ‘No work experience? Here’s how you can still land an ethical job’ from 2014 begins with the following:

‘At EthicalJobs.com.au we often hear from newly graduated job seekers who are stuck in the job hunt Catch-22 – you can’t get a job without experience but you can’t get experience without first having a job!’

The post contains results from a survey of employers who advertise on EthicalJobs.com.au. These results reveal that the employers regarded relevant work experience, and personal values in alignment with their organisation, as more important than a relevant education for job applicants:

"What are the most important qualities of your best candidates?" – responses from 250 ethical employers.



Figure 2 - Survey results⁸

The EthicalJobs.com.au blog also features a series of posts on recruiters within NFP organisations. Each post begins with the following:

‘Have you ever wondered what hiring managers are looking for when they recruit for Australia's most sought-after NFPs? In this series on the Ethical Jobs Blog, we interview the people who hire at the organisations where you want to work – and we'll give you the inside knowledge you need to make your next job application amazing.’

The recruiters offer advice on how to get a job at their organisation including by describing what they look for in applicants. Most of the recruiters featured on the blog valued personal traits and prior work experience more than a university education. The recruiter from Greenpeace stressed that ‘lacking qualifications’ is not an ‘obstacle’ for job applicants but conversely said of experience ‘that’s a killer for everyone’. The recruiter from the Smith Family said ‘obviously, you can't be a qualified accountant without having your CPA, for example. However, on the whole, I would pick attitude over skill any day of the week’.

The identification of a particular set of personal traits as crucial to employment success requires further analysis. In the chapter on methodology I discussed the need to identify the ideological

⁸ See <https://www.ethicaljobs.com.au/blog/no-work-experience-8-skills-you-may-already-have-to-land-an-ethical-job>.

positioning behind such statements and place them within a wider societal context. Brown et al. (2004: 152-153) contend that there has been a shift in employer's approach to graduate recruitment from 'an overarching sense of capability to one of proactivity' in which the worthiest candidates display 'self-determination or drive' in pursuing a career. This was illustrated by some of the responses to the question I asked at the end of each interview: 'How easy do you think it is for recent graduates to get a job in the not-for-profit sector?'. Participant One's advice to entry-level graduates was to get any job they could as a 'starting point' because 'any experience is better than nothing'. Participant One stated that any job could be an 'opportunity' and offer a chance to move upwards if you had the right approach but 'you've got to tell a story – everyone's in sales'. Participant Two similarly felt that attitude and perseverance were key, contending that 'the jobs are there if you have the energy and enthusiasm to pursue them'. Participant Two said 'I think if you're prepared to try to work a bit harder – do some volunteer work, meet as many people as you can, try to get as many introductions as you can – I think you'll find the work is there.'

The advice that was offered to entry-level graduates relied heavily on a neoliberal discourse of employability. Individual success was dependent on 'personal marketability', 'an entrepreneurial attitude to self and skills development', and 'demonstration of the "right" attitudes such as initiative, flexibility, adaptability and availability' (Handley 2018: 242). Graduate job seekers further proved their worth through networking and volunteering. Identification of a particular set of personal traits such as 'attitude' and 'motivation' by NFP organisations was therefore at least partially about enabling these organisations to transfer greater responsibility for finding a job to graduates. This is similar to Baines et al.'s (2012: 366) observation that the personal traits valued by employers in the NFP sector allow organisations to utilise workers' willingness to perform additional unpaid labour and accept work intensification. Where highly feminized workforces are engaged in frontline care work, for example, 'the social construction of naturalised, other directed, caring femininity...dovetails with the high expectations/needs of employers for unpaid work and sacrifice in the context of insufficient funding' (Baines et al. 2012: 369). The prioritising of such personal traits can also reflect the adoption of traditional social justice values in the NFP sector although, in the context of financial pressures associated with NPM and budget cuts, the instrumental function of privileging such traits may be of increasing significance (Baines et al. 2012: 366, 370). The privileging of attitude over degrees that was identified in my data may therefore also be partly explained as an organisational response to financial constraints.

The amount of work experience required is another aspect of graduate entry-level work in which organisational hiring practices are crucial. This ranged significantly among the thirty-six paid positions on EthicalJobs.com.au. Some NFP organisations required no work experience or, in some cases at least, their job advertisements did not mention work experience. In their advertisement for an Occupational Therapist, for example, the Cerebral Palsy Alliance asked for a ‘recent graduate to experienced clinician’. The advertisement further elaborated: ‘Whether you’re just starting out in this field, or you’ve gained some experience and are ready to take the next step up – apply now!’. Many NFP organisations stated that experience was preferred or would be an advantage for potential applicants. For instance, Marist 180 advertised for an ‘exciting entry level’ position as a Marketing and Communications Officer in which they stated that ‘prior experience, ideally in the not for profit sector (either voluntary or paid), would be highly regarded’. At the other end of the spectrum, there were a number of NFP organisations that required extensive work experience. For instance, in their advertisement for a Partnerships Coordinator, Habitat for Humanity asked for a recent graduate or someone still studying but with at least three years of work experience. In their advertisement for a NSW Organiser, the Australian Youth Climate Coalition similarly listed numerous forms of work experience as ‘core competencies’ of the role but the advertisement ended with the statement: ‘We understand that young people won’t necessarily have all of the experience, so as long as you’ve got passion and are able to learn quickly, please apply.’.

The relatively small number of jobs for entry-level graduates advertised on EthicalJobs.com.au may be indicative of the importance of prior work experience to many NFP organisations. At Organisation One, for instance, there were almost no jobs for entry-level graduates. One reason for this absence was that Organisation One required significant workforce experience (in addition to qualifications) for those graduates it hired. Participant One outlined this approach in which prior work experience was viewed as essential: ‘Usually you are always looking for someone with some experience’ and ‘particularly in a not-for-profit setting where you are quite tight on resources to start with’. Participant One elaborated:

‘For instance, if you were doing a psych degree at uni then we wouldn’t usually engage a psychologist until they were registered and had a couple of years of experience in a related environment. If you are an accounting student – we might actually have one or two jobs in the accounting space for someone straight out of uni doing junior accounting work – the vast majority are financial management accountants with two to five years of experience and beyond.’

Also present was the belief that a university degree alone was insufficient for job applicants. Participant Two said:

‘I think a university degree alone – for just about any organisation – is not enough these days. You need to be showing that well-roundedness in your life. If I was advising a uni graduate who’s studying, it would be to do some other things while you’re at uni. You’ve got this amazing opportunity when you’re at university to get involved in a whole range of activities – clubs, societies, different leadership roles, you can do part-time work – you can demonstrate your leadership capabilities in whole range of ways. I think it’s really important to be thinking about that because ultimately that does help you to get a job.’

These ‘activities’, in addition to a university education, were not always enough either though. At Organisation Three it was further argued that a ‘balance’ was necessary between formal education and relevant work experience:

‘...we were advertising for an HR Administration Officer. We had a candidate who applied who’d done a degree and a Master’s degree in HR but had never worked - I think they’d been packing shelves for Coles or something! Years of study doing their Bachelor of Business majoring in Human Resources, and then doing their Master of Human Resources degree, but had never done any work in HR and applied for this HR administration role. Well, that kind of counted against them. They were just too overqualified for what was a process-oriented job. I can appreciate for the person that would have been extremely disappointing – not even being able to get a foot into an entry-level role with all these qualifications.’

The interviews, job advertisements, and blog, all underscore the fact that what was ideally sought was not simply generic workforce experience – ‘packing shelves for Coles or something’ – but experience directly relevant to the work. The expectation was that graduates would be responsible for acquiring relevant on the job training not just qualifications. As Kalleberg (2013: 1) has argued, structural changes in work over the past few decades, such as an increased reluctance from employers to engage in employee training, have been reinforced by ideological changes including ‘shifts toward greater individualism and personal accountability’. In Australia,

these shifts can be traced to the 1990s. During the Accord, the Australian Council of Trade Unions sought to implement a wide-spread training regime that would cover workers outside of the professions/trades particularly in expanding areas such as the service sector (Ewer 2000: 37). Awards were to be the mechanism for imposing a responsibility for training on employers (Brown 2006: 492). This was abandoned in the run up to the 1990 federal election (Ewer 2000: 42). The move to a deregulated industrial relations system, the marketisation of training, union decline, and the growth of precarious work, effectively enabled the transfer of responsibility for training to individual workers (Ewer 2000: 37; Brown 2006: 496, 501).

The market supply of workers

Structural changes in the provision of training, and the adoption of neoliberal discourse, play a fundamental role in shifting the responsibility for training to graduates. The extent to which organisations can require relevant workforce experience in new recruits, however, is also linked to the market supply of workers with the necessary skills and/or qualifications. Research from the Department of Jobs and Small Business (formerly known as the Department of Employment) illustrates this connection. The Department's (2017c) Survey of Employers who have Recently Advertised (SERA) collects qualitative information from employer interviews and quantitative data on applicant numbers per vacancy. In the Department's (2018b) most recent report on occupational therapists it was noted that:

‘Employers in metropolitan NSW receive many new graduates applying for entry-level roles making the field highly competitive allowing employers to be selective in their recruitment process, however, employers in regional NSW are struggling to attract recent graduates or experienced applicants to fill their vacancies...Regional employers were [thus] more open to train and develop the applicant's skills required for the role, for instance training recent graduates for the entry-level position’.

In the NFP sector there was evidence of areas of worker shortage and areas of worker oversupply. The interviews in particular highlighted areas of shortage, which were most acute in non-graduate frontline care and support work but were also said to be present, to a lesser extent, in some health professions. Research from the Department (2017a; 2018b; 2018c) confirms that over the last two years in NSW certain health professions – occupational therapists, physiotherapists, and registered nurses – have experienced some degree of shortage or recruitment difficulty. By contrast, the Department (2018a; 2017b) found that there had been

‘no shortage’ of accountants over the same period in NSW and that there had been ‘consistently large applicant numbers for solicitor vacancies’. This also corresponds with data obtained from the interviews (in which accountants were identified as an ‘easy’ role to fill) and from the job advertisements (where law graduates were sought by NFP organisations for both unpaid and administrative work).

The Department’s (2017c) research covers only ‘skilled occupations where long lead times for training mean that shortages cannot be quickly addressed’. Additional information on graduate outcomes by study area can be found in the Quality Indicators for Learning and Teaching (QILT) annual survey. The following table uses data from the most recent QILT (2018: 4) survey to display graduate outcomes across several areas relevant to the NFP sector:

Study area	2017	2017
	Full-time employment	Total employment
Nursing	79.3	91.7
Rehabilitation, includes physiotherapy and occupational therapy	85.7	95.8
Business and management, includes accounting, sales and marketing, and finance	76.5	87.2
Humanities, culture and social sciences	62.2	83.6
Social work	70.9	86.1
Psychology	60.3	84.8
Law and paralegal studies	74.8	85.3
Communications, includes media and journalism	60.6	84.6

Table 1 - Undergraduate employment outcomes by study area four months after graduation in 2017 (%)

The table shows the level of divergence in graduate outcomes by study area. Shortly after graduation, rehabilitation has the highest percentage of full-time employment at 85 per cent while communications and psychology have the lowest at 60 per cent. QILT (2018: 16) data further reveals that around one in ten recent graduates are employed in clerical and administrative work. The percentage is highest for law graduates (27.4%) followed by business and management graduates (17.3%), which compares to the far lower percentage of nursing graduates (1.1%) and rehabilitation graduates (1.4%) (QILT 2018: 16). This corresponds with data from the interviews and job advertisements, which showed that administrative work can be an entry-point or pathway into the NFP sector for graduates with degrees in business, law, marketing, fundraising, and human resources.

Thus, administrative work appears more likely to be performed by graduates in areas of market congestion. Market congestion also enabled some NFP employers to set high standards and reject applicants on ‘almost infinite grounds’ (Brown et al. 2004: 187). Recruiters on the EthicalJobs.com.au blog repeatedly stated that a candidate could be excluded on the grounds of grammatical/spelling errors in their written application. The recruiter from the Smith Family, for example, said:

‘Even if someone has all of the qualifications and experience you need, but you have 100 others who are just as qualified, it’s really easy to knock someone out because they have grammatical errors... That may sound harsh but when you’ve got a huge volume of applications and there isn’t a huge amount between the experience or qualifications, sometimes it does come down to really simple things like that.’⁹

In summary, the expansion of the graduate labour force, with the resulting intense competition for work, has permitted employers to effectively transfer at least some costs of workforce training to graduates and set higher standards for their recruits. The extent to which organisations can require relevant workforce experience and such high standards, however, is linked to the market supply of workers. In the NFP sector, areas such as frontline care work and the registered nursing program run by Organisation Three (both discussed next) provide additional evidence that the market supply of workers affects organisational demand.

Organisational categorisation of paid work as ‘graduate’ work

Whether NFP organisations defined work as ‘graduate’ work impacted on entry pathways into the sector. Such categorisations may appear straightforward but they are influenced by a myriad of factors. The extent of the demand for university qualifications in the NFP sector, for instance, partially reflected external regulatory requirements. On EthicalJobs.com.au job ads for positions in the health professions, for example, normally stated that a degree and registration with the appropriate professional body (the Australian Health Practitioner Regulation Agency) was required. On the other hand, job ads for positions in areas such as marketing, fundraising, human resources, and information technology varied in whether they asked for a degree and ads for jobs in care and support work never asked for a degree. A recruitment system that largely resembled this state of affairs was observed at Organisation Three. For the ‘professions’ (e.g.

⁹ See <https://www.ethicaljobs.com.au/blog/want-to-work-at-the-smith-family-heres-what-you-need-to-know>.

accountant, psychologist, physical therapist) a university degree was ‘absolutely essential’ for applicants whereas for other ‘corporate’ roles (e.g. information technology, marketing, human resources) it was ‘valued and preferred’. Frontline service roles were referred to as ‘non-degree areas’.

Structured pathways, especially for the ‘professions’

Work that was classified as exclusively graduate was more likely to be associated with structured, paid pathways. Organisation Three had a more formal approach to graduate recruitment for the registered professions and hired graduates exclusively for these positions including as registered nurses, psychologists, physiotherapists, and accountants. Organisation Three’s largest cohort of degree-qualified people were the registered nurses – the organisation had several hundred registered nurses. Organisation Three had a graduate program for entry into this profession. The program ran annually and admitted about ten registered nurses each year. The Senior Nurse Educator coordinated the program, which was ‘structured’ and involved ‘periods of training and education’ including ‘periods of on-the-job training’. Participant Three said that they were currently looking at expanding the program into other vocational areas such as psychology, counselling, social work, and physiotherapy. Participant Three gave two reasons why the organisation was considering this expansion, stating that it was ‘partly to be a good corporate citizen, but partly also as a potential source of good candidates’.

Unstructured pathways, especially for ‘corporate’ roles

Non-professional positions within Organisation Three, by contrast, were performed by a mix of people with degrees, diplomas, or no formal qualifications. These included the ‘corporate support roles’ such as marketing, human resources, and information technology, where the approach to graduate recruitment was less structured and less formal. Pathways for graduates into these roles at Organisation Three were less clear due to the different practices that were in place. Participant Three explained that HR administration is ‘an entry point to a HR career’, for instance, and generally has a mix of graduates and non-graduates. At Organisation Three, however, none of the staff currently working in HR administration were graduates. Participant Three explained that staff had ‘tended to stay, even though we would still see it as a pathway’. This was partly because the manager ‘obviously wants to hire a good team and keep the team’. Entry into a HR career was thus made more difficult by managerial needs that conflicted with perspectives on recruitment within the organisation. This situation was exacerbated further by the lack of a need for a degree to perform numerous entry-level roles:

‘Occasionally, we’ll get Master’s degree students applying for entry-level roles. Again, all power to them – I hope it works out well – but often managers at those entry-level roles aren’t needing degrees. I know there would be some managers who would think that all this study, with no practical work experience, counted against them’.

For these entry-level roles being highly qualified (or overqualified) was clearly seen as a problem, especially if the applicant had no relevant work experience. In that case, what positions are available for these graduates at Organisation Three? According to Participant Three:

‘That’s a really tough question because the issue is it’s a typical entry – and I’m using the HR because I know it well – but typically the entry into HR is becoming an HR Administration Officer. That’s the first role in HR – you are processing the contracts or whatever. That is the place where you would typically start and the next level up is a Recruitment Sourcer or an Employment Relations Officer or Learning and Development Coordinator. Potentially you could be successful for those roles because they are the first sort of actual HR stuff. Because HR administration is administration. Someone who is an Administration Officer can do that job. It just happens to be HR related administration. The next level up is where you are actually doing HR stuff. Learning, recruiting, employment relations, and so on.’

Participant Three explained that these ‘next level up’ HR roles were a possibility for highly qualified candidates, however, at that level a lack of relevant work experience would be a problem. Trying to gain entry into one of these roles would essentially mean ‘competing against people who’ve already got experience and maybe they’ve held a job for two or three years doing this thing’. This partially contradicts Participant Three’s earlier statement that a university degree was ‘valued and preferred’ for these roles since, in this instance, it is experience that is prioritised. Moreover, the entry-point for a graduate of human resources at Organisation Three is left decidedly uncertain. This does not have to be the case as evidenced by one ad for a HR Assistant posted on EthicalJobs.com.au in November 2016. The ad from Cooperative Home Care asks for someone who ‘would like to start or extend’ their HR career. The person must have a ‘Bachelor in Human Resources or other related qualification’ with previous experience in an HR Administration role preferred but not required.

Frontline service work and workforce polarisation

Unlike entry into many graduate positions, frontline care and support roles appeared to be highly accessible within the NFP sector. The current challenge of recruiting and retaining enough frontline staff frequently arose as a point of discussion at Organisation One and Organisation Three with Participant Three commenting that ‘there’s a lot of doom and gloom that gets around the place’. Many NFP organisations advertised these roles repeatedly on EthicalJobs.com.au and applicants were often advised that they required either no prior work experience and/or formal qualifications. Organisation One had also recently completed audits of its frontline staff, which showed that many of them had no formal qualifications and the remainder had certificates or diplomas.

The designation of frontline roles as ‘non-degree areas’ is not unproblematic. Historically, the identification of care work as ‘women’s work’ has resulted in a systematic lack of recognition of the skills required by such work. A substantial body of literature exists regarding the ‘devaluation’ of paid care work due to its association with the ‘unpaid caring work women have traditionally performed in the home and community’ (Charlesworth et al. 2015: 596). This has also affected recognition for degree-based female dominated occupations such as social work that have been unable to secure the regulatory protections afforded to other professions. More recently, the introduction of neoliberal based policies such as NPM have had a ‘corrosive’ effect on the professional status of degree qualified workers, such as social workers, who engage in frontline care work (Healy 2009: 401). Connell et al. (2009: 334) argue that NPM has ‘introduced new organizational models’ that have replaced professional workers with ‘flat organizational structures and generic skills’. In the NSW residential aged care workforce, for instance, the percentage of nurses declined from 35.8% to 26.5% from 2003 to 2012 (Legislative Council 2015: 12). In the same period, personal care attendants (a non-degree category) increased from 56.5% of the residential aged care workforce to 68.2% (Legislative Council 2015: 12).

The difficult working conditions, and low rates of pay, resulting from the devaluation of care work were seen by the interviewed organisations to distinguish it from work that graduates were willing to undertake.¹⁰ Participant Three drew attention to this issue:

‘What are people’s expectations? Are people willing to work as a carer for twenty-four dollars an hour? Doing work that is demanding? For the right

¹⁰ An illustration of the low pay in the area is provided by the *Social, Community, Home Care and Disability Services Industry Award 2010* that provides for a weekly wage of \$782.00, or \$20.58 per hour, for a full-time or part-time worker at entry level 1, pay point 1 (Fair Work Ombudsman: page reference 1599). This compares with the federal minimum wage, as of July 1 2018, of \$719.20 per week or \$18.93 per hour (Fair Work Ombudsman 2018b) and the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2018) calculation of Australian median employee hourly earnings of \$30 per hour in August 2017.

person – who gets satisfaction out of their work – it’s fine. But if people’s expectations are: I’m going to study law, I’m going to study medicine, or I’m going to be an engineer. If people are thinking that...The people who may have become a carer ten or fifteen years ago are now going on to study nursing or physiotherapy or whatever it might be. I think there’s an expectation that people are going to get qualified. They’re going to go to university and they’re going to get a career. I think that’s more the norm than it used to be. Whereas a lot of these frontline roles don’t require that.’

Participant One said that increasing the level of qualification for care workers had been ‘a significant topic of discussion in the sector’, however:

‘We said, ok, we’re going to have support workers that require a degree. We then said to ourselves, who the hell is going to want to go and work shift work – in very tough circumstances with people with high complex needs – after you’ve been studying for four years? Unless you are really driven that way, it probably wouldn’t be the thing you had in mind.’

In *Good Jobs, Bad Jobs*, Kalleberg (2013: 215) examines the ‘rise of polarised and precarious employment systems’ in America and the growing divide between work that is secure, well-remunerated, and often requires a high level of education, and work that is insecure, poorly compensated, and usually requires a low level of education. Kalleberg (2013: 215) concludes that this has ‘led to a growing gap between good and bad jobs and greater precarity for all’. In the NFP sector, polarisation is evident in a mismatch between a growing supply of graduate labour and the predominance of low waged, casualised jobs that do not require higher education. A recognition of this was evidenced in the response of Participant One to my final interview question concerning how easy it was for graduates to get a job in the NFP sector. Participant One responded that it was easy to get a job but not necessarily one that either required a degree straightaway or had a clear professional trajectory for someone with university qualifications. Participant One continued saying ‘I think there’s been a hollowing out in many disciplines of that starting point for graduates – those opportunities are now missing’.

This chapter has explored my data in relation to paid work. The data indicates that paid entry-level work for graduates in the NFP sector is scarce, frequently requires extensive workforce

experience and the 'right' personal traits, and exhibits a high degree of precarity. It thus shares many of the characteristics of graduate entry level-work which were identified in the overseas literature and discussed in chapter two. These commonalities can be traced to a shared experience of neoliberal practices and the adoption of neoliberal discourse with respect to work.

By focussing on organisations as the unit of analysis it was possible to examine a number of issues that, at first glance, appear unproblematic. The analysis suggests, for instance, that organisations play a significant role in determining which forms of work will be defined as 'graduate'. Care work, due to a combination of gendered ideologies and financial pressures, was defined as non-graduate and there was additional evidence suggesting the deprofessionalisation of care work in the case of social workers and nurses. Corporate work, on the other hand, was more variable and where professional qualifications were not legally required (as they are in accounting, for example) other worker attributes such as previous experience or personal traits were often given greater weight. Where work was defined as graduate, organisations also played a significant role in determining whether it was offered at an entry-level. They further determined what the requirements for the position would be and the status of the work (secure or precarious). The extent of their discretion, however, depended on a number of factors: one of the most important of which was the degree of congestion in the relevant graduate labour market. A very high degree of workforce experience was required for entry-level positions where labour markets were congested, and this placed students and graduates under considerable pressure to engage in the form of labour which is discussed in the next chapter – unpaid work.

Unpaid Work

In this chapter I follow up my examination of paid entry-level work for graduates at NFP organisations with an examination of unpaid entry-level work offered by these organisations. In doing so, I move beyond the commonplace separation of these forms of entry-level work within the literature on graduate labour market precarity. Such an approach is important because examining paid and unpaid work alongside each other reveals a great deal about how organisations can choose to structure graduate entry-level work using this (often ambiguous) dichotomy. Glucksmann (2009: 891-890) has previously argued for a renewed approach within sociology to the division of labour that can capture the ‘current transformations of work and the analytical challenges they pose’ by further broadening scopes and expanding boundaries. Identification of the ‘total social organisation of labour’ (TSOL) that Glucksmann (2009: 880) espouses includes ‘forms of interdependence and differentiation’ between labour that is paid or unpaid. The NFP sector is already known for its complicated blend of paid and unpaid work (Baines 2004; Kosny and MacEachen 2010; Halford et al. 2015) but past studies have not focused on this complex interplay through the prism of entry-level work for graduates.

Wider study of the expansion of unpaid work in recent (neoliberal) times is ‘still emerging as a field of scholarship in its own right’ (Grant-Smith and McDonald 2018: 559-560). Much of the existing sociological research on unpaid work for graduates is concentrated in countries such as the UK, US and Canada, and particularly within the creative sector where unpaid work is widespread (Allen et al. 2013; Frenette 2013). This research has found that entry-level jobs are being replaced by unpaid work with consequences for individuals and society (Siebert and Wilson 2013; Shade and Jacobson 2015). Yet, current analysis lacks a comparative approach to the varieties of entry-level work (paid and unpaid). My research begins to address this lacuna.

Unpaid work in the not-for-profit sector

Many forms of unpaid labour exist in the NFP sector including volunteering, unpaid overtime, work for the dole arrangements, student placements, and internships. These forms of unpaid labour contribute to the overall structure of the labour market in a manner that necessitates further investigation. Within the NFP sector the ability to utilise volunteer labour on a large scale is time-honoured and enduring. The interviewed organisations, for example, all relied

heavily on their volunteers. At Organisation Two, in particular, volunteers were involved in a wide range of services on behalf of the organisation from frontline services and disaster recovery to major IT projects in head offices and board governance. According to Organisation Two's website, some services were delivered with the assistance of volunteers who were lawyers, teachers, accountants, and marketing professionals. Organisation Two had about three times more ongoing volunteers (i.e. people who volunteered four or more hours every week) than paid employees, and an even greater number of one-off 'project volunteers'. Participant Two described the importance of these volunteers to the organisation:

'Our volunteer workforce is just incredibly important. They are the DNA of Organisation Two, well part of the DNA of Organisation Two. They are part of our workforce. They do incredible work in so many different ways across our organisation. They're fundamental to the services that we provide to the community...without volunteers, we would certainly not have the ability to provide the number and breadth of services that we provide today.'

Organisation Two's annual report from 2017 correspondingly stated that many services would not exist without volunteer labour. According to the report, volunteers hailed from all ages and personal circumstances including students and people who were seeking employment.¹¹ Participant Two stressed that there is no 'one-size-fits-all' explanation for people's motivation to volunteer as 'it's different for everyone'. For some people, it was about 'giving back to the organisation and the community' whereas for others it is 'something as simple as the experience of working, and learning how to work and operate in a work context'. This quotation demonstrates an awareness that for some volunteers the primary motivation is work experience, rather than altruism.

While volunteer labour has long been part of the NFP sector, recent studies set in the UK and Canada (Leonard et al. 2016; Baines et al. 2017) indicate that there has been a shift into new, and more exploitative, forms of unpaid labour such as unpaid internships that target university students and graduates. Similar arrangements may be becoming increasingly common in Australia's NFP sector. On the EthicalJobs.com.au website there were only a small number of paid entry-level jobs for graduates. As Figure 1 in chapter four shows, the number of unpaid positions for university students and graduates was nineteen. Unpaid work was therefore the

¹¹ Organisation Two, for instance, had over a thousand work for the dole recipients in its retail stores. Other positions within NFP retail stores were advertised as paid jobs on EthicalJobs.com.au thus raising questions over what distinguished the paid work from the unpaid.

most common form of precarious work advertised for entry-level graduates (followed by the fourteen temporary positions). While not all of these unpaid positions state that a degree is essential, the required skills and the language used in these advertisements (particularly their emphasis on the ‘opportunity’ to gain experience) indicate that they would suit a university student or entry-level graduate. Several NFP organisations – WWF-Australia, Act for Peace, Australian Red Cross, Good On You, and Code Club Australia – each advertised between three and four unpaid positions. Some of these NFP organisations appeared to regularly cycle through unpaid graduate interns/volunteers. Jacobson and Shade (2018: 331-332) recently labelled this the ‘conveyor-belt approach’ and reasoned that the work being performed for free allows some organisations to hire fewer paid staff.

The legality of unpaid work

The unpaid internships advertised on EthicalJobs.com.au are ‘open market internships’, which are described in an International Labour Organisation (ILO) working paper as those ‘organised by participants themselves or established by the organizations hosting them, without any formal connection to education or training or a government programme’ (Stewart et al. 2018: xii). Such arrangements are legal in Australia as long as they do not constitute an ‘employment relationship’ as defined by the Fair Work Ombudsman (FWO). The legality of unpaid work experience and internships is presently determined on a case-by-case basis using five key indicators of an employment relationship (FWO: page reference 1777):

1. Reason for the arrangement i.e. a person is more likely to be an employee if they perform productive work for the organisation rather than engaging in training, skill development, or observation.
2. Length of time i.e. an employment relationship is more likely to exist the longer the person is at the organisation.
3. Significance to the organisation i.e. if the work has to be completed, and might otherwise be done by a paid employee, then the person is more likely to be an employee.
4. What the person is doing i.e. if they are required to be at work then they are more likely to be an employee.
5. Who’s getting the benefit i.e. if the organisation gains the main benefit from the arrangement then the person is more likely to be an employee.

These conditions are more lenient if the person is classified as a ‘volunteer’ in the NFP sector. Nevertheless, the FWO (page reference 2425) states that ‘as with work experience and

internship arrangements, all relevant factors must be considered to determine whether a person is a genuine volunteer or whether, in fact, an employment relationship exists even though the worker is called a “volunteer”. Hence the ‘more formalised that volunteer work arrangements become (for instance if the volunteer is expected to work according to a regular roster) the greater the possibility that an employment relationship will be found’ (FWO: page reference 2425).

A number of the advertisements for unpaid work on EthicalJobs.com.au appeared to contravene these conditions. The nineteen unpaid positions were similar to the paid positions for entry-level graduates in that most of them involved set tasks and the weekly completion of productive work for the host organisation. The duration of the positions advertised on EthicalJobs.com.au ranged from five or six weeks (Good On You) to one year (School for Life Foundation), but most lasted for over three months at an obligatory two or three days per week. Some were labelled as ‘internships’ (e.g. Communications and Events Intern) and others as ‘volunteer’ positions (e.g. Marketing and Fundraising Volunteer). Overseas in the UK it has been noted that NFP organisations sometimes use the terms ‘volunteer’ and ‘internship’ interchangeably (Intern Aware and Unite the Union 2013: 8; Weghman 2015: 600). In a report from Intern Aware and Unite the Union (2013: 8) this was seen as a deliberate strategy to ‘circumvent’ payment:

“Two larger organisations did not utilise the term “intern” for their volunteer programmes targeted at graduates, with one charity stating that “all unpaid basis work is classified as volunteering.” This charity also stated that this had recently changed, with adverts not seeking “interns”, but only “volunteers”. This altered opportunity title supports previous suggestions that some charities attempt to circumvent paying interns through clearly defining them as volunteers, even if they are essentially interns, or arguably workers who should be paid’.

The ability of NFP organisations to denote productive labour as paid or unpaid could in part be a function of oversupply in the graduate labour market. The unpaid roles were predominately in the area of communications and marketing, where Quality Indicators for Learning and Teaching (2018: 4) data reveals graduate employment outcomes are among the poorest. Unpaid training practices of this nature (such as unpaid internships) are also increasingly common throughout the for-profit sector where they are frequently considered to be exploitative and unethical. Similar use of unpaid labour within the NFP sector should not be assumed to be

entirely different simply because of the sector's long history of volunteering. Moreover, while interns have been more inclined to accept a lack of remuneration in the NFP sector because they have 'recognised that the organisation was operating on a tight budget and performing a public service' (Jacobson and Shade 2018: 327-328), I discovered that a number of the NFP organisations offering unpaid work on EthicalJobs.com.au were large, well-resourced organisations. The language used within the majority of the advertisements, which specifically targets the perceived need for graduates to obtain workplace training in order to access paid work, further indicates a deliberate strategy of exploiting the weaker labour market position of graduates in order to have productive work performed for free in a manner analogous to that in the private sector.

The language of unpaid work

The language used in the advertisements to describe and 'sell' unpaid work was remarkably similar. Organisations that posted multiple advertisements for unpaid positions even used some of the same wording on each occasion. Most of the advertisements referred to the unpaid work as an 'opportunity'. Four key selling points (or 'opportunities') provided by the unpaid labour were repeatedly emphasised to potential applicants: 1) Gain experience 2) Develop your skills 3) Make valuable contacts 4) Do meaningful work. Most of the unpaid positions seemed to be taking advantage of an apparent difficulty experienced by individuals seeking entry-level work in the NFP sector and the premium that many NFP organisations place on prior work experience. These positions point to unpaid work as a means to enter the sector. As an organisational practice, these unpaid positions also reinforce a neoliberal view of the individual as responsible for their own training.

Act for Peace is an international aid organisation that was founded in 1948 and has just over twelve million dollars in annual revenue (Act for Peace 2017: 34). Between October 2016 and April 2017, Act for Peace advertised three unpaid internships on EthicalJobs.com.au. These internships each lasted for six months at three days per week. The first advertisement was for a Digital Marketing Officer and it asked for a 'super bright, switched on university graduate' to 'be part of the day-to-day running of a busy international aid agency'. The opportunities listed in the advertisement included: 'a great opportunity to learn all about digital marketing and UX from an experienced and passionate team', 'an opportunity to upskill', and 'the unique opportunity to make a real difference to some of the world's most vulnerable communities'. The other two advertisements posted by Act for Peace were for a Marketing and Communications Intern and a Multimedia and Video Production Internship. Both ads listed a

relevant degree as 'desirable'. Both ads also listed many of the exact same selling points including the opportunity to acquire 'transferrable business, interpersonal and team working skills' and an 'understanding of working in the development sector'. The advertisement for a Marketing and Communications Intern further stressed that this was 'an opportunity to gain valuable experience in the international development sector'. It asked for someone 'looking to gain hands-on experience in project management and various aspects of marketing and communications work' but they also needed to be able to 'manage projects end-to-end and deliver results on time and within budget'.

WWF-Australia also advertised three unpaid positions between October 2016 and April 2017, although this organisation referred to them as 'volunteer' positions rather than internships. WWF is a global environmental conservation organisation. It was established in Australia in 1978 and its annual revenue currently exceeds twenty-six million dollars (WWF-Australia 2017: 28). Each of the three positions were advertised in November 2016 and they revolved around the upcoming Earth Hour event. The positions were Visual Assets Assistant, Campaign Assistant, and Stakeholder Outreach Coordinator. They all lasted for three to four months at two or three days per week. The positions of Visual Assets Assistant and Stakeholder Outreach Coordinator specified that 'this opportunity will suit someone who is currently studying or has completed a tertiary qualification...or [has] equivalent work experience'. This indicates that graduates and more experienced workers without qualifications could compete for these positions.

Online job advertisements for one volunteer position and four unpaid internship positions at Organisation Two were additionally found during my search of its organisational website (rather than on EthicalJobs.com.au). These five positions were all observed online on 22 May 2018, which suggests the extent of unpaid intern/volunteer roles in the NFP sector far exceeds the number advertised on EthicalJobs.com.au. All five of the positions relate to legal services owned by Organisation Two. The five job ads ask for one law student, two law graduates, and two junior lawyers. Each position was described as an 'opportunity'. The intern or volunteer would gain 'hands on' experience, develop their legal skills, and receive mentoring. The four internships further offered them the ability to complete PLT (practice legal training) requirements. The positions lasted for between three and four months and most were full-time.

Does unpaid work replace paid entry-level jobs?

The training of a new employee, especially an entry-level worker without prior experience, has traditionally been normal practice for organisations (Jacobson and Shade 2018: 331). Unpaid internships, however, are sometimes used to evade these costs (Jacobson and Shade 2018: 331) as are other forms of unpaid labour. In October 2016, the Australian Red Cross advertised for a HR Administration Volunteer on EthicalJobs.com.au as shown below in Figure 3. As was observed in the previous chapter on paid work, these positions are considered suitable for both graduates and non-graduates. They are also considered an entry point into a HR career. In fact, the Red Cross' ad clearly targets entry-level workers by stating that this position offers a 'great foot in the door' and the 'potential to kick start a successful career!'. The role of HR Administration Volunteer involves two days of work per week for an undisclosed period of time. While the ad declares this role is the 'perfect opportunity to grasp experience', it also says that previous 'HR or Business experience will be highly advantageous in securing this position'.

HR Administration Volunteer

Employer: Australian Red Cross
Work Type/s: Volunteer
Classification/s: Administration, HR & Employment Services
Sector/s: Not For Profit (NFP)
Location: Sydney

Job posted on: 26 October, 2016.
Applications close: 02 November, 2016. (Expired)

- Sydney CBD location
- A great foot in the door to a fast paced HR environment
- 2 days per week, Thursday and Friday

The role

Proving vital support to the HR team, you will coordinate the onboarding process for Red Cross people using our recruitment management system. You will also be responsible for maintaining our volunteer database and responding to general HR enquiries.

About you

You will be a motivated, driven and focused individual with demonstrated experience in MS office. Proven communication and interpersonal experience will make you successful in this position. HR or Business experience will be highly advantageous in securing this position.

The benefits

This is the perfect opportunity to grasp experience in a fast paced HR team, boosting your potential to kick start a successful career!




Figure 3 - Red Cross advertisement

The Red Cross' ad for an HR Administration Volunteer is an illustration of how entry-level jobs in the NFP sector can be replaced by volunteer positions. This is very different to the traditional notion of volunteering within the NFP sector. It further represents a choice that the

organisation, which is doing well financially, has made. The Red Cross, founded in 1914, is one of the largest social service organisations in Australia's NFP sector. Its annual revenue is over \$870 million dollars (Australian Red Cross 2017: 62). Weghman¹² (2015: 599-600), who worked as an unpaid intern at a charity in the UK, provides further evidence of these types of organisational choices:

'Struggling to find a job after graduating, I took on an unpaid internship in a charity in London, hoping the position would lead to paid employment. It soon became clear to me that securing paid employment through an internship was highly unlikely. Like in many charities, almost all positions at the charity required at least five years paid work experience elsewhere. Yet paid entry-level jobs used to be a part of the charity's organizational structure. Shockingly, the charity's old entry-level job descriptions (which were leaked to me) were identical with the descriptions of its new voluntary internships...while the economic recession has burdened charities with less funding and more work, it is not the case that the charity lacked sufficient funds to pay all of its staff members, including interns. Rather, the charity's internal wage distribution had changed dramatically over the years. Initially, the charity had a flat pay scale under which everyone was paid the same. Now it has a hierarchical pay structure, with an executive director earning £59,000 per annum, department directors £43,000 per annum, senior officers £34,000 per annum, and officers £32,000 per annum. Clearly, senior officials saw generous increases in their own pay as more important than providing paid, entry-level positions.'

The above quote also sketches a link between organisational form and workplace practice under NPM since, as the charity becomes more business-like, pay distribution is made more unequal. In the UK, other research has also shown that drastic changes to entry-level employment have occurred in the NFP sector. One report found that 'internships have stripped-out graduate, entry-level positions in the sector' (Intern Aware and Unite the Union 2013: 3). In the UK, the rapid growth in the number of unpaid internships, and the attention this has received in research and the media, recently led the government to announce a crackdown (Butler 2018). In Australia, by contrast, far less is known about the state of unpaid work. There is little doubt

¹² While working as an unpaid intern at a charity in the UK, Weghman organised a campaign called NoPay?NoWay! as a form of protest. She went on to write a PhD on *The employability promise: The cases of unpaid internships and workfare in the UK*.

that in Australia too, paid entry-level positions have been replaced by unpaid ones and entry-level workers have been targeted to perform unpaid labour. How widespread these practices are, however, is unclear given the dearth of research.

Unpaid work as a pathway into the not-for-profit sector

Organisational views on unpaid work as a pathway into the sector are to some extent illuminating. Through a series of posts on recruiters within NFP organisations, the blog on EthicalJobs.com.au gives some indication of the attitudes and practices in the sector. The recruiters offer advice on how to get a job at their organisation by answering questions about their recruitment process, what qualities they look for in candidates, and common mistakes people make in job applications and interviews. The final question that the recruiter answers is typically ‘what advice would you give to someone who wants to work at [organisation name] but perhaps might not have the right experience or qualifications?’. Responses to this question in particular revealed that unpaid work is portrayed as a means to enter the sector. For instance, a recruiter from Oxfam said:

“We value the volunteer experience highly and we definitely take that into consideration, especially for graduates who are looking for their first role. We have lots of volunteers who applied for jobs with us and have now moved into paid work. It’s a great way to get your foot in the door! We have regular updates for managers on who’s interested in volunteering with us and the skillsets they bring, and a dedicated volunteer team who review applications and help to match volunteers to different areas within Oxfam.”¹³

A recruiter from the Red Cross similarly said:

“Volunteering can be a great pathway to the Red Cross – obviously it’s not guaranteed, but a good way to get experience in a particular area. From time to time we offer internships and traineeships across the organisation so that could be another way in for someone new to the workforce and looking to build their experience.”¹⁴

¹³ See <https://www.ethicaljobs.com.au/blog/the-inside-story-how-to-get-a-job-at-oxfam>.

¹⁴ See <http://www.ethicaljobs.com.au/blog/the-inside-story-what-you-need-to-know-to-get-a-job-at-the-australian-red-cross>.

The above quotes reveal that many people volunteer and this volunteering is not ‘guaranteed’ to lead to paid employment. Yet, volunteering is portrayed by most of the recruiters from NFP organisations as a solution to the ‘problem’ of not having enough experience. Their responses frame this issue as a supply-side or individual problem. All in all, thirteen out of fifteen recruiters from NFP organisations on the EthicalJobs.com.au blog recommended that job seekers engage in volunteering within the NFP sector. This recommendation shifts responsibility onto the individual to create their own pathway into the organisation. This pathway is not only not guaranteed to lead to paid work but even securing a volunteer position at some NFP organisations can be a competitive process. This enables some NFP organisations to attach significant requirements to the volunteering such as relevancy to one’s desired career or the amount of time spent at the host organisation. For example, the recruiter from Greenpeace stated:

‘In terms of experience, that’s a killer for everyone. But I would say volunteer. I constantly say this when I’m talking to colleges and universities. If you can show you made an effort to do volunteer work in the area you’re looking for, that’s huge. It just shows you have initiative; that you have a bit of enthusiasm. Let’s say you’ve gone to university and that’s all you have. If you can pad out your CV with work experience and put them down like they’re jobs but they’re just volunteer positions, that shows something. It says, for instance, this person managed projects and knows how to project manage. We get a lot of people offering to volunteer for us and we do ask for a decent commitment – one, two, three days a week, it’s a solid commitment. If you do that and make a good impression, that’s huge. That just stands to reason. And it has happened in the past, where we’ve had people volunteer and then jobs come up and they’ve applied, and of course they have a head-start. We know them. We might know they’re a good cultural fit, for example. And that’s one of the big things we look for. But not willy-nilly volunteering – you have to be specific.’¹⁵

Organisation Two’s approach to recruitment also revealed the importance of volunteering for entry-level graduates. Data on the number of entry-level positions for graduates at Organisation Two was not captured but Participant Two said:

¹⁵ See <https://www.ethicaljobs.com.au/blog/the-inside-story-how-to-get-a-job-at-greenpeace>.

‘My sense is that we would have one every two weeks. Somewhere across the organisation there’d be a junior level role. Now whether that is filled internally or externally is the question. But there’d be a role coming up for someone early in their career with a degree qualification’.

As the above quote reveals, Organisation Two had a policy whereby they would look internally to fill any role before looking externally. Participant Two thought that a lot of graduate entry-level roles would be filled internally. In many instances, it would thus be necessary for graduates to already have a connection to the organisation – whether through current employment, volunteering, or knowing someone who works there – to gain information on new positions.

Variation in organisational practice

Organisational practices with regard to unpaid work could vary significantly. All of the interviewed organisations, for instance, had engaged in student placements but their practices were quite different. At Organisation One these placements were ‘unstructured’ and, at least sometimes, arranged through social networks. Participant One explained:

‘There is not even a process to really talk about. What might occur is someone in the HR team says: “We have a project on rewriting some policies that we’ve got to do and I know of a student – a friend of a friend – who is looking for some experience”. Ok – we don’t really do that – but if you think they can help over the course of the next few weeks then sure, organise for them to be working with us.’

Student placements at Organisation Three were likewise described as ‘more ad hoc, rather than a structured program’. Sometimes the organisation would be contacted by a student seeking a placement and other times through a formal arrangement with a university. Occasionally, arrangements were also made outside of a university, thus blurring the line between student placements and other forms of unpaid work such as internships or volunteering. The process for setting up these arrangements involved asking whether ‘someone [has] got an opportunity for a student placement’ within the organisation and, if there is an opening, then ‘we’ll make a connection with the manager and kind of leave it there’. These placements could be for counselling students, psychology students, social work students, or nursing students, who would ‘basically sit there and shadow the worker’. The student placements at Organisation Three

therefore appear to focus on observation rather than productive work, hence abiding by FWO standards.

Organisation Two, by contrast, ran a structured program for student placements and had recently developed a new guideline for these placements across the organisation. The guideline was developed in order to review policies and expand the program. Placements tended to be discipline specific and could be in areas such as HR, IT, social work, or policy. Students might do a project for the office or get involved in the actual work of the office:

‘I know of students who have just gone in and taken on entry-level operational roles. So...almost like an example of what a real role might look like. They’ve performed that at an entry-level. We’ve also had students come in and look at a particular project. It just depends on their interest, what’s available and whether there’s a match of needs at the time.’

These different illustrations of student placements at the interviewed organisations reveal the extent to which organisational practices are influential in the absence of strict regulation from outside the organisation. This level of organisational agency was also evident in Organisation Three’s approach to internships. Organisation Three was currently considering introducing internships. Organisational planning included defining terms such as ‘graduate, new graduate, student, workplace experience, internship’ and establishing ‘expectations for each of these types of placements’. Participant Three said that the interest in moving into internships derived from ‘two things’. These were ‘being a good corporate citizen’ by ‘giving opportunities to people and helping people learn and grow’ and also gaining access to people who might potentially be good employees. Nevertheless, it was decided that internships at Organisation Three would be unpaid. Participant Three further mentioned that ‘some managers were seeing [internships] as a free source of labour’. These managers were told that the interns were ‘not to replace a paid employee and they’re not to do paid employee work’. The attitude of these managers is a demonstration of how the use of unpaid internships can create ‘an incentive for the displacement of paid entry-level jobs and the evasion of minimum wage laws’ as noted by the ILO (Stewart et al. 2018: xii-xiii).

The empirical research presented in this chapter and the previous chapter has made the deep-seated relationship between organisational practice and entry-level work in the NFP sector clear.

Even allowing for the influence of external forces, NFP organisations generally set the working arrangements and standards of entry for graduates at their organisation. In some cases, organisations will provide workplace training for entry-level graduates and create pathways that are structured, degree-necessary, and paid. Across the wider sector, however, a pattern of precarious entry-level work was evident. There additionally exists 'no simple correspondence between pay and work' (Taylor 2004: 31) for an unknown number of graduate interns and volunteers in the sector. The attitudes and practices that some NFP organisations exhibited towards entry-level job seekers showed little differentiation from the private sector.

Conclusion

This thesis contributes to broader knowledge of rising precarity in graduate labour markets by exploring the role of organisations in generating this precarity. The thesis expands the boundaries of existing research in three ways. First, it uses organisation-level data from a variety of sources to focus on the role of organisations in structuring graduate entry-level work. Second, it moves beyond the commonplace separation of different forms of entry-level work by including work that is paid or unpaid. Third, it explores the largely unstudied graduate labour market of Australia's NFP sector. In this final chapter I present an overview of key findings, suggest possible avenues for future research, and reflect on the social implications of this research.

Main findings

My findings indicate that the graduate precarity identified within other countries and sectors of the economy (Brown et al. 2004; Leonard et al. 2016; Jacobson and Shade 2018) is also a feature of entry-level graduate work in Australia's NFP sector. While organisational practices varied, clear patterns/tendencies also emerged. These patterns/tendencies of NFP organisations, such as the prioritising of prior workforce experience and the offering of entry-level work as unpaid, are characteristic of a neoliberal political economy in which labour markets are saturated, responsibility for training is devolved to workers, and labour market regulation adheres mostly to the interests of employers. Yet, significant variation in the forms of entry-level work for graduates that are available in the NFP sector (e.g. graduate programs versus unpaid internships) reveal that both internal organisational processes and external forces (e.g. a shortage in the market supply of certain categories of worker) can have a powerful countervailing effect. Nonetheless, in the absence of such factors, the attitudes and practices of many NFP organisations appear closely aligned with the neoliberal outlook of other industries and sectors as revealed in previous research (Brown et al. 2004; Allen et al. 2013) and other sources of data (Graduate Careers Australia 2016: 21; Senate Select Committee on the Future of Work and Workers 2018: 17).¹⁶

¹⁶ A large-scale survey of graduate employers across Australia found that these employers valued industry-based experience and thought that prior work experience was the 'least impressive attribute' of recent graduates (Graduate Careers Australia 2016: 21). The Senate Select Committee on the Future of Work and

The focus of this thesis was on the degree to which NFP organisations influence or shape forms of work for entry-level graduates. The findings indicate that NFP organisations can, and have, played an active role in extending precarious forms of work by blurring the boundaries between paid and unpaid work and between formal on-the-job training and informal ‘experience’ acquisition or volunteering. This might be seen as evidence of some of the implications of a more general blurring of distinctions between the for-profit and NFP sectors as the latter has become more corporatised and increasingly subcontracts activities previously performed by the state. More importantly perhaps, the thesis provides evidence of the value of examining the interaction between organisations and forms of work if we are to understand contemporary labour markets and particularly the difficulties encountered by young job seekers.

Overall, in its empirical portrayal of the ways in which neoliberalism has conditioned NFP organisations into choosing employment practices that result in precarity for graduate entrants, this thesis highlights how future reform should focus more on the demand-side of the graduate labour market rather than the employability of the individual. This focus on the demand-side could include:

- (1) adequately resourcing the monitoring of unpaid workplace training, especially open market internships, and;
- (2) placing the onus on employers to contribute to the training of new entrants in the graduate labour market, including policy levers to encourage this approach.

It is likely that further research will be required to strengthen the argument for these reforms.

Future research

A number of issues require further investigation. Firstly, more research is needed into the potential labour market consequences of the outsourcing of services to the NFP sector and concomitant downsizing of the public sector. A substantial literature across numerous countries has revealed the downward effect on wages and working conditions caused by the governmental transfer of services from the public sector to the NFP sector under NPM (see, for example, Baines et al. 2014a: 436; Charlesworth et al. 2015: 598). What these studies do not specifically address is the impact on graduate entry-level work including pathways, training, and unpaid work. Traditionally, entry-level graduate intakes (for example, through graduate programs) in

Workers (2018: 17) additionally heard that ‘employers are so empowered to be selective about the level of experience they require, that even graduates find it difficult to gain positions advertised as “graduate”, as these often go to more experienced—and therefore overqualified—workers’.

the Australian public sector were not only large in scale but they also accepted a wide variety of degrees (including generalist degrees). Further research could look at the impact that government outsourcing of services to the NFP sector has had on the nature, structure and prevalence of graduate entry-level work.¹⁷

Secondly, more research is needed into the long-term outcomes of how graduates find their way into jobs in the NFP sector. For instance, to what extent does temporary or casual work represent a 'bridge' to more stable employment in the NFP sector or a 'trap' forestalling upward career mobility (Watson 2013; Kalleberg 2018: 81-82)? Similarly, do graduates who undertake administrative work that does not require the skills and knowledge acquired in their university studies typically move upwards? And how often do unpaid internships and volunteer positions lead to paid employment? In general, research on such long-term outcomes is scarce. For instance, there is 'limited existing evidence on the effectiveness of internships as an integration mechanism for young people into the world of work' (Higgins and Pinedo 2018: iii). This is of particular concern because the number of internships in rich countries is rising and they are now spreading to less well-off countries and demographics (Higgins and Pinedo 2018: 1).

Social implications

The social consequences of the spread of precarious work are profound. Kalleberg (2018: 3) writes:

'Precarious work has emerged as a serious challenge and a major concern in the contemporary world. It has widespread consequences not only for the quantity and quality of jobs, but also for many other outcomes, whether non-work individual (e.g., mental stress, poor physical health, uncertainty about educational choices), family (e.g., delayed entry into marriage and having children), or broader social (e.g., community disintegration and disinvestment)'.

The solution to precarious work is by no means straightforward. This thesis has concentrated on just one element that needed to be addressed in greater detail: the role of hiring organisations. In doing so, it has highlighted how external factors such as the expansion in the supply of

¹⁷ Comparable studies have found that the 'large-scale withdrawal of all levels of government from apprentice training' as a result of the outsourcing of government activities was a 'major contributor' to the significant reduction in apprentice intakes in Australia over the 1990s (Toner 2003: 472-473).

graduates, the dominance of neoliberal discourses, the implementation of NPM, and weak regulatory structures, all play a role in fostering graduate precarity. This is not to say that NFP organisations, particularly those that are large and well-resourced, do not have the capacity, and arguably, the ethical responsibility to reconsider management practices that institutionalise precarity. Such a reconsideration probably awaits a greater degree of public scrutiny of these practices, including research that builds a substantive evidence base, and this thesis, hopefully, offers a contribution to that process.

References

- Act for Peace (2017) 'Annual report' https://www.actforpeace.org.au/www_AFP/media/act-for-peace/media/Act-for-Peace-2017-annual-report.pdf, downloaded (11/8/2018).
- Allen, K., Quinn, J., Hollingworth, S. and Rose, A. (2012) 'Doing diversity and evading equality: The case of student work placements in the creative sector' in Taylor, Y. (ed.) *Educational diversity: The subject of difference and different subjects* Palgrave Macmillan: UK, 180-200.
- Allen, K., Quinn, J. and Hollingworth, S. (2013) 'Becoming employable students and "ideal" creative workers: Exclusion and inequality in higher education work placements' *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 34 (3): 431-452.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (2015) '5256.0 - Australian national accounts: Non-profit institutions satellite account, 2012-13' <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/5256.0Main+Features12012-13?OpenDocument>, accessed (6/09/2018).
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (2017) 'Healthcare and social assistance our largest industry' <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mediareleasesbyReleaseDate/B611DFF5E8590F8ACA2581BF001F743B?OpenDocument>, accessed (6/09/2018).
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (2018) '6333.0 - Characteristics of employment, Australia, August 2017' <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/6333.0>, accessed (23/09/2018).
- Australian Pro Bono Centre (2017) 'Annual report' https://www.probonocentre.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/APBC_AnnualReport_2017_FINAL.pdf, accessed (17/08/2018).
- Australian Red Cross (2017) 'Annual report' <https://www.redcross.org.au/getmedia/3c909381-1cb9-4343-a66f->

d3b9a65de01c/Red-Cross-Annual-Report-2016-2017.pdf.aspx, downloaded (10/8/2018).

- Baines, D. (2004) 'Caring for nothing: Work organization and unwaged labour in social services' *Work, Employment and Society* 18 (2): 267-295.
- Baines, D., Charlesworth, S., Cunningham, I., and Dassinger, J. (2012) 'Self-monitoring, self-blaming, self-sacrificing workers: Gendered managerialism in the non-profit sector' *Women's Studies International Forum* 35 (5): 362-371.
- Baines, D., Charlesworth, S., Turner, D. and O'Neill, L. (2014a) 'Lean social care and worker identity: The role of outcomes, supervision and mission' *Critical Social Policy* 34 (4): 433-453.
- Baines, D., Cunningham, I., Campey, J. and Shields, J. (2014b) 'Not profiting from precarity: The work of nonprofit service delivery and the creation of precariousness' 22: 74-93.
- Baines, D., Cunningham, I. and Shields, J. (2017) 'Filling the gaps: Unpaid (and precarious) work in the nonprofit social services' *Critical Social Policy* 37 (4): 625-645.
- Baker, S. and Edwards, R. (2012) 'How many qualitative interviews is enough?: Expert voices and early career reflections on sampling and cases in qualitative research' http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/2273/4/how_many_interviews.pdf, downloaded (25/04/2018).
- Baron, J. and Bielby, W. (1980) 'Bringing the firms back in: Stratification, segmentation, and the organization of work' *American Sociological Review* 45: 737-765.
- Bathmaker, A., Ingram, N. and Waller, R. (2013) 'Higher education, social class and the mobilisation of capitals: Recognising and playing the game' *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 34 (5-6): 723-743.
- Beck, U. (2008) *The brave new world of work* Polity Press: UK, USA.
- Berg, I. (1972) *Education and jobs: The great training robbery* Praeger Publishers: New York, London.

- Bills, D. (2003) 'Credentials, signals and screens: Explaining the relationship between schooling and job assignment' *Review of Educational Research* 73 (4): 441-469.
- Bills, D., Di Stasio, V. and Gerxhani, K. (2017) 'The demand side of hiring: Employers in the labour market' *Annual Review of Sociology* 43: 291-310.
- Bourdieu, P. (1973) 'Cultural reproduction and social reproduction' in Brown, R. (ed.) *Knowledge, education, and cultural change: Papers in the sociology of education* Tavistock Publications, 56-68.
- Bratton, J. and Gold, J. (2015) 'Towards critical human resource management education (CHRME): A sociological imagination approach' *Work, Employment and Society* 29 (3): 496-507.
- Briggs, C., Meagher, G. and Healy, K. (2007) 'Becoming an industry: The struggle of social and community workers for award coverage, 1976-2001' *Journal of Industrial Relations* 49 (4): 497-521.
- Brotherhood of St Laurence (2017) 'Reality bites: Australia's youth unemployment in a millennial era'
http://library.bsl.org.au/jspui/bitstream/1/10341/1/BSL_Reality_bites_Australias_youth_unemployment_Dec2017.pdf, downloaded (8/8/2018).
- Brown, P., Hesketh, A. and Williams, S. (2004) *The mismanagement of talent: Employability and jobs in the knowledge economy* Oxford Scholarship Online.
- Brown, T. (2006) 'From union inspired to industry led: How Australian labour's training reform experiment turned sour' *Journal of Industrial Relations* 48 (4): 491-505.
- Brynin, M. (2013) 'Individual choice and risk: The case of higher education' *Sociology* 47 (2): 284-300.
- Burke, C. (2017) "'Graduate blues": Considering the effects of inverted symbolic violence on underemployed middle class graduates' *Sociology* 51 (2): 393-409.

- Butler, S. (2018) 'Initiative to crack down on unpaid internships launched in UK'
<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/feb/08/initiative-to-crack-down-on-unpaid-internships-launched-in-uk>, accessed (6/09/2018).
- Centeno, M. and Cohen, J. (2012) 'The arc of neoliberalism' *Annual Review of Sociology* 38: 317-340.
- Charlesworth, S., Baines, D. and Cunningham, I. (2015) "If I had a family, there is no way that I could afford to work here": Juggling paid and unpaid care work in social services' *Gender, Work and Organization* 22 (6): 596-613.
- Christie, F. (2008) 'Career pathways for graduates into the voluntary/community sector'
https://www.hecsu.ac.uk/assets/assets/documents/PROP_Career_pathways.pdf,
 downloaded (3/04/2018).
- Collins, R. (1979) *The credential society: An historical sociology of education and stratification* Academic Press: Sydney.
- Community Council for Australia (2016) 'Submission to the Productivity Commission: Inquiry into introducing competition and informed user choice into human services'
https://www.pc.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0006/204882/sub193-human-services-identifying-reform.pdf, downloaded (6/11/2017).
- Connell, R., Fawcett, B. and Meagher, G. (2009) 'Neoliberalism, new public management and the human service professions' *Journal of Sociology* 45 (4): 331-338.
- Considine, M. (2003) 'Governance and competition: The role of non-profit organisations in the delivery of public services' *Australian Journal of Political Science* 38 (1): 63-77.
- Cortis, N., Young, A., Powell, A., Reeve, R., Simnett, R., Ho, K. and Ramia, I. (2016) 'Australian charities report 2015' <http://australiancharities.acnc.gov.au/download/>,
 downloaded (23/10/2017).
- Creswell, J. and Clark, V. (2011) *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* Sage Publications.

- Crouch, M. and McKenzie, H. (2006) 'The logic of small samples in interview-based qualitative research' *Social Science Information* 45 (4): 483-499.
- Cunningham, I., Baines, D. and Charlesworth, S. (2014) 'Government funding, employment conditions, and work organisation in non-profit community services: A comparative study' *Public Administration* 92 (3): 582-598.
- Department of Education and Training (2015) 'Higher education in Australia: A review of reviews from Dawkins to today'
https://docs.education.gov.au/system/files/doc/other/higher_education_in_australia_-_a_review_of_reviews.pdf, downloaded (7/11/2017).
- Department of Employment (2017a) 'ANZSCO 2544: Registered nurses'
<https://www.jobs.gov.au/skillshortages>, downloaded (22/08/2018).
- Department of Employment (2017b) 'ANZSCO 2713-11: Solicitors'
<https://www.jobs.gov.au/skillshortages>, downloaded (22/08/2018).
- Department of Employment (2017c) 'Skill shortage research methodology'
<https://www.jobs.gov.au/skillshortages>, downloaded (22/08/2018).
- Department of Jobs and Small Business (2018a) 'ANZSCO 2211-11,12,13: Accountants'
<https://www.jobs.gov.au/skillshortages>, downloaded (22/08/2018).
- Department of Jobs and Small Business (2018b) 'ANZSCO 2524-11: Occupational therapist'
<https://www.jobs.gov.au/skillshortages>, downloaded (22/08/2018).
- Department of Jobs and Small Business (2018c) 'ANZSCO 2525-11: Physiotherapist'
<https://www.jobs.gov.au/skillshortages>, downloaded (22/08/2018).
- Diefenbach, T. (2009) 'Are case studies more than sophisticated storytelling?: Methodological problems of qualitative empirical research mainly based on semi-structured interviews' *Quality & Quantity* 43: 875-894.
- DiMaggio, P. (1979) 'Review essay: On Pierre Bourdieu' *American Journal of Sociology* 84 (6): 1460-1474.

- EthicalJobs.com.au (2016) 'Advertising vacancies on EthicalJobs.com.au'
<http://www.ethicaljobs.com.au/files/Rates.pdf>, downloaded (3/10/2017).
- Ewer, P. (2000) 'Trade unions and vocational education and training: Questions of strategy and identity' *Labour & Industry* 10 (3): 37-56.
- Fair Work Ombudsman 'Social & community services industry pay rates'
<https://www.fairwork.gov.au/pay/minimum-wages/social-and-community-services-industry-pay-rates>, page reference 1599, accessed (23/09/2018).
- Fair Work Ombudsman 'Unpaid work' <https://www.fairwork.gov.au/how-we-will-help/templates-and-guides/fact-sheets/unpaid-work/unpaid-work#volunteering>, page reference 2425, accessed (9/09/2018).
- Fair Work Ombudsman 'Work experience & internships'
<http://www.fairwork.gov.au/pay/unpaid-work/work-experience-and-internships>, page reference 1777, accessed (10/8/2018).
- Fair Work Ombudsman (2018a) '\$200,000 penalty for sushi store's unlawful internship rip-off of young foreign workers' <https://www.fairwork.gov.au/about-us/news-and-media-releases/2018-media-releases/january-2018/20180124-kjoo-mr>, accessed (7/09/2018).
- Fair Work Ombudsman (2018b) 'New minimum wage takes effect from Sunday'
<https://www.fairwork.gov.au/about-us/news-and-media-releases/2018-media-releases/june-2018/20180628-annual-wage-review-2018>, accessed (23/09/2018).
- Fawcett, B. and Hanlon, M. (2009) 'The "return to community": Challenges to human service professionals' *Journal of Sociology* 45 (4): 433-444.
- Fligstein, N. and Dauter, L. (2007) 'The sociology of markets' *Annual Review of Sociology* 33: 105-128.
- Frenette, A. (2013) 'Making the intern economy: Role and career challenges of the music industry intern' *Work and Occupations* 40 (4): 364-397.

- Froschauer, U. and Lueger, M. (2009) 'Expert interviews in interpretive organizational research' in Bogner, A., Littig, B. and Menz, W. (eds.) *Interviewing experts* Palgrave Macmillan: UK, pp. 217-234.
- Garland, D. and Darcy, M. (2009) "'Working together?': The Salvation Army and the job network' *Organization* 16 (5): 755-774.
- Glucksmann, M. (2005) 'Shifting boundaries and interconnections: Extending the "total social organisation of labour"' in Pettinger, L., Parry, J., Taylor, R. and Glucksmann, M. (eds.) *A new sociology of work?* Blackwell: Victoria, pp. 19-36.
- Glucksmann, M. (2009) 'Formations, connections and divisions of labour' *Sociology* 43 (5): 878-895.
- Graduate Careers Australia (2016) 'The report of the 2015 graduate outlook survey: Perspectives on graduate recruitment' <http://www.graduatecareers.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Graduate-Outlook-Report-2015-FINAL1.pdf>, downloaded (2/04/2018).
- Grant-Smith, D. and McDonald, P. (2018) 'Ubiquitous yet ambiguous: An integrative review of unpaid work' *International Journal of Management Review* 20: 559-578.
- Halford, S. and Strangleman, T. (2009) 'In search of the sociology of work: Past, present and future' *Sociology* 43 (5): 811-828.
- Halford, S., Leonard, P. and Bruce, K. (2015) 'Geographies of labour in the third sector: Making hybrid workforces in place' *Environment and Planning* 47: 2355-2372.
- Handley, K. (2018) 'Anticipatory socialization and the construction of the employable graduate: A critical analysis of employers' graduate careers websites' *Work, Employment and Society* 32 (2): 239-256.
- Healy, K. (2009) 'A case of mistaken identity: The social welfare professions and new public management' *Journal of Sociology* 45 (4): 401-418.

- Healy, K. and Lonne, B. (2010) *The social work and human services workforce: Report from a national study of education, training and workforce needs* Australian Learning and Teaching Council: Strawberry Hills, NSW.
- Higgins, N. and Pinedo, L. (2018) 'Interns and outcomes: Just how effective are internships as a bridge to stable employment?'
https://www.ilo.org/employment/Whatwedo/Publications/working-papers/WCMS_637362/lang--en/index.htm, downloaded (17/08/2018).
- Hsieh, H. and Shannon, S. (2005) 'Three approaches to qualitative content analysis' *Qualitative Health Research* 15 (9): 1277-1288.
- Intern Aware and Unite the Union (2013) 'Interns in the voluntary sector: Time to end exploitation'
<http://www.unitetheunion.org/uploaded/documents/UniteInternAware11-10685.pdf>, downloaded (6/04/2018).
- Jackson, M. (2007) 'How far merit selection? Social stratification and the labour market' *The British Journal of Sociology* 58 (3): 367-390.
- Jacobson, J. and Shade, L. (2018) 'Stringtern: Springboarding or stringing along young interns' careers?' *Journal of Education and Work* 31 (3): 320-337.
- James, S., Warhurst, C., Tholen, G. and Commander, J. (2013) 'What we know and what we need to know about graduate skills' *Work, Employment and Society* 27 (6): 952-963.
- Kalleberg, A. (2009) 'Precarious work, insecure workers: Employment relations in transition' *American Sociological Review* 74: 1-22.
- Kalleberg, A. (2013) *Good jobs, bad jobs: The rise of polarised and precarious employment systems in the United States, 1970s to 2000s* Russel Sage Foundation: New York.
- Kalleberg, A. (2018) *Precarious lives: Job insecurity and well-being in rich democracies* Polity Press: UK, USA.

- Klein, M. (2016) 'Educational expansion, occupational closure and the relation between educational attainment and occupational prestige over time' *Sociology* 50 (1): 3-23.
- Kosny, A. and MacEachen, E. (2010) 'Gendered, invisible work in non-profit social service organisations: Implications for worker health and safety' *Gender, Work and Organization* 17 (4): 359-380.
- Kristensen, G. and Ravn, M. (2015) 'The voices heard and the voices silenced: Recruitment processes in qualitative interview studies' *Qualitative Research* 15 (6): 722-737.
- Lamont, M. and Swidler, A. (2014) 'Methodological pluralism and the possibilities and limits of interviewing' *Qualitative Sociology* 37 (2): 153-171.
- Legislative Council (2015) 'Registered nurses in New South Wales nursing homes' <https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/lcdocs/inquiries/2275/Report%2032%20-%20Registered%20nurses%20in%20New%20South%20Wales%20n.pdf>, accessed (23/09/2018).
- Leonard, P., Halford, S. and Bruce, K. (2016) 'The new degree? Constructing internships in the third sector' *Sociology* 50 (2): 383-399.
- Littig, B. (2009) 'Interviewing the elite – Interviewing experts: Is there a difference?' in Bogner, A., Littig, B. and Menz, W. (eds.) *Interviewing experts* Palgrave Macmillan: UK, pp. 98-113.
- Magnusson, E. and Marecek, J. (2015) *Doing interview-based qualitative research: A learner's guide* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Neckerman, K. and Torche, F. (2007) 'Inequality: Causes and consequences' *Annual Review of Sociology* 33: 335-357.
- O'Conner, H. and Bodicoat, M. (2017) 'Exploitation or opportunity? Student perceptions of internships in enhancing employability skills' *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 38 (4): 435-449.

- Oliver, D., McDonald, P., Stewart, A. and Hewitt, A. (2016) 'Unpaid work experience in Australia: Prevalence, nature and impact'
https://docs.employment.gov.au/system/files/doc/other/unpaid_work_experience_report_-_december_2016.pdf, downloaded (6/11/2017).
- Owens, R. and Stewart, A. (2016) 'Regulating for decent work experience: Meeting the challenge of the rise of the intern' *International Labour Review* 155 (4): 679-709.
- Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, House of Representatives Standing Committee on Family and Community Affairs (1998) 'What price competition?: A report on the competitive tendering of welfare service delivery', accessed (6/11/2017).
- Payne, G. and Williams, M. (2005) 'Generalization in qualitative research' *Sociology* 39 (2): 295-314.
- Pearson, R. (2006) 'The demise of the graduate labour market' in McNay, I. (ed.) *Beyond mass higher education: Building on experience* Open University Press: England, pp. 68-78.
- Pettigrew, R. and Duncan, K. (2017) 'Poking a sleeping bear: The challenge of organizational recruitment for controversial topics' *Community, Work & Family* 20 (1): 35-49.
- Powell, A., Cortis, N., Ramia, I., and Marjolin, A. (2017) 'Australian charities report 2016'
<http://australiancharities.acnc.gov.au/download/> (19/08/2018).
- Productivity Commission (2010) 'Contribution of the not-for-profit sector'
<https://www.pc.gov.au/inquiries/completed/not-for-profit/report/not-for-profit-report.pdf>, downloaded (6/11/2017).
- Productivity Commission (2017) 'Shifting the dial: 5 year productivity review'
<https://www.pc.gov.au/inquiries/completed/productivity-review/report/productivity-review.pdf>, downloaded (25/10/2017).
- Quality Indicators for Learning and Teaching (2018) '2017 graduate outcomes survey: National report' https://www.qilt.edu.au/docs/default-source/gos-reports/2017/2017_gos_national_report_final_accessiblea45d8791b1e86477b58fff00006709da.pdf?sfvrsn=ceb5e33c_4, downloaded (6/04/2018).

- Rivera, L. (2011) 'Ivies, extracurriculars, and exclusion: Elite employer's use of educational credentials' *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 29: 71-90.
- Schram, S. (2015) *The return of ordinary capitalism: Neoliberalism, precarity, occupy* Oxford University Press: New York.
- Schreier, M. (2013) 'Qualitative content analysis' in Flick, U. (ed.) *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis* SAGE Publications, pp. 170-183.
- Scott, W. (2004) 'Reflections on a half-century of organisational sociology' *Annual Review of Sociology* 30: 1-21.
- Senate Select Committee on the Future of Work and Workers (2018) 'Hope is not a strategy – Our shared responsibility for the future of work and workers'
https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Future_of_Work_and_Workers/FutureofWork/Report, downloaded 3/10/2018.
- Shade, L. and Jacobson, J. (2015) 'Hungry for the job: Gender, unpaid internships, and the creative industries' *The Sociological Review* 63 (1): 188-205.
- Siebert, S. and Wilson, F. (2013) 'All work and no pay: Consequences of unpaid work in the creative industries' *Work, Employment and Society* 27 (4): 711-721.
- Small, M. (2011) 'How to conduct a mixed methods study: Recent trends in a rapidly growing literature' *Annual Review of Sociology* 37: 57-86.
- Stainback, K., Tomaskovic-Devey, D. and Skaggs, S. (2010) 'Organizational approaches to inequality: Inertia, relative power, and environments' *Annual Review of Sociology* 36: 225-247.
- Stewart, A. and Owens, R. (2013) 'Experience or exploitation?: The nature, prevalence and regulation of unpaid work experience, internships and trial periods in Australia'
<https://www.fairwork.gov.au/ArticleDocuments/763/UW-complete-report.pdf.aspx>, downloaded (29/9/2017).

- Stewart, A., Owens, R., Hewitt, A., and Nikoloudakis, I. (2018) 'The regulation of internships: A comparative study' http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/documents/publication/wcms_629777.pdf, downloaded (17/07/2018).
- Sukarieh, M. and Tannock, S. (2017) 'The education penalty: Schooling, learning and the diminishment of wages, working conditions and worker power' *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 38 (3): 245-264.
- Swedberg, R. (2011) 'The economic sociologies of Pierre Bourdieu' *Cultural Sociology* 5 (1): 67-82.
- Taylor, R. (2004) 'Extending conceptual boundaries: Work, voluntary work and employment' *Work, Employment and Society* 18 (1): 29-49.
- Tholen, G. (2012) 'The social construction of competition for graduate jobs: A comparison between Great Britain and the Netherlands' *Sociology* 47 (2): 267-283.
- Tholen, G., Brown, P., Power, S. and Allouch, A. (2013) 'The role of networks and connections in educational elites' labour market entrance' *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 34: 142-154.
- Tholen, G. (2013) 'We need to talk about graduates: The changing nature of the UK graduate labour market' <http://www.skope.ox.ac.uk/?person=we-need-to-talk-about-graduates-the-changing-nature-of-the-uk-graduate-labour-market>, downloaded (17/03/2018).
- Tholen, G., Relly, S., Warhurst, C. and Commander, J. (2016) 'Higher education, graduate skills and the skills of graduates: The case of graduates as residential sales estate agents' *British Educational Research Journal* 42 (3): 508-523.
- Tholen, G. (2017) 'Symbolic closure: Towards a renewed sociological perspective on the relationship between higher education, credentials and the graduate labour market' *Sociology* 51 (5): 1067-1083.

- Tomlinson, M. (2008) “‘The degree is not enough’: Students’ perceptions of the role of higher education credentials for graduate work and employability’ *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 29 (1): 49-61.
- Toner, P. (2003) ‘Supply-side and demand-side explanations of declining apprentice training rates: A critical overview’ *The Journal of Industrial Relations* 45 (4): 457-484.
- Turner, S., Cardinal, L. and Burton, R. (2017) ‘Research design for mixed methods: A triangulation-based framework and roadmap’ *Organizational Research Methods* 20 (2): 243-267.
- Tweedie, B. and Ting, I. (2018) ‘How working for free went mainstream’
<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-05-03/what-job-ads-reveal-about-the-rising-internship-culture/9713918>, accessed (25/06/2018).
- Vallas, S. and Prener, C. (2012) ‘Dualism, job polarisation, and the social construction of precarious work’ *Work and Occupations* 39 (4): 331-353.
- Watson, I. (2013) ‘Bridges or traps? Casualisation and labour market transitions in Australia’ *Journal of Industrial Relations* 55 (1): 6-37.
- Watson, T. (2009) ‘Work and the sociological imagination: The need for continuity and change in the study of continuity and change’ *Sociology* 43 (5): 861-877.
- Webster, E., Lambert, R. and Bezuidenhout, A. (2008) *Grounding globalisation: Labour in the age of insecurity* Blackwell Publishing: USA, UK, Australia.
- Weghman, V. (2015) ‘Exploited for a good cause? Campaigning against unpaid internships in the UK charity sector’ *tripleC* 13 (2): 599-602.
- Wilson, S. and Ebert, N. (2013) ‘Precarious work: Economic, sociological and political perspectives’ *The Economic and Labour Relations Review* 24 (3): 263-278.
- Wilton, N. (2011) ‘Do employability skills really matter in the UK graduate labour market? The case of business and management graduates’ *Work, Employment and Society* 25 (1): 85-100.

WWF-Australia (2017) 'Annual report' <http://www.wwf.org.au/ArticleDocuments/362/pub-annual-report-2017-22nov17.pdf.aspx?Embed=Y>, downloaded (11/8/2018).

Appendix: Final Ethics Approval

Ethics Application Ref: (5201800072) - Final Approval

Dear Professor Meagher,

Re: ('Graduate Pathways into the Australian Not-For-Profit Sector.')

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Faculty of Arts Human Research Ethics Committee.

Approval of the above application has been granted, effective (28/02/2018).

This email constitutes ethical approval only.

If you intend to conduct research out of Australia you may require extra insurance and/or local ethics approval. Please contact Maggie Feng, Tax and Insurance Officer from OFS Business Services, on x1683 to advise further.

This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site:

http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

Ms Eleanor Faine Quinlan

Professor Gabrielle Meagher

NB. STUDENTS: IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP A COPY OF THIS APPROVAL

EMAIL TO SUBMIT WITH YOUR THESIS.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).
2. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports.

Progress Report 1 Due: 28th February 2019

Progress Report 2 Due: 28th February 2020

Progress Report 3 Due: 28th February 2021

Progress Report 4 Due: 28th February 2022

Final Report Due: 28th February 2023

NB: If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:

<https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-ethics/resources>

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).
4. All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:

<https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-ethics/resources>

[hics/resources](#)

5. Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University.

This information is available at the following websites:

<https://staff.mq.edu.au/work/strategy-planning-and-governance/university-policies-and-procedures/policy-central>

<https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-et-hics/resources/research-ethics>

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have approval, please do not hesitate to contact the Faculty of Arts Research Office at ArtsRO@mq.edu.au

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of ethics approval.

Yours sincerely

Dr Mianna Lotz

Chair, Faculty of Arts Human Research Ethics Committee