Unemployed Female Refugees in a Position of Perpetual Crisis: Social Enterprise and the Indifferent State

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As I have said, the first thing is to be honest with yourself. You can never have an impact on society if you have not changed yourself.

Nelson Mandela

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Abstract

Female refugees have been consistently overrepresented in Australia's unemployment statistics for the last 30 years. This thesis analyses the reasons and dynamics underlying this labour market inequality. A particular interest lies in the role of the state in conjunction with the social enterprise in dealing with this inequality. As a result of the neoliberal inspired dynamics between the state and the social enterprise, I argue that female refugees are suspended in what I describe as a 'position of perpetual crisis'.

Social enterprises have grown in number in advanced democratic capitalist nations such as Australia as a consequence of neoliberal reform over the last 30 years. More recently, there has been an increasing focus by social enterprises on the problem of unemployment for refugees.

Just how successful these social enterprises are with getting female refugees gainfully employed is, despite a significant body of research, unclear. This uncertainty is attributed to the recency of social enterprises as a possible solution to unemployment. This includes among other things, the absence of a conceptual framework to measure the effect of social enterprises on gainful employment. Based on qualitative research, this thesis addresses precisely this issue by asking: *What role in the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) does the nonprofit social enterprise play in getting unemployed female refugees gainfully employed?*

In order to find possible answers to this question, this thesis draws on theoretical notions of power to explain the relations between female refugees, the state, and the social enterprise. By bringing together the perspectives of unemployed female refugees and the perspectives of employees of the nonprofit social enterprise with which the participants are affiliated, this thesis offers an empirical lens with which it reveals the relations of power that reproduce rather than reduce inequality and constrain the employment opportunities of female refugees.

Emerging from the empirical data is my argument that female refugees are kept in what I describe as a 'position of perpetual crisis'. What defines this position, among other things, is the ongoing commodification of refugees' vulnerability, which is collectively imposed by structures under the AFS, inclusive of the state and the social enterprise. Based on the findings, this vulnerability manifests as restricted access to the fundamental means of integration such as employment, education, and housing. The risk of poverty and homelessness therefore loom large. Moreover, what the data shows is that the nonprofit social enterprise, in its attempt to solve the crisis, contributes to it as it tries to make a difference within a quasi-marketplace instituted by the state. The neoliberal reforms implemented by the state addressing social issues with market solutions, also sustains rather than solves the position of perpetual crisis and results in further discrimination and exploitation of female refugees.

Based on my findings, I argue that the role of the social enterprise is symptomatic of a state that, implementing market solutions to social problems, can be said to be indifferent to the employment crisis of female refugees. As a consequence, the situation of female refugees worsens as they remain vulnerable to the competitive forces of the market, therefore open to ongoing exploitation.

Keywords: refugee women, social enterprise, position of perpetual crisis, indifferent state, unemployment, intersectionality

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.

This work used the services of professional editor Pam Firth, in accordance with the guidelines for editing research theses as outlined by the Institute of Professional Editors.

This research was granted approval by the Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee, under the following reference number: 5201300811 (refer Appendix 17)

(Signed) _____ Date: 14/09/2019

Desireé Gaillard

Dedication

for the children

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The undertaking of my studies has only been possible through the generosity of many people. I am deeply thankful for this privilege and for the tremendous support received over the years.

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List of Acronyms

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACMID	Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset
ACNC	Australian Charities and Not-for-profits Commission
AFS	Australian Framework of Support
AYA	Australian of the Year Award
ALM	Australian Labour Market
APLMP	Australian Primary Labour Market Program
ARC	Australian Red Cross
ATO	Australian Taxation Office
AHP	Australia's Humanitarian Program
BoD	board of directors
CEO	chief executive officer
DGR	deductible gift recipient
DE	Department of Employment
DEEWR	Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations[1]
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DHS	Department of Human Services
DIBP	Department of Immigration and Border Protection
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship

[1] On 18 September 2013 the Department of Education and the Department of Employment were created out of the former Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DE, 2015, p. 132).

DJSB	Department of Jobs and Small Business[2]
DSS	Department of Social Services
GFC	global financial crisis
JA	Jobs Australia
JSP	Job Services Provider
MRC	Migrant Resource Centre
NP-A	Nonprofit Organisation-A
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PBI	Public Benevolent Institution
PC	Productivity Commission
RCOA	Refugee Council of Australia
RTO	Registered Training Organisation
RSO	Resettlement Service Organisations
SE-A	Social Enterprise-A
SEDIF	Social Enterprise Development and Investment Funds
SEM	social enterprise manager
SHP	Special Humanitarian Program visa
SSI	Settlement Services International
SVA	Social Ventures Australia

[2] On 20 December 2017 the Department of Employment was renamed to the Department of Jobs and Small Business (DJSB, 2018a, p. 3).

TAFE	Technical and Further Education
TIS	Translating and Interpreting Service
UNHCR	United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees
US	United States
VET	Vocational Education and Training

PART 1:

EXAMINING THE DYNAMICS BETWEEN FEMALE REFUGEES, SOCIAL ENTERPRISE AND THE STATE

Chapter 1:

Persistent Tensions of Migration and Inequality in the Employment Status of Female Refugees

Australia is a time-honoured land of diverse cultures. With a 'deep history' (McGrath & Jebb, 2015, p. 65) that dates back 60,000 years, the first peoples of this ancient land (the First Nations people) are estimated to have had as many as 500 nations and over 250 distinct languages (Walter & Andersen, 2013, p. 38). This diversity has broadened over time as migrants from over 200 countries have come to settle on this land (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2017b; Department of Immigration and Border Protection [DIBP], 2015). With a population of around 25 million (ABS, 2018a, p. 5), Australia's increased diversity is, more recently, a consequence of its immigration policy. Since the 1940s, this policy has resulted in Australia granting over seven million visas for permanent settlement by 2014 (DIBP, 2015). The effects of this diversity have meant that since 2016, almost half of all Australians (49%) are either born overseas or have at least one parent born oversees (ABS, 2017a, p. 2).

Australia's immigration program, which is targeted and controlled, broadly has two distinct objectives: an economic and a humanitarian. The first objective selects migrants based on their potential to contribute to the economic growth and development of Australia, and the second aids people in need of humanitarian support (Department of Home Affairs [DHA], 2017; DIBP, 2017b; J. Phillips & Klapdor, 2010). Based on these broad objectives, three main categories of visas are allocated for permanent settlement: the 'skilled migration stream' for economic migrants; the 'family migration stream', mainly reserved for the family members of Australian residents and skilled migrants; and the 'humanitarian migration stream', which fulfils Australia's global commitments to people seeking protection against human rights violations within their home country. *This study is concerned with those migrants who are part of the humanitarian (or refugee) migration stream, in particular female refugees.*

The category of 'female refugee' (or 'refugee women') refers to people that have experienced the effects of forced migration. Therefore, female refugees have unique knowledge of the processes of migration and resettlement. What I explain later in this thesis as a result of these processes, as *the position of perpetual crisis,* is the compounding effect of a set of complex relationships and processes that converge to reinforce and reproduce multiple forms of discrimination (such as gender and race bias) across multiple structural layers (such as unemployment, the housing market, the labour market, and the Australian Framework of Support which is explained further on in Section 1.3). Later in the thesis, that is through my data and analysis chapters, I provide an in-depth explanation of how the position of perpetual crisis works for refugee women. For now, the following is a working definition: *the position perpetual crisis is the intersection where structured relationships of support reproduce the discrimination and exploitation of refugee women that are in a struggle for gainful employment.*

While knowledge of how the multiple forms of discrimination (based on gender, race or class) were experienced by the participants is an important part of this study, it is how and why these discriminatory processes converge that is the most significant contribution to explaining the position of perpetual crisis of this thesis. To explain this effect, this study draws on the lives of three refugee women, namely Mary, Agnes and Erika (pseudonyms), who were all Australian citizens and had been living in Australia for over 10 years at the time of being interviewed. Each of the women were between the ages of 35 to 44 years and had primary responsibility for the care of their children. All of the women had suffered the effects of forced migration which had consequently limited their education and work opportunities. This study outlines the position from which the women have come and examines the relationships that are significant on account of influencing the women's search for gainful employment. One such relationship that Mary, Agnes and Erika have in their struggle for gainful employment, was with a non-profit organisation called the NP-A (pseudonym) which had been in operation for over 25 years in Western Sydney and provided services and support to marginalised members of the community, in particular the long-

term unemployed. By drawing on the experiences of the three women, as well as that of four staff members of the NP-A, the thesis presents a case study which provides an in-depth account of the dynamics between the refugee women and their struggle for gainful employment, inclusive of the NP-A and its social enterprise, the SE-A (pseudonym).

Later in the thesis (section 1.3 and 2.3) I discuss the contention with the notion of social enterprise and provide a working definition for the thesis. For now, the social enterprise[3] may broadly be understood as an organisational structure that undertakes trading activities to fulfil its mission of creating either a public or community benefit (Barraket, Collyer, O'Connor, & Anderson, 2010, p. 16), in this case employment for unemployed female refugees.

It is acknowledged by the Australian government that all people of humanitarian, or refugee, background are coming from positions of forced migration and therefore, are seeking protection and need support to resettle in Australia (DIBP, 2017b, 2017c). Consequently, this thesis makes no distinction between the term's humanitarian and refugee, which are used interchangeably.

1.1 Modern Australia: General History of Migration and Immigration Policy

To properly contextualise the contemporary situation of unemployed female refugees, it is important to understand the history of migration and immigration policy in Australia. The purpose of this section is to provide this kind of history before delving deeper into my specific topic of unemployed female refugees in contemporary Australia. History offers some way of knowing what events happened before, more specifically it offers some indication of the issues that have prevailed and what tensions may persist.

Australia's modern migration history had a vicious and brutal start (Lydon, 2010, pp. 238-239; Moses, 2004) as this history saw the first significant cohort of migrants—British

[3] The term 'the social enterprise' is used to draw emphasis to the structure, in the singular. Alternatively, the term 'social enterprises' is used to draw broader emphasis to the social enterprise, in the plural. Lastly, the term, 'social enterprise' is used to draw emphasis to the broader all-encompassing context of the concept, structural forms and practices.

colonialists—interrupt this land's indigenous diversity through a cruel system of governance that implemented racist policies and led to the destruction and marginalisation of ancient cultures (Broome, 2010; Davis & Williams, 2015, pp. 7-11). The First Nations people were denied ownership of their land on the British claim of 'terra nullius'; that is, land belonging to no-one (Moreton-Robinson, 1998, p. 11). This system of governance, a blatant disregard for the sovereignty of the First Nations, was established by superimposing a system of governance that claimed sovereignty through excluding the First Nations people and relegating them to a subhuman status (Davis & Williams, 2015; Knafla & Westra, 2011; Russell & McNiven, 1998). Furthermore, the custodial relationship of the First Nations people to 'country' (the land) was violated as the colonisers dominated with an exploitative relationship to the land (Broome, 2010, pp. 23,32). Under the colonisers, racism, which is 'an exclusionary practice and ideology that essentializes and valorizes phenotypical and cultural differences to defend and advance the privileges of its users' (Fox, 2013, p. 1872) went hand in glove with exploitation of both people and land, or more precisely, the exploitation of a distinct ontological existence of an ancient peoples belonging to 'country' (Moreton-Robinson, 2003, pp. 35-36).

Argued as being founded on illegitimate notions of white supremacy (Moreton-Robinson, 2003), modern Australia cemented its colonial past through policies of exclusion that saw one of the first laws passed in the Australian Federal Parliament in 1901—the 'white Australia policy'—further entrench systemic racism and exploitation of migrant labour (S. Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2014, p. 92; Jupp, 2002, p. 7). It has been argued that Australia's immigration policy was controlled for well over 150 years under the guidance of three fundamental pillars: 'the maintenance of British hegemony and "white" domination; the strengthening of Australia economically and militarily by selective mass migration; and the state control of these processes' (Jupp, 2002, p. 6). While Australia elevated its economic objective through dismantling the white Australia policy in 1973 (S. Castles et al., 2014, p. 166), racism has remained an ongoing process in Australia (Vasta, 1993; Vasta & Castles, 1996). Both the *Uluru Statement from the Heart* (First

Sovereign Nations of Australia [FSNA], 2017) and the Prime Minister's report on *Closing the Gap* (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet [DPMC], 2018) have been argued as an indication of the persistent tensions of racism that continue to undermine and disadvantage the First Nations people (Oscar, 2018). Again, racism is also argued as particularly pervasive within the institutional framework of Australia's immigration and resettlement program for humanitarian entrants (Losoncz, 2017a), a topic of discussion in Section 2.1.2.

Notwithstanding this brutal start and these persistent tensions, Australia became a 'nation of immigrants' (G. P. Freeman & Jupp, 1992). This immigration history has for well over 70 years included the resettlement of refugees from many diverse areas, including, but not limited to, Afghanistan, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Burma (Myanmar), Burundi, Cambodia, Chile, Congo, Croatia, Czech Republic, East Timor, El Salvador, Eritrea, Estonia, Ethiopia, Germany, Hungary, Iran, Iraq, Laos, Latvia, Lebanon, Liberia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Sierra Leone, Slovakia, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Ukraine, Vietnam (DIBP, 2015; 2017b, 2017e; Hugo et al., 2011; Jupp, 2002; Rutland, 2005).

While Australia has had a long and diverse migration history, which includes government-funded programs to assist with the resettlement of refugees and labour market programs to support disadvantaged job seekers with finding work (Department of Employment [DE], 2015; Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations [DEEWR], 2008), refugees remain consistently overrepresented in unemployment statistics (points of discussion in Section 1.2 and 2.1.3). Furthermore, there has been a noticeable increase in organisations described as social enterprises which are taking on this problem of unemployment. Given the discrepancy between the support programs and employment outcomes for refugees, as well as the emergence of social enterprises in the employment of refugees, the question of this research was: *What role in the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) does the nonprofit social enterprise play in getting unemployed female refugees gainfully employed?* Put differently, the question asked what are the

structures of power, including the state, that uphold unemployment of female refugees, and what is the significance of the social enterprise to these relations of power?

The details and effects of these programs, in particular Australia's Humanitarian Program (AHP) and what I have referred to as Australia's primary labour market program (APLMP), are the focus of further discussion in the literature review of Chapter 2 and the findings in Chapters 5 and 6. The social enterprise and its effects are discussed in Section 1.3 below, in Chapter 2 as well as the findings in Chapter 7. The remaining sections of this chapter provide more detail to above mentioned research questions. For now, I turn to the issue of consistent overrepresentation of unemployed female refugees to provide an indication of the extent of this problem in contemporary Australia.

1.2 Contemporary Australia: Consistent Overrepresentation of Unemployed Female Refugees in the Labour Market

For the last 30 years, government reports and academic studies, which have drawn on survey data and statistical data from the ABS and the former DIBP, have raised the issue of overrepresentation of refugees in unemployment (ABS, 2018c; DIAC, 2011; Hugo et al., 2011; Wooden, 1991). The most recent statistics from the Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset (ACMID), which combines census data from the ABS with immigration data from the former DIBP, reflects this ongoing issue, both in the current dataset release of 2016 as well as the former release of 2011.

For example, the ACMID, based on the most recent census data of 2016, shows that for those migrants with permanent visa status that arrived between 1 January 2000 and 9 August 2016 (census night), of the humanitarian entrants that were in the labour force, at least 20.3% were unemployed (Appendix 1). This figure was nearly twice that of the family stream with 10.2% unemployed, and almost three times that of the skilled migration stream with 6.7% unemployed. Based on the ABS, the national unemployment rates for the general Australian population were lower at 5.7% for the August period of 2016 (ABS, 2016b).

While data from the 2011 ACMID are not directly comparable with the 2016 dataset given the complexity associated with the linkage process (ABS, 2018e), a similar pattern is noticed within the 2011 dataset itself. For the 2011 ACMID, which is for the period 1 January 2000 to 9 August 2011, for those in the labour force, the following are the unemployment results for the respective visa categories: 21.5% for humanitarian, 10.4% for family, and 6.1% for skilled (Appendix 2, Line 3). Again, the national unemployment rate for August 2011 was lower at 5.1% (ABS, 2011).

The issue of unemployment is especially acute for female refugees who have a rate that is more than four times that of the national female unemployment rate. For example, statistics drawn from both the 2016 and 2011 ACMID reflect unemployment for female refugees to be 23.7% (Appendix 3, Line 1) and 24.5% (Appendix 2, Line 1), respectively. The national unemployment rates for females of the general Australian population were again much lower at 5.8% for August 2016 (ABS, 2016b) and 5.3% for August 2011 (ABS, 2011). Furthermore, for the same periods, these ACMID data reflect that female refugees have higher unemployment than their male counterparts, who are at 18.6% (Appendix 3, Line 2) and 20.1% (Appendix 2, Line 2), respectively. Possible explanations for this higher unemployment are discussed in Chapter 2.

Precisely this issue of consistent overrepresentation in female refugee unemployment lies at the heart of my thesis. I scrutinise why government support programs have been ineffective in dealing with the issue of unemployment for female refugees and to what effect the social enterprise was able to address this problem.

Within the context of the key structures of support extended to refugees in Australia, the next section provides detail on the notion of social enterprise and briefly explains the uncertainty with social enterprises as an effective means to gainful employment. Detail on how this study contributes to closing the knowledge gap related to this uncertainty, is also offered.

1.3 The Nexus between Social Enterprises and Gainful Employment of Female Refugees

From within an Australian context, social enterprises may broadly be defined as organisations that undertake trading activities to fulfil a mission of creating either a public or community benefit (Barraket et al., 2010, p. 16), such as employment. Stated differently, the social enterprise is understood as a structure that operates with a conflicting set of logics that incorporate a social mission with an economic or business profit incentive (Pache & Santos, 2010, p. 14). Details about the contentions of social enterprises are explained in more detail in Chapter 2. For now, I draw on the abovementioned understanding to construct the following working definition to be used in this study: *The social enterprise is a structure that trades with the specific intent of providing gainful employment to unemployed female refugees.*

Recently, there has been a noticeable increase in Australia in the number of social enterprises focused on providing employment to refugees (Barraket, 2014; Barraket, Mason, & Blain, 2016; Kernot & McNeil, 2011). While much of the research on social enterprises is focused on definition, organisational process, institutional environments, politics, management, and measurements (Chandra & Shang, 2017) as well as the characteristics and motivations of social entrepreneurs (Urbano, Ferri, Peris-Ortiz, & Aparicio, 2017), there remains a gap in understanding the effects and implications of social enterprises on social change, that is, on changing the everyday experience of concerned individuals (Barraket, 2016; Barraket & Furneaux, 2012). This gap is consistent with the limited understanding of the labour market integration of refugees (Ott, 2013), and more specifically, how social policy and social structures affect the resettlement outcomes of refugees (Losoncz, 2017b). Details of the concept of social enterprise, as well as the practice and effect, are discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 2.

Anchored in qualitative research, this thesis contributes to closing the gap by offering an empirical account of the role of the social enterprise as it pertains to the lives of Mary, Agnes, and Erika who had all struggled to find employment despite participating in education and work-based training programs. This study provides some basic history of the women's search for gainful

employment and how they came to be engaged in work with the social enterprise, named the SE-A (Social Enterprise-A), which forms part of the case study of this thesis, discussed in Chapter 7.

Reasons for identifying social enterprise as a unit of study are discussed later in this chapter, while the decision for selecting Western Sydney for the case study is explained in Chapter 4 as part of explaining my methodology. By drawing on the perspectives of refugee women themselves, as well as staff of the social enterprise to which Mary, Agnes, and Erika were affiliated, this study offers an empirical lens through which to understand the effects of the social enterprise on the gainful employment of female refugees. Where most studies emphasise the structure (social enterprise), the practice (social entrepreneurship), and the pioneer (social entrepreneur) of social enterprise activity (Urbano et al., 2017), the experiences of the refugee women themselves (beneficiaries) define the core of my study as central to understanding the effects of the social enterprise within the broader context of the support offered under Australia's support structures. Defining the beneficiary of social enterprise is a point of discussion in Section 2.3.

Again, to analyse the role of the social enterprise in enabling the gainful employment of female refugees required an examination of the relations of power that intersected the lives of unemployed female refugees, in particular those relations that are significant on account of influencing labour market outcomes for the women. An explanation of how power operates within a relational context, which draws primarily, although not exclusively, on Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), is discussed in Chapter 3. Bourdieu's concepts of power are used to help explain the relations of power that uphold the position of perpetual crisis. This study therefore extends the existing body of research by providing an empirical lens that situates the experiences of unemployed female refugees as central to explaining the relations of power that uphold inequality and in particular, the state and role of the social enterprise in this power dynamic. The notion of the state, which is also briefly theorised in Section 3.5 by using the work of both Jessop (2016) and Bourdieu (1998), is broadly defined as those relationships that resemble a multitude of bureaucratic structures and institutions that are significant on account of dominating and shaping

the preferences of a particular political landscape based on a set of driving principles. In this regard, reference to *the neoliberal state* is governed under dominating principles of free market and individual responsibility, while the welfare state is dominated under principles that are heavily weighted towards social safety, rights and entitlements (both are points of discussion in Chapters 2 and 3). The concept of the indifferent state is theorised in Section 3.5.

By using an empirical lens, which is centred on the lives of refugee women, while revealing the complexity of the relations of power that upheld the inequality in the labour market position of the women, this study shows how the refugee women unknowingly became entangled in a *position of perpetual crisis.* In part, this crisis is explained by the ways the women were endlessly associated with numerous organisations that offered various forms of services and support, which did nothing, or very little, to meet their needs for gainful employment. These organisations, which I have collectively labelled as the *Australian Framework of Support (AFS)*, are largely funded from various private and public sources, including federal, state, and local governments. The AFS is inclusive of organisations such as Centrelink, Settlement Services International (SSI), the Migrant Resource Centre (MRC), training institutions, the Salvation Army Employment Plus, foundations, trusts, as well as the nonprofit organisation called the NP-A (Nonprofit Organisation-A) and its social enterprise named the SE-A (Social Enterprise-A) that are the focus of the case study for this research.

Under the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), the state plays a significant role in influencing a market-based approach to offer resettlement support as well as training and employment services to refugees. It is within the complexity of these market-based relationships that social enterprises emerge (further discussed in Chapter 2). The concept of the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) is significant in accounting for the power dynamics that uphold the *position of perpetual crisis* for female refugees. For this reason, Appendix 4 has been included to offer more detail on the relations and organisations that constitute the notions of the AFS.

To properly explain the significance of social enterprises to the research problem, the next section provides an understanding of the impetus to the study. Following this, the research problem is detailed and finally, an outline of the thesis is presented.

1.4 Origin of the Study

What role do social enterprises play in the gainful employment of refugee women? This fundamental question, which directed the effort of this research, is a consequence of my research interest to understand the potential for social enterprises to overcome the problem of unemployment for female refugees. This interest is the result of the five years I spent volunteering in support of initiatives aimed at assisting refugee women with their effort to fully participate in Australian society. My voluntary work included various activities such as supporting refugee women with developing their English language skills; providing job-seeking assistance through developing resumes, cover letters, and performing online job searches; and liaising with the Australian Taxation Office on behalf of refugee women who needed tax file numbers for employment purposes. In addition, I organised various community talks for refugee women to gain an understanding of complex social processes happening within Australian society. These talks included topics such as affordable housing, legal assistance to understand rights, first aid, tenancy, health, and nutrition. As part of this effort, I also facilitated a transition-to-work program for refugee women and a training and support program for five asylum seekers, some of whom were not granted the right to work in Australia. Part of the transition-to-work program included interviewing 35 refugee women for 12 available positions on the transition-to-work program. At this point I would like to clarify that this thesis is not based on the observations of my volunteer work, rather Chapter 4 will outline the research design and interview process that empirically ground this thesis.

Through my voluntary work, which occurred between 2009 and 2013, I met many refugee and asylum seeker families living in Western Sydney. I visited their homes and attended family and community events. During this time, I came to learn about the common challenges faced with

resettlement. Through the experiences of mostly refugee women, I learned how challenging it was for them to balance the demands of family life with the demands of society, in particular the expectations and challenges of finding employment. I observed a rhythm to the way the women recounted their experiences with regard to finding work and the support offered by various agencies such as Centrelink, Job Service Providers (JSPs), training institutions (Vocational Education and Training; VET), and the various resettlement service organisations (RSO). Initially, the women were told that their English skills were not good enough, so they learned English. Then they were told that they needed certification, so they obtained certificates. Next, they were told that they needed Australian work experience, so they volunteered their time. Despite their efforts with training and work-based programs, most of the women that I met struggled to find work. During this time, I noticed the term social enterprise being used across the nonprofit sector and local government as a new and inclusive way of integrating people, who are otherwise marginalised, into the labour market. In particular, reference was being made to organisations such as the Amazing Family Day Care in Western Sydney, The Bread and Butter Project in Inner Western Sydney, The Social Studio in Melbourne, and Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. I became interested in the notion of social enterprise as the term seemingly carried with it 'positive intentions'. I believed that if the practice of social enterprise offered a means towards inclusive structural change, then it was a practice worth pursuing. For these reasons, I pursued a study on social enterprise. The next section frames the research question by positioning social enterprises within the context of the broader structures of support operating within Australia, that is, the Australian Framework of Support (AFS).

1.5 Examining the Power Relations That Intersect the Lives of Female Refugees

The overall aim of this study was to examine the inequality embedded in the labour market position of unemployed female refugees and to offer a critical assessment of the role of the social enterprise in dealing with this inequality. It has been established that Australia has a long history of refugee resettlement. This history included being recognised as having one of the most advanced refugee

resettlement programs in the world (Refugee Council of Australia [RCOA], 2008, p. 21; United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2009). Recent studies, however, have suggested that limitations within Australia's resettlement framework disadvantage refugees (Fozdar & Hartley, 2013; RCOA, 2016b), and that all refugees are not necessarily entitled to receive the same level of support (Fozdar & Banki, 2017).

In addition, there remains a consistently high level of unemployment among refugees, in particular female refugees (ABS, 2014, 2018b; Hugo, 2011; Hugo et al., 2011). This high level of unemployment is notwithstanding the significant framework of support that has been constructed by the Australian government to target highly disadvantaged job seekers, including those from culturally and linguistically diverse communities (DE, 2015, 2017; DEEWR, 2010, 2012a). This study recognises there are ongoing problems and questions around the effectiveness of the organisations that underpin this framework of support. More specifically, these concerns relate to the capacity of these organisations to overcome the challenge of unemployment for refugees (Pittaway, Muli, & Shteir, 2009; RCOA, 2010b), and specifically the capacity of the Job Service Providers (JSPs) to effectively work with refugees (RCOA, 2016b). Furthermore, this study recognises that from within this framework of support, that is, what I called the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), there has been a noticeable increase in the emergence of social enterprise structures with the explicit aim of providing employment for refugees (Barraket, 2014; Barraket et al., Barraket, Mason, et al., 2016; Kernot & McNeil, 2011). Details of Australia's humanitarian and employment programs, as well as the key organisations that operate to effect change with respect to refugee employment, are discussed in Chapter 2.

For now I draw focus back on to the research question raised in Section 1.1 and restate that based on this discrepancy between employment programs and employment outcomes for refugees, this research asks: *What role in the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) does the nonprofit social enterprise play in getting unemployed female refugees gainfully employed?* In other words,

what are the structures of power, including the state, that uphold unemployment of female refugees, and what is the significance of the social enterprise to these relations of power?

Using concepts of power, this thesis aims to answer the research question by first providing insight into the personal stories of refugee women to understand why they struggled to find employment. This understanding will help to explain the significance of the relationships between the women and the AFS, including the state, and therefore, in the first instance, this line of inquiry will provide an understanding about the relations of power concerning the unemployment position of female refugees. Next, the thesis aims to provide insight into the influence of the social enterprise on the gainful employment of refugee women. This insight will help explain how the social enterprise reconfigures relationships and to what effect with regard to the gainful employment of female refugees. By drawing on notions of power, the complexity and significance of the relationships between the refugee women, the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), the social enterprise, and the state can be explained. More specifically, notions of power will show how and why the *position of perpetual crisis* is constructed and sustained. The next section briefly outlines the structure of the thesis that has been developed to answer the chosen research question.

1.6 Outline of the Thesis Structure

The thesis is organised into two parts of eight chapters. Part 1, which has three chapters, provides context to the environment within which female refugees are situated. Chapter 1, the introduction (this chapter), presents the significance of this study to scholarship. It explains the unemployment position of female refugees and situates the resettlement of refugees within the broader context of Australia's migration history and immigration policy. The concept of social enterprise is briefly explained, and the research problem and thesis structure outlined. Next, Chapter 2 has three key sections, each offering a different perspective on the complex environment within which female refugees are situated. The first section focuses on Australia's commitment to the resettlement of refugees. It provides an analysis of the first instance of support offered to refugees under Australia's Humanitarian Program (AHP) and provides further detail on the unemployment

situation of female refugees. The next section situates Australia's commitment to refugees within the broader context of Australia's political landscape. It provides a brief history of neoliberal reform and its effect of market-based practices operating under the Australian Framework of Support (AFS). Particular attention is paid to Australia's primary labour market program (APLMP), which refers to an expansive set of policies, programs and employment services that target the unemployed, and which refugees are entitled to participate in. Finally, the meaning and notion of social enterprise, as well as the gap in understanding the effect of social enterprises on the problem of unemployment is discussed. The last chapter of Part 1, Chapter 3, details the theoretical concepts that are used to explain how power operates at the complex intersection between refugee women, the state, and the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), inclusive of social enterprises. This chapter draws mainly on Bourdieu's theoretical notions of power to help account for the inequality in the unemployment position of female refugees. It explains how unchallenged, or hidden, forms of power, especially with regard to *the neoliberal state,* work to uphold unequal relations.

Part 2, which has five chapters, details the design of the research and provides the analysis of findings. First, Chapter 4 presents the research methodology and explains the reasons why only one of the three social enterprises selected for this study was chosen for the case study. The research design along with research method, details of the case study, as well as ethical considerations, and limitations of the study are explained. The next three chapters, which are based on the chosen case study, offer an empirical examination of the power dynamics that intersect the lives of the three refugee women, Mary, Agnes, and Erika, as mentioned at the start of this chapter. Chapter 5 presents the personal stories of the women. Demographic data as well as qualitative data drawn from the personal stories of Mary, Agnes, and Erika reveal the position of disadvantage from which the women have come and explain the effect of the resettlement support programs on the lives of the women. This chapter shows the structural constraints that give rise to the vulnerability upon which the *position of perpetual crisis* rests and provides a working definition

of vulnerability and gainful employment, which is grounded in the experiences of the refugee women. Next, Chapter 6 draws deeper into the personal experiences of Mary, Agnes, and Erika with a specific focus on how access to the labour market is negotiated. This chapter examines the barriers that restrict access to the labour market and explains the rules that uphold the inequality in the unemployment position of the refugee women. The chapter shows what *the position of perpetual crisis* looks like and the role of the neoliberal state in this crisis. Then, Chapter 7 focuses on a particular non-profit organisation, the NP-A, and its social enterprise, the SE-A. It draws on the perspectives of the refugee women as well as four staff members associated with the nonprofit organisation to explain the reasons why this organisation established the SE-A. The chapter explains how the social enterprise, with the aid of market forces and the state, reconfigures relations that capitalise on the vulnerability of the women and sustain the *position of perpetual crisis.* The final chapter, Chapter 8, concludes with a discussion and future directions for research as well as final remarks.

In summary, this thesis is concerned with the unemployment of female refugees and examines the intersection of the structures of power that uphold this inequality, in particular the nexus between the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), the social enterprise, and the state. By drawing on literature, the next chapter offers a general history and an analysis of policy, practice, and effects of the key structures of the environment within which female refugees are situated.

Chapter 2:

The Australian Framework of Support: Between Neoliberal Markets and the Welfare State

The focus of this study was the power dynamics that sit between unemployed female refugees and the labour market, including the roles of the state and the social enterprise within this dynamic. Therefore, this chapter aims to provide some context necessary for understanding both the environment and the inequality in the unemployment position of female refugees. Three distinct but interrelated sections make up this literature review. First is an overview of Australia's global commitment to the resettlement of refugees, which includes a discussion on Australia's Humanitarian Program (AHP). This section also provides further detail on the labour market position of female refugees and the barriers that restrict female refugees' access to the labour market. Then a brief history of neoliberalism, shifts the discussion towards understanding the underlying ideology and set of practices guiding current policy in Australia, including the mainstream framework of support that refugees are entitled to access. Included is a discussion on Australia's primary labour market program (APLMP) and the challenges of a market-based framework of support. The final section attends to the acceleration of the practice of social enterprise under Australia's neoliberal framework of support. It discusses the gap in literature on the effectiveness of social enterprises in achieving gainful employment, which this thesis addresses.

2.1 Female Refugees Welcome to Australia's Resettlement Commitment and Unemployment

This section discusses Australia's commitment to the resettlement of refugees and closely examines Australia's Humanitarian Program (AHP), which is the first instance of support for female refugees. The significance of employment to the resettlement process and explanations for the labour market position of unemployment for female refugees are also discussed.

2.1.1 Refugee Resettlement: General History of Australia's Commitment

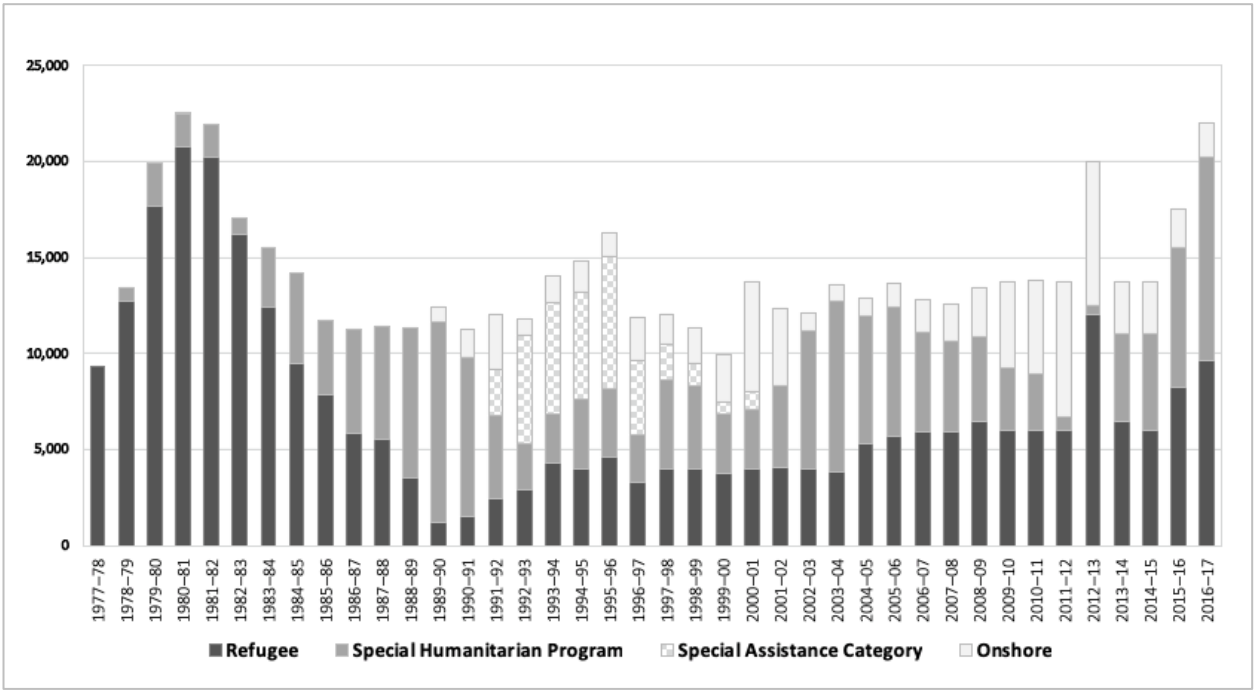
Under the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (United Nations [UN], 1951) holds a broadly accepted definition that a refugee is 'someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion' (UNHCR, 2010, p. 3). The UNHCR 2016 report into trends of global displacement estimates that of the 65.6 million people displaced in that year, the global refugee population stood at approximately 22.5 million people, with developing nations hosting 84% of the world's refugees, or 14.5 million people (UNHCR, 2017a). Under the UNHCR specific resettlement program, approximately 1.9 million people were in need of resettlement in 2016, of which only 189,300 were resettled (UNHCR, 2017b). Resettlement involves the transfer of refugees from one state to another, where the hosting nation agrees to offer protection and permanent residency status, which carries with it full access to the rights of nationals, including citizenship.

> Resettlement involves the selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them – as refugees – with permanent residence status. The status provided ensures protection against refoulement and provides a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependants with access to rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. Resettlement also carries with it the opportunity to eventually become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country.(UNHCR, 2011, p. 3)

Australia remains committed to the resettlement of refugees. With a history of refugee resettlement that predates World War II (DIBP, 2015; Neumann, 2015; Neumann & Gifford, 2017), Australia's commitment to the protection of refugees is made visible through its continued participation in several international and national arrangements, including as signatory to the 1951 Refugee Conventions and the 1967 Refugee Protocol (UN; UNHCR, 2010) and through participation in the UNHCR's Resettlement Program (UNHCR, 2017a). Australia's commitment to the protection of

refugees has seen the resettlement of approximately 825,000 refugees between 1945 and 2014 (DIBP, 2015).

While Australia offers protection to few refugees per capita relative to other countries (RCOA, 2016d), for many years Australia has been one of the top countries (other countries include the United States, Canada, United Kingdom and Sweden) that offer resettlement to refugees (UNHCR, 2013, 2017a, 2018). Resettlement means that unlike many other countries that offer protection to refugees, Australia's global commitment includes a pathway to citizenship, a point of discussion in the next section. An average, from 1977–78 to 2016–17, Australia has resettled approximately 14,080 humanitarian entrants per annum. This average is calculated based on the total number of humanitarian visas granted (563,146) over the 40 years from 1977 to 2017 as reflected in the dataset from the Department of Home Affairs (see Appendix 5). Figure 1.1 displays the total number of humanitarian visas granted by Australia, per annum, from 1977–78 to 2016–17.



Source. Department of Home Affairs (DHA, 2018); for details see Appendix 5.

Figure 1.1 Humanitarian Program visa grants, 1977–78 to 2016–17.

The forced nature of migration generally means that refugees have not had the adequate time and resources needed to prepare for resettlement in their host country, therefore placing them at a significant disadvantage when compared to other migrant groups in Australia such as those arriving through the skilled and family migration streams (Hugo, 2011, pp. 164-166). This disadvantage, when analysed with respect to the Australian labour market, is generally expressed as refugees experiencing difficulties due to limited English language ability, lack of Australian work experience and qualifications, labour market discrimination, lack of affordable housing, little or no social networks, poor physical and mental health, and a high number of refugees residing in areas that are disadvantaged (Hugo et al., 2011), where unemployment is high (Boese, Van Kooy, & Bowman, 2018; Cheshire & Zappia, 2016; Hebbani, Colic-Peisker, & Mackinnon, 2017; Waxman, 1999).

Resettlement is not an isolated process but requires change at both an individual and institutional level. In one respect, resettlement is viewed as a 'two-way' process of integration where both the newcomer (in this case refugee) and the hosts effect institutional change (S. Castles, Korac, Vasta, & Vertovec, 2002, p. 113; Productivity Comission [PC], 2016, p. 86; Valtonen, 2004, p. 75). In another respect, successful resettlement is dependent on the role of the government in orchestrating long-run change that offers a unified system of service provision, which responds to the needs of diverse populations, offers permanent resettlement, supports family reunification, and grants full rights and citizenship (S. Castles, 1995, p. 306). A conceptual framework offered by Ager and Strang (2008, pp. 169-170) suggests that the successful resettlement of refugees is based upon social processes that open up pathways to the means of integration that refugees need to access (such as employment, housing, education, health, social networks, and citizenship). Again, Ager and Strang endorsed the view that the government plays a fundamental role in removing barriers to the means of integration, including barriers that constrain access to cultural knowledge, safety, and security.

To understand this better, the next section takes a closer look at Australia's Humanitarian Program (AHP), which forms part of the Australian Framework of Support (AFS). This program is the primary instance of services and support extended to refugees, and consequently female refugees.

2.1.2 Australia's Humanitarian Program: Widening Cracks of Discrimination

At both an international and national level, Australia has previously received recognition for its humanitarian program (Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia [FECCA], 2011; RCOA, 2009; UNHCR, 2009). A review of Australian literature published between 1994 and 2011 endorsed the view that successful settlement and integration of humanitarian entrants are key objectives of Australia's humanitarian program (Fozdar & Hartley, 2013). This recognition is based on the Australian government providing significant support for the first 12 months after settlement, as well as targeted support for a period of up to five years, for eligible refugees. These services, which are largely provided by the Resettlement Service Organisations (RSOs) such as the Australian Red Cross (ARC), Settlement Services International (SSI) and the Migrant Resource Centre (MRC), form part of the government's market-based system to provide support in the following areas: health, education, employment, housing, language, social and cultural orientation; as well as targeted support for up to five years for refugees with complex needs such as: disability, mental and physical health, homelessness and domestic violence (Department of Social Services [DSS], 2015; 2016; RCOA, 2008), following which refugees are encouraged to use mainstream services that are available to all citizens (Fozdar & Banki, 2017). Both the market-based system and the mainstream services, which include Australia's primary labour market program (APLMP), are discussed further in Section 2.2.

While Australia's commitment to the resettlement of refugees had a favourable impact on its image, recent accounts of government action have undermined this gain in reputation (O'Hagan, 2016, p. 667). For example, restrictions on human rights such as denying asylum seekers the right to work in Australia have undermined Australia's commitment under the refugee

convention (Fleay, Hartley, & Kenny, 2013, p. 476). In addition, acts such as the punitive detention of asylum seekers are argued as a violation of Australia's obligation under its international arrangements (McBeth, Nolan, & Rice, 2011, p. 516). A case in point is the recent legal class action in 2017, which cited a breach in duty of care by the Australian government and resulted in the settlement amount of $70 million being paid out by the Australian government to 1,905 humanitarian entrants, as reported in the media (Younger, 2017; Younger & Florance, 2017). Australia's punitive treatment of humanitarian entrants extends to children as well (K. Robinson & Gifford, 2019). The breach in human rights of humanitarian entrants under Australia's care is further acknowledged through the special investigation conducted by the UN Special Rapporteur on the human rights of migrants (Crépeau, 2017). Equally concerning is that this investigation further asserted that Australian politicians have shifted power away from the legal systems to government officials, and that Australian politicians have created a climate of disunity and racism within the Australian nation: 'Politicians who have engaged in this negative discourse seem to have given permission to many to act in xenophobic ways and have allowed for the rise of nationalist populist voices' (Crépeau, 2017, p. 18). Furthermore, the association between xenophobic or racist discourse and the restrictions imposed on refugees through Australia's humanitarian program has been argued as a cause of inequality between refugees and those who are Australian born (Losoncz, 2017a). The disjuncture between Australia's legal obligations and the actual practice is similarly echoed in a study that examined the extent to which Australia fulfils its legal obligations to humanitarian entrants. This recent study suggests that in theory, while Australia's legal, policy, and programs structures indicate a robust framework of support for humanitarian entrants, some significant gaps remain in practice that constrain, rather than open up, social processes to integration (Fozdar & Banki, 2017, p. 55).

For example, Australia has a complex system of visa classifications (Appendix 6) that determine the types of rights and services that humanitarian entrants are entitled to (Appendix 7). The study by Fozdar and Banki (2017) which studied the extent that Australia fulfils its legal

obligations to humanitarian entrants showed that the entitlements received vary based on the mode of transport that humanitarian entrants take to get to Australia and whether humanitarian entrants were issued with visas prior to entry into Australia. More specifically, the findings suggest humanitarian entrants that arrive in Australia with no visa, but are subsequently issued with a visa, such as those that arrive by boat receive limited rights and services in comparison to those that arrive by aeroplane (without a visa) who receive more rights and services, and finally those that arrive in Australia having been issued a visa prior to their arrival receive a broad range of rights and resettlement services (Fozdar & Banki, 2017, p. 44). In short, Australia accepts humanitarian entrants by granting them visas on the basis that they are in need of protection and then proceeds to discriminate by restricting access to the means of integration based on the mode of transport. In a market-based economy, this disproportionate allocation of resources across humanitarian entrants suggests that Australia could see longer term implications of a class-based system (associated with particular cohort of humanitarian entrants) emerge if those refugees and their families experience continued disadvantage as a consequence of these government constraints.

With this in mind, however, it is important to note that even for those refugees that arrive in Australia having been issued with a visa prior to arrival, there are significant differences in the level of support extended from the Australia government. For example, under this complex system of humanitarian visa classifications is another significant category that needs further consideration on the entitlements of refugees—the Special Humanitarian Program visa (SHP), or subclass 202 visa (refer Appendix 6). This visa, which is issued prior to arrival, is granted under the condition that humanitarian entrants have the support of a sponsor who is either an Australia citizen or permanent resident, or a New Zealand citizen (DIBP, 2017f). The significance of this visa category with respect to entitlements is that these humanitarian entrants are expected to rely on their sponsors for resettlement support (DIBP, 2017a, 2017f; Pittaway et al., 2009; Wise & Sait, 2008).

For many years, the Refugee Council of Australia, a peak body organisation with membership of approximately 200 organisations and 1,000 individuals (RCOA, 2016c), has raised concerns about the restrictions of services available to entrants arriving on the special humanitarian visas (RCOA, 2008, 2010a, 2017a), as have other research studies and organisation reports (Antonios, 1999; Hinsliff, 2007; Pittaway et al., 2009). Qualitative studies have shown that refugees that arrive in Australia under this specific visa subclass are generally coming from the same position of disadvantage as their sponsors (usually other refugees) who are unable to provide necessary resettlement support (Antonios, 1999; RCOA, 2008, 2015, 2016a, 2017a). Concerns have been raised that restricted access to full resettlement services increases the risk of vulnerability to refugees as these entrants not only receive limited resettlement support from their sponsors, but also arrive in Australia with the burden of debt as they have to repay loans taken out for the cost of travel (such as airfares and travel expenses) (RCOA, 2008, p. 18; 2016a, p. 43). This debt is sometimes paid down through Centrelink benefits, leaving little for day-to-day living expenses, placing refugees in a situation where they manage these challenges through living in 'overcrowded conditions', being subjected to 'exploitative conditions', and living on the verge of 'debt bondage' (RCOA, 2008, p. 18).

More recently, the RCOA raised the concern that there is a push by the Australian government towards resettling significantly more refugees through the Special Humanitarian Program visa (SHP) as this is a more cost-effective means for humanitarian resettlement for the Australian government (RCOA, 2017a, p. 34). Furthermore, data obtained under the freedom of information act by the RCOA (Appendix 8) on the actual number of refugees from the UNHCR for the period 2011 to 2016, show that there is no consistency in the number of visas allocated to the UNHCR process. When these data are compared with the overall allocation of refugee visas (excluding SHP and onshore) for a similar period (Appendix 9) they show a declining trend as the percentage of visas referred by the UNHCR shifted from 82.3% to 65.7% (refer Appendix 8, Line 10) an indication that Australia is resettling fewer refugees through the UNHCR process.

Furthermore, based on the previous statistical data as shown in Figure 1.1 and Appendix 5, the issuing of SHP visa's has featured more prominently since the late 1980s which suggests that the number of refugees that are inadequately supported may have increased significantly over the years.

Taken together, these discussed data suggest that caution needs to be applied when making claims about refugees being adequately supported through Australia's humanitarian program, as it appears the Australian government has adopted a policy that is steadily reducing the resettlement support extended to refugees. These data suggest policy is designed to reduce costs in favour of sponsors and ultimately refugees themselves taking on the responsibility for the means needed for successful resettlement. This trend is particularly disturbing when taking into account the added concern that the sponsors of refugees are usually refugees themselves, as it suggests that the benefit of cost reductions to the Australian government may be at the risk of compounding the exploitation and financial stress to an already vulnerable cohort of refugees. Again, this would suggest that Australia is creating a class of refugees, that are disproportionately disadvantaged by the unequal distribution of resources based on humanitarian visa sub-class. Details of the trend to push responsibility away from government towards the individual are discussed further under notions of neoliberal reform in Section 2.2.

Further to the concern of increased exploitation and financial stress, is that this trend indicates a practice of discrimination against those refugees who are most in need. More specifically, the RCOA suggests that Australia is bypassing the UNHCR referral process to 'cherry-pick' those humanitarian entrants who are deemed more economically viable as a consequence of having stronger social connections through family ties to Australia and because of having closer cultural fit through their ability to speak English (RCOA, 2017b, p. 3). In recent years, some government politicians have berated those humanitarian entrants who arrive by boat without an Australian visa, accusing them of 'jumping the queue' and bypassing the UNHCR process (Rowe & O'Brien, 2014, pp. 182-183). Ironically, the abovementioned observation by the

RCOA suggests that government officials themselves are bypassing the UNHCR process to create a queue of their own, one that serves Australia's economic interest above its global humanitarian commitments.

While Australia may secure the rights of those refugees from the UNHCR through a comprehensive set of services (Fozdar & Banki, 2017, p. 56), caution needs to be applied to the overall effectiveness of Australia's support of refugees. RCOA's findings, for example, suggest that it may not be that easy to identify the number of refugees coming through the UNHCR process, and that increasingly fewer humanitarian entrants gain access to the support services necessary for successful integration. Further to this, it is important to note that a report into migration policy, which was issued by the Productivity Commission (an independent government body that advises on policy change across all areas of economic, social, and environment issues), reiterated the following warning issued by the Department of Social Services; that any change to the complex configurations that underpin Australia's migration intake, including the humanitarian intake and its supporting program, would have a significant impact on welfare services:

> The level and composition of Australia's migration intake, as determined by the structure and operation of Australia's Migration and Humanitarian Programmes, will have a critical bearing on future spending on social welfare in Australia. Any changes to current settings, particularly any changes which will weaken the focus on migrants based on key desirable attributes, are likely to impact on future social welfare expenditure and would need to be carefully considered. (PC, 2016, p. 286)

This quote indicates that funding allocated to the Australian welfare system has reached its capacity and under the current configuration extended services and support are unlikely. In addition, while responsibility for resettlement of newly arrived refugees is shared across federal, state and local governments an issue of a lack of intergovernmental coordination and strategic planning for refugees that are pushed towards rural and regional resettlement also indicates further funding and policy deficiencies in resettlement support (Boese & Phillips, 2017). Collectively

these findings suggest that the trend of cost reductions and constraining resources (such as issuing SHP visa's with limited rights and entitlement) is likely to continue.

It has been acknowledged that refugees are coming from backgrounds that are far more disadvantaged than nonrefugees. Consequently, they need more time and support than other migrants to adjust to the new life within their host society (Bevelander, 2005; Hugo, 2011). Refugee women, however, are at a particular disadvantage. In the first instance, for many refugee women, years of conflict, oppression, and savagery have placed them in a position of significant vulnerability. For example, women are exposed to forced marriage and protection problems, in particular sexual violence, which places them at high risk with respect to the violation of their human rights (Manderson, Kelaher, Markovic, & McManus, 1998; Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2001; RCOA, 2008, 2018; UNHCR, 2008). Indeed, refugee women in many societies are at a disadvantage as they do not have equal status to their male counterparts (Omotoso & Fajimbola, 2017; Pittaway, Bartolomei, Pittaway, & Doney, 2018; UNHCR, 2008). In particular, the traditional female gender role assigns women to mothering, caring and household tasks, placing restrictions on access to education and employment while excluding them from decision-making processes that affect them (Boyd, 2017; Hatoss & Huijser, 2010; Hebbani, Obijiofor, & Bristed, 2010; Rees & Pease, 2007; UNHCR, 2006). This disadvantage consequently affects the position and role that refugee women play within the wider community. For some, Australia's egalitarian values conflict with their traditional female gender role, which places them at a high risk of domestic violence (Australian Human Rights Commission [AHRC], 2010; Casimiro, Hancock, & Northcote, 2007; Pittaway et al., 2018; Saffu, 2014). In addition, Australia's complex system of visa classifications also limits rights and access to resettlement services due to the inherent marital bias that is coded into the system. For example, limitations occur when the vulnerability of refugee women is made invisible through being subordinated to the visa category of their partners, leaving women socially isolated and vulnerable to abuse as they are without necessary support:

> Service providers and community members raised concerns about the isolation and lack of services available for women from refugee backgrounds arriving on partner visas. Some services expressed concerns that these women are socially isolated ('Nobody knows they're there') and are vulnerable to abuse because of their complete dependence on their spouse. Many of these women have come from similar experiences as those coming under the refugee and humanitarian program but with no settlement support on arrival. (RCOA, 2012, p. 19)

A combination of female gender role and lack of support to gain access to the means of integration, especially employment, pushes refugee women deeper into the role of household production (Akua-Sakyiwah, 2016, pp. 1139-1140). Some refugee women are also disadvantaged by rules that recognise as legitimate only the western definition of family (nuclear family) therefore excluding any other types of extended family formations that are significant on account of social and economic support (McDonald-Wilmsen & Gifford, 2009; RCOA, 2008, 2015). This is an old problem, which can been seen in the case of single mothers that have been in refugee camps for extended periods of time and have formed important bonds of support with other refugee women. These women are unable to be resettled together as these types of relationships are not seen as legitimate from within an Australian context:

> Women arriving in Australia through the Women at Risk program are seen as having particular difficulties. These women are eligible for entry because they have no surviving male relatives. Often these women are single mothers without surviving family and at risk of becoming both isolated and unable to enter the labour market. Some women have reported establishing close emotional and economic ties with other women in similar circumstances either in refugee camps or in their countries of origin. There is however no potential for these women to be resettled together nor flexibility to reunite the units they have established. This contributes to a situation whereby the human rights of these women may continue to be abrogated after arrival in Australia. (Antonios, 1999, p. 16)

In other words, refugee women are not only at a disadvantage based on protection problems and the constraints of the traditional female gender role that restricts access to resources, but they also experience disadvantage from the constraints embedded in the framework of support from their host country, Australia. Ironically, while Australia is meant to offer protection, the traditional

western concepts of family weaken social and economic ties of refugee women and thereby compound the layers of disadvantage similar to the way that the traditional gender roles deny females access to education, employment, and decision-making, as previously discussed.

In summary, Australia's framework of humanitarian support, within which female refugees are situated, has its governance structures operating under a complex system of visa classifications that lead to discrimination through restricting access to entitlements and overlooking structures of gender inequality. Indeed, Australia's humanitarian system imposes barriers of its own by placing restrictions on the means to integration through a hierarchy of entitlements that disadvantage refugees. Furthermore, the combination of increased violation of human rights, the increasing xenophobic or racist attacks by Australian politicians, as well as the Australian government's move towards constraining access to resources, undermines Australia's global commitment to the resettlement of refugees. When viewed against the RCOA's findings on the declining number of visas granted through the UNHCR process (which affords maximum benefits), a further concern is raised that the number of refugees inadequately supported in Australia are increasing. These findings not only suggest that caution needs to be applied to any broad generalisations about the benefits, entitlements, and support that refugees receive as refugees are not treated equally under the AHP, but also more worryingly, these findings suggest that Australia has implemented a class-based system of support that discriminates and constrains resources based on the complex visa categories established by the government. This discrimination, which is based on migration status, is especially concerning for female refugees as it is known that the gender role already places them at a significant disadvantage.

Following on from this, the next section narrows the discussion to the significance of employment to the resettlement process and the possible reasons for the overrepresentation of female refugees in unemployment statistics. A more detailed understanding of the factors contributing to the overrepresentation of unemployed female refugees provides a basis for understanding the role that social enterprises play in the gainful employment of female refugees.

2.1.3 Labour Market Exclusion: Multiple Forms of Discrimination Across Multiple Structural Layers

Employment plays a significant role in supporting the successful resettlement of refugees. At both local and international levels, employment has consistently been argued as an important means to integration of refugees (Abur, 2017; Ager & Strang, 2008; Bloch, 1999; Coussey, 2000; Fleay et al., 2013; Hugo, 2011; Peisker & Tilbury, 2003; Phillimore & Goodson, 2006). Employment extends economic benefits, such as the opportunity to be financially independent, including providing a means by which refugees are able to support family back home (Casimiro et al., 2007; Curry, Smedley, & Lenette, 2017; McDonald-Wilmsen & Gifford, 2009). In addition, employment is understood as a means to integration because it extends to both social and cultural benefits. For example, employment allows for the development of new social relations through opening up access to social networks and resources that would ordinarily be beyond the reach of the immediate family and community networks of refugees (Abur, 2017; Baird, 2012; Torezani, Colic-Peisker, & Fozdar, 2008). Furthermore, employment provides a way refugees can learn the language of the host country (Wali, Georgeou, & Renzaho, 2018) and is argued to improve psychological wellbeing through providing refugees with a sense of belonging within their host community (Abur, 2017).

Unemployment, on the other hand, is regarded as counterproductive to the health and wellbeing of refugees (Mathers & Schofield, 1998) and counterproductive to social inclusion (Abdelkerim & Grace, 2011; Perera et al., 2013). Social inclusion and a sense of belonging are also important indicators that signal the strength to which social policy promotes community integration for refugees (Correa-Velez, Gifford, & Barnett, 2010; Correa-Velez, Spaaij, & Upham, 2012; Curry et al., 2017). A growing body of research on the experiences of refugees in Australia draws attention to unemployment as a significant challenge to successful resettlement (Abur & Spaaij, 2016; Atem, 2011; Broadbent, Cacciattolo, & Carpenter, 2007; Wooden, 1991) with ongoing studies indicating that the unemployment rate of refugees is consistently higher than the

national average (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006; Curry et al., 2017; Hugo et al., 2011). In Australia, sustained unemployment is argued as a significant cause of poverty (Saunders, 2006) and a major factor contributing to homelessness (Steen, Mackenzie, & McCormack, 2012) and social exclusion (Colic-Peisker, 2009). Therefore, unemployment is also a key indicator for determining the level of successful integration of refugees.

Both employment and unemployment are used as important national indicators in determining the health of the economy in Australia, discussed next in Section 2.2. Combined, these indicators provide a measure called the labour force, which is the number of people actively engaged in paid work or actively looking for paid work (ABS, 2018f, p. 35). Jointly, these indicators play an important role in affecting government policy on immigration and act as a trigger for changes to policies and programs such as Australia's humanitarian program and the mainstream welfare and labour market policies and programs (PC, 2016). This study is concerned with the gainful employment of unemployed female refugees, and as such, this section discusses these labour market indicators along with the factors contributing to the labour market exclusion of female refugees.

Based on the Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset (ACMID) for 2016 and 2011 (as detailed in Chapter 1), it has already been established that refugees, females in particular, are consistently overrepresented in unemployment statistics in Australia. These data are similar to the findings of two comprehensive studies on the settlement outcomes of humanitarian entrants that were released by the Australian government in 2011 and which draw on various data sources, including 2006 census data and 2011 survey data (DIAC, 2011; Hugo et al., 2011). Jointly, these findings show the unemployment rate of refugees to be consistently more than twice that of the broader population, with the unemployment rate for female refugees higher than that of their male counterparts. High rates of unemployment among refugees are not new, as this trend has been recognised within Australian literature for quite some years (P. W. Miller, 1986; Wooden, 1991). Indeed, the challenge of overrepresentation has been known for quite some time and remains

persistent for female refugees. These findings raise the concern that Australia's humanitarian program, as a first instance of a formal set of policies and processes for successful resettlement, is failing to adequately support female refugees.

Studies that have examined access to the labour market for refugees suggest that a range of reasons limit access to employment. These reasons include lack of social networks, complex government policy, visa work restrictions, lack of qualifications, lack of English language proficiency, lack of recognition for oversees qualifications and work experience, lack of Australian work experience, lack of established job networks, racial discrimination, and economic hardship (AHRC, 2010; Casimiro et al., 2007; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006, 2007a; Connor, 2010; Fozdar & Torezani, 2008; Gifford, 2009; Inglis & Stromback, 1986; Krahn, Derwing, Mulder, & Wilkinson, 2000; RCOA, 2010b, 2013; Valenta & Bunar, 2010; van Tubergen, 2011). Limited access to affordable housing in proximity to employment was also seen as a constraint (Flatau, Colic-Peisker, Bauskis, Maginn, & Buergelt, 2014). Further to this, it has been acknowledged that refugees tend to be concentrated in areas that are considered among the most economically disadvantaged in Australia, in particular, where unemployment is high (Boese et al., 2018; Cheshire & Zappia, 2016; Hebbani et al., 2017; Waxman, 1999). Concerns have also been raised that the free English language support ('510 hours') extended to refugees under Australia's humanitarian program is not only inadequate (Abdelkerim & Grace, 2011; Khawaja & Hebbani, 2018; RCOA, 2015) but is also inaccessible, especially for refugee women with caring responsibilities (Watkins, Razee, & Richters, 2012). For refugee women in particular, there are the additional constraints of the lack of affordable childcare, the lack of transportation, and the restrictions of the traditional female gender role, which further impede access to employment (Casimiro et al., 2007; De Maio et al., 2017; Rodeghiero, 2015). It is argued that patriarchal structures not only exclude women from employment, but also that these powers extend within the media and play a pivotal role in characterising refugee women as vulnerable and hopeless

(Alhayek, 2014; Pittaway & Bartolomei, 2018; Pittaway et al., 2009), suggesting that female refugees are less capable workers.

While many factors are raised as contributing to the labour market exclusion of female refugees, limited English language proficiency and qualifications (or lack of Australian recognition for overseas qualifications) are consistently held as the main contributory factors to the unemployment status of refugees (Bloch, 2004; Hugo et al., 2011; Waxman, 2001; Wooden, 1991) and women in particular (Casimiro et al., 2007; Cheng, Wang, & Taksa, 2017; De Maio et al., 2017). These findings are consistent with the ACMID 2016 data (Appendix 10), which showed that female refugees that spoke little or no English had a higher unemployment at 31% and 39% respectively, than those who spoke English 'well' (23%) or 'very well' (22%). It is interesting to note, however, that for those female refugees that were proficient in English ('well' or 'very well') they still had higher unemployment than those females of the skilled and family migration streams that had no English skills ('not at all') with 8% and 20% unemployment, respectively. This high level of unemployment for female refugees proficient in English (Appendix 11) was despite a majority (75%) having completed high school (30%) or attained a tertiary qualification (45%), with only a small percentage (2%) having no education. It has already been established that refugees need more time and support than other migrants to adjust to the new life within their host society. However, while limitations in English language and qualifications are a major contributory factor to the unemployment status of female refugees, a comprehensive study commissioned by the Australian government, which drew on 2006 census data, revealed that even when controlling for a range of factors, which include English language and education, there remains a 'refugee gap' in unemployment that can only be attributed to discrimination within the Australian labour market:

> There is concern that after controlling for a range of factors such as language and education, a 'refugee gap' remains and it cannot be doubted that discrimination in the labour market is still in evidence. Much remains to be done to assist humanitarian settlers to enter the Australian labour market and to facilitate their upward mobility

> within it but it is incontestable that they have made, and are making, a considerable contribution to the Australian economy through their participation in the labour market. (Hugo et al., 2011, p. xxiv)

This confirms the long-term view held by the Refugee Council of Australia (2010b) that English proficiency and qualifications alone do not lead to employment outcomes. Indeed, for many years, evidence-based studies have reported on discrimination, in particular racism, as a persistent feature of the Australian labour market (Bjørkli, 2010; Chapman & Miller, 1983; J. Collins, 1994, 1996; Foster, Marshall, & Williams, 1991; Ooi, 2015; Vasta, 2004), confirming both interpersonal discrimination and structural, or institutional, discrimination as features of the Australian labour market for refugees (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007a).

Briefly, interpersonal discrimination, where gatekeepers sit at the boundary to the labour market to enforce discrimination, including allowing racist prejudice to inform labour market decisions (Krieger, 2000, p. 41) is recognised as a common form of exclusion that is experienced by refugees in their efforts to gain access to the Australian labour market. This has consistently been argued as the case for refugees (Abur & Spaaij, 2016; Bjørkli, 2010; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007b; Losoncz, 2017b; RCOA, 2010b) and refugee women in particular (D. Bowman & Mui, 2012; Rees & Pease, 2007; Saffu, 2014). A study by Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2007a, pp. 78-79), which drew on a notion of visible difference[4] to assess employment outcomes among three refugee groups also suggested that whiter skin colour offered an explanation for reduced experiences of racism and improved labour market outcomes. This issue of racism, where refugees are treated differently based on visible difference is recognised in a similar comparative study of four refugee groups across Canada and Sweden (Bevelander & Pendakur, 2014, p. 705). Both the findings of Colic-Peisker and Tilbury's (2007a) and Hugo's (2011) study, as discussed in the

[4] '"visibly different", that is, recognizable as different from the white, Western-clad, and English-speaking Australian majority in various ways: by their non-English speaking background and therefore "accent" when they speak English; by skin colour and bodily and facial features; by dress and attire, often connotative of religious denomination; or by a combination of these "visibilities", together with various degrees of cultural difference' (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007a, p. 61).

literature, showed that determinants such as English proficiency, educational qualifications, visa type, and length of residence are not the only factors affecting labour market outcomes in Australia, and that discrimination, is prevalent. For example, it is argued that the labour market discriminates on both visible and audible markers such as skin colour and accent, while other individual characteristics such as country of birth or name are also used as indicators of exclusion (McCrone & Bechhofer, 2008). This is argued as the case for refugees (Abur & Spaaij, 2016; Bjørkli, 2010; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007a, 2007b; Losoncz, 2017b) and refugee women (D. Bowman & Mui, 2012; Rees & Pease, 2007; Saffu, 2014).

Structural (or institutional) discrimination, on the other hand, which is insidious and often unseen, is the sustained practice of exploiting nondominant groups through denying access to resources and decision-making (Allen, 2009, pp. 169-170; Krieger, 2000, p. 41). More specifically, racism can be seen in the preservation of social relations (including bureaucratic institutions, media, associations, markets, political parties) that preserve unequal power relations by upholding laws, policies, and practices that privilege the dominant cultural group and dis-privilege (discriminate or exclude) the dominated group (S. Castles et al., 2014, p. 60). This type of racism is perpetuated regardless of educational qualification, length of time in Australia, and English language proficiency; rather, it is noticed in the way labour market segmentation occurs in Australia (Pietsch, 2017, pp. 40-41). For example, for refugees in particular, those who do gain access to employment, studies have shown that irrespective of qualifications, this work is usually in the secondary labour market where jobs are precarious and exploitative (temporary, low skills, low status, low pay, long hours, high health and safety concerns), and English language is not a requirement (Bloch, 2004; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006; DIAC, 2011). Indeed, refugee women with proficiency in English language have struggled with employment outcomes because of structural racism that excludes them or relegates them to the lower end of the labour market (Saffu, 2014, pp. 176,193). In brief, while English language and qualifications play an important role in determining the labour market outcomes of female refugees, multiple forms of discrimination

uphold the inequality in the labour market position of female refugees. Again, this suggests that female refugees are at a particular disadvantage due to the compounding effects of multiple forms of discrimination. Section 2.2.4 and Section 3.5 draw further into this discussion by explaining how discrimination in particular, racism, is perpetuated under the neoliberal state.

The consistent overrepresentation in unemployment statistics of female refugees signals a concern that for quite some time, many women may have been without the necessary skills and support needed to overcome barriers to the labour market. Certainly, the restrictions within Australia's humanitarian program, such as limitations with English language training, suggest a negative follow-on effect may leave many women ill prepared to enter the labour market and therefore vulnerable to labour market exploitation. In addition, the disproportionate number of unemployed female refugees that are proficient in English, relative to the other migration streams that lack English proficiency, sends a further signal that other issues such as lack of affordable childcare, economic hardship, and discrimination (based on gender, class, race) may present as barriers to the labour market for female refugees. Indeed, discrimination is argued as a persistent feature within both Australia's humanitarian program and the labour market, suggesting that female refugees are not only subjected to multiple forms of discrimination, but also that there is a layered effect that reinforces discrimination at various entry points to the means of integration. The problem with the persistent issue of overrepresentation is that it suggests that the effects of government policy settings have done little to overcome the barriers that restrict access to gainful employment for female refugees.

This section has explained the broader humanitarian framework of support within which female refugees are situated and offered possible explanations for the ongoing exclusion of female refuges from the labour market. It showed that while Australia remained committed to the resettlement of refugees and continued to provide a wide range of services and support, the system was geared towards perpetuating a class-based system of support. Governed by a complex set of visa classifications, this system not only constrained access to resources, but also appeared to be

configured to increasingly push the cost of resettlement away from the government and ultimately onto an already vulnerable group of refugees and sponsors. These findings suggest that the number of refugees inadequately supported, due to being effectively locked out of gaining access to the basic means of integration, is steadily increasing within Australia. For female refugees, this is particularly concerning as it has been shown that women not only experience multiple forms of discrimination, but the complexity of the female gender role compounds this disadvantage across multiple layers such as from within the environment of their homes and host country, in particular Australia's humanitarian support structures and labour market.

To further understand the labour market position of unemployed female refugees, the next section examines more deeply the ideology and practices that underpin the Australia's framework of support, including Australia's primary labour market program that refugees are entitled to access.

2.2 Explaining the Market-based Environment in which Female Refugees are Situated

This section examines the literature on the multiple structures that affect the labour market position of female refugees. First, a brief history of reorienting the responsibility for employment within the Australian political landscape is provided. Then, the subsequent sections explain the dominant neoliberal ideology, its associated practices and effect on the framework of support that female refugees are governed under. Based on the examination of literature, I argue that unemployed female refugees struggle to find work because they are wedged between a market-based framework of support, which is inadequate in its capacity to overcome obstacles to gainful employment, and a labour market where discrimination intensifies under a labour market that is failing to provide an adequate supply of work.

2.2.1 The Australian State: Brief History on Reorienting Responsibility for Employment

Employment has always been central to the politics of Australia. The idea of employment has guided social policy from left-leaning notions of "the wage earners' welfare state" (F. G. Castles,

1985, p. 102) to notions of 'welfare to work' (Peck, 2001; Wilson, 2004; Wilson & Turnbull, 2001). In practical terms, the wage earners' welfare state is a model of social protection, which, at the onset of modern Australia, resulted in a minimum wage being architected into wage policy to maintain a basic standard of living (F. G. Castles, 1985, p. 14).

From the 1940s to the 1970s, social policy moved towards a system of full employment, including the provision of welfare payments for those individuals that were unable to be in paid work (F. G. Castles, 1985, p. 22). Albeit, Australia's social policy of full employment and welfare entitlements was predicated on a system of discrimination that instituted unequal power relations of race, gender, and class. Within the context of the 'White Australia policy', this social system lent preference to 'white' male earners (Bryson, 1992, p. 92) and exploited the labour production of both the first peoples of this land (Castle & Hagan, 1998, pp. 53-54; Dunn, 2017, pp. 53-54) and migrants (S. Castles et al., 2014, p. 92). Furthermore, this system was underpinned by the traditional role of women in a patriarchal system of household production (Harris, 2001, p. 14).

As with other western democracies, in Australia under this system of patriarchy, the chart of accounts for the nation was initially drawn up to exclude the household economy by broadly dividing work into 'market' and 'nonmarket' activities (Waring, 2004, p. 79), and categorising the population into 'breadwinners' and 'dependents' (Bryson, 1996, p. 208). This coding of the population, which effectively separated individuals based on gender, ignored the interdependency between these codes (more specifically, ignored the interdependency between people). This national chart of accounts ignored contributions such as reproduction, subsistence production, and caring roles. This meant that the contributions of the private sphere were effectively disregarded from the public sphere (Bryson, 1996, p. 207) and therefore excluded the role of reproduction and caring in the production of market economies. Crudely put, female labour reproduced and maintained, without compensation, the human resources that were needed for the market to function. As feminists have long pointed out, the social construction of these gender categories have historically assigned men to roles in the paid sector of the market economy and women to

roles in the unpaid sector of the household economy, creating two distinct classes (Duncan & Edwards, 1999, p. 41; Lynch, 2009, p. 411; S. Watson, 1986, p. 1). The effect of this dualism has rendered the production of the female gender role invisible to the market economy. For many years, the assumptions that established these categories went unchallenged as women themselves opted for compliance and a low public profile (Darab & Hartman, 2013, p. 361). In other words, when women took on these female gender roles, they not only became invisible but also masked the inequality of the rules that underpinned the source of class relations. Women became disenfranchised. Over time, however, there has been a gradual shift in activities within household production, such as the caring role in terms of aged care and childcare, which have gradually been brought into the market economy (Hancock, 2002, p. 129), although affordability of childcare in Australia continues to be a problem, especially for low-income families (B. Phillips, 2014, pp. 21,25). While some work has been undertaken within social policy to redress this inequality, such as through government subsidies in funding childcare and legislation on maternity leave, much work remains as structures of power continue to be skewed in favour of the male breadwinner model legacy, with little attention in policy to move towards an equitable gender approach (Anxo, Baird, & Erhel, 2017, pp. 310,325).

The 1970s to 1990s was a time of radical change. The 1970s saw the abandonment of the White Australia policy (S. Castles et al., 2014, p. 166), partly for economic reasons (Jupp, 2002, p. 44). It saw the increase in labour force participation of females (F. G. Castles, 1994) and the rise of women's liberal movements with demands for equal rights, including equal pay, government-funded childcare, equal job opportunities, safe contraception, abortion rights, and an end to sexist marketing of women (Curthoys, 1992, p. 434). This was a time that witnessed a significant shift in systems of social protection towards notions of 'welfare to work' aimed at pushing welfare recipients off welfare and into the labour market (Considine, Lewis, O'Sullivan, & Sol, 2015, p. 14). It was also a time of much global political unrest, with the Vietnam War and tensions in the Arab–Israeli Middle East that brought with it global economic uncertainty through

the oil crises of the 1970s. A dramatic increase in the global oil price led to the rise in costs of production and caused global ramifications such as high inflation, high unemployment, and low economic growth—'*stagflation'* (Prasad, 2006, pp. 1-2). In other words, economic growth and maintaining social protections, including full employment, were made increasingly difficult to achieve. This backdrop of global economic uncertainty, declining profits, and declining tax revenue, which was buttressed against the institutionalised social wage and mounting tensions from new sociopolitical movements, ushered in a new ideology and set of practices—neoliberalism.

2.2.2 Neoliberalism: Emergence and Effects on the Australian Political Landscape

Neoliberalism, also defined as a project to restore the power of the capitalist class (Harvey, 2010, p. 10), may broadly be seen as a set of socioeconomic ideas, models and practices that operate within the framework of capitalism and advocate for notions of free markets and individual responsibility. For the purpose of this thesis, the notion of capitalism is broadly framed by drawing on Harvey's (2010) thesis that defined capitalism as a system of production for profit dependent on processes of sustained economic growth and reinvestment. More specifically, Harvey framed capitalism as a system that requires 3% growth with 3% reinvestment for it to be sustained (Harvey, 2010, p. 112), therefore situating capitalism as a perpetual system of compounding capital accumulation. When capitalism experiences 'blockages' to its continuous growth, such as high cost of labour, scarcity of natural resources, oversupply of commodities, or under consumption of commodities, the system seeks out 'creative ways' to overcome the challenges to its flow of capital, such as the issuing of debt through credit cards or overvaluing of assets such as housing. Any sustained blockage to the flow of capital results in a crisis of capital accumulation, causing significant losses and devaluation of capital such as that experienced with the 1970s oil crisis or, more recently, the U.S. subprime mortgage failure that caused worldwide ramifications culminating in the global financial crisis (GFC). For Harvey, a significant challenge with crisis of capitalism is that the effects of its recovery result in a deepening inequality between socioeconomic

groups. For example, Harvey's analysis of the financial gains and losses after the U.S. subprime mortgage crisis indicated there is almost an inverse effect where those at the top of the socioeconomic hierarchy experience significant gains, while those at the bottom, the most vulnerable, are made significantly worse off.

> Those who stood behind the financing of this mortgage catastrophe initially appeared strangely unaffected. In January 2008, Wall Street bonuses added up to $32 billion, just a fraction less than the total in 2007. This was a remarkable reward for crashing the world's financial system. The losses of those at the bottom of the social pyramid roughly matched the extraordinary gains of the financiers at the top. (Harvey, 2010, p. 2)

Along similar lines, Thomas Piketty (2014) argued that inequality is inevitable when the rate of return to investors is greater than the percentage of growth for the economy. In summary, capitalism is a system that requires creative ways to ensure ongoing growth for a system configured towards the maximisation of profits for investors, in particular those at the top of the socioeconomic hierarchy. These creative solutions, while sustaining capitalism's need for growth, result in an unequal distribution of wealth as gains disproportionately favour the few and disadvantage the most vulnerable.

Neoliberalism, also termed economic rationalism, or laissez-faire (Pusey, 1991; Pusey, Manne, & McKnight, 2010) from the 1970s onwards came to be seen as a remedy to the ongoing crises of capitalism—constant tensions causing blockages in the accumulation of capital (Harvey, 2005; Jessop, 2002). With the foundation of its ideas situated in neoclassical economics, neoliberalism can broadly be understood as promoting values of freedom and efficiency by advocating a model of governance that favours market-based mechanisms over state intervention (J. Wright, 2003, pp. 17-19). A problematic concept with a wide range of meanings, neoliberalism holds both positive and negative connotations (Boas & Gans-Morse, 2009; Springer, Birch, & MacLeavy, 2016; Venugopal, 2015). One understanding holds that '"free markets" are the most moral and the most efficient means for producing and distributing goods and services' (Cahill, 2012, p. 111), while another argues that 'thirty years of neoliberalism teaches us that the freer the

market the greater the inequalities and the greater the monopoly power' (Harvey, 2003, p. 940). It is argued that the concept itself is ambiguous, ill defined, and transient (Brenner, Peck, & Theodore, 2010; Mudge, 2008; Turner, 2008). That is, it is 'used frequently by those who are critical of free markets, but rarely by those who view marketisation more positively' (Boas & Gans-Morse, 2009, p. 138). Neoliberalism has also broadly been situated as a political economic system that places the primacy of Hayek's (2005) critique of state intervention and Friedman's (1962, 2009) notion of maintaining economic stability above Keynesian ideas of state intervention in maintaining full employment and reducing poverty (MacLeavy, 2016). Nevertheless, this thesis draws on scholarship which situates neoliberalism as a system that is both an ideology and practice, that favours the values of freedom and efficiency, which are instituted through a political agenda that reassembles social and economic relations towards notions of free markets, competition, innovation, and individual responsibility (Springer et al., 2016).

The economic argument in favour of neoliberal reform is that the state has become a bloated Keynesian welfare state through extracting taxes that are redistributed towards propping up social welfare rather than funding growth (Chester, 2011; Considine, 2003). It is argued that the welfare state works as a countermeasure to growth because it acts as a disincentive for two fundamental reasons. First, it provides a disincentive for individuals to work as the welfare state guarantees income protection through the social wage if people cannot find work. Second, it acts as a disincentive for wealth generation as it uses increasingly high taxes to fund the welfare state rather than to support growth. Political proponents typically associated with igniting reform towards neoliberalism, namely Pinochet, Thatcher, and Reagan, were swayed towards a neoliberal conviction that subordinated social policy to economic policy. The neoliberal reform agenda placed downward pressure on both the social wage and the cost of production on a global scale (Jessop, 2015). This agenda laid the groundwork for free markets as a means to offset the tensions of capital accumulation (Harvey, 2005; Jessop, 2002). More specifically, from the 1970s onwards,

neoliberalism became seen as a remedy to the ongoing crises of capitalism—constant tensions causing blockages in the accumulation of capital (Harvey, 2005; Jessop, 2002).

The effects of neoliberal reform are nowhere more visible than under the tenets of 'workfare' (Peck, 2001). Workfare, understood as an encompassing term for policies in support of 'welfare to work', restructures social policy from offering wage protection from the crises of capitalism to one that uses disciplinary measures to pressure individuals into the labour market while offering maximum flexibility to labour markets to accommodate changes in market conditions (Jessop, 2002). These flexible arrangements include lifelong learning to maximise workers' employability, remaking enterprising workers that are attuned to a global knowledge-based economy, and the outsourcing of government activities in the production of goods and service to the market (Jessop, 2002). It is argued that 'workfare involves more than simply making the poor work; it is also about making flexible labour markets work' (Jessop, 2002, p. 170). While this argument suggests workfare is a class-based project that facilitates the development of the market, another view ('third way') suggests that workfare is a political strategy aimed at enforcing the rights and obligations of citizenship (H. Dean, 2004; Shaver, 2001) and therefore based on the principle of reciprocity (Peck, 2001). Regardless of these important distinctions, workfare situates unemployment as a deficiency on the supply side of labour; as a consequence, labour market programs are focused on mandatory participation and behaviour modification of the unemployed (Peck, 2001).

Neoliberalism, a complex array of notions that favours private enterprise over public sector management has since the 1970s, become embedded as a dominant ideology and set of practices within Australian public policy and institutions (Beeson & Firth, 1998; Onyx, Cham, & Dalton, 2016; Pusey et al., 2010; Quiggin, 1996). The Australian government embraced neoliberal reform as a policy response to its fiscal and unemployment challenges, which were attributed to global interdependency (Esping-Andersen, 1996). More specifically, it was a drive by the Australian government to seek greater efficiency within the Australian workforce to improve Australia's

economic position in a highly competitive and interconnected global system (Anderson, 1993; Beeson & Firth, 1998). Within the context of neoliberal reform, Australia's economic and social policies were reshaped towards the notion of achieving greater efficiency, through opening up the public sector to influences of the private sector (C. Hood, 1991) and disciplining behaviour towards self-reliance and self-regulation (Macintyre, 1999; Warburton & Smith, 2003).

This reform was an effect which, through widespread deregulation and privatisation, culminated in removal of restrictions on business and transferring public-owned assets and services to the private sector, including telecommunications (e.g., Telstra), airlines (e.g., Qantas), finance (e.g., Commonwealth Bank), railways, electricity, transportation, and health (Fairbrother, Svensen, & Teicher, 1997; Quiggin, 1996, 2014). This transfer of public-owned assets included public housing stock that was transferred to the third sector in an effort to take advantage of private sector funding (S. P. Taylor, 2017). The effect intensified market practice by subsidising services such as private education, healthcare, and childcare and contracting out government services to the competitive forces of the market (Cahill, 2010), including employment services and the marketisation of the national Vocational Education and Training (VET) agenda and labour market program (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2012; 2016; Sheldon & Thornthwaite, 2005; E. Smith, 2004). Australia's public sector was restructured to embrace notions of neoliberal reform (C. Hood, 1991), in particular to deliver services more efficiently and at a lower cost (Considine, Nguyen, & O'Sullivan, 2017). In other words, public practice was reoriented towards market-logic, which progressively shifted practices from that of a welfare state to that of a neoliberal state, aspects of which are discussed further in the theoretical chapter, Chapter 3.

In one respect, the neoliberal agenda is an effect that positions the role of the state as one of contraction (Kelsey, 1993; Peck & Tickell, 2002; Quiggin, 2014) where the state is rolled back through ongoing cutbacks to public spending (C. Hood, Dunsire, & Thomson, 1988). This effect is one where a change in boundaries, which occurs through the divestment of public-owned assets,

deregulation, and transfer of services to the private sector, is positioned as a shift in responsibility from the state to the market, from the public to the private (England & Ward, 2016; Megginson & Netter, 2001), and ultimately, a shift towards individual responsibility (Ilcan, 2009; Savelsberg, 2010; Warburton & Smith, 2003). It is an effect in which the state is seen to be withdrawing from its role of mediating the tensions between the economic and the social (Dodson, 2006), thereby placing greater onus on the market and the individual to resolve conflicting tensions. As discussed in Section 2.1, the push towards individual responsibility can be seen in the way that Australia's humanitarian program is shifting greater responsibility for resettlement towards refugees and their sponsors.

In another respect, the neoliberal agenda is an effect that situates the role of the state as an expansive one, where new forms of governance have emerged to manage the effects of neoliberal reform (Cerny, 1997; Jessop, 2016; Peck & Tickell, 2002; Wacquant, 1999). With this understanding, the Australian state continues to undertake its collective responsibility of redistribution through the expansion of social spending (Mendes, 2009; Spies-Butcher, 2014). However, when this responsibility is considered in the broader context of policy reform, that is, one which takes into account the combined nature of social spending and tax reform, it exposes an effect that 'leaves citizens less secure, and which increasingly marginalises those outside paid work' (Spies-Butcher, 2014, p. 92). This effect of marginalising the unemployed, that is female refugees, is what underpins the position of perpetual crisis and what this thesis aims to explain.

Either way, under the tenets of neoliberal reform, the Australian government has shifted away from the responsibility of full employment to leave the problem of unemployment as one to be negotiated between individuals and the market. This shift in responsibility, denoted by the push to have the market fulfil social policy while placing pressure on the individual to take responsibility to adapt to changes in market conditions, is discussed in the next section. More specifically, the discussion is on the effects of neoliberal reform on mainstream employment services, which,

similar to the services under Australia's humanitarian program (discussed in Section 2.1), form part of the Australian Framework of Support (AFS).

2.2.3 'Quasi-Market': Reshaping the Welfare State and Australia's Primary Labour Market Program (APLMP)

In the 1990s, the ideological shift towards neoliberal reform coincided with significant investment by the Australian government in the nonprofit sector that increased dependency of the government on nonprofit organisations to deliver on social policy. Through market-based mechanisms, government services were contracted out by way of a competitive tendering and performance-based funding model (Alford & O'Flynn, 2012; Butcher & Dalton, 2014; Onyx et al., 2016). This shift towards the market reshaped *Australia's welfare state* through multiple waves of reform. One significant set of neoliberal policy reforms, namely, Working Nation (1994–1996), Job Network (JN; 1996–2009), Job Services Australia (JSP; 2009–2015), and JobActive (2015–present), resulted in contracting out public employment services to private institutions (Considine, 2001; Considine, O'Sullivan, & Nguyen, 2014; DE, 2015; DJSB, 2018a; Manne, 2004). The effect of these policy reforms, which I have collectively labelled as Australia's primary labour market program (APLMP) have, over time, delivered a varying range of policy requirements (such as mutual obligation, discussed next in 2.2.4) and targeted programs such as Work for the Dole, which provides job seekers with skills and work experience with the aim of moving them off welfare and into employment (Fowkes, 2011; JA, 2015).Other programs include assisting the unemployed with setting up a new business as well as providing government subsidies to employers to take on the long-term unemployed (Junankar, 2000; W. Smith, 2017). The reshaping of the welfare state also included government focus on policy reform that encouraged private investment in social and community welfare programs, which was attributed, in part, to the increase in focus on social enterprises (Gray, Healy, & Crofts, 2003), a topic of discussion in Section 2.3.

Through this reform, Australia established a 'quasi-market' (Grand & Bartlett, 1993) for the provision of employment services to the unemployed. Broadly, the market is 'quasi' because it

does not function on the conventional rules of supply and demand where end consumers purchase and pay for services; rather, the market is established by the public sector, which is both regulator and purchaser of service (Kähkönen, 2003, p. 33), in this case the Australian government. In Australia, this quasi-market was an effect where public employment services and labour market programs were contracted out nationwide to both for-profit and nonprofit employment service providers (McDonald & Marston, 2008) or, as I have called them, Job Service Providers (JSPs). Through the quasi-market, modelled on market-based practice, the JSPs compete for government contracts to provide employment services under a complex fee structure that rewards JSPs according to the outcomes they achieve in line with key performance indicators set by the government (Davidson & Whiteford, 2012). Australia's quasi-market of public delivery for job-placement services and labour market programs was recognised as the most extreme form of market liberalism across all OECD countries (Fay, 1997). Details of how this market-based system works out for unemployed female refugees is a topic of discussion in Chapter 6.

Under the tenets of neoliberal reform, a shift occurred towards practices of corporatisation and pro-business logic, particularly for nonprofit organisations. Nonprofit service providers, generally differentiated by a closer connection to local communities and using a grassroots approach to community support (Considine, 2003), responded to neoliberal change through mergers and adopting a corporate approach as they competed on the same playing field as other for-profit providers (Onyx & Nowland-Foreman, 2017). For example, this shift, witnessed through the contraction and consolidation of service providers that occurred through the successive waves of neoliberal reform, saw the consolidation of employment service providers from around 300 in 1998 to approximately 44 by 2014 (Jobs Australia [JA], 2015). This quasi-market of employment service providers, which seeks greater efficiency through competitive contracting (Bredgaard & Larsen, 2008; Considine, 2003), is one where *the neoliberal state* realigns relationships with players based on preferred providers (Butcher, 2015), creating a hierarchy of insiders and outsiders (Casey, 2004). Within this field there exists a dominant set of players, 'super-sized charities'

(Dalton & Butcher, 2014) that receive a concentration of government funding, which suggested that the competition within the field favours larger organisations based on their ability to achieve high levels of efficiency and reliability through their economies of scale (Onyx et al., 2016). The contraction of federal funding for organisations that play a community development role makes this a highly competitive field, especially challenging for smaller nonprofit organisations as they aim to match this level of efficiency by either growing in size or seeking out merge partners to survive (Onyx et al., 2016). How nonprofit organisations negotiate neoliberal reform while maintaining their community commitments is the particular focus of Chapter 7.

The design of these policy reforms, which has favoured efficiency over a grassroots service provision, has meant that a one-size-fits-all approach lacks the capacity of employment service providers to effectively support people who are disadvantaged in the labour market (Australian Council of Social Service [ACOSS], 2018; J. Burgess, 2003). With reference to refugees, this ineffectiveness of the Job Service Providers (JSPs) is noticed in the ongoing calls for an employment strategy supportive of the needs of refugees (Ott, 2013; PC, 2016; RCOA, 2010b; Tahiri, 2017; Torezani et al., 2008; Torezani, Tilbury, & Colic-Peisker, 2006) and in particular, female refugees (Bodsworth, 2014; D. Bowman & Mui, 2012; Bretherton, 2011; Goodwin-Smith & Hutchinson, 2015; RCOA, 2010b). More specifically, this ineffectiveness has left refugee women with feelings of frustration in their dealings with the JSPs and has led to feelings of powerlessness as they continue to battle to find employment (Vromans et al., 2018). This problem goes to the centre of explaining the *position of perpetual crisis*; that is, despite ongoing effort from female refugees and the quasi-market of government-funded employment agencies, refugee women remain in a seemingly endless struggle to find work.

In essence, the effects of neoliberal reform, which favours a one-size-fits-all approach in the interests of efficiency, have resulted in the erosion of closer connections between service providers and the local community. Again, a one-size-fits-all approach supports a system of exclusion as it discounts what is required to effectively support the labour market needs of female refugees that

are not only coming from a situation of disadvantage due to forced migration, but are also faced with ongoing barriers to the means of integration, leaving female refugees to take responsibility for finding gainful employment.

2.2.4 Mutual Obligation: A One-Sided Affair

In Australia, 'mutual obligation' is the driving principle of workfare. For those individuals who are reliant on the welfare of the state, mutual obligation dictates that they perform certain authorised work-related activities in exchange for their welfare payments (Grahame & Marston, 2012; Spies-Butcher, 2014; Warburton & Smith, 2003). More specifically, it dictates they return the moral debt owed for their dependency on the Australian taxpayer (Harris, 2001; Howard, 1998), 'that those who have done well have an obligation to the less fortunate, and that those who are supported by the community should give something in return' (Howard, 2000, p. 11). These work-related activities, also labelled *activation* criteria, are stipulated as a requirement on the basis that they enhance the chances of finding employment (Morris & Wilson, 2014). Activities include participating in regular meetings with Job Service Providers (JSPs), undertaking a stipulated number of job interviews, undergoing education or training programs, and performing work experience and voluntary assignments (Davidson, 2014;Olney, 2016). For those who are made morally indebted to the Australian state, any failure to perform these authorised activities results in disciplinary action in the form of penalties and suspension of welfare payments, which are enacted by the Australian government (Holdsworth, 2017), more specifically, the agency of the Department of Human Services (DHS)—Centrelink. How these sanctions playout for female refugees is a discussion in Chapter 6.

It is important to note that this disciplinary action is extended beyond the relationship between the Australian government and the welfare recipient, as public acts of shaming of welfare recipients are invoked by politicians through a neoliberal discourse of 'dole bludgers' and 'welfare cheats' (V. Archer, 2009), which are then echoed through the media and therefore make their way into public discourse (Hartman, 2005; Wilcock, 2014). It has been argued that these public acts of

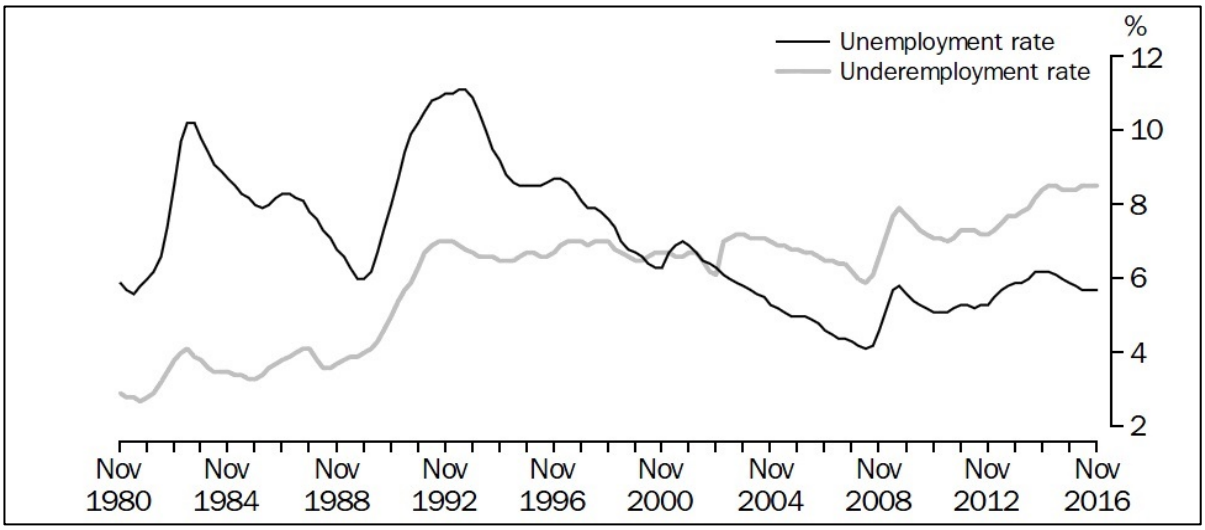
shaming by the media are gender biased, as women in particular are subjected to additional moral condemnation: 'Unlike their male counterparts, female "cheats" are additionally subject to high-pitched moral condemnations about their presumed sexual deviance, selfishness or maternal failings' (Wilcock, 2014, p. 190). The discourse of public shaming separates the deserving citizen from the undeserving citizen (Vasta, 2004), good citizens from bad citizens (Warburton & Smith, 2003), or bad women (Wilcock, 2014). These moral classifications separate givers from receivers, that is, welfare recipients from taxpayers (V. Archer, 2009), and more specifically, 'refugees' from 'Australians' (as expressed more recently in 2017 by the former Minister of Immigration and Border Protection, Peter Dutton; and argued in Section 3.5).

It is argued that mutual obligation is an effect that has seen the responsibility for employment shift from the state to become an individual responsibility (Bullen, 2010; Considine, 2001; M. Dean, 1995; Gerrard, 2015), and that this is an effect that situates Australia's primary labour market program (APLMP) as one of governance through discipline and division (Harris, 2001). Certainly, it is acknowledged that the APLMP is heavily weighted towards adequate supply of labour, and therefore these programs target employability while pushing people off welfare and into work (Australian National Audit Office [ANAO], 2014; Beck, 2004). This constraint in policy design overlooks the demand side of labour and in particular the structural barriers that impede access to employment for those outside the workforce (Bell, 2004; Fowkes, 2011).

Indeed, Australia's labour market is failing to provide an adequate supply of work. This challenge with the demand side of labour is even for those unemployed workers, who unlike many female refugees have a higher level of cultural capital (language proficiency and qualifications) relevant to the Australian labour market, in particular Australian-born youth (PC, 2016) and 'mature-aged' Australian workers that were at some stage gainfully employed over a period of many years (D. Bowman, McGann, Kimberley, & Biggs, 2016; Kossen & Pedersen, 2008; Scott, 2015). Indeed, it is acknowledged that the causes of unemployment extend to structural changes at both a global and national level (Bessant, 2000). This effect is made apparent by the global

displacement of jobs, which is a consequence of capitalism's ongoing process of reductions to the cost of production (Harvey, 2010). In the Australian labour market, these structural changes have been exemplified through the offshoring of jobs, such as manufacturing to cheaper labour markets, the casualisation of the workforce (Kler, Potia, & Shankar, 2018; I. Watson, 2013; I. Watson, Buchanan, Campbell, & Briggs, 2003), and the weakening of labour power through fragmented experiences of work and a 'reorganisation of work that focuses on "cost transferring" to workers through "flexible" labour contracts' (Wilson & Ebert, 2013, p. 264). These structural changes, which result in work that is insecure, temporary, low income, and low labour protection, culminate in what Ebert (2011) called 'precarious work societies'. At a national level, this structural insecurity is made visible through the inadequate supply of secure work (Brotherhood of St Laurence [BOSL], 2017) and the increasing trend towards underemployment, which is where employed workers are available for work and want more work hours (ABS, 2016a, p. 10). Unfortunately, underemployment statistics are not available in the Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset (ACMID) for 2016, and therefore the extent to which female refugees are affected by underemployment is hard to demonstrate. However, the overall labour market trends for female refugees, based on the ACMID data, as previously discussed, indicates that female refugees generally fair much worse across all labour market statistics; therefore, it is highly likely that a similar trend exists for the underemployment of female refugees. This is also likely to be the case as studies acknowledge both unemployment and underemployment is a challenge for refugees and women in particular (Colic-Peisker, 2009; Hebbani, 2014; Ng Chok, Mannix, Dickson, & Wilkes, 2018).

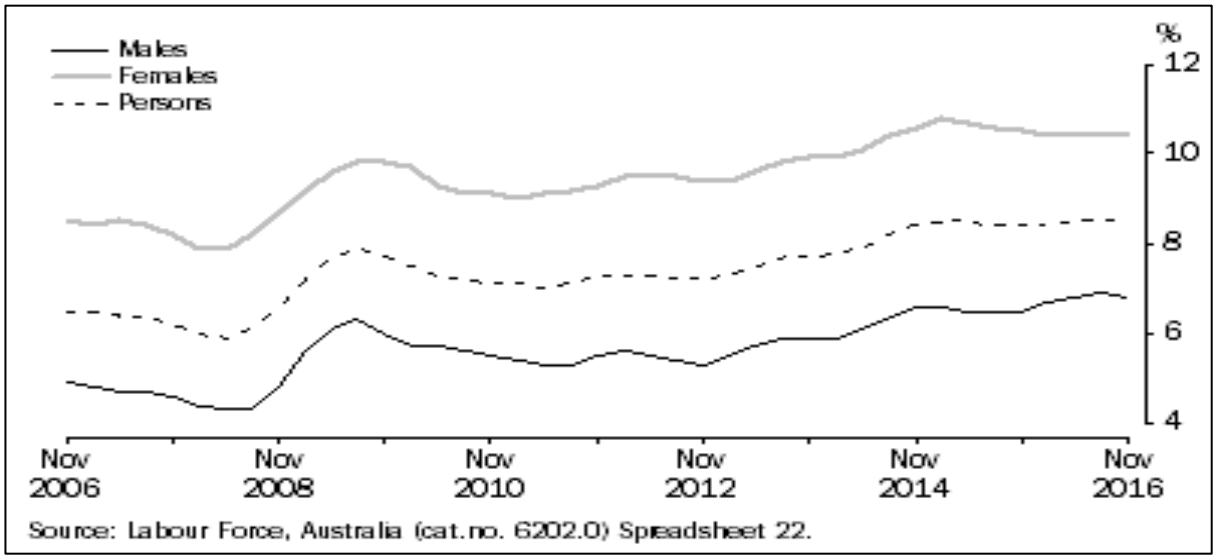
The extent to which the Australian labour market is failing to provide an adequate supply of work is depicted below, in Figure 2.1. Based on statistics drawn from the ABS, the figure shows that while there has been a decline in the unemployment rate for the past 20 years or more, the trend in the underemployment rate for the same period has steadily increased.



Source. Labour Force, Australia (cat.no. 6202.0, Spreadsheet 22) (ABS, 2016a, p. 11)

Figure 2.1 Unemployment and Underemployment rate, November 1980 to November 2016.

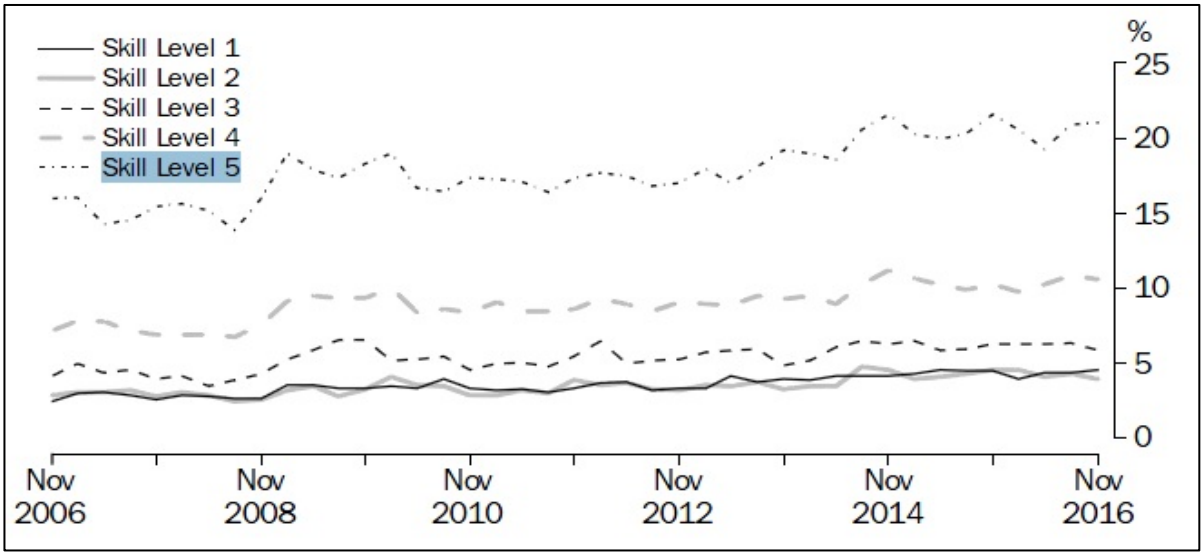
When similar data were viewed in relation to sex, they revealed that females fair much worse as they consistently represent the greater share of underemployed workers and were 59.6% of the total number of underemployed for 2016 (ABS, 2016a, p. 11). Furthermore, females have an underemployment rate of 10.4 %, which is higher than that of males at 6.8%, as depicted in Figure 2.2, below.



Source. Labour Force, Australia (cat.no. 6202.0) Spreadsheet 22. (ABS, 2016a, p. 12)

Figure 2.2 Underemployment rate by sex, November 2006 to November 2016.

It is important to note that underemployment affects mostly those workers with the lowest skill levels (refer Appendix 12 for explanation of skill levels). For example, in Figure 2.3 below, those workers with a skill level of 5 (lowest level) have a consistently and significantly higher rate of underemployment than any other group.



Source. Unpublished data. Occupation data are found in Labour Force, Australia, Detailed, Quarterly (cat.no. 6291.0.55.003). (ABS, 2016a, p. 13)

Figure 2.3 Underemployment ratio by Skill Level, November 2006 to November 2016

The significance of these underemployment statistics when viewed in relation to Australia's humanitarian program and mutual obligation is that unemployed female refugees face a tri-factor of disadvantage. Not only are unemployed female refugees more likely to be ill supported through the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) and discriminated against in the labour market, but they also more likely to experience intense competition from underemployed workers that are themselves in battle with the effects of overskilling in a labour market that has an inadequate supply of work. For example, it is acknowledged that 'overskilling', where the skills of an individual exceed what is required to perform the job that they occupy, is a feature of the supply side of the Australian labour market (Mavromaras, McGuinness, & Wooden, 2007; I. Watson, 2008). The effect of this phenomenon suggests that overskilling places downward pressure on available jobs for those jobseekers with the requisite skills to perform the job, as jobseekers that are more skilled occupy labour market positions that exceed what is required. This then, although

it does not explain the full story, may to some extent offer an explanation why some female refugees remain unemployed. Overskilling is an important signal that the demand side of the labour market is failing to provide an adequate supply of work commensurate with the skills of workers, and therefore a surplus of overskilled workers has an effect that pushes appropriately skilled workers, such as female refugees, out of available work opportunities. The extent of this phenomenon on placing downward pressure on jobs available for female refugees is unknown, as most of the literature researched reported on the labour market challenges faced by refugees such as language, qualifications, and discrimination, rather than the structural effects of a failing labour market on the unemployment of refugees. Although it must be noted that empirical studies drawing on the experiences of single mothers in receipt of welfare support have highlighted that the challenge with 'mutual obligation' is that obligations are placed on welfare recipients regardless of whether there are available jobs (Bessant, 2000; Holdsworth, 2017; Vasta, 2004). In brief, the problem with mutual obligation is that it becomes a one-sided affair in a labour market failing to provide an adequate supply of work, even for people that are appropriately skilled.

Under the tenets of mutual obligation, the struggle for work is acute, if not impossible, when the labour market is failing to provide an adequate supply of work, and the effect of this inadequacy pushes downward pressure on available work to such an extent that those who are adequately skilled are pushed out of work. As previously shown in this section, there is insecurity in the Australian labour market as growing underemployment and casualisation of labour have become a prominent feature. Indeed, underemployment signals a lack of available work in the labour market. It is argued that in a precarious work society, where work and the number of available hours for work are scarce, individual responsibility is heavily dependent on the structural framework for options and opportunities (Ebert, 2012). Again, without an effective framework of support to access the means to satisfy their basic needs, individuals become excluded and consequently labelled as the underserving citizens (Vasta, 2004), the underclass (Mingione, 1996) and outcasts (Wacquant, 2008b). Under tenets of neoliberal reform, the unemployed are effectively

punished (or disciplined) into poverty (Wacquant, 2009). Certainly, a contradiction exists under the Australia's Framework of Support, where under neoliberal notions of 'mutual obligation' individuals are disciplined towards the labour market and then denied access.

Furthermore, Vasta (2004) argued that under a neoliberal government such as Australia, insecurity in the labour market changes social conditions and gives rise to discrimination in the form of racism when members of dominant ethnic groups are without the foresight to know how solidarity plays out under these changing conditions. Under these labour market conditions, those who are considered visibly and culturally different to the dominant group experience multiple forms of discrimination, which excludes them from participating in processes that make up the economic, cultural, social, and political practices within a given society (Mingione, 1996; Vasta, 2004). Indeed, neoliberalism is argued as ushering in a more insidious form of institutional racism (Giroux, 2016, pp. 67-69). In particular this is where an association is drawn between the stigmatised group and the labour market failure (Roberts & Mahtani, 2010; Vasta, 2004) which also leaves individuals with feelings of worthless (Vasta, 2004). In Australia, these types of racist associations between refugees and the labour market are made visible by politicians that are not only recognised for their xenophobic tendencies (Crépeau, 2017) but also pay out these tendencies in mainstream media, as further demonstrated in Section 3.5. Certainly, for unemployed female refugees, mutual obligation is a meaningless act when the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) remains deficient in its capacity to overcome the obstacles of discrimination and neither the state nor the market takes account of the effects of an inadequate supply of work, which is made evident in the failure to arrest the ongoing increase in the underemployment rate as depicted above in this section. These multiple layers of disadvantage suggest that the discrimination experienced by female refugees has a compounding effect, more so given the inherent gender discrimination.

This section provided historical context to the politics of employment in Australia. It explained the effects of neoliberal reform on the Australian political landscape and in particular, the shaping of the welfare state under multiple waves of reform that transformed Australia's

primary labour market program towards a quasi-market system. This quasi-market system, which operates under the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) results in a highly competitive environment that is a crucial feature of the environment within which the case study of this thesis is situated and an important feature of the *position of perpetual crisis* for unemployed female refugees, explained further in Chapters 6 and 7. This section showed that in an environment that is governed by mutual obligation under a market-based system of support, the struggle for female refugees to enter the labour market remains acute in a labour market that is failing to provide an adequate supply of jobs and a framework of support that advocates a one-size-fits-all approach. The effect of this leaves many female refugees frustrated in their dealings with employment service providers, resulting in a call for a change in policy that will support a more effective employment strategy. The next section draws deeper into the discussion on the complex intersection between female refugees and unemployment by shifting attention to the emergence of social enterprises within the Australian Framework of Support (AFS).

2.3 The Social Enterprise as a Solution to Unemployment?

Coinciding with the rise of neoliberalism in societies such as Australia, the US, and across countries of the European Union, including the United Kingdom (UK) social enterprises have also gained prominence. These democratic capitalist societies may broadly be positioned as trying to manage an effective equilibrium between the social, which constitutes rights and entitlements, and the economic, which upholds free markets (Streeck, 2011). Within these societies, social enterprises have emerged as an organisational means by which to serve a variety of missions to address various economic, social, environmental, and cultural needs, including unemployment and homelessness (Austin, Stevenson, & Wei-Skillern, 2006; Barraket, 2007; Barraket, Mason, et al., 2016; Borzaga & Defourny, 2004; Defourny & Nyssens, 2008; Kerlin, 2009; Mair & Marti, 2006; Teasdale, 2012). This section examines the literature on social enterprise with a particular aim of understanding the ambiguity associated with the concept, its practice as well as the motivation for, and effect of, social enterprises on gainful employment.

2.3.1 A Remedy for Everything

The concept of social enterprise is contentious. As a notion with a multiplicity of definitions worldwide (Barraket et al., 2010; Chikadzi, 2014; Defourny, 2001; Masendeke & Mugova, 2009), social enterprise has come to symbolise many things: the effect of a growing global phenomenon that is seen to use innovative solutions to overcome social issues (Defourny & Kim, 2011; Denny & Seddon, 2014; Kerlin, 2009; Nicholls, 2008; J. Robinson, Mair, & Hockerts, 2009); a hybrid organisational form that incorporates the competing logics of the social and the economic (Johnson, 2000; Nicholls, 2008; Pache & Santos, 2010); a language and effect of neoliberal reform, which aims to marketise the social (Chell, 2007; Cook, Dodds, & Mitchell, 2003; Dey & Steyaert, 2010); a prospect for a reformed variant of capitalism (Dees, 1998b; Di Domenico, Tracey, & Haugh, 2009); a consequence of the state's management of social issues that is based on promoting individual agency and responsibility, in this case for finding gainful employment (Gerrard, 2015); a means towards legitimacy and funding for nonprofit organisations (Barraket, Furneaux, Barth, & Mason, 2016; Dart, 2004); a policy tool that acts as an overarching instrument across a wide range of organisational forms, which enables the state to lay claim to addressing a diverse set of social problems (Teasdale, 2011; Teasdale, Lyon, & Baldock, 2013); a case of practice preceding language, as the practice of social enterprise dates back hundreds of years in Europe (Alter, 2007; Bull, 2006; Denny & Seddon, 2014; Pearce & Kay, 2003) while the language used to describe social enterprises is considered something new (Teasdale, 2011) having gained currency from the 1990s (Defourny & Nyssens, 2009, 2010); a consequence of a hero-like individual that possesses a unique set of characteristics, which motivates them towards redressing the ills of society (Dees, 1998b; Leadbeater, 1997); a means to restore the erosion of ethical virtue amid a neoclassical economic system (Bull, Ridley-Duff, Foster, & Seanor, 2010); and a practice with the potential to commodify and exploit the very clients, or beneficiaries, that it is meant to support (Garrow & Hasenfeld, 2014). Clearly, social enterprises have emerged as both the cause and remedy for social ills, which is exactly what lies at the heart of understanding the *position of perpetual crisis*.

Over the past 20 years, the study of social enterprise has grown in significance through a wide body of literature (Denny & Seddon, 2014; Granados, Hlupic, Coakes, & Mohamed, 2011), which has extended across disciplines such as management, entrepreneurship, political science, marketing, psychology, education, and sociology (Kadir & Sarif, 2016; Mair & Marti, 2006) with interest from practitioners, policy makers and academics (Bode, 2014; Grant, 2014). Despite this increase in focus, the definition of social enterprise remains unresolved. While the term itself has been in use for well over three decades, there remains worldwide debate across scholarship and industry (Dees, 1998b; Defourny, 2001; Gray et al., 2003; Kerlin, 2012; Nyssens, 2006; Pestoff & Hulgård, 2016). This lack of uniform definition extends to the Australian context, as well (Barraket et al., 2010; Eversole, 2013; Gerrard, 2015).

A study that analysed terminology across European and U.S. contexts concluded there was a general consistency in understanding that the main aim of social enterprise activity is to position the creation of social value over profits: 'On both sides of the Atlantic, the explicit aim to benefit the community or the creation of "social value", rather than the distribution of profit, is the core mission of social entrepreneurship and social enterprises' (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010, p. 16). The OECD, which recognises the multiplicity of understandings of social enterprise activity across its member states, framed their definition to include specific social and economic outcomes: 'Social enterprises are generally understood as an innovative business model that meets both social and economic objectives contributing to labour market integration, social inclusion and economic development' (Borzaga et al., 2009, p. 14). However, more recent discussion from within the European context has continued to emphasise ongoing contention as definitions across both public and private debates are either made too narrow in order to promote a particular social agenda such as 'job creation' or made so vague as to lose meaning, that even a large, international for-profit organisation may be considered a social enterprise: 'Some definitions of social enterprise are so vague or loose that a big international fast-food chain might even qualify as a social enterprise,

since it offers many young people their first job and helps them to get a foot into the labor market' (Pestoff & Hulgård, 2016, p. 1744).

From within an Australian context, there exist myriad definitions across levels of government (local, state, and federal) and industry (Barraket, Furneaux, et al., 2016). An Australian industry study that used a bottom-up survey approach to gain access to data across 365 social enterprises situated their study within the following constructed definition:

> Social enterprises are organisations that: Are led by an economic, social, cultural, or environmental mission consistent with a public or community benefit; Trade to fulfil their mission; Derive a substantial portion of their income from trade; and Reinvest the majority of their profit/surplus in the fulfilment of their mission. (Barraket et al., 2010, p. 4)

Other Australian studies, which similarly have recognised the creation of social value and trading as core practice of social enterprises, have also lent emphasis to the definition by situating social enterprise as a practice that blurs the boundaries of the established organisational categories of for-profit and nonprofit: 'As social enterprises, they by definition used trading activities to create community benefits, a way of working that did not fit easily into accepted definitions of "private" or "not-for-profit" sector' (Eversole, 2013, p. 574). Some Australian industry studies, however, while recognising the ambiguity of the term, have made a distinction between 'social enterprises' and 'social businesses' through a generalisation of the motivation and origin for the initiative. For example, social enterprises are situated as 'often started with a charitable intent, by people working from within the third sector who have an enterprising orientation' (Burkett, 2010, p. 17), whereas social businesses were understood as 'often started with a business intent, by people working from within the private sector who see an opportunity to create social impact' (Burkett, 2010, p. 17).

The lack of uniform definition is largely attributed to the term social enterprise being used across the world to encompass a wide range of practices spanning different legal, political, and socioeconomic arrangements, activities, and boundaries (Barraket, Douglas, et al., 2016; Defourny & Nyssens, 2006; Doeringer, 2010; Kerlin, 2006, 2009, 2010; OECD, 1999; Simmons, 2008;

Teasdale, 2011). Variations in the definitions for social enterprise are further explained with reference to the 'intermediate area' (Evers & Laville, 2004) that social enterprises occupy (Nyssens, 2006). This area overlaps the distinct 'spheres of social practices' (E. Wright, 2011), which broadly constitute the relational practices that differentiate the state, the market, and civil society. Broadly speaking, each sphere of social practice is largely oriented towards political, economic, and social goals, respectively.

Global comparative studies have demonstrated that the practice of social enterprise activity develops from different points of origin across the state, the market, and civil society (Kerlin, 2006, 2009; Nicholls, 2008). For example, an examination of the historical context and trajectories through which social enterprises have developed across Europe and the US suggests that the differing social, political, and economic environments are what give rise to the unique variations in social enterprises (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010; Kerlin, 2006, 2010; Monroe-White, Kerlin, & Zook, 2015). These variations are made apparent through the different emphasis in scholarship between Europe and the US, as competing discourse emphasises differing political beliefs and socioeconomic practice: 'The European and U.S. approaches can be distinguished by commentators' relative attention to collectivisation and democratic ownership or to individualistic and hierarchical organisational structures' Teasdale (2011, p. 4). As a broad generalisation, this explanation for the difference in variation is where the tradition of European shared responsibility, which tends to favour public organisations and private cooperatives (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010; Hulgård, 2010; Nyssens, 2006) juxtapose the individualistic and market-based approach, which is considered more representative of cultural beliefs and practices of the US (Kerlin, 2010; Nyssens, 2006). The latter is an approach that tends to emphasise strategies for income generation (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010) and the role of individuals (social entrepreneurs) as agents of social change (Dees, 1998b; Mair & Noboa, 2003). It must also be noted, however, that inconsistency in use of the terms *social enterprise, social entrepreneurship* and *social entrepreneur* is a contributory factor to the lack of unifying definition, as these terms are sometimes used

interchangeably (Birch & Whittam, 2008; Kenny & Taylor, 2016; Peredo & McLean, 2006; Pestoff & Hulgård, 2016) or used with no attempt to distinguish between them (Douglas & Grant, 2014). To reiterate, as a broad generalisation, these terms, which are closely related, have come to represent the structure (social enterprise), the practice (social entrepreneurship), and the individual pioneer (social entrepreneur) of social enterprise activity (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010).

While there is an absence of a uniform definition, social enterprises have come to be seen as hybrid organisations (Defourny & Nyssens, 2006) that have the aim of achieving both social and economic goals (Douglas, 2015; Huybrechts, 2012). Through blending of positions that distinguish for-profit from nonprofit (Peattie & Morley, 2008), social enterprises are sometimes described as organisations with a *double-bottom line*, which symbolises both the prosocial and pro-economic goals (Emerson & Twersky, 1996). Social enterprises have come to challenge the traditional understanding of the organisational forms of for-profit, nonprofit, and government organisations. These traditional organisational forms, as a broad generalisation, constitute the distinct boundaries between the 'private sector', the 'third sector' and the 'public sector' (Battilana & Lee, 2014) and, more broadly, the distinct boundaries of 'the market', 'civil society' and 'the state' (Brandsen, Karré, & Helderman, 2009), respectively.

Hybrid organisations are seen to blur traditional boundaries as they combine multiple organisational forms (Hoffman, Badiane, & Haigh, 2010; Johnson, 2000) such as nonprofit organisations adopting commercial practices and for-profit organisations working within the constraints of their social and environmental goals (Hoffman et al., 2010). These hybrid structures are also seen to draw on a range of activities that bridge the boundaries between the logics of for-profit and nonprofit sectors in order to legitimise their form and logic across divergent sectors (Tracey, Phillips, & Jarvis, 2011). For instance, social enterprises result from an array of actions across public and private sectors, such as policy and legislative arrangements that encourage favourable environments for social enterprises to operate (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010) as well as for-profit undertakings that imply a concern for public good through corporate social responsibility

and initiatives such as impact investing and venture philanthropy (Defourny, Hulgård, & Pestoff, 2014).

Some studies have situated social enterprises as a subset of hybrid organisations. These studies have emphasised that the difference is that social enterprises have a direct relationship with those in need (the 'beneficiary' of the social enterprise): 'To count as social enterprises, they need only have a commitment to transact with their beneficiaries' (Eldar, 2017, p. 106). Hybrid organisations that fall into this category can be both for-profit and nonprofit organisations that have a direct relationship with their beneficiaries through providing access to capital, providing employment, and improving welfare (Eldar, 2017). Examples of such organisations are Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, which offer micro-loans directly to people that are otherwise excluded from commercial lending institutions due to their economic status of being classified as poor (Peredo & McLean, 2006). Other examples are nonprofit organisations such as *The Big Issue* in Australia, which works directly with people who are unemployed to provide access to informal work opportunities (Gerrard, 2015). The notion of the beneficiary is a crucial aspect of a working definition for this thesis as the research is concerned with the gainful employment of female refugees, and therefore the 'beneficiary' is an important part of defining the social enterprise understudy.

What we can take from these debates is that the meaning and notion of social enterprise remain both prominent and conflicted. Despite the absence of a uniform definition and a multiplicity of understandings, social enterprise has come to symbolise a mixed organisation logic, one that is a hybrid structure that incorporates conflicting social and economic logics as a consequence of ongoing tensions within the complex environment from which these social enterprises have emerged. With this complexity of understanding, it is important to restate that my research is specifically concerned with the effect of social enterprises on the gainful employment of female refugees. While this thesis draws on the broader understanding of a social enterprise as a hybrid organisation that trades to fulfil its mission, the concern is with the effect of the social

enterprise on the labour market position of unemployed female refugees. Therefore, my study uses a narrower working definition that elevates the beneficiaries of social enterprises as central to guiding the research. Again, the working definition for my thesis draws on previous work but uses the following narrower definition that includes both the category of 'female refugee' and the outcome of employment: *The social enterprise is a structure that trades with the specific intent of providing gainful employment to unemployed female refugees.*

2.3.2 The Uncertainty of Achieving Sustained Outcomes

Recent years have shown an increase in the number of social enterprise organisations across the world (Austin et al., 2006; Denny & Seddon, 2014), including Australia (Barraket et al., 2010). A study into the growth and characteristics of social enterprises in Australia has suggested an increasing number of new entrants that have focused their mission on the creation of 'meaningful' employment opportunities (Barraket, Mason, et al., 2016). These findings are consistent with other empirical studies that have situated social enterprises, which are focused on employment, as having the explicit aim of either creating long-term employment options or supporting an intermediary labour market that acts as a pathway to employment within Australia's labour market (Barraket, 2007; Couldrey, 2014; DEEWR, 2012a, 2012b; McQuilten, 2017; Mestan & Scutella, 2007; Tahiri, 2017; Vincent Fairfax Family Foundation [VFFF], 2014).

In Australia, the majority of social enterprises have emerged from the nonprofit sector, with some nonprofit organisations 'rebadging' themselves as social enterprises to legitimatise their claim to resources (Barraket, 2016; Malcolm, Onyx, Dalton, & Penetito, 2015). Furthermore, in Australia, there is no legal framework under which organisations may be uniquely identified, either as a social enterprise or as operating a social enterprise within their legal structure. The absence of a legal framework results in challenges with clearly identifying social enterprise structures, with some studies relying on the organisations themselves to self-identify as a social enterprise (Barraket et al., 2010; Barraket, Douglas, et al., 2016).

Notably, it has been suggested that the recent growth in social enterprise structures may be a consequence of a stronger identification with the term social enterprise given its increased standing of legitimacy and that some third sector organisations in Australia are rebranding themselves as social enterprises to attract funds (Barraket, 2016). This explanation is consistent with studies that have situated the impetus towards social enterprises over recent decades to be in line with both economic rationalist and institutional arguments (Dart, 2004). From an economic rationalist perspective, explanations for the emergence of social enterprises are attributed resource and funding constraints (Dees, 1998a) with the social enterprise structure considered a strategically more useful option to providing sustainable solutions to uphold the social mission of an organisation (Dees, Anderson, & Wei-Skillern, 2004; Drayton, 2006; Pomerantz, 2003). It has been argued, however, that economic rationalist explanations offer narrow understandings as they limit explanations to a combination of strategic and economic reasons and overlook the broader sociological explanations (Dart, 2004). In contrast, institutional theory, which makes use of the notion of legitimacy, argues that the prominence of social enterprises, particularly within the nonprofit sector, is a consequence of a growing neoliberal ideology that places the values, language, and practice of probusiness logic as central within democratic capitalist societies (Dart, 2004). Within institutional theory, the notion of legitimacy suggests that social practice is based on what is deemed socially acceptable rather than rationally efficient (Bowen, 2017; Meyer & Rowan, 1977a). With this explanation, the impetus towards social enterprises is broadened beyond explanations of utility to that of conformity and therefore also explains the significance of nonprofit organisations rebranding themselves as social enterprises in a highly competitive market-based environment under neoliberal reform.

Notwithstanding this challenge, an industry survey suggested that Australia has a mature social enterprise sector with an estimate of upwards of 20,000 social enterprise structures in operation (Barraket et al., 2010, p. 4). These social enterprises are broadly understood as organisations that undertake trading activities to fulfil their social mission and are considered to

mainly operate as nonprofit organisations that reinvest most of their profits back into fulfilling their mission (Barraket et al., 2010). Within this understanding, however, it is acknowledged that a small number of social enterprises operate as for-profit businesses, and that some distribute surplus profit back to members and parent organisations. Within Australia, social enterprises mainly operate within the retail and health industry, although trading activities also extend to the education and training industry as well as the arts and recreational services (Barraket, Mason, et al., 2016).

While public policy has been slow in its development of social enterprises in Australia, these structural forms have received consistent investment and support from all levels of government (local, state, and federal) as well as large amounts of funding from various sources, mainly foundations and trusts (Barraket, Douglas, et al., 2016; Castellas, Ormiston, & Findlay, 2018). Various initiatives from the Australian government have focused on supporting the practice of social enterprise. One such initiative, 'social investment' (or impact investment), is a form of investment activity that has gained currency in Australia since 2008 (Ormiston, Seymour, Douglas, & Grant, 2014). Generally seen as a form of financing to promote social enterprises, social investment is undertaken with the aim of creating social value for the community while delivering an economic benefit to investors (DEEWR, 2013a; Nicholls, 2010). This type of investing, sources funds from beyond the traditional boundaries of philanthropic and government grants to reach into a pool of investors that operate within the boundaries of financial markets and investment banking. One such example is the case of the GoodStart Childcare Ltd, which is a nonprofit organisation that positioned itself as a 'social enterprise that operates with strong business disciplines and reinvests operating surpluses into quality and social inclusion initiatives' (Good Start Early Learning [GSL], 2016, p. 7). This social enterprise was established in 2009 following the collapse of the ABC Learning Centres, which at the time was the largest for-profit childcare business in Australia (DEEWR, 2013a; Ormiston et al., 2014; Social Ventures Australia [SVA], 2012). Through a diverse group of investors from across the public, private and community sectors,

GoodStart Childcare Ltd purchased 678 childcare centres across Australia by raising capital of $95 million, including $22.5m in social capital notes that provided a 12% investor return (GSL, 2011; Ormiston et al., 2014; SVA, 2012).

In one respect, this type of investment is seen to redirect the flow of capital investment from the traditional 'sin stocks' (companies in the production of stock such as arms, alcohol, tobacco, gambling, oil) towards initiatives that are deemed more 'socially responsible' (Nicholls, 2010; Salaber, 2007). In another, it is seen to move beyond the notion of investment to establish organisations that are deemed socially responsible (Hinson & Ndhlovu, 2011) to a form of investment that creates social structures that use business logic to addresses social problems for a specific group of beneficiaries (Mair & Marti, 2006; Philip, Hunter, & Ye, 2017). In short, social investment is seen to challenge the traditional institutional logics and norms of investment by embedding a 'moral code' that converges the distinct boundaries of investment to create a set of processes aimed at supporting a framework focused on delivering both social and economic benefits (Nicholls, 2010; Philip et al., 2017). A further example of this type of financing that is used to promote social enterprises, is the Social Enterprise Development and Investment Funds (SEDIF), which was launched by the Australian federal government in 2010 as an initiative with the primary aim of stimulating the emerging social investment market in Australia to encourage growth and expansion of social enterprises through an improved funding model (DEEWR, 2013b). This funding model supported a complex framework of fund management intermediaries that brought together investors with the 'intention to achieve both a positive social, cultural and/or environmental benefit and some measure of financial return' (DEEWR, 2013a, p. 2). Under the SEDIF, the Australian government, in partnership with three fund management financiers (Foresters Community Finance, Social Enterprise Finance Australia, and Social Ventures Australia) jointly invested upwards of $40 million towards the development of social enterprises (DEEWR, 2013b). Of this investment, $20 million was in the form of government grants. An independent evaluation of the effects of the SEDIF initiative reported that while the initiative had

encouraged investment and achieved some level of 'positive social outcomes for 9051 people, including employment or employment readiness for more than 650 people' (Barraket, Muir, et al., 2016, p. 1) it did little to establish an effective framework for the growth of social enterprises in Australia.

The success of social enterprises as an effective means to address society's problems is tentative and mixed. In one respect, social enterprises are seen as having the potential to deliver sustainable social value through the pursuit of both a financial and social return on investment (the 'double-bottom line'). More specifically, social enterprises are seen to balance the economic needs of the organisation while delivering social value to those who need it most, with Grameen Bank frequently cited as a case in point (Kong, Bishop, & Iles, 2018; Nicholls, 2008; Seelos & Mair, 2004; Wilburn & Wilburn, 2014). In particular, social enterprises are credited with establishing locally based enterprises that provide a boost to both employment and pathways to employment for those individuals at a disadvantage with respect to the labour market (Barraket, 2014; Pomerantz, 2003). In another respect, it has been argued that organisations that attempt to combine institutional logics face the challenge of managing significant tensions, which may result in either compromising the social mission when commercial priorities are given preference or in enterprise failure if the social mission is given preference (Cornforth, 2014). Either way, the complexity associated with managing these tensions raises concern with social enterprises as a sustainable solution in highly competitive capitalist market economies (Teasdale, 2012), especially when history cautions that organisations with competing social and economic logics over time tend to succumb to the dominant market-logic (Cornforth, Thomas, Spear, & Lewis, 1988). A more critical view expressed by Cook et al. (2003), argues that social enterprise activity is a reactionary consequence of neoliberal reform. This view argues that the practice of social enterprise fails to account for the true cause of social issues, such as mass unemployment, and as such shifts the responsibility of reform away from the state to a handful of individuals operating under the notion of social enterprise (Cook et al., 2003). Further, it has been argued that social enterprises are an

effect of neoliberal reform that is placing private sector business-like practice over philanthropy and transforming the nonprofit sector towards a narrower market-based focus (Dart, 2004). In short, social enterprises are a move towards the commercialisation of the nonprofit sector.

The uncertainty of social enterprises as an effective means to address society's problems extends to the Australian context of unemployed female refugees. As separate categories, 'social enterprise', 'unemployment', and 'female refugees' are each the subject of significant research interest; however, little is known about the nexus and social enterprises as a sustained effect on the gainful employment of unemployed female refugees. A study that documented the types of social enterprise models in Australia, while recognising some of these models have the aim of creating permanent employment or transitional employment, drew little further distinction between the two types of models (Barraket, Douglas, Eversole, Mason, & McNeill, 2017), an indication of the ambiguity of social enterprises. One possible explanation for this lack in distinction may be that while the practice of social enterprise has been argued as relatively mature in Australia (Barraket et al., 2010), it is only recently that an industry survey study has recognised a shift in the practice of social enterprises from *opportunities for participation* to *opportunities for employment*:

> Australian social enterprises seek to fulfil a diversity of missions and serve a wide variety of beneficiaries. The most cited missions of the 2016 sample were creating meaningful employment opportunities for people from a specific group, and developing new solutions to social, cultural, economic or environmental problems. This differed from the 2010 findings, where creating opportunities for people to participate in their community was the most frequently cited response. (Barraket, Mason, et al., 2016, p. 4)

This finding suggests that the shift towards employment as an outcome of social enterprises is a more recent occurrence in Australia, and therefore, it will take more time to understand the long-run effects of social enterprises on gainful employment, more so when history suggests that most start-ups fail within their first five years of operation (Ormiston et al., 2014). In other words, the long-run effect of the social enterprise is better assessed after the five-year period of volatility.

While the study did not explain the shift towards the focus on employment, government interest towards the practice of social enterprise (as discussed earlier in this section) is recognised as a possible impact.

Despite this lack of clarity, Australian studies have reported on many benefits to female refugees employed through social enterprises. In the first instance, social enterprises are more beneficial than Australia's mainstream employment programs (Job Service Providers) as they not only improve wellbeing but also offer financial participation and the facilitation of new skills, including English language, while also fostering improved cross-cultural understanding and experiences between refugee women and the wider Australian community (Barraket, 2014). However, it is also argued that while social enterprises provide unique opportunities for social and economic participation, they are constrained by practices of competitive funding and are without an effective policy framework, making it highly unlikely they will be able to scale up to redress the broader issue of labour market segmentation and exclusion (Barraket, 2007). Other studies analysing the intersection between social enterprises and unemployed female refugees have argued along similar lines. These studies, which similarly reported on the benefits to refugee women, suggested that while social enterprises are uniquely placed to provide an improved resettlement experience with access to employment, they require a change to policy to promote broader structural change that will improve sustained outcomes (Abdelkerim & Grace, 2011; Kong et al., 2018). In Australia in particular, there remains a lack of research focused on understanding the impact of social enterprise structures on social change (Nyssens & Defourny, 2011). Indeed, there is a lack of global research on both struggling and failed social enterprises (Seanor & Meaton, 2008), even from within an Australian context (Campbell, Kelly, & Harrison, 2011). Uncertainty over the efficacy of social enterprises has been attributed to the lack of a conceptual framework that will help explain why social enterprises are more effective than other solutions that have failed to redress social problems (Alvord, Brown, & Letts, 2004).

What this discussion highlights is that from within an Australian context, the social enterprise as an effective means to gainful employment for female refugees remains uncertain. While empirical evidence has suggested that the benefits of the social enterprise to female refugees improves wellbeing, including social and economic participation across the wider Australian community, other evidence has suggested that these benefits are temporary, with limited research focused on social enterprises that fail. These findings are especially concerning when considering the limitations in policy and the lack of an effective framework that will support the long-term growth of the social enterprise. The limited research on the social enterprise in redressing the broader socioeconomic challenges such as discrimination, exploitation, and labour market segmentation are especially concerning for female refugees that struggle against a tri-factor of disadvantage, being the lack of support through the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), labour market discrimination, and exclusion from a labour market failing to provide an adequate supply of work.

Chapter 2 has revealed that while Australia remains committed to the resettlement of some of the world's most vulnerable people, it delivers a humanitarian system that falls short of offering a unified system of support that removes barriers to integration for all humanitarian entrants. There are serious concerns that Australia is undermining its humanitarian program and consequently creating a class-based system within its social order. The limitations in the capacity of its humanitarian program as well as increased racism from Australian politicians and, the punitive and unequal treatment of humanitarian entrants, all fuel these concerns. Further, Australia's primary labour market program, which operates under a quasi-market-based system of support, too, is seen to be failing in its capacity to overcome barriers to entry to the labour market, including discrimination. This is particularly concerning for female refugees given the effects of forced migration and gender inequality, which already place them at a significant disadvantage. Under these conditions, where female refugees are both rejected by the labour market and the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) is failing to overcome barriers to gainful employment, the social

enterprise emerges. While the social enterprise offers some promising signs for the employment of female refugees, here, too, there are serious concerns with its sustainability and capacity to redress broader socioeconomic issues of social exclusion and labour market segmentation. With this still limited understanding of the impact of social enterprises on social change, it is important to understand the power dynamics unfolding around the Australian Framework of Support within the context of a neoliberal state and its policies. It is in particular relevant, how these dynamics produce, define, and affect the success of the social enterprise in getting female refugees into gainful employment. It is the focus of the next chapter to look into the power dynamics related to female refugees' opportunities or lack thereof to gain employment.

Chapter 3:

Towards Theorising the Position of Perpetual Crisis

This chapter introduces key concepts of power that are used to examine the relations that intersect the lives of female refugees and effect the *position of perpetual crisis*. To reiterate briefly, in Chapters 1 and 2, I established the following four points that underlie my overall argument. The first is that refugees, women in particular, are coming from a position of significant disadvantage relative to the 'general' Australian population.[5] The second is that female refugees are disproportionately overrepresented in unemployment statistics in Australia. The third is that under the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), which is a complex network of organisational services and support, there has been a noticeable shift in nonprofit social enterprise structures focused on the problem of unemployment for refugees. Fourth, under the AFS, a multiplicity of relationships intersects the lives of unemployed female refugees, and the neoliberal state holds the monopoly on orchestrating the distribution of power within this framework. Under this framework, relations of power are oriented towards market principles and individual responsibility.

To understand these complex relationships, a set of analytical tools, which primarily draws on the work of Bourdieu, is first used to offer a relational understanding of power. These tools are then used to situate power by explaining how power is configured, intersects, and operates among individuals and across complex structures such as the AFS and the labour market. Next, concepts of power are used to reveal how unchallenged, (or hidden and unseen) forms of power uphold inequality across complex structural relationships. The final section of this chapter uses these tools to demonstrate how power operates in a neoliberal state. It does this by arguing that racism,

[5] This assertion excludes the First Nations people from the understanding of 'general', as I acknowledge the Uluru Statement (First Sovereign Nations [FSN], 2017) and the Prime Minister's Report on Closing the Gap (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet [DPMC], 2018) as definitive declarations of the unresolved tensions that continue to undermine and disadvantage the First Nations people.

combined as an inherent feature of the neoliberal state, acts as a crucial feature for the reorientation of power, thereby exposing the mark of the indifferent state.

3.1 Understanding the Power Dynamics Intersecting the Lives of Female Refugees

Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), which draws on the Marxist tradition in the critique of social relations (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), uses several concepts of power to help explain how the positions that individuals occupy within a complex system of relations are socially constituted and upheld. These complex systems may be a society such as Australia, a bounded support system like the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), a market-based system such as the labour market, or an organisational structure such as the social enterprise.

Influenced by theorists such as Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Elias, and Wittgenstein, Bourdieu's work provides a useful set of concepts that have been extensively used within field research. Unlike other theories of practice (such as Giddens' structuration) these concepts drive a closer relationship between practical experience and theoretical knowledge as they focus on explaining the interplay between structure and agency (Wacquant, 2004, pp. 390-391). As Wacquant (2008a) further explains, Bourdieu's theory of practice challenges the divide between objectivism, which emphasises structural relations as having 'power over' individuals, and subjectivism, which emphasises an individual's capacity of interpretation as having the 'power to' construct reality (p. 266). Rather than focusing on who holds power, Bourdieu's theory aims to explain the interplay between structure and agency and therefore offers a set of tools with which to examine the 'relationship between objective social structures (institutions, discourses, fields, ideologies) and everyday practices (what people do and why they do it)' (J. Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002, p. 1). By focusing on the interplay between structure and agency, Bourdieu's concepts expand the discussion on power from a binary debate of where power is situated (that is, who has it, and who does not), to one that explains the practice of power (that is, how it works, and why). In other words, the discussion on power draws emphasis beyond individual agency or the 'power to' act (Morriss, 2002) and beyond notions of 'power over' (Pitkin, 1972) where power is a *zero-sum*

game (Parsons, 1957) gained at the expense of another. Rather, these concepts are used to closely examine the lived experiences of unemployed female refugees to uncover the relations of power that intersect the lives of the women and to explain how these relations of power, in particular the neoliberal state and the social enterprise, contribute to sustaining the position of perpetual crisis.

Along similar lines, Foucault's notions of power extend beyond binary understandings that portray power as something that is the possession of an individual or an elite group, such as Marxist notions of class domination. For example, as Lemke (2002) explained, this is where economic power is primarily repressive and held by a capitalist class whose ideologies situate the state as an instrument of the ruling class (p. 51). Rather, Foucault (1991) situates power as a network of relations. In other words, *power is not the absolute possession of an individual or an elite group, but it is dynamically constituted within the relationships that make up society* (Gečienė, 2002; Sarup, 1993). For Foucault (1979),

> power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organisation; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens or reverses them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly, as the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formation of the law, in the various social hegemonies. (pp. 92-93)

With this understanding, the scope of power is viewed as myriad actions, ever moving, colliding, and changing. 'Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere' (Foucault, 1979, p. 93). Foucault's conceptualisation of power is a condition of ongoing struggles and confrontations between a multiplicity of unequal relations. These struggles either remain in perpetual conflict and isolation or they become a symphony of related actions that strengthen and reinforce each other towards the exercise of power, which can manifest as an institution or structure. This means that structures such as the social enterprise manifest because

of the network of relationships and ongoing practices between these relationships, which uphold these structures. More importantly, for Foucault (1980), power is constantly circulating; that is, a practice that is going on among people:

> Power must be analysed as something which circulates . . . It is never localised here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. (p. 98)

This perpetual state of motion, in which power changes and is reshaped from one moment to the next, is a consequence of ongoing struggles among unequal relations. This continuous motion is representative of the ongoing struggle between the network of relations; that are made visible thorough agents of organisations and structures that make up the Australian government departments, the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), the labour market, the social enterprise and of course female refugees. These ongoing power struggles, which are governed under dominant principles of the neoliberal state lie at the core of what I define as the *position of perpetual crisis* in this study as the following chapters make increasingly clear.

Foucault shifts the emphasis of power to focus on the specific relational situation that is dynamically produced. Again, this dynamic situation, imbued with the actions of struggles that culminate in the exercise of power, remains only for as long as ongoing actions reinforce the situation. Explained differently, the social enterprise, or the institution, exists because of myriad relationships (funding partners, staff, refugee women) that reinforce its existence. In his analysis of power, Foucault situates power as dynamic, much like a flock of starlings caught up in perpetual motion, constantly changing direction through a collective symphony of actions. This mesmerising act can have one completely puzzled if one is searching for a particular starling that has the capacity to sharply change the course of flight for the entire flock. This perpetual state of motion is precisely what this study aimed to explore and explain. In particular, what are the changes that the social enterprise introduces to the power dynamics going on with the refugee women? How

are relations of power reshaped among the women and the social enterprise, with respect to the neoliberal state?

To capture this movement, that is, the different ways that power shifts (or circulates), this study situates the examination of the social enterprise within the broader context of the Australian Framework of Support and the dominating logic of the neoliberal state, as explained in Chapter 2. The myriad power relations that are constantly changing and manifest around the social enterprise are the particular focus of discussion in Chapters 6 and 7. Both chapters provide a comprehensive understanding of how inequality in the unemployment position of female refugees is constructed and moves through a complex entanglement of power relations.

But before we can get into those topics, and while this study uses Foucault's notions of power, it rests more heavily on Bourdieu's concepts on which I focus now briefly. Bourdieu's concepts work across the objective/subjective divide to provide a conceptual framework that helps to first situate power and then draw out unchallenged, or unseen, forms of power at the intersection of the power relations with female refugees.

In a first step, to situate power, this thesis uses Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of *habitus, field,* and *capital* to help explain how power is configured and intersects. Each concept, while distinct in its ability to explain the notion of power, is inextricably linked and works in partnership to provide a unique account of how power operates. More specifically, these concepts are used to explain how female refugees adapt to the environment within which they are situated and how positions, such as the unemployment position of female refugees or the market-based position of nonprofit organisations, are constituted and wield power within various structures such as the Australian Framework of Support (AFS). In a second step, by drawing on additional notions of power such as *misrecognition,* symbolic *violence,* and *symbolic power,* this chapter further explains the way unchallenged (or hidden and unseen) forms of power uphold inequality across these socially constituted positions and structures. The following sections now use Bourdieu's

concepts to explain how power is situated and then to explain how unchallenged forms of power operate at the intersection between the individual and the structure.

3.2 Habitus: The Interplay Between Female Refugees and Australian Society

Bourdieu's notion of habitus offers an explanation for the way individuals adapt to the social environment within which they are situated. This notion suggests that individuals neither operate entirely from individual will nor are they *docile bodies* (Foucault, 1991) that are completely conditioned by networked structures. Rather, a duality, of the individual and the environment, is in constant play through the integrative, or intuitive, capacity of the habitus. Habitus explains the way society becomes embedded in the individual and the individual in society. As Wacquant (2006) explains,

> Habitus is a *mediating* notion that helps us revoke the common-sense duality between the individual and the social by capturing 'the internalisation of the externality and the externalisation of the internality', that is, the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting *dispositions,* or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel, and act in determinate ways, which then guide them in their creative responses to the constraints and socialisations of their extant milieu. (p. 318)

Habitus, a rework of an Aristotelian concept, orients the feelings, desires, and conduct of individuals (Wacquant, 2016, p. 64). It is, for every individual, an unconscious ability to generate thoughts, perceptions, and actions from the distinctive experience of daily life: 'The habitus is an infinite capacity for generating products—thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions . . . The habitus is a spontaneity without consciousness or will' (Bourdieu, 1990, pp. 55-56). The products of the habitus manifest in various ways, such as the way individuals, think, feel, speak, move, and act (Bourdieu, 1984). In other words, habitus helps to explain the association between the feelings and actions of female refugees in relation to their resettlement experience and the power dynamics that intersect their lives (a point of discussion in Chapter 5). As Wacquant (2008a) further explains, through the ongoing experiences of daily life, the habitus is constantly acquiring dispositions, which through lasting exposure to a particular social milieu creates a common matrix of

dispositions embedded with rules and social conditionings that equate to shared experiences such as nationality, class, and gender (p. 267). Stated differently, the distinctive experience of life, which is unique across time, space, and distributions of power, is a combination of actions and social conditions that give rise to individual thoughts that guide the outlook, judgements, values, and behaviours inherent in a particular instant. In summary, habitus is encoded with the rules, norms, and conditions that reproduce the practices and shared identities within a society, such as the national identity of "Australian".

The habitus is also a 'structuring structure' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72), meaning it is also a source of transformation. As an integrative capacity, the habitus makes possible the interplay between the individual and society, between past experience and creativity, between tradition and innovation, and as such, the habitus is both a product and producer of history. Habitus explains how the rules, norms, and conditions of society are reproduced through the individual and the way the individual transforms society. This means that individuals, such as female refugees as well as agents of the social enterprise, shape the environments within which they are situated, and in turn, these environments, such as the Australian Framework of Support, shape them. This understanding of habitus suggests that the feelings and actions of refugee women are not only an expression of how they negotiate their particular environments, but also that these feelings and actions provide knowledge of the rules of that environment. Therefore, understanding the feelings and actions of unemployed female refugees will provide an indication of the rules that sit at the complex intersection between female refugees and environments, such as the labour market, the social enterprise, the AFS, and the state. An opportunity to draw on the unique experiences of unemployed female refugees is a way to understand how the rules and principles, that govern Australian society can become known.

Again, the products generated by the habitus, and which contain the norms, rules, and practices of society, are what guide the perspectives, judgements, and actions of individuals to seek out creative responses to the constraints of the social milieu within which they are situated.

As Wacquant (2008a) further explains, when the habitus encounters a social setting that is at odds with its innate dispositions, its infinite capacity to generate new products triggers an innovation (p. 268). This innovative process, which Topper (2001) similarly interpreted as intuition (p. 38), creates a disruption as it expands the dispositions of the individual by offering a set of possibilities that are different to past practice: 'a matrix generating responses adapted in advance to all objective conditions' (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 64). This innovation offers the possibility of transformation to the practices and relations within the social milieu of the individual. For this innovation, when exercised, becomes forever embedded as a historic practice (a 'transposable disposition') that offers a differentiated set of judgements and practices that are readily available within the social milieu of the individual. This study is concerned with both female refugees and the role of the social enterprise and therefore seeks to understand the associated dispositions (the habitus) of both female refugees and the agents of the social enterprise to understand their process of disruption under a neoliberal state.

For Bourdieu (1990), it must be noted that this set of transformed dispositions, although a variant, is based on past practice: 'The habitus, which at every moment, structures new experiences, in accordance with the structures produced by past experiences' (p. 60). This means that the habitus' strategy anticipates future moves based on past practice. In effect, the habitus structures new dispositions by modifying accounts of past dispositions. This modification is a form of integration that brings together dispositions of the past into the experiences of the current, which suggests that the habitus functions on a single temporal plane where both past and present co-exist and where the habitus is constantly working to integrate the individual with the social milieu within which they are situated. In other words, integration through reproduction or integration through differentiation (Durkheim, 1997, pp. 219-220), that is, transformation. Again, this study examines the basis upon which the habitus of the social enterprise agent functions; that is, what are the practices of the agents of the social enterprise under a neoliberal state and how are they different

to those of the JSP agent? The difference in practices between the habitus of the social enterprise agent and that of the JSP agent is topic under Chapter 7.

In particular, Chapter 7 examines how the social enterprise agents change practices under the neoliberal state to integrate female refugees into the labour market. The notion of habitus is important to this study as it suggests that any tensions, both resolved and unresolved, provide an understanding of the process of integration and the extent to which the rules and practices that sit at the intersection between the refugee women, the AFS, and the social enterprise have either reproduced or transformed the social environment towards gainful employment of female refugees. The significance of habitus for this study, then, is its integrative capacity, for at this point, the dispositions of the individual and society intersect. On the one hand, there are female refugees who, unlike the 'general' Australian population, are coming from a position of significant disadvantage. Therefore, it is to be expected that in most cases, refugees are undergoing a process of significant disruption as they work to find ways to develop the necessary responses to adapt to their new environment. As discussed in Chapter 1, by drawing on the lived experiences of unemployed refugee women, this thesis gains unique knowledge into the tensions faced by female refugees and how they negotiate their new environment to gain entry into the labour market. On the other hand, there is the general population and, more specifically, the agents that operate within the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), in particular the agents of the social enterprise. Similarly, these agents, too, sit within a periphery of change as they, too, experience the effect of neoliberal reform and experience the unemployed refugee women. Again, insight from these agents reveal how they negotiate tensions and, in particular, the extent to which they reconfigure relations of power to integrate the social enterprise (meaning themselves, their habitus) and the refugee women under the dominant logic of the neoliberal state that broadly advocates for behaviour modification towards free markets and individual responsibility.

An important consideration in Bourdieu's notion of habitus, however, is that it works from a position of self-interest (J. Webb et al., 2002). The habitus is self-preserving as it 'tends to protect

itself from crises and critical challenges by providing itself with a milieu to which it is as pre-adapted as possible' (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 61). The habitus prioritises dispositions likely 'to reinforce it rather than transform it' (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 64), thereby favouring reproduction over transformation. This means that generally, individuals tend to favour traditional over liberal practice, but when confronted with difference, such as a change in environment, individuals move to a more liberal position by seeking out innovations, or creative ways, that are closest to the dispositions of their traditional past; that is, innovations that favour past practice as the best predictor of success. With this understanding, J. Webb et al. (2002) emphasise two important aspects of Bourdieu's theory of habitus. First, are possibilities presented that fall outside the individual habitus, or the common matrix for that matter; that is 'things outside those rules, and structures are usually understood, when forced upon us, as amounting to the horrific and barbaric, or the absurd and comic' (p. 39). Again, feelings are an important indicator as they signal unresolved tensions between the individual and society, or structure. For example, as mentioned in Section 2.2.3, refugee women that express feelings of frustration in dealing with Job Service Providers (Vromans et al., 2018) suggests there are unresolved tensions with the rules and social conditions that underpin the struggles of female refugees. These feelings and tensions form an important part of the discussion in the findings Chapters of Part 2, particularly Chapters 5.

The second important aspect raised by J. Webb et al. (2002) is that for the habitus to function from a position of self-preservation requires it to normalise conditions in alignment with the dispositions with which it is predisposed. In other words, the habitus functions in a way that requires that 'individuals must normally think that the possibilities from which they choose are in fact necessities, commonsense, natural and inevitable' (J. Webb et al., 2002, pp. 39-38). Again, this normalisation is an unconsciousness that effectively hides the conditions and context of the habitus production, meaning that the process of normalisation is how unchallenged forms of power, that is, inequality, becomes embodied or accepted as a natural way of life. For example, under the rules of patriarchy where the natural and inevitable order of things is a system of

inequality that relegates women to household production, as discussed previously in the literature. Uncovering hidden, or unseen, forms of power between female refugees and the structures that intersect their lives is a fundamental concern of this thesis as it shows how inequality in the unemployment position of female refugees is normalised. The subsequent sections of this chapter draw deeper from Bourdieu's concepts of power to explain how unseen forms of power may be revealed.

Gaining knowledge directly from refugee women themselves on their experiences to access employment provides an opportunity to better understand the process of disruption for entry into the labour market. In particular, it offers the possibility to reveal the influences on which key relationships are predisposed; as such, the women's perspectives explain the products, or set of dispositions, they construct to adapt to the social environment within which they are situated. For example, what do the women themselves consider the reasons for their struggle to gainful employment, and what actions do they take to overcome this constraint? Similarly, locating agents of the social enterprise as central to understanding reveals details of the key influences and products that they, too, construct to negotiate the social world. Again, this knowledge provides valuable insight for what these agents see as the reason for their practice of the social enterprise. Locating the individual as central to understanding the social milieu within which they are situated provides an opportunity to increase knowledge through learning about their personal experiences. More specifically, it reveals the complex processes, or actions, that they undertake towards integration. Interviewing both the refugee women and the agents of the social enterprise to which the women are affiliated may reveal the tensions being negotiated and therefore the extent to which resettlement is a 'two-way' process of integration.

How refugee women, and similarly how the agents of the social enterprise, both shape and are shaped by the environments within which they are situated is a discussion I focus on in the findings in chapters 5, 6 and 7. For now, the next section of this chapter draws on Bourdieu's notions of *field* and *capital* to situate power and explain how the power dynamics work between

the individual and structure. In other words, it explains how the positions occupied by female refugees, and organisations such as the social enterprise, are socially constituted and upheld within a particular social environment, such as the Australian labour market or the Australian Framework of Support.

Before I proceed to the next section it is important to note that one of the most significant and ongoing criticisms of Bourdieu's work, in particular his central concept of habitus, is that it is deterministic (Faber, 2017), essentially leaving little room for individual choice and decision making (Jenkins, 1982, pp. 272-273). Wacquant (1989), in an analysis of this criticism, presents a counter argument, citing a lack of understanding of Bourdieu's work (pp. 27-29). A longitudinal study by Bouty and Gomez (2010) that operationalised Bourdieu's notion of habitus within organisational studies demonstrated the bidirectional influence between the individual and the organisation in the creation, mobilisation and restructuring of knowledge (pp. 545-546). While Bouty and Gomez provided an empirical account of habitus in the influence of relational practice, other critique of Bourdieu's work argued that 'it is not a lack of action that is problematic, but rather the focus on pre-reflective dimensions of action' (Reay, 2004, p. 437). More specifically, by drawing on the work of Sayer (2005), Reay (2004) argued that with respect to habitus, the limited focus by Bourdieu on the internal processes of creativity and reflexivity (that is, our internal conversations (M. Archer, 2003, p. 298)), marginalises the significance of the internal dimensions of action (p. 437). This debate was pushed further by Grillo (2018) who argued that the undertheorised aspects of Bourdieu's notion of habitus would benefit from the theoretical work of Fromm (1941) as it provides a deeper understanding of the psychological influences that motivate individuals towards a particular set of dispositions (see Grillo's examples on Fromm's notion of 'marketing orientation').

Other scholars such as Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) called for a greater engagement with the notion of habitus within organisational studies when they argued that inattention to habitus has resulted in the misappropriation of Bourdieu's work as well as an underappreciation of the

relational significance of his work (p. 1). A similar argument by Yang (2014) called for focus on those elements of Bourdieu theory which have attracted less attention and have been under theorised, such as the transformative dimensions of habitus (p. 1532). In a review of management and organisational literature from 1980 to 2012, Sieweke (2014) showed that while there has been an increase in the theoretical engagement of Bourdieu's notion of habitus, the focus has mainly been at a limited or intermediate level (p. 13). Sieweke further argued for a comprehensive engagement with the notion of habitus to afford a deeper understanding of the processes of institutionalisation and the different meaning that individuals ascribe to these processes, in particular newcomers (pp. 13-20), such as female refugees undergoing resettlement processes in Australia.

The point of raising these challenges with Bourdieu's work is not to directly engage in these complex debates, but rather to draw emphasis towards the scope and boundaries of my study. However, it is important to note that my study does offer some contribution to the limitations and suggestions raised in these debates by offering an empirical account of the disruptive and innovative process of habitus production. By engaging more deeply with the concept of habitus my data and analysis chapters offer a unique account of the disruptive and innovative process with specific regard to the struggles of refugee women (refer Section 5.3 and 6.3) as well as agents of organisations such as the JSP (refer Chapter 6), and in particular the NP-A (refer Chapter 7). It is on this important point that I now proceed to the next section which draws on Bourdieu's notions of field and capital to help explain the dynamics of power.

3.3 The Intersection of Multiple Structural Layers and Multiple Forms of Discrimination

Habitus is shaped through the environments, or structures, to which it is exposed. The notions of field and capital help to explain the position (or intersection) that an individual is situated in within this complex network of relations. This study is about the inequality in the unemployment position of female refugees and the role of the social enterprise in this position. Therefore, the concern is with understanding how the environment, in particular the social enterprise, the Australian

Framework of Support, and the neoliberal state intersect to influence the labour market position of female refugees. More specifically, this section helps to explain how myriad force relations culminate in positions such as unemployment, the social enterprise, and the *position of perpetual crisis.*

3.3.1 Field

Bourdieu uses the notion of *field,* which is a structural concept, to lend perspective to the social milieu within which habitus' are situated. Indeed, many fields make up the social milieu, and each field has a unique set of values and regulating principles (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Each field is distinct in its purpose and takes on many forms and sizes, such as the religious field, the economic field, the academic field, associations, cultural groups, and clubs. The major fields under study for this thesis are the neoliberal state, the Australian labour market, and the Australian Framework of Support, inclusive of the social enterprise.

> In analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of the species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc). In highly differentiated societies, the social cosmos is made up of a number of such relatively autonomous social microcosms . . . For instance, the artistic field, or the religious field, or the economic field all follow specific goals. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97)

Each field operates as a network of relations distinct in the 'institutions, rules, rituals, conventions, categories, titles, which constitute an objective hierarchy and which produce and authorise certain discourses and activities' (J. Webb et al., 2002, pp. 21-22). In other words, the defining feature of these fields is that they have their own specific boundaries, rules, organisations, institutions, and specific history that determine how power is uniquely exercised in each field. As Navarro explains, these fields, which are socially constructed, form a hierarchy of relations across fields that are a series of relatively autonomous but homologous fields within the social world (2006, p. 14). This

means there are fields within fields and, while independent, each field is influenced by the other. For example, within the AFS (refer Appendix 4), while all organisations are identified as belonging to a specific 'subgroup', be they uniquely identified as for-profit, nonprofit, public or private sector, they all operate within a field bounded by the neoliberal state and therefore subjected to market-based rules of power.

Wacquant explains, that a 'field is, in the first instance, a structured space of positions' (2008a, p. 7). Each position is assigned a certain value that determines its place in the field and consequently the hierarchy of the field. In other words, the value of each position is socially constituted as it is based on the social determinants (rules, norms, values, roles) imposed by the relational positions within the field. These relational connections, with their socially constructed determinants, make up the distinctive hierarchy of each field. An individual may be associated with many fields and will occupy a different position within each field. For example, within the Australian labour market, these structured positions are clearly delineated by social determinants, or categories, such as occupation (kitchen hand, doctor, teacher, banker), qualifications (certificate, diploma, degree), number of years' work experience, titles (trainee, supervisor, manager, director), employment status (unemployed, part-time, casual, permanent), cultural markers (skin colour, accent, dress code, country of birth, surname), sex, gender, ability (able, disabled), and so on. In the academic field, for example, there are a different set of determinants, where titles such as student or professor carry a different value within the field itself. Therefore, an individual that is director in one field but a student in another holds a different position in each field, consequently wielding a different level of power or authority (Weber, 1946) within each field.

In complex societies such as Australia with its diversity of cultural groups, there are many such fields, each with its own set of rules and implicit conditions that facilitate self-governance and compliance within the field. For example, unemployed female refugees are rejected by the Australian labour market, but under the rules that govern the Australian Framework of Support

(AFS), the social enterprise provides employment to refugee women. In other words, the women may lack status in one field and be excluded (unemployed), but in another, they are actively engaged (employed) through the social enterprise. My thesis aims to explain this contradiction with the rules that govern the labour market position of female refugees.

The complexity that governs the position an individual occupies within a field extends to the organisation, as well, where each organisation occupies a certain position within its unique structural field. For example, within the field of education or field of commerce, certain industry rankings will determine the value of each organisation and therefore the position the organisation holds within the hierarchy of the field in question. Of course, these rankings only hold true if the positions that constitute the field uphold them. In other words, the position an organisation occupies within a field is a consequence of the rules that are upheld by all associated positions within and across that field. The significance of these rules can be seen, for example, and as discussed in Section 2.3.2, where some nonprofit organisations are rebranding themselves as social enterprises to attract funds, thereby demonstrating that both within and across the various fields, the category of social enterprise holds a prominent position within the hierarchy of the field. In the first instance, from within the field of the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) the nonprofit uses the category of social enterprise in an attempt to legitimise itself. In the second instance, this position is upheld by all the associated relationships across both public and private spheres of practice, such as the governments, foundations, and trusts that provide the necessary funding for the social enterprise. Of course, all associated positions that uphold the social enterprise include both the staff of the social enterprise and the female refugees themselves. Again, my thesis is concerned with exploring the rules that govern these complex relationships in relation to the unemployment position of female refugees.

3.3.2 Capital

To explain why these fields and their associated positions are structured in a particular way requires an understanding of what is valued in the field, that is, the principles under which they

are organised. Bourdieu uses the notion of *capital* to account for the operations of the field. The amount of *capital* that an individual, or organisation, possesses determines the power that can be wielded within the field and consequently the level of success, or position, within the field. An important point with Bourdieu's notion of capital is that it expands the understanding of power beyond just the exercise of power. For Bourdieu, power is something other than an arbitrary force: 'without turning power into a "circle whose centre is everywhere and nowhere" . . . we have to be able to discover it in places where it is least visible' (Bourdieu, 1991b, p. 163). For Bourdieu, when power is exercised, what becomes manifest is not arbitrary; rather it is the history of the norms, rules, and practices that constitute value within a particular field. Only when capital is used, that is, exercised as a feature of a relationship then power comes into effect. Much like the notions of *potential energy* and *kinetic energy*, only in motion is power an effect. In short, capital is what gives power its potency when exercised.

> Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated,' embodied form), which when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor. It is a vis insita, a force inscribed in objective or subjective structures, but it is also a lex insita, the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world. It is what makes the games of society—not least, the economic game—something other than simple games of chance offering at every moment the possibility of a miracle. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241)

Bourdieu (1986) explained that capital is expressed as *economic capital*, *social capital,* and *cultural capital.* Broadly speaking, economic capital refers to material and financial assets such as property, machinery, and money. Social capital refers to the network of relations or memberships across multiple fields. Finally, cultural capital refers to such things as unique cultural language, dispositions, skills, practices, titles, and qualifications. In addition, Bourdieu uses the notion of *symbolic capital,* which is a special construction of capital recognised by the symbolic status bestowed upon an individual, or structure, and recognised in such things as prestige, reputation, fame (Wacquant, 2008a), race (Gruner, 2010; Weiß, 2001) and gender (D. Miller, 2014). Holders

of symbolic capital are granted more power as they are not only given more rights to speak in a group, or on behalf of a group (Järvinen & Gundelach, 2007, pp. 57-58), but symbolic capital, can be converted into other forms of capital, including economic, and therefore also affords holders special privileges or opportunities. This may be seen in, for example, the Australian of the Year Award, the Nobel Peace Prize, and even mainstream commercial television 'reality' shows that award certain privilege, expressed through such things as titles, financial opportunities, either money or public speaking events. Again, symbolic capital is awarded based on what is valued by a particular group and can also be seen in categories such as gender and race that award privilege to a dominant group over another. For Bourdieu symbolic capital is the most insidious form of capital, and while it may afford privilege to one group it has a negative effect against those upon which it is defined, or rather stands in opposition to.

> One of the most unequal of all distributions, and probably, in any case, the most cruel, is the distribution of symbolic capital, that is, of social importance and of reasons for living... In the hierarchy of worth and unworthiness . . . the nobleman, in his traditional variant, or in his modern form—what I call the State nobility—is opposed to the stigmatised pariah who, like the Jew in Kafka's time, or, now the black in the ghetto or the Arab or Turk in the working class suburbs of European cities, bears the curse of a negative symbolic capital. (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 241)

Section 3.5 below, demonstrates how under the neoliberal state the category of 'refugee' intersects with racism, to be constructed as an insidious form of symbolic capital used to advance the interests of Australian politicians.

An important point to clarify with Bourdieu's concepts of *capital* and *field* is that together they provide a unifying measure to call attention to the position (or intersection) that an individual (or organisation) occupies within the hierarchy of a particular field, at a particular moment in time. Bourdieu expands on Marxist notions of class hegemony based on materiality (Mohr, 2013) to offer a deeper and broader explanation to the position (and power) that individuals occupy within a unique field. Precisely how much capital (economic, social, cultural and symbolic) that an individual (or organisation) has, determines the position occupied within a particular field (Wacquant, 2008a). Capital, therefore, may also be seen as a resource and a means by which

individuals have advantage, or power, over others. As Wacquant (2008a) further explains, each field is unique in its volume and variation of capital, therefore, the position that an individual (or organisation) occupies within each distinct field varies based on this unique composition (p. 268). In other words, as the volume and variation of capital changes, so does the position within the field. Again, the importance of a change in *capital* can be seen in the way that nonprofits are rebranding themselves as social enterprises in order to attract funds. In this case, the category of social enterprise acts as a form of *symbolic capital* which, in keeping with Darts (2004) argument, provides legitimacy in a field dominated by neoliberal logic. Said differently, the term social enterprise carries with it a specific status within the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), and when used, it affords economic capital to the nonprofit. Constructing the social enterprise as a form of *symbolic capital* is a topic of discussion in Chapter 7.

In the case of female refugees, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, it is clear that cultural capital (English language), social capital (social and job networks), economic capital (financial hardship), and symbolic capital (race, class and gender) are all factors that impede access to the means of integration, particularly employment. Chapters 5 and 6 provides detail on the volume and variation of capital for female refugee participants Mary, Agnes, and Erika. For female refugees, however, the accrual of capital and its effect is more complex and puzzling. For instance, as discussed in Section 2.1.3 limited access to capital, such as restricted access to English language and education, impacts the labour market position of female refugees. However, even when female refugees have qualifications and are proficient in English (that is, regardless of the amount of cultural capital accrued), they remain overrepresented in unemployment statistics. So, then, what can account for this inequality where the amount of capital accrued does not equate to a position in the Australian labour market, rather, that female refugees remain consistently overrepresented in unemployment statistics?

As Hugo et al., (2011) pointed out, even when all determinants of employment are accounted for, there remains a 'refugee gap' (as discussed in Section 2.1.3). Hugo accounted for this refugee

gap by referring to it as discrimination. Discrimination, which does not posit an essential cause, is when individuals are treated unequally due to a particular set of rules and processes that favour one particular group over another (Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Reskin, 1998). In other words, discrimination is an abuse of power. It is precisely these rules and processes, of treating individuals unequally, that my research aimed to examine and explain. Again, these rules can be seen in categories such as gender and race, which as a form of symbolic capital, awards privilege to one group over another. Symbolic capital is an insidious form of capital, as it stands in opposition to that which defines it and therefore serves to negate other forms of capital. How female refugees, in particular, are made inferior therefore requires an understanding of how symbolic capital works in the fields that intersect their lives. It is important to note this task in itself is complex, as many fields intersect the lives of female refugees, such as in the areas of housing, education, home, religion, and so on. Of course, the scope of my research was limited to the area of employment, and while this study touches on some of the other areas such as home, housing and education, the scope limits understanding of the complex power dynamics that affect female refugees in their struggle for gainful employment.

While notions of field and capital provide a set of tools to help situate the position that female refugees occupy in a particular field such as the labour market or the Australian Framework of Support, the next section draws deeper into Bourdieu's concepts to help explain why individuals are relegated to a low position within these fields regardless of the capital they have accrued.

3.4 How Unchallenged (Hidden) Forms of Power Intersect the Lives of Female Refugees

By way of analogy, Bourdieu (1990) explained how power operates within the field. He likened the power dynamics to that of a game played with a unique set of explicit and implicit rules. These rules include penalties for those who do not conform to the rules of the game and rewards for those who comply. Not all rules are made explicit, and this allows for selective entry into the game. This exclusivity of entry is by its very nature the game itself—an act of compliance or 'practical faith'

by those who seek entry into the field. In this case, unemployed female refugees seek entry into the labour market.

> In a game, the field (the pitch or board on which it is played, the rules, the outcome at stake, etc.) is clearly seen for what it is, an arbitrary social construct, an artefact whose arbitrariness and artificiality are underlined by everything that defines its autonomy—explicit and specific rules, strictly delimited and extra-ordinary time and space. Entry into the game takes the form of a quasi-contract, which is sometimes made explicit (the Olympic oath, appeals to 'fair play', and, above all, the presence of a referee or umpire) or recalled to those who get so 'carried away by the game' that they forget it is 'only a game' . . . Practical faith is the condition of entry that every field tacitly imposes, not only by sanctioning and debarring those who would destroy the game, but by so arranging things, in practice, that the operations of selecting and shaping new entrants (rites of passage, examinations, etc.) are such as to obtain from them that undisputed, pre-reflective, naïve, native compliance with the fundamental presuppositions of the field which is the very definition of doxa[6]. (Bourdieu, 1990, pp. 67-68)

The game seems arbitrary, a place of contradiction that can be observed through the difference between explicit rules, which may present as a form of contract, and implicit rules, which play out in practice. For example, in a field such as the Australian labour market, this contradiction can be seen through the difference in practice between contractual rules, such as those that legislate minimum pay, fair work conditions, and antidiscrimination, and the numerous cases of underpayment (or 'wage theft'), exploitation, and discrimination, including for people of refugee background (Berg & Farbenblum, 2017a, 2017b; PC, 2016). More specifically, as a game of compliance, it compels refugees to acquire certain types of capital, such as English language proficiency, certificates, qualifications, and Australian work experience, with the expectation that this capital is not only a necessary prerequisite for entry into the labour market, but also that it

[6] In brief, doxa may be understood as that which is taken for granted, or the 'many things people accept without knowing' (Bourdieu, 1991a, p. 114). More specifically Bourdieu explains doxa as '...the naturalization of its own arbitrariness...Systems of classification which reproduce, in their own specific logic, the objective classes, i.e. the divisions by sex, age, or position in the relations of production, make their specific contribution to the reproduction of the power relations of which they are the product, by securing the misrecognition, and hence the recognition, of the arbitrariness on which they are based: in the extreme case, that is to say, when there is a quasi-perfect correspondence between the objective order and the subjective principles of organization (as in ancient societies) the natural and social world appears as self-evident. This experience we shall call doxa, so as to distinguish it from an orthodox or heterodox belief implying awareness and recognition of the possibility of different or antagonistic beliefs' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 164).

holds value in determining the position of an individual within the labour market. These conditions, which are upheld by various institutions, underpinned by the neoliberal state, push unemployed female refugees towards the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) where they become involved with various employment training programs and services to acquire the necessary capital (language, certificates) and consequently, the necessary dispositions (skills, practices) to operate in the field of the labour market. These dispositions include compliance with neoliberal notions of mutual obligation and individual responsibility. As discussed in Chapter 2, capital accrual and compliance, however, do not necessarily equate to entry into the labour market, and if a position is allocated to refugees, it is usually within the secondary labour market—a position of unequal value to the capital accrued.

For Bourdieu, common belief, that is *practical faith* and *rites of passage*, which determine entry into the field, do not result in solidarity between individuals or groups, or institutions that occupy various positions within the field. Rather, there is conflict and tension, or acts of resistance, both within and across fields. This conflict results in the competitive nature and ongoing struggles of the field. As Bourdieu (1983) explains,

> It is the continuous creation of the battles between those who have made their names [fait date] and are struggling to stay in view and those who cannot make their own names without relegating to the past the established figures, whose interests lies in freezing the movement of time . . . On the one side are the dominant figures, who want continuity, identity, reproduction; on the other, the newcomers, who seek discontinuity, rupture, difference, revolution. To 'make one's name' [faire date] means making one's mark, achieving recognition (in both senses) of one's difference from other producers, especially the most consecrated of them; at the same time, it means creating a new position beyond the positions presently occupied. (p. 106)

For Bourdieu, the reason for the ongoing tensions within the field is a battle of difference, culminating in a *struggle for recognition*. This struggle is how an individual, or structure, seeks recognition of 'one's difference from the other . . . creating a new position, beyond the positions presently occupied' (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 106). On the one hand are the dominant players who want

to maintain continuity, to maintain the status quo, and maintain their position of power. On the other are the new comers who seek difference, or revolution, through the creation of new positions within the field. These struggles of the field, between dominant players and newcomers, is exactly what my thesis aims to examine and explain. For example, as discussed in Section 2.1.3, these struggles can be seen through the ongoing battle that female refugees face with multiple forms of discrimination that exclude them from the labour market. These struggles can also be seen in the way that nonprofits are rebranding as social enterprises to differentiate themselves in a highly competitive market place of large charities and preferred providers (as discussed in Section 2.2.3). Again, it is within this space of exclusion and market dynamics that the social enterprise emerges.

In one respect, by drawing on Bourdieu's notion of power, the social enterprise can be explained as an innovative shift, a quiet revolution, where those agents who sit at the periphery of change and encounter both the effects of market-logic and the effects of the unemployed female refugees, overcome the barriers to entry to the labour market for refugee women through the acceleration of the 'creation of new positions', thereby transforming the field towards greater inclusivity of difference. In another respect, the social enterprise may not primarily be about refugee employment at all, but rather remains part of the ongoing battles of the field. This battle is one where the nonprofit structure itself is struggling to stay in view, as it, too, is forced to reproduce the market-logic to maintain its dominant position. This dilemma is exactly what my thesis aims to explain with the research question: *What role in the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) does the nonprofit social enterprise play in getting unemployed female refugees gainfully employed?*

With these power dynamics in mind, I now refocus on the underlying questions driving this research. If effort has been made over many years, through the policy enacted under structures of the Australian Framework of Support, to enhance the value of social and cultural capital for female refugees with respect to the labour market (such as through English language training, work experience programs and employment services), why do female refugees remain overrepresented

in unemployment statistics? Again, Hugo et al., (2011) pointed to discrimination as an explanation for this refugee gap. Then, if policy has been ineffective in its ability to overcome discrimination, what value is the social enterprise to the gainful employment for female refugees? While this fundamental question, which requires an understanding of the role of the social enterprise in the dynamics of power, is the essence of my topic; Bourdieu (1993) forewarned that if the basis for determining value is unclear, it is nothing other than 'collective misrecognition', that is, a 'legitimate abuse of power' (p. 81) collectively imposed by the field. To help explain this abuse of power the next section elaborates on the concepts of *misrecognition, symbolic violence,* and *symbolic power* to further show how unchallenged, or hidden, forms of power operate within the complex relations that make up the various fields of power, and how these hidden forms of power may be revealed.

3.4.1 Misrecognition[7]: Foundation for the Abuse of Power

Bourdieu (2000) used the notion of *misrecognition* to explain the legitimatisation of pre-established and unchallenged axioms and norms in the exercise of power. He situates the notion of misrecognition as a pervasive, insidious, and complex form of domination where the dominant refuse to recognise the dominated under any conditions but those imposed by the dominating culture, thereby granting nothing but inferior status. Misrecognition is the foundation of unchallenged, or hidden forms of power; that is, it is the basis for the abuse of power. As Lovell explains by using key aspects of Bourdieu's (2000) notion of misrecognition,

> Misrecognition of the dominated by the dominant takes the form of a *(legitimated)* refusal to grant any but inferior standing to the dominated or to recognize them other than on the terms of the dominant culture on which their own claims to distinction are based. The recognition and respect that the dominant require of their 'inferiors', in addition to that secured from their peers, may also yield them rich symbolic profits. But

[7] Bourdieu's notion of misrecognition, is not to be mistaken for its colloquial use that narrowly situates the term as a mistake in identifying something or someone.

> the misrecognition and disrespect inflicted on the dominated is deeply harmful to them and it constitutes symbolic violence in proportion to its legitimacy. (2007, p. 71)

Therefore, *misrecognition can be defined as the way that the dominant culture imposes its practice on the dominated and inflicts harmful consequences*. It can be seen enacted within Australia's humanitarian program (as discussed in chapter 2), where important social bonds formed, particularly among women in exile, are not recognised, as they do not fall within the traditional notions of family ties within an Australian context. This lack of recognition (misrecognition) refuses to acknowledge these relationships outside of western definitions, therefore immediately negating the social capital of refugee women, instantly placing them in a weakened position relative to those whose familial bonds are recognised within the traditions of Australian society. As Lovell explains, these acts of misrecognition are practices of harm that are made visible through feelings of suffering, expressed as disrespect, anxiety, and inferiority (Lovell, 2007), or in other words, feelings that signal powerlessness. The unresolved tensions causing harm to female refugees is a discussion of Chapter 5.

An understanding of the tensions faced by female refugees provides a way to identify forms of misrecognition where the dominant culture's practices are causing harm to female refugees. Instances of gender and race discrimination, as discussed in Chapter 2, are obvious forms of misrecognition, where female refugees are granted inferior status, and access to resources is either denied or constrained. A further example of this can be seen in the obligations placed on the unemployed, through the notion of mutual obligation, which require they attend regular meetings with Job Service Providers (JSPs) regardless of any outcomes in relation to employment. In this instance, refugees are granted inferior status as they are forced to submit to the conditions under a neoliberal state, and their specific needs are ignored as indicated by the frustration that refugee women experience in their dealings with JSPs, as mentioned in Section 2.2.3. This frustration with complying with mutual obligations under the direction of the JSP and Centrelink is a topic of discussion in Chapter 6.

Misrecognition, which is the precondition for domination, is also the act of taking for granted that the state of play in the field is the natural order of things. Also explained by as a form of forgetting (S. Webb, 2015, p. 270), misrecognition is what enables inequality to be reproduced. Bourdieu (2000) further explained that through the habitus, which is a synthesised collection of dispositions and behaviours, players become familiar with the institutionalised roles that they play. This familiarity results in them taking for granted their 'feel for the game', and through this very act, they become unaware of the role they play in reproducing power structures within society:

> The agent engaged in practice knows the world . . . He knows it, in a sense, too well, without objectifying distance, takes it for granted, precisely because he is caught up in it, bound up with it; he inhabits it like a garment . . . He feels at home in the world, because the world is also in him, in the form of habitus. (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 142)

Through institutional roles, practices that uphold unequal relations, such as the discrimination pointed out by Hugo (2011) go unchallenged and therefore perpetuate inequality which may be seen by the consistent overrepresentation of unemployed female refugees made visible in the statistics from the Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset (ACMID), as discussed in Sections 1.2 and 2.1.3. The concept of misrecognition directly links experiences of harm to the structures of domination and therefore offers a concept that is useful to link to broader processes of inequality. How and why dominant players (such as agents of the JSP or nonprofit) institutionalise practices of harm to uphold the unemployment position of female refugees is examined in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7.

Again, misrecognition is the precondition that enables unchallenged forms of power to uphold unequal relations (Bourdieu, 1979; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992): 'The countless acts of recognition which are the small change of the compliance inseparable from belonging to the field, and in which collective misrecognition is ceaselessly generated, are both the precondition and the product of the functioning of the field' (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 68). Therefore, the small acts of compliance (such as regular meetings with JSPs or the ongoing accrual of certificates and skills acquired through training programs) which render no job outcomes for unemployed female

refugees, are an indication of how unchallenged forms of power uphold inequality. The findings chapters, in particular Chapters 6 and 7, examine these acts of compliance and their contribution to the position of perpetual crisis.

While Bourdieu's notion of field and capital help situate power by providing an explanation for the hierarchy of positions within a field, the concept of misrecognition draws deeper into the *habitus* production and power dynamics to offer an explanation for fundamental condition on which power rests. The complexity of the nexus between Bourdieu's notion of field, capital and misrecognition to some degree has semblance with notions of intersectionality.

Intersectionality, with its complexity in meanings and definitions (Bassel & Emejulu, 2017; P. H. Collins, 2015; Crenshaw, 1991; Mügge, Montoya, Emejulu, & Weldon, 2018), in my research focuses on the significance of the compounding effect of multiple forms of discrimination across multiple structural layers, such as the state, the social enterprise, the labour market, and the network of organisations comprising the Australian Framework of Support (AFS). This focus resonates with the following general understanding of intersectionality provided by Crenshaw (2017) in an interview,

> Intersectionality is a lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it interlocks and intersects. It's not simply that there's a race problem here, a gender problem here, and a class or LBGTQ problem there. Many times that framework erases what happens to people who are subject to all of these things.

By examining how the judicial system in America interpreted the relationship between the General Motors organisation (that is the *fields* of labour market and the law) and black women plaintiffs, Crenshaw (1989) demonstrated the inherent bias against 'black women' relative to 'white women' and 'black men'. Through explaining the compounding effect of societal categories of 'race' and 'gender' (that is forms of symbolic capital), Crenshaw showed how the claim of discrimination by the plaintiffs was ignored through an inherent bias which treated the categories of 'race' and 'gender' as mutually exclusive. Crenshaw argued that this bias (that is misrecognition as defined above), was a consequence of the court and congress refusal to recognise the claims of 'black

women' outside of the pre-established independent categories 'race' and 'gender', effectively rendering invisible the intersection of these categories, that is, 'black women' (1989, pp. 142-143).

Along similar lines, another study which defined intersectionality as 'the study of simultaneous and interacting effects of gender, race, class, sexual orientation and national origin as categories of difference' (Bassel & Emejulu, 2017, p. 9) demonstrated how racial discrimination continues to be a key organising principle in France and Britain. By operationalising Goldberg's (2006) concept of "political racelessness", Bassel and Emejulu (2017, p. 22) argued that the European project which advocates that political processes be race neutral has seen the interests of minority women being devalued and excluded as their social justice claims are rendered invisible through politics of 'white ignorance' (Mills, 2007) and 'white innocence' (Wekker, 2016). The authors pointed out that viewing the world through an epistemological lens of racelessness enforces an unspoken and unseen racial contract through a process of denial and forgetting (that is, misrecognition):

> White ignorance and white innocence are produced through a process of denial and forgetting . . . By selecting those parts of history to valorise and those to forget, this undermines the various racial justice claims made by minority groups. (Bassel & Emejulu, 2017, p. 22)

The problem with erasing race from the political landscape is that given the history of discrimination, not everyone enters a particular field with the same amount of capital. Therefore any form of discrimination such as gender, race or the combination of both, is not redressed but further perpetuated as it is inherent. While I use the notion of intersectionality to call attention to the compounding effect of multiple forms of discrimination across multiple structural layers which intersect the lives of unemployed female refugees, I rely more heavily on Bourdieu's notions because they work in unison with notions of symbolic violence and symbolic power (explained in the next subsection 3.4.2) to help further explain the power dynamics between the dominator and the dominated. Furthermore, they help explain how categories of discrimination are

constructed (as discussed under notions of symbolic capital in Section 3.3) and the complex entanglement between these categories (such as 'refugee' 'race') and relations of domination (such the Australian Framework of Support and the neoliberal state), also demonstrated in Section 3.5 below.

The next subsection draws on Bourdieu's (2000) notions of *symbolic violence* and *symbolic power* to explain how the abuse of power is normalised. The final section (3.5) further demonstrates Bourdieu's concepts by explaining how a complex entanglement between the neoliberal state and categories of 'refugee' and 'Australian' uphold power in contemporary Australia.

3.4.2 Symbolic Violence and Symbolic Power: Normalising the Abuse of Power

The concept of symbolic violence is used by Bourdieu (2000) to explain an unchallenged forms of power where those who are dominated are unaware of their own *subordination of will* and unknowingly give consent for acts of violence to be enacted upon them.

> Symbolic violence is the coercion which is set up only through the consent that the dominated cannot fail to give to the dominator (and therefore to the domination) when their understanding of the situation and the relation can only use instruments of knowledge that they have in common with the dominator, which, being merely the incorporated form of the structure of the relation of the domination, make this relation appear as natural; or, in other words, when the schemes they implement in order to perceive and evaluate themselves or to perceive and evaluate the dominators (high/low, male/female, white/black, etc) are the product of the incorporation of the (thus naturalized) classifications of which their social being is the product. (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 170)

As J. Webb et al. (2002) further explained, these acts of violence are noticed in the way that the dominated are 'treated as inferior, denied resources, or limited in their social mobility and aspirations . . . but they do not perceive it that way; rather, their situation seems to them to be the natural order of things' (p. 25). Acts of symbolic violence are insidious as their invisibility is concealed in binary classifications such as woman or man, employed or unemployed and taxpayer

or welfare recipient. These classifications, a preordained set of dispositions encoded with rules and schemes that not only differentiate each from the other but also predetermine the value of each and therein determine the position allocated in the field, the resources and entitlements received, and level of authority awarded. When people don these labels, they accept a certain view of the world. More specifically, they inherit the power relations embedded in these classifications and unconsciously legitimise and reproduce this inheritance. In particular, acts of symbolic violence can be seen enacted through the socially constructed categories of gender, race and class. For example, it can been seen in the way that women themselves have taken on the preordained traditional female gender role, which in many ways has imprisoned them. This traditional gender role, inculcated through institutions of home, school, and church, enforce notions of women as unfit for hard labour, as weak and soft, with the inability to take pressure (J. Webb et al., 2002). Women appear as powerless victims within gendered structures of inequality.

In Australia, systems of inequality that were built on notions of the 'working nation' and 'full employment' were predicated on the subordinated role of women in household production (Harris, 2001). Acts of symbolic violence can account for the discrimination that continues to exclude refugees from the labour market as there is nothing more sinister than complying with notions of 'mutual obligation'; that is where individuals subordinate their will to acts of compliance, releasing politicians from any obligation to ensure there are available jobs and that refugees can access these jobs. The significance of symbolic violence to this thesis is that it not only helps to explain how female refugees are discriminated against and made inferior through inheriting the oppressive gender and racist categories (that is, norms) of the past, but also how this discrimination becomes normalised under the neoliberal state, as refugees themselves undertake acts of compliance (particular points of discussion in Chapters 6 and 7). In summary, symbolic violence is the subordination of will to the power imbalance embedded in the classifications and rules, that the dominated inherit.

Symbolic power, on the other hand, is the authority to construct reality. It is a specific social relation that is recognised by both the dominated and the dominator (Bourdieu, 1979) and makes people see and believe a certain vision of the world (Bourdieu, 1991b, p. 170). As Bourdieu (1979) explains,

> Symbolic power does not lie in 'symbolic systems' in the form of an 'illocutionary force' but that it is defined in and by a determinate relationship between those who exercise power and those who undergo it, i.e. in the very structure of the field within which belief is produced and reproduced, The power of words and commands, the power of words to give orders and bring order, lies in belief in the legitimacy of the words and of the person who utters them, a belief which words themselves cannot produce. (p. 79)

Through the consent of the dominated, symbolic power is enacted. This means that symbolic power is not a 'voluntary servitude' but rather emanates from what is inscribed in habitus: 'schemes of perception and dispositions (to respect, admire, love, etc), in other words, beliefs which make one sensitive to certain public manifestations, such as public manifestations of power' (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 171). These schemes of perception, which are inscribed in the habitus, give the agents that represent the police, the lawyer, the clergy, the general, the teacher, the doctor, the public servant, the monarchy, as well as agents of the nonprofit, the social enterprise, the state, and so on the necessary authority to exert power over others. This power is only legitimised as far as it is recognised by the individual, or group, over whom it is being exerted, meaning that, when those who act on a command issued by the police or vote for a politician based on the rhetoric of their worldview, they do so because they believe in the legitimacy of what is being said and the structures that uphold these positions.

The significance of what is going on here is important to further clarify. Symbolic power is also what gives the politician, the political elite, or the dominant ethnic group the authority to construct social categories encoded with unequal distribution. For example, symbolic power gives the politician the authority to establish a complex system of visa classifications for notions of refugee and asylum seeker. Specificity in composition, such as the mode of transport, enables the

control of resources, rights, and entitlements such as limiting access to work, medical, and citizenship rights. This coding of inequality, which is invoked whenever 'refugee' or 'asylum seeker' is used, is despite the Australian government recognising that both refugee and asylum seeker are coming from a position of significant disadvantage. Symbolic power can also be seen through the struggles in the field where politicians have the power to construct the category of 'refugee' in opposition to 'Australian', as explained next in Section 3.5.

Symbolic power can now be defined for our purposes as the authority granted to dominant players in the field by the dominated. This authority is what gives the dominant the power to issue commands and to construct and determine the composition of capital that wields power in the field. Symbolic power can also be explained as the authority to set the agenda (Lukes, 2005) of the field, and therefore it determines the struggles that occur within the field, that is, white against black and 'Australian' against 'refugee', details of which are demonstrated in the next section 3.5.

Bourdieu's notions of misrecognition, symbolic violence and symbolic power have semblance with concepts of other theorists such as Marx, Gramsci and Lukes. For example, the Marxist notion of false consciousness, which may be seen as the ideological and institutional processes that mislead individuals and mask the true forces of class relations leading to their subordination of will (Femia, 1981, p. 32). Again, power is so well hidden within the ideology and institutional practices of day-to-day life that individuals do not see the root causes of social control, such as taking for granted that the state of play in the field is the natural order of things. On the other hand, Gramsci's notion of *hegemony*[8], which draws on the works of Marx situates human subjectivity as crucial to the relational understanding of power (Femia, 1981, p. 1). Simply

[8] It is important to note that Gramsci's notion of hegemony has varying interpretations, which are attributed to his unfinished work, published posthumously (Litowitz, 2000) in the *Prison Notebooks* (Gramsci, 1971), including vagueness in Gramsci's use of terminology such as *consent* (Femia, 1981) and two divergent but related understandings of his notion of hegemony. One positions hegemony as a form of domination, by situating it within a Marxist class frame of reference where a ruling class ultimately has *power over* the dominated by gaining consent through coercive means; and second interpretation, views hegemony as a form of cooperation where the masses consent to being ruled by popularisation of the values, norms, and worldviews of the ruling class (Adamson, 1980, p. 10).

put, '[Hegemony] means political leadership based on the consent of the led, a consent which is secured by the diffusion and popularization of the world view of the ruling class' (T. R. Bates, 1975, p. 352). Finally, Lukes (1974), in his seminal work *Power: A Radical View*, expands on the works of Dahl (1957) and Bachrach and Baratz (1962) to explain how hidden forms of power work in three distinct ways. These distinct forms are broadly situated as agenda-setting, decision-making, and preference-shaping (Hay, 1997, p. 48). In the first instance, domination is maintained through controlling the agenda; that is, restricting what is put on the table for discussion. Next domination is maintained through being involved in making decisions, including withholding decisions and therefore limiting the choices of people. Finally, total domination is maintained through shaping the preferences of others; that is, providing them with a set of concepts (such as male, female, black, white, refugee, Australian) with which they view and act in the world. For example, as previously discussed in Chapter 2, the dynamics of this form of domination can be seen where under powers of patriarchy, the agenda is set, and choices of women are constrained based on predetermined set of rules that provide a view of the world as 'breadwinners' and 'dependents'. This form of social control is a particular point of discussion in Chapters 5 which shows the way power limits the actions of female refugees, while Chapters 6 and 7 show how the choices of female refugees, in what to do and be, are restricted under the neoliberal state.

Again, while my thesis uses other theorists such as Lukes, I mainly draw across Bourdieu's concepts of power to show how social categories uphold inequality for female refugees and in particular the category of social enterprise. This thesis shows how these categories intersect across various fields to culminate in the position of perpetual crisis. The next section of this chapter explains notions of the state and then uses Bourdieu's concepts of power to argue that the mark of an indifferent state is one that subordinates all principles to power itself.

3.5 The Mark of an Indifferent State: Absolute Misrecognition

The concept of the state is difficult to define and is expressed in many varying ways (Jessop, 2016; Ringmar, 1996). Notwithstanding this challenge, this thesis draws on the work of both Jessop

(2016) and Bourdieu (1977, 1994, 1998) to situate the notion of the state within a relational understanding of power that broadly resemble a multitude of bureaucratic structures, institutions, associations and agents that are significant on account of dominating and shaping the preferences of a particular political landscape.

Jessop argued that the state, which is best understood as a social relation, may be explained as having a *polymorphic character* (2016, pp. 42-43, 53) where the configuration of the relationships of society take on many forms but are mostly oriented around a dominant, although competing set of principles such as 'marketisation, internal or external security, environmental stewardship, inclusive citizenship, the rule of law, nationalism, ethnicity and theocracy. Any of these (or others) could—and have—become dominant at least temporarily' (p. 43). This means that the relations of the state are dominant because they have significant depth and reach in orienting societal relations around a single set of principles. As discussed in Section 2.2, under a neoliberal state, free-markets and individual responsibility are the fundamental guiding principles that have reshaped practice across government and nonprofit institutions in the provision of services and support.

This thesis expresses the many forms of the state using various terms, including *the Australian state,* which is used to draw attention to the constraints of the specific political landscape under discussion. In keeping with Jessop's argument, the principles upholding the relations of the Australian state may broadly be framed under notions of national identity and sovereignty. Other forms of the state under discussion in this thesis include the welfare state and the indifferent state, details of which are discussed further on in this section though use of Bourdieu's concepts of power, as well as his explanation of the struggles from within the state itself.

For Bourdieu (1994), the state is bestowed with the highest and most sophisticated form of symbolic power. As he writes, 'the state, which possesses the means of imposition and inculcation of the durable principles of vision and division that conform to its own structure, is the site par

excellence of the concentration and exercise of symbolic power' (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 9). Bourdieu awards this primary position to the state as a consequence of the level of sophistication with which all mental structures, visions, and divisions that permeate society are generated and controlled by the state, including the concept of national identity, which, as argued further below, when viewed from the highest political office within the Australian government, presents a troubling picture with respect to refugees.

> The state contributes to the unification of the cultural market by unifying all codes, linguistic and juridical, and by effecting a homogenization of all forms of communication, including bureaucratic communication (through forms, official notices etc). Through classification systems (especially according to sex and age) inscribed in law, through bureaucratic procedures, educational structures and social rituals . . . the state moulds *mental structures* and imposes common principles of vision and division, forms of thinking that are to the civilized mind what the primitive forms of classification described by Mauss and Durkheim were to the 'savage mind.' And it thereby contributes to the construction of what is commonly designated as national identity (or, in a more traditional language, national character). ((Bourdieu, 1994, pp. 7-8)[emphasis in original])

The state ultimately dictates the value of the various forms of capital and, as such, the state holds the monopoly on capital and therefore the balance of power over all positions across all varying fields. The power to determine the value of capital, that is, symbolic power, is the means to reproduce and transform positions within and across fields. This dominant power of the state can be seen enacted through various categories that have shaped the political landscape in Australia. For example, as seen with the national accounts where social ordering broadly categorised the general Australian population into 'male breadwinners' and 'female dependents'. Within this system of patriarchy, the position of male across both the public and private spheres was elevated, while that of the female was subordinated—made powerless. A similar power-orienting mechanism is noticed in categories such as taxpayer and its opposites of welfare recipient, dole bludger, and welfare cheat. The power to reorient the field can also be seen under the neoliberal state where nonprofits themselves are rebranding as social enterprises to attract funds; that is, to

maintain their position of power. Chapter 7, in particular, discusses how this plays out under a neoliberal state when the nonprofit yields to market principles and reorients key funding relationships to align with the notion of social enterprise.

Bourdieu argued that the power to determine the value of capital is the reason various fields are in constant struggle with the state: 'It follows that the construction of the state proceeds apace with the construction of a field of power, defined as the space of play within which the holders of capital (of different species) struggle in particular for power over the state' (1994, p. 4). This struggle, which goes on in the epicentre of habitus, also extends within the field of the state itself. Broadly, Bourdieu (1998) explained that the struggle within the state could also be explained as tensions between the 'left hand' and the 'right hand' of the state:

> Family counsellors, youth leaders, rank-and-file magistrates, and also, increasingly, secondary and primary teachers. They constitute what I call the left hand of the state, the set of agents of the so-called spending ministries which are the trace, within the state, of the social struggles of the past. They are opposed to the right hand of the state, the technocrats of the Ministry of Finance, the public and private banks and the ministerial cabinets . . . the left hand of the state has the sense that the right hand no longer knows, or, worse, no longer really wants to know what the left hand does. In any case, it does not want to pay for it. (p. 2)

For Bourdieu, the left hand, which resembles the collective effects of power, is broadly representative of those institutions that make up fields such as education, health, and social welfare. Agents operating on the left hand could be said to have dispositions oriented towards upholding rights and entitlements and may be seen to support the principle of dignity and justice. In contrast, those on the right hand of the state, which seem to resemble the distributive effects of power, have agents whose dispositional focus is concerned with matters of finance and compliance and lean towards principles of financial equilibrium, individual responsibility, and free markets. The right hand constitutes institutions such as the Department of Finance, ministerial cabinets, law and enforcement, and the public and private banks. This struggle between the left hand and the right hand of the state is similarly expressed in Jessop's analysis which holds that while a dominant

principal may be upheld by the state, there are competing principles, such as inclusive citizenship, ethnicity, security, the rule of law, nationalism, and so on (2016, p. 43).

Within in this board understanding, the neoliberal state can be seen as heavily weighted to those practices of the right hand, which include free market, efficiency, and individual responsibility. More specifically (as discussed in Chapter 2), within Australia the primacy of the distributive effects of power are made visible under neoliberal notions such as economic rationalism, free markets, and mutual obligation, which since the 1970s has seen the 'left side' of public service provision progressively shift towards market-logic. Again, as discussed in Chapter 2, this reorientation towards neoliberal ideology has seen the transferring of state-owned assets to the private sector and the shift of public sector provision, such as employment services, to a quasi-market of service providers operating under the Australian Framework of Support (AFS).

This significance here to the unemployed is that under the neoliberal state, mutual obligation is held steadfast regardless of the barriers to entry to the labour market, be they discrimination, lack of skills, or a labour market that is failing to provide an adequate supply of jobs. In other words, under the neoliberal state, mutual obligation (a form of misrecognition) is the refusal to acknowledge the inequality faced by the unemployed; that is the refusal to see them through anything other than a neoliberal lens. This effect, which views unemployed welfare recipients under a discourse of 'dole bludgers', 'welfare cheats', 'underserving citizens', and 'bad women', is a form of misrecognition, as it subordinates the position of the unemployed to the Australian taxpayer through moral indebtedness and ignores the needs of the unemployed through disciplinary processes, which pushes them to take responsibility for labour market outcomes, regardless of the barriers to entry, such as discrimination or a failing labour market.

Of course, refugees are not immune to this treatment, and more concerning is that in the case of refugees, this type of discourse is reproduced from the highest office of the Australian government. Refusing to recognise refugees other than through a neoliberal lens is form of

misrecognition, which as the next point will show is not only harmful to refugees but affords significant power to agents of the state, such as Australian politicians.

For example, in 2016, in a television interview, the former Minister of Immigration, Peter Dutton, drew association between refugees as the threat to employment opportunities for Australians (the dominant group), while simultaneously stating that refugees are a drain on public resources as they remain long-term unemployed (Bourke, 2016; L. Taylor, 2016). It is important to note, and as the minister would know (as demonstrated in Section 2.1), it is Australian politicians in the first place that have the power to issue visas with work rights, so why the minister is concerned with 'taking Australian jobs' is a matter of serious concern as this not only contradicts the power of his office but demonstrates that there is a refusal by the minister to take responsibility for the decisions of his government. Furthermore, under a neoliberal state, clearly the minister would want refugees off welfare and into the labour market. A neoliberal state, and in particular mutual obligation, is about pushing people off welfare towards the market. But then why the contradiction, with taking Australian jobs? And, if not the neoliberal state, then what is the guiding principle?

It is important to note that with these contradictory statements the minister makes no reference to the economic contribution of refugees and their families, as presented in the report commissioned by the former Department of Immigration and Citizenship (Hugo et al., 2011). The challenge of the labour market failing to meet labour demand is also ignored by the minister, who certainly made no reference to the contradiction of 'mutual obligation', where numerous studies have shown that Australians across the demographic spectrum, including youth and the mature-aged workforce (as discussed in Chapter 2) are on welfare. Indeed, the minister did not refer to the effect of visa restrictions under Australia's humanitarian program.

Rather, minister Dutton cherry-picked refugees from all those who are unemployed and then proceeded to justify this isolation on the basis of cost by stating in an interview: 'For many of them that would be unemployed, they would languish in unemployment queues and on Medicare and

the rest of it, so there would be huge cost and there's no sense in sugar-coating that, that's the scenario' (Bourke, 2016). Australians across a diverse spectrum are on unemployment benefits. Why refugees seemingly appear to 'languish' on unemployment queues was of no interest to the minister.

Here, politicians such as the minister, imbued with the power of the state, use their position to uphold dispositions that echo the practice of Australia's colonial past, thereby superimposing a system of discrimination on the most vulnerable. For example, the association that the minister drew between refugees and the labour market was the precise moment the classification of 'refugee' was not only separated, or excluded, from the category of 'Australian' but also devalued—made inferior. Through the symbolic power of the neoliberal state, a new form of symbolic capital emerged. That is, a new meaning of 'refugee' emerged, one that is not only a threat to 'Australians', but also has embedded in it the failures of the market to provide an adequate supply of jobs. It has embedded in it the race, gender, and class discrimination experienced by refugees in their exclusion from the labour market, as well as the denial of resources needed to overcome barriers to successful integration. Many refugees who come to Australia are from ethnically diverse groups and therefore do not necessarily have the cultural capital, such as English language skills needed for successful settlement. Furthermore, many are from developing countries and are known to be coming from a position of significant disadvantage with weak social and financial capital. This is the basis on which Australia has accepted refugees. The point of the matter is that when the term refugee is used, it immediately invokes a form of exclusion. The small group of refugees are easily identified within the general Australian population. Not only are many visibly different to the general Australian population, but many have low levels of capital (social networks, English language, financial assets), which also means they have limited power. High visibility and lack of power makes refugees vulnerable, therefore easy targets for vilification and exclusion. As S. Castles (1996) reminded us, racism is synonymous with exclusion and exploitation and is not dependent on the characteristics of the vilified group but on the interests

and culture of the dominating group. This type of racial vilification of refugees, where politicians that represent the highest office in the Australian state effectively isolate a small group of vulnerable people within the entire population and then associate them (or rather blame them) for a systemic failure, is not an uncommon practice in Australia. Media reports have shown that refugees have been blamed for traffic congestion on a specific stretch of national highway and are seen as the reason for long waiting queues at hospitals, as well as a threat to border security (Dimitrov, 2014; Martinez i Coma & Smith, 2018). It is important to note that failing to recognise the needs of refugees and ignoring racism are also argued as common themes within the Australian media's reporting practice (Due, 2008). Furthermore, the extent to which this discriminatory practice is deeply embedded in Australia's institutions can be seen in the complexity of the vast number of visa codes that are used to 'subclassify' refugees and restrict access to rights and resources, including work, as discussed in Chapter 2. Certainly, racism is being used as the reason for systemic failure. This is symbolic power at work; that is, the power to construct reality, both by the state and by the minister, who belonged to the dominant group and to the neoliberal state apparatus.

By appropriating the symbolic power of the state, both politicians and the media effectively relegate refugees to a low status within the national hierarchy. This blatant abuse of power is further recognised in the annual reporting of the Department of Immigration and Border Protection, as under Minister Dutton, Australia has committed to increase the humanitarian intake to 16,250 for 2017/18 and 18,750 for 2018/19 (DIBP, 2017b), an indication that the minister did not see refugees as a threat to Australian jobs. Again, if it is not about making markets work then what is the guiding principle?

It has long been argued that racism serves the interest of Australian politicians as they use racial vilification to make an appeal for votes to those in the public who see refugees as a threat (Clyne, 2005; Jupp, 2002; Lippi, McKay, & McKenzie, 2017; McKay, Hall, & Lippi, 2017). In other words, politicians exploit the vulnerability of refugees to uphold their own dominant

positions of power. In this case, the separation, or exclusion, of refugee from Australian is a racist one because it not only fails to acknowledge the obstacles impeding integration of a culturally diverse group but it exploits this failure to serve the interests of a dominant group. Certainly, politicians within the highest office of the Australian state remain unashamed of this form of political racism where they fail to hold to account the broader factors affecting systemic failure, and rather serve up a small group of vulnerable people as the reason for Australia's systemic failures. To uphold this type of exclusionary and exploitative practice of refugees is an act that makes the inherent social order within Australia a racist one. As Bourdieu (2000) explained,

> The state does not necessarily need to give orders and to exert physical coercion, or disciplinary constraint, to produce an ordered social world, so long as it is able to produce incorporated cognitive structures attuned to the objective structures and secure doxic submission to the established order. (p. 178)

There is, however, an irony to this racist act of symbolic power. Australian politicians not only situate refugees as inferior and exploit the vulnerability of refugees but also the fears and ignorance of the dominant group; that is, those of the Australian population, who accept the political rhetoric of refugees as a threat to Australia. In this process of acceptance they commit an act of symbolic violence, for they remain unaware (or ignorant) of their own subordination of will and remain unknowing of the consent that they have given to politicians to ignore their concerns, such as the labour market failing to provide an adequate supply of jobs.

Rather than deal with systemic failures, such as the Australian labour market failing to provide an adequate supply of jobs (or hospital infrastructure for that matter) the political rhetoric is such that the interests of both groups are pitted against each other. Both groups are made inferior and subordinated to the symbolic power of the state, which in this case is wielded through the highest political office of the Australian state. It is clear that the dominant principle of markets is not always the primary guiding principle under which agents of the state, such as the minister operate. Between the tensions of the left hand and the right hand of the state, is a complex entanglement of racism and neoliberal logic which serves the interests of minister Dutton. Rather

than unravel this tension, it is exploited to uphold power of the state itself, more specifically the minister's position which is within the highest office of the Australian state. Indeed, as an agent imbued with state power, the minister is indifferent to principles of markets, rights and entitlements. Indifference, which can briefly be defined as a lack of interest or concern (Tester, 2002), is used in this thesis to draw attention to act of subordinating all competing principles to power itself. Clearly the guiding principle is not of the welfare state, nor the neoliberal state, but power itself. *Indifference is therefore the act of subordinating all principles to power itself.*

What emerge from this debate when the intersecting processes of discrimination, in particular racism, and neoliberalism are used to sustain power itself is *the mark of an indifferent state*. The processes to enable this, may briefly be outlined as such: Separation of categories based on cultural difference and assigning inferior positions within the social hierarchy. Justifying this separation through associating it with the contradictions that exist within the dominant logic. Exploiting the contradiction by subordinating the dominant logic to power itself.

With the aid of Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), this chapter offered a set of theoretical tools with which to help explain how power operates within the various fields, or structures, such as the Australian Framework of Support, the social enterprise, and the neoliberal state, that intersect the lives of female refugees. Drawing on the participants' experiences, and using these concepts, helps to explain how and why these structures have emerged (in particular the social enterprise) and what effect these structures have on the lives of unemployed female refugees. In particular, these concepts are used to help uncover the unchallenged rules that govern the relational practices of these structures which uphold the position of perpetual crisis. The next chapter explains the methods used to research unemployed female refugees.

PART 2:
RESEARCH DESIGN AND EMPIRICAL EXAMINATION: THE UNCHALLENGED FORMS OF POWER INTERSECTING THE LIVES OF MARY, AGNES, AND ERIKA

Chapter 4:

Researching Unemployed Female Refugees

Previous chapters provided context to this study by explaining the complexity in the unemployment position of female refugees and the rules that uphold this position. This chapter describes the research methodology for exploring the chosen research question and accounts for how the research was designed, why specific methods of inquiry were chosen, and what techniques of analysis and verification were used. The first section of this chapter outlines the research position, which provides detail on the philosophical assumptions that informed the methodology, while subsequent sections provide detail on the qualitative research design, as well as methods, data representation, ethical considerations, and limitations of the study.

4.1 Research Position

This study aimed to understand why refugee women struggle to find work, despite participating in programs focused on employability, and what effect the social enterprise has on this struggle. For this reason, qualitative research methods were chosen to gain knowledge from female refugees themselves on how structures of power intersect and affect their lives. To do so puts the experience of female refugees at the core of this study.

Research methodology largely has a philosophical foundation that draws on a set of ontological and epistemological assumptions that direct the research (Neuman, 2014). Broadly, ontology draws focus to questions of what exists (or the essential nature of reality), while epistemology is concerned with the most valid ways to gain knowledge (Neuman, 2014). An ontological position that situates the perspective of the individual as crucial to understanding recognises that the meanings individuals ascribe to their experiences with the outside world shape their understanding of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1975). Much like Bourdieu's (1977) notion of habitus, this view recognises that our experiences are always occurring through a mechanism

of some sort; that is, through a 'lens or scheme of interpretations and inner subjectivity' (Neuman, 2014, p. 94). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) made a similar point when they wrote,

> Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials–case-study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts–that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals' lives. (p. 2)

This thesis is situated within a *critical realist* position (Neuman, 2014), which recognises that reality may be coloured by subjective interpretations while also viewing reality as having multiple layers, or three types of 'ontological depth' (M. Archer, Bhaskar, Collier, Lawson, & Norrie, 1998, p. ix), namely, the empirical, the actual, and the real (M. Archer et al., 1998; Bhaskar, 1975). Drawing on brief definitions by Fletcher (2017) and R. Hood (2012), the following offers a simplified explanation of these complex layers in relation to the data analysis of the thesis: the *empirical layer* relates to what is experienced, such as the anxiety and frustration expressed by refugee women in relation to their resettlement experience (refer Chapter 5) and in particular, their experience with the job service providers as discussed in Section 6.1; the *actual layer* refers to all events whether they are apprehended or not, such as the commodification of vulnerability, which is explained in section 7.3.2; finally, the *real layer* contains the causal mechanisms which may not be observable on the empirical level but are real as they cause events to happen, such as the role of market mechanisms in reproducing the ongoing exploitation of the inequality embedded in the unemployment position of female refugees, as argued in Chapters 6 and particularly Chapter 7 with respect to the social enterprise.

Broadly, this research position holds that while empirical data are observable, deeper causal mechanisms operate at unobservable layers (Neuman, 2014). An important point with this research position is that it advocates the use of theory to explain empirical data and reveal hidden layers

(Neuman, 2014). More specifically, to overcome challenges of misrepresentation and bias in the construction of knowledge, the critical realist position offers a lens, or a set of theoretical concepts, through which to observe and select relevant data, analyse and critique complex social relations (Coser, 2015, p. 170; Reeves, Albert, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008, p. 631).

At this point, I must acknowledge my own personal interest with this study. First, I limited the study to female refugees as the voluntary experience I had was mainly with refugee women. While I had volunteered to support male humanitarian entrants, my most significant experience was with females. My objective with this research was to find some explanation for the many stories of the women I already knew. I wanted to know why refugee women in their prime were struggling to find work, and I also wanted to explore whether social enterprises provided a solution to overcome their struggle for work, hence the emergence of my research problem. I acknowledge that when I first came across the term social enterprise, I weighed it in a positive light. I believed that the notion of social enterprise carried with it 'positive intentions', and that if the practice could be harnessed towards positive structural change for marginalised members of our community, then social enterprise was a practice worth pursuing. When I started this research project, I hoped one of its outcomes could contribute towards a framework that would support the way the practice of social enterprise could be enhanced to achieve its social mission more effectively. My enthusiasm for the practice of social enterprise was not without concern. While I thought the practice offered promise, I was unsure whether it worked in the best interests of the refugee women. I also acknowledge that my intention in undertaking this study was to be part of an inclusive solution to issues of marginalisation, and therefore there was both a personal interest and political dimension to my work. For these reasons, I leaned towards a critical review. I wanted to gain a comprehensive understanding of the practice of social enterprise to uncover the basis upon which social enterprise structures operated to advance the interests of refugee women. A critical review, by default, stands in opposition to the status quo and therefore provides a tool with which to weed out and examine underlying assumptions and inherent bias:

> A critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of the thought the practices that we accept, rest. (Foucault, 2013, p. 154)

Situating research within a critical frame of reference is inherently political as it aims to highlight shortcomings, and this in itself is a call for action. A critical framework offers a set of analytic tools, or theoretical concepts, with which to explain how power operates within a system of relations. This research was designed as a critical study to help explain the role of the social enterprise in the unemployment position of refugee women. As such, it used Bourdieu's (1977) theoretical concepts to map the position of unemployed refugee women and to detail the various power relations that intersect and uphold this position. Concepts of power were therefore used as a critical lens to uncover unchallenged, or hidden, forms of power embedded in the unemployment position of refugee women. While intersectionality (as mentioned in Chapter 3) was not a primary method of my research, it emerged as the analysis systematically uncovered the layers of complexity within the data.

It has been argued that critical research, which elevates the 'voices' of those who are marginalised, is emancipatory as it serves to unveil oppressive power structures and therefore provides the basis upon which to advance social and political restructuring (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011; Sayer, 2010). I acknowledge my research's capacity to play an emancipatory role. The emphasis of my analysis was the relations of power that intersect the lives of refugee women, and therefore, any emancipatory role rested in uncovering the significance of the inequality embedded in these connections. In other words, while this study drew heavily on participants' experiences, the emphasis of my analysis was directed by a research agenda that sought to account for the structures of power that uphold the inequality in the unemployment position of refugee women. The effect of this research agenda was that it shifted attention beyond the participants' experiences towards the role of structures such as the social enterprise, the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) and the state. Furthermore, my analysis sought to explain how refugee women benefited

from the role of the social enterprise and to account for how this differed from the experiences the women had had with other structures operating under the AFS, such as the employment agencies and training providers. By doing this, I could account for the difference that the social enterprise made to the unemployment position of refugee women. More specifically, I could explain the role that social enterprise structures played in the rules that govern the Australian Framework of Support (AFS).

In summary, this qualitative research was situated within a critical realist research frame. It aimed to understand the inequality embedded in the unemployment position of female refugees and to explain the effect that structures such as the social enterprise have on the relations of power that uphold this inequality.

4.2 Research Process

The study was conducted in three successive stages, namely, research design, data collection, and data analysis and representation. While each stage was carried out in succession, at points in time during the research process, certain stages were revisited to alter the design, introduce new secondary data, or draw on additional theoretical concepts. The process of qualitative research is not linear and functions in an iterative manner across many complex stages before reaching finality (Neuman, 2014). Details of each stage, as well as examples of the key interruptions to the flow of the research process, are outlined in the following sections of this chapter.

4.3 Research Design

To account for the role of the social enterprise, this study sought to understand why female refugees were engaged with the social enterprise, meaning that the first level of inquiry was concerned with the historical aspects that led female refugees to the social enterprise. This historical account (which is the discussion of Chapters 5 and 6) aimed to explain the *position* of unemployed female refugees with respect to the labour market and the various structures operating under the Australian Framework of Support (AFS). The second level of inquiry (Chapter 7) sought

to explain the role of the social enterprise with respect to both the unemployment position of female refugees and within the border context of the AFS. In other words, it sought to explain the role of the social enterprise both within and beyond the multi-level inquiry study itself. The research problem drives the design and methods of the research (Bryman, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The problem, which aimed to explain the relations of power that underpin the inequality in the labour market position of unemployed female refugees, and the effect of the social enterprise on these relations, was explored using a multilevel inquiry, which is broadly representative of an *instrumental* (Stake, 1995) case study approach, and what I called a multilevel case study.

Broadly speaking, a case study supports a research position that aims to explore an in-depth account of a particular phenomenon (Creswell, 2013; Crotty, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, 1998; J. Mason, 1996). More specifically, a case study is a unique bounded system (Stake, 1995) where the aim of the research is to investigate many features and details associated with one or more cases about a phenomenon (Neuman, 2014), that is, to 'demonstrate a causal argument about how general social forces shape and produce results in particular settings' (Walton, 1992, p. 122). Furthermore, case study lends itself to explanatory research that aims to answer 'how' or 'why' (Yin, 1994).

Stake's (1995) work was particularly useful in characterising the different types of case study design and lending emphasis to which of these designs best fit the particular research agenda for this study. While my research agenda was focused on understanding the world from the participants' perspectives, it also aimed to explain the phenomenon of the social enterprise within the broader context of the Australian Framework of Support. Stake drew attention to three types of case study: *intrinsic, collective,* and *instrumental* (Stake, 1995, pp. 3-4). Broadly, Stake explained that the difference between these designs is dependent on the special interest and curiosity of the researcher. For example, with the intrinsic case, interest refers to the phenomenon of the case itself, and therefore, curiosities are restrained to pursing features unique to the case itself. The collective case, on the other hand, emphasises the study of multiple cases with the aim

of gaining a broader understanding of the phenomena under study. An instrumental case study, however, extends the analysis beyond the case itself towards an explanation of a particular concern. In the context of my research, this latter design justified my research agenda, which was to explain the role of the social enterprise in the broader context of the relations of power intersecting the lives of female refugees and in particular, within the Australian Framework of Support and the state.

To achieve this level of understanding, empirical data were drawn from two distinct worldviews. That of unemployed refugee women as beneficiaries of the social enterprise, and that of agents of the social enterprise to which the women were affiliated. The next section expands on the research design to outline how these data were collected.

4.4 Data Collection

Data collected for this study comprised multiple data sources from two distinct areas: secondary data and primary data. Secondary data, which are already interpreted (Walliman, 2015), were obtained from sources such as academic journals, books, websites, and online databases such as the ABS. Primary data, on the other hand, which are obtained directly from the field under study (Walliman, 2015), included data from semistructured interviews, interview transcripts, researcher field notes taken during the interviews, and notes made about organisational structures, strategic plans, marketing and training materials, and presentations (which are part of the secondary data).

Secondary data were collected throughout the research process, although the most significant volume of these data was collected at the start of the research process. Secondary data lend context to the research while offering a means by which to lend credibility to claims and assumptions within the research (Walliman, 2015). For example, secondary data obtained from various government and academic studies, as well as databases such as the ABS, lent credibility to the formulation of the research problem by providing statistical data that demonstrated the claim of a consistently high rate of unemployment among female refugees. Findings from both academic and

industry studies were also used to highlight the gap in research and therefore substantiated the justification for undertaking the research. Furthermore, secondary data were used to lend historical context to the study and to further investigate participant experiences. For example, participant claims about the ineffectiveness of the JSPs were further analysed through drawing on secondary data obtained from both qualitative and quantitative studies.

Primary data, on the other hand, were collected over an 18-month period from mid 2014 to the end of 2015. The collection of these data used nonprobability techniques of purposive and snowball sampling (Neuman, 2014) to identify potential cases for this study. Purposive sampling is most relevant when there is no common understanding of the main construct under study (Charmaz, 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) and the study is for a particular purpose; that is, not necessarily a representative sample (Neuman, 2014). The concern for this study was to acquire knowledge of a particular social practice of the social enterprise associated with a particular group of people, namely, unemployed female refugees. Given that the main social construct—the social enterprise—is not easily identified as a separate legal entity within Australia, and given that the social enterprise is a contentious notion with a lack of definitional consensus (Barraket et al., 2010), purposive sampling was used. On the other hand, snowball sampling was an effective means by which to identify and verify prospective social enterprises; it is a multistage technique that works on a referral basis and therefore offered a means by which to build knowledge from many individual sources about the existence of a particular entity or relationship (Neuman, 2014), in this case the social enterprise. Through these sampling techniques, I gained access to various organisations, as well as seminars, conferences, and local council and organisation meetings that aided the understanding and identification of potential case studies for this research.

4.4.1 Semistructured and Open-Ended Interviews

The main method of primary data collection was through semistructured and open-ended interviews. A key objective of the research was to understand the world from participants' perspectives, therefore interviews are a method of inquiry that supports deeper understanding of

those things that cannot be directly observed or reported on. In particular, it provides a unique perspective on the way individuals negotiate those categories of a socially constructed world:

> We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe. The issue is not whether observational data are more desirable, valid or meaningful than self-report data. The fact is that we cannot observe everything. We cannot observe feelings, thoughts and intentions. We cannot observe behaviours that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of the observer. We cannot observe how people have organised the world and the meanings that they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about these things. The purpose of interviewing, then, is to is to allow us to enter the other persons perspective. (Patton, 1990, pp. 340-341)

The interview was framed using semistructured, open-ended questions formulated around the key themes of refugee women, un/employment, and the social enterprise. The formulation of semistructured, open-ended questions, which is more structured than a conversational interview, guides the interview around specific topics while providing the flexibility for an in-depth examination of a particular topic (Minichiello, Aroni, & Hays, 2008). This means the method of enquiry was targeted, directing the interview towards the topics of interest (Flick, 2014) such as unemployment and the social enterprise, while supporting an open-ended approach that allowed for a detailed understanding of the interviewee's experience and perception of reality (Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell, & Alexander, 1990). Methods of inquiry such as in-depth interviews, which support broad, open-ended questions, are used to facilitate discussion with the participants under study to enable the complexity of meanings to emerge (Creswell, 2013). Open-ended questions provide the researcher with a means to explore, through discussion and critical reflection, both the individual and the collective understandings of social processes and social norms underpinning the lives of the participants (J. Mason, 2002, p. 56). The job of the researcher, then, is to reconstruct stories, or meanings, from the data gathered from participants about their lives (Creswell & Poth, 2018), discussed further in Section 4.5, 'Data Analysis and Representation'.

For my study, two interview schedules were prepared. One interview schedule had interview questions specifically prepared for the agents of organisations that had a social enterprise. The second schedule was for refugee women that were affiliated with the social enterprise under study. Each interview schedule included an information sheet that provided details of the study. In this case there were three information sheets prepared. The first information sheet was for agents of the social enterprise, a second was for refugee women that could speak English and a third was for refugee women that required an interpreter. The following are the documents handed to the participants of this study:

- **Project Details** (Appendix 13), which outlined the purpose of the study for those participants identified as agents of the social enterprise;
- **Interview Schedule** (Appendix 14), which detailed the open-ended questions that were to be asked of participants identified as agents of the social enterprise;
- **Combined Information Sheet and Interview Schedule** (Appendix 15), which provided information about the project and detailed the semistructured and open-ended questions that were to be asked of participants identified as refugee women.
- **Combined Information Sheet and Interview Schedule with Interpreter** (Appendix 16), which was similar to Appendix 15, as detailed above, but also included information on the option of an interpreter being available for the interview.

All interviews were face-to-face. For two participants, an interpreter was present during the interview. Having an interpreter present during the interview provided the opportunity for complex explanations to be clarified as the interview progressed. Face-to-face interviews support the building of rapport and allow a deeper understanding of the interviewee's world as knowledge can be conveyed in a language that is natural to the participants (Minichiello et al., 2008).

For those participants that were beneficiaries of the social enterprise, that is, the refugee women, interview questions were framed to exclude the term social enterprise as it is contentious, and I decided that it might not be a familiar term with the participants. Also, I wanted to understand how

the women themselves framed their relationship with the social enterprise. Rather, the term employment program was used. None of the refugee women interviewed used the term social enterprise in the interview. They all referred to the organisation either by using the name of the organisation or the names of the staff, in particular, the staff member managing the social enterprise.

Through the interview process, data were collected from three different social enterprises that included a catering business (the SE-A), a cleaning business (the SE-B), and an online gift store (the SE-C). For these three social enterprises, 24 interviews were conducted with 21 individuals (3 participants were interviewed twice for further details and clarifications). Of the 21 people interviewed, 10 were employees of the social enterprises, nine were refugee women (beneficiaries) of the social enterprises, and two were interpreters needed for the two participants who were unable to speak English. Following each interview with the non-English speaking participants, the interpreter was also interviewed to gain any further information that may be of benefit the study, such as any particular words or phrases that lost meaning through the interpretation process. Nothing of significance was raised. Interviews ran for approximately 60 minutes, with the shortest duration being 47 minutes and the longest 180 minutes. Of the 21 interviewees, two did not wish to be recorded but agreed that notes could be taken during the interview.

Of the 22 recorded interviews, 20 were transcribed into Microsoft Word. Two recorded interviews were not transcribed, as the data were not significant in terms of providing new and relevant insights to the data already transcribed and analysed. Of the three organisations that participated in the study, only one was selected for this research. The reasons for this and the selection criteria are detailed next, in Section 4.4.2 and Section 4.5.

4.4.2 Identifying Cases

The identification of potential cases was initially limited to nonprofit social enterprises operating in the Western Sydney region. The main factors that influenced this decision were informed by the

review of secondary data, as well as my personal interest and situation. More specifically, the review of secondary data revealed that the majority of social enterprises operate as nonprofit structures (Barraket et al., 2010), and that the majority of humanitarian entrants to Sydney settle in local government areas of Western Sydney (Collins, 2010; Hugo et al., 2011). These local government areas include Auburn, Bankstown, Blacktown, Blue Mountains, Camden, Campbelltown, Fairfield, Hawkesbury, Holroyd, Liverpool, Parramatta, Penrith, The Hills, and Wollondilly (Montoya, 2014, 2015).

My personal situation influenced the decision, as I was already located in Western Sydney, and through my voluntary effort, I was familiar with key organisations and informants working to support refugee women across some of the local areas mentioned above. I therefore had an established position of trust that I leveraged to gain access to key informants. For example, I used my existing knowledge and networks, acquired through my voluntary work, to gain access to key players within the nonprofit sector that were either working with refugee women or had knowledge of social enterprises operating within the Western Sydney area. In addition, I contacted local councils in these areas by phone to obtain knowledge and information on any known social enterprises that were operating within their respective areas. Through this means of referral, I could identify organisations recognised as social enterprises by several agents within the field. A web search performed across organisation websites, media articles, reports, and academic studies assisted with gathering information, identifying potential leads, and preparing for meetings with key informants and potential participants. Three social enterprises were identified for this study on the basis that they offered paid employment to women of refugee backgrounds and were in a position to commit to assist with the recruitment of participants for the study.

4.4.3 Formal Engagement and Recruitment of Participants

At each social enterprise identified, there was a key informant who I contacted directly to formally introduce myself and to provide details on the purpose of my study. This key informant was a senior manager of the organisation, either a social enterprise manager (SEM) or the chief executive

officer (CEO). Key informants were chosen because of their knowledge and expertise in a particular field (Minichiello et al., 2008) and because they were identified as holding formal positions of power and therefore considered to have important decision-making roles with respect to the influence, resources, and outcomes of their organisations (Greenwood, Oliver, Lawrence, & Meyer, 2017). Once contact was established, details of my study's purpose were emailed to them with a formal request to participate in the study. This communication included both the information sheet and interview questions for agents of the social enterprise as well as the refugee women. Once formal requests were sent, I followed up with an email to arrange an appropriate time to meet to discuss the study. For two of the three organisations selected for the study I was invited to a staff meeting to discuss the purpose of my study and to arrange a time to meet with participants that were key agents of the social enterprise. Following these meetings, interviews were scheduled and commenced with key participants. During this time, I also made arrangements with the key informant who would help me to recruit participants for this study. It was agreed that the key informant, or a member of their staff, would approach the refugee women directly to ensure that they understood the details of the study and were comfortable to participate. A limitation of this approach is that the key informants acted as 'gatekeepers', as they were in control of selecting participants for this study. Access to participants may influence the reliability of the study, as 'gatekeepers are those individuals in an organisation that have the power to grant or withhold access to people or situations for the purposes of research' (R. G. Burgess, 2006, p. 39). The risk with this approach for recruitment is a skewed data set as effectively, power was handed over to the key informant to select the participants for the study. To overcome this, a process of triangulation was used, details of which are explained in the next subsection.

4.4.4 Triangulation

With all qualitative studies, including case studies, there is an ongoing concern with reliability and validity, which are 'ideas that help to establish 'truthfulness, credibility, or believability of findings' (Neuman, 2014, p. 212). A process of *triangulation* (Denzin, 1970) was used to improve

both reliability and validity of findings, which means that the process required the researcher to draw on a number of different sources to corroborate findings (J. Mason, 2002) in an effort to reduce bias (Patton, 1990) and improve 'credibility and quality by countering the concern (or accusation) that a study's findings are simply an artifact of a single method, single source, or a single investigator's blinders' (Patton, 1990, p. 563). Data collection and the analysis of these data were continuous through the research study. Data were constantly verified against multiple sources of data including verifying details with other research findings. Further, to corroborate findings, the study drew on the multiple perspective of the participants; that is, within and across the three social enterprises from the study.

4.5 Data Analysis and Case Study Selection

Following the process of data collection, several activities, such as the organisation, coding, analysis, and representation of data (Creswell, 2013, p. 197) were undertaken. The primary objective of these tasks was to gain a deeper understanding so that an interpretation of the data could be created (Feldman, 1995). The following describes key activities in support of interpretation of the data.

Following the collection of primary data, interviews were transcribed. Next, to explain the data, this study used a process of coding to draw out the key features from the primary data. Coding is a process that interrogates data through a series of analytic questions that ask what the data are about and then labels those data with descriptive identifiers which themselves are further interrogated and coded, thereby offering a means by which to 'raise the level of conceptualisation of these data and increase the theoretical reach of our analyses' (Charmaz, 2012, p. 4). The transcripts, along with the set of researcher notes, were reviewed for familiarity, with handwritten notes made on the respective documents to identify words and paragraphs that had some semblance of a notion such as a common theme, a specific idea, or process. In other words, these primary data were reviewed several times for content that identified as having the potential of a general rule or process (Ezzy, 2002; Peirce, 1965). Once these notions were identified, they were coded

with descriptive identifiers. These identifiers signal the onset of a social process, a particular meaning, an action, or the potential of an emergent theme (Charmaz, 1995, 2012). These coded data were further reviewed to identify themes from within the coding itself. These subsequent themes were also coded. In some instances, a section of the transcript was coded more than once to signify two distinct processes or effects. The process of coding itself was overwhelming as there were large volumes of data generated from the interview. To overcome the challenge with coding, organising and analysis of data, I used the qualitative analysis software tool NVivo10, which provides a means by which to store, analyse, code, and report on data across multiple formats.

At this point, I must acknowledge that the design of my research changed as the analysis progressed. The initial design aimed to use all three social enterprise case studies (that is, the catering business, the SE-A; the cleaning business, the SE-B; and an online gift store, the SE-C). Two issues arose with this initial design. First, there were challenges with the representation of data for each case study. Although each case was similar in its goal to provide employment to female refugees, each offered slightly different accounts of the tensions being negotiated by both the staff of the social enterprise and the refugee women. The complexity of these data created a challenge between lending priority to the different features across the cases, including the complexity of the refugee women's lives, and the complexity of processes within the social enterprise. While I initially attempted to code these differences, the volume of data and the time required made this unfeasible. It is acknowledged that with qualitative case studies, there is generally a trade-off between the number of cases and the number of associated features that may be studied (Ragin & Amoroso, 2010). I changed the scope of the study to select one of the three social enterprises. The social enterprise selected, namely SE-A, was chosen because it was the most mature having operated for approximately 12 months at the time of the interviews.

4.6 The Case Study

The aim of this section is to provide details that are specific to the selected case study alone. The case-study (which is the basis for the data and analysis chapters, 5,6 and 7) is based on data

collected from the non-profit organisation the NP-A and its social enterprise, the SE-A as well as data from three refugee women, namely, Mary, Agnes and Erika that are associated with the organisation. This section first provides details about the non-profit organisation. Then, details of the research methodology, which were described in the previous sections of this chapter, are clarified in relation to the data collection of the case study itself. Finally, this section reintroduces the three refugee women that are central to the analysis of this study due to their association with the NP-A and in particular, its social enterprise called the SE-A.

The NP-A, is a longstanding nonprofit organisation located in Western Sydney. Established in the 1980's with the goal of setting up a training organisation to support the long-term unemployed, the NP-A had since, expanded its focus to offer a range of services and support tailored to assist youth, people suffering with mental health concerns, new migrants and refugees, as well as people recently released from prison. With its primary focus on 'building communities', the diverse range of services and support offered by the NP-A included government certified vocational training as well as employment programs. These programs were mainly focused on the areas of hospitality and the development of the soft skills such as communication, team work, and organisational skills which were deemed necessary for employment. Other extended services included assisting migrants, mainly refugees, by offering one-on-one resettlement support for such things as: writing cover letters and resumes which were needed to apply for jobs, completing official forms and assisting with enquiries for government departments such as the Australian Tax Office, providing assistance with citizenship training and offering free certified English language training. More general support extended to providing information and advice on various topics such as access to various government services, health and wellbeing. As part of their goal to support the long-term unemployed, the NP-A established a social enterprise called the SE-A. The SE-A had the primary aim of providing paid employment to refugee women, in particular those women that had an established relationship with the NP-A through use of their services and support. Through funds received from various funding partners, the NP-A established the SE-A as

catering business in support of various community and corporate events. Details specific to the organisation, its operation and funding arrangements are described more fully in Chapter 7.

Data collection for the case study, as detailed in Section 4.4, included the use of both primary and secondary data. For the case study, the formal engagement and recruitment of participants occurred through a key informant (refer Section 4.4.3). The key informant for the case study was the CEO of the NP-A. Through the process of formal engagement and recruitment of interviewees (refer Section 4.4.3) which included a presentation to staff members, data were collected from seven interviewees. The main method for primary data collection (refer Section 4.4.1) used semistructured and open-ended interviews to collect data for the case study. The first set of interviews were with four staff members of the NP-A. These staff members held various positions of authority across the organisation. Each of the four participants were only interviewed once, although follow-up meetings did occur with staff members to obtain details relevant to the operations of the organisation, such as training materials, marketing material, plans and budget information. The collection of primary data included an interview with the staff member who championed the move towards social enterprise and had authority for funding decisions. An interview was also conducted with the social enterprise supervisor who was responsible for the day-to-day operations, including the overall supervision and recruitment of refugee women engaged in paid work at the SE-A. Two further interviews were conducted with staff members that did not officially report to the social enterprise supervisor, but were directly engaged with the refugee women that were in paid work at the SE-A. These staff members provided assistance in areas such as food preparation, event setup as well as any specific work-related training and support, such as in the area of occupational health and safety. Interviews with staff ran for approximately 60 to 90 minutes. A second set of interviews were with three refugee women namely Mary, Agnes and Erika that were being paid to work at the SE-A. Each of these interviews ran for approximately 60 minutes and each of the participants were interviewed once with no follow-up meetings required. As explained throughout the thesis, and technically substantiated in

key design elements of the study (refer Sections 3.1, 3.2 and 4.3) the focus of my research was to gain an understanding of the complex relations of power that intersected the lives of refugee women and to what end with respect to gainful employment. The next section provides more detail on the refugee women participants of the case study.

Mary, Agnes and Erika were aged between 35 to 44 years and had arrived in Australia between 2004 and 2006. All of the women had experienced the effects of forced migration and were from non-English speaking backgrounds, meaning that all of the women required support to gain access to the necessary networks and skills needed for successful resettlement in Australia. While the women had limited formal education they had all gained various levels of paid work experience prior to their arrival in Australia. Gaining access to necessary English language, as well as vocational training and education skills relevant to the Australian workplace, was a crucial part of the resettlement experience for Mary, Agnes and Erika. Furthermore, each of the women had the primary responsibility of taking care of their children who were all of a school going age. The women had all engaged with the NP-A in the hope that they would improve their chances of finding paid work. Each of the women were experiencing financial hardship and consequently were all desperate to find paid employment as an important means to ease their financial obligations, more specifically to help them to properly feed and take care of themselves and their families, both in Australia and in their country of origin. The women were all visibly different, meaning that they are part of the general Australian population that are more likely to experience racism as a form of exclusion from the Australian labour market (refer Section 2.1.3). Details about their resettlement experience, their financial hardship and how the women negotiated access to work opportunities as well as important resources (such as child care and English language) which were needed to improve their chances of securing employment, are all points of discussion in the subsequent data and analysis chapters. The remaining sections of this chapter discuss the ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was obtained for this study through two ethics submissions made to the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. The first, Human Research Ethics Application Form, was approved in February 2014. The second, Amendment Request Form, which was a request for the use of interpreters, was approved in October 2014. This second request was made as one of the three social enterprises offered employment to refugee women that could not speak English. An independent interpreter from the Translating and Interpreting Service (TIS) National, a service offered by the former Department of Immigration and Border Protection was engaged for this study. Written communication with TIS confirmed that the interpreter engaged for this study had signed a confidentiality agreement as part of the employment contract with TIS, and that in this contract, the interpreter had agreed to the code of ethics set by the Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators (AUSIT, 2012).

An ethical concern with the design of the study is that it makes use of key informants to gain access to participants (refer Section 4.4.3). A key constraint with this design arises with the notion of 'free consent' (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012, p. 98), where the participants may feel a certain obligation to the key informant and therefore they feel a sense of obligation to take part in the study. To minimise this constraint, at the start of the interview I briefed each participant on the study's purpose and assured them that they could withdraw at any time during the process. Assurance was also given to each participant that the interview was confidential, and their names and any information that could identify them or their organisation would be excluded, or if used in the study, the information would be changed to protect their identity and that of their organisation. Within this study, I changed a number of tags, such as the name of the participants and organisation to uphold assurance of confidentiality.

While all the refugee participants of this study were visibly and culturally different to the dominant group, I refrained from using cultural identifiers such as 'country of origin' or cultural background on the basis that I could not find a clear justification for their use, and therefore any

use of these tags would in itself be a violent act of racial discrimination. Within and among cultures and traditions there are many differences, and therefore, it is difficult to generalise (Vasta, 2004). Those cultural differences such as English language and visible difference that are important to the explanations are called out in the chapters which make up Part 2 of the study.

4.8 Limitations

A limitation of this study is associated with generalisability. A criticism of case study is related to whether the findings of the case, which are usually based on a small number of participants or organisations, may be transferable to other cases (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Simons, 1996; Swanborn, 2010). This criticism holds for social enterprise case studies as well (Short, Moss, & Lumpkin, 2009). It is argued, however, that the tension between a single case and its generalisability are contestable, as 'case-study research is capable of creating thick descriptions and rich understandings of social contexts that have relevance and resonance across social sites' (Macpherson, Brooker, & Ainsworth, 2000, p. 49). Mitchell (1983), recognised that all case studies are situated in a wider context and argued that 'the validity of the extrapolation depends not on the typicality or representativeness of the case but on the cogency of the theoretical reasoning' (p. 183). In other words, while the primary concern of case study is to generate knowledge of the particular, through the logic of analytic induction (Silverman, 1985), the researcher can 'infer that the features present in the case-study will be related in a wider population not because the case is representative but because [the] analysis is unassailable' (Mitchell, 1983, p. 177). This research used both thick descriptions and theory to help interpret and explain the data.

This chapter outlined the mutli-level case study design and research methods used to examine the structures of power that uphold inequality in the unemployment position of female refugees. The chapter described the philosophical and methodological influences and briefly outlined how the research process developed and presented details on key stages of this process. This included how organisations and research participants were identified, approached, and

selected for the study. Details of data collection, analysis, and representation were also described and ethical considerations and limitations discussed.

Based on the research methodology presented in this chapter, subsequent chapters discuss the analytic findings as follows. Chapter 5 draws on the perspectives of three refugee women, Mary, Agnes, and Erika to reveal the position of disadvantage from which the women came and to show the structural constraints that gave rise to their vulnerability. Chapter 6 provides an analysis of how the women tried to negotiate access to the labour market and shows what a position of perpetual crisis looks like. Chapter 7 deepens the understanding of the position of perpetual crisis by drawing into the analysis, the perspectives of four staff members associated with SE-A as well as further experiences from Mary, Agnes and Erika. Chapter 8 concludes with a discussion, future directions and final comments.

Chapter 5:

From Disadvantage to Vulnerability

This chapter draws on the experiences of three refugee women, Mary, Agnes, and Erica, who were affiliated with SE-A (Social Enterprise-A). Their personal stories and feelings underpin the core of my argument. As argued in Chapter 2, refugees, women in particular, migrate from a position of significant disadvantage, which leaves many vulnerable with little hope of gaining entry to the Australian labour market. In this chapter, I examine the vulnerability upon which the position of perpetual crisis rests and argue that it is not the disadvantage from which the women came that is the defining feature of their vulnerability, but rather their restricted access to the means of integration.

Two primary sections make up this chapter. First, details of the personal lives of Mary, Agnes, and Erika show the disadvantage from which the women came and the hardship of their daily lives. As explained in Chapter 4, the aim of this study was to use the personal stories of female refugees to explain the effect of the structures of power on their lives. This means that the telling of their stories is an important part of the way in which the analysis is presented. For this reason, and in particular with this chapter, I placed the analysis in the second section of the chapter to afford little interference in the telling of the lived experiences of Mary, Agnes, and Erika.

The first section of this chapter contributes to the research by providing an understanding of the extreme hardship faced by the women, and it therefore clarifies what gainful employment means for refugee women such as Mary, Agnes, and Erika. Drawing on notions of power, as outlined in Chapter 3 with reference mainly to Bourdieu, the second section of this chapter situates the feelings of the women as an expression of unresolved tensions within the environment in which they are situated. An examination of these tensions therefore provides details about the key structures of power that influence the lives of the women.

5.1 The Lived Experiences of Mary, Agnes, and Erika

Mary, Agnes, and Erika have lived in Australia for more than 10 years. They arrived in Australia between 2004 and 2006. At the time of conducting the interviews, they were aged 35 to 44 years, and all had the primary responsibility of caring for their children. All had undertaken some form of casual or full-time paid work before arriving in Australia. This paid work was across a diverse range of skill-sets as it included jobs such as cleaning, machine operation, cooking, and assisting with polio immunisation. None of the women held secondary school certificates and all had little or no primary education. Each of the women asserted that they spoke little or no English on arrival to Australia. All of the women were visibly different, meaning 'recognizable as different from the white, Western-clad, and English-speaking Australian majority' (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007a, p. 61) (refer Section 2.1.3 for expanded definition).

After arrival in Australia, each woman undertook various English language courses as well as numerous training and certificate courses in areas such as hospitality, childcare, and aged care. All had Australian citizenship, and their refugee visa status held no restrictions on their ability to work, meaning each was eligible to work on arrival to Australia. All three had some level of Australian work experience prior to their engagement with the SE-A, albeit temporary, with only two of the three women receiving payment. Although engaged in casual paid work with the SE-A, all three participants were looking for full-time employment at the time of the interviews. The major worry for all participants was that they lacked access to the means to properly feed and take care of their children, their extended families, and themselves. All of the women were seeking employment as a means to overcome the day-to-day hardship of taking care of their families. In short, they were doing everything in their power to lift their family out of poverty.

5.1.1 Mary

Mary arrived in Australia in 2006. At the time of the interview, she was a single parent with a 7-year-old child. Mary had recently separated from her husband, who was seeking a divorce. She had primary responsibility for the care of her child and received no financial support from her

husband. At a young age, Mary lost both her parents to the civil war in her country of origin. A consequence of this tragic event was that Mary received no formal education and took on the responsibility of primary carer for her younger sister. During the time spent in both her country of origin and country of transition, Mary gained paid work as a full-time cook, a casual domestic cleaner, and a casual babysitter.

> I don't go to school because my mum died and leave [me] with my sister [who was] maybe two years [old]. My older sister [was] married [and] have kids. That's why I take care [of] my [younger] sister, I cannot go to school. My dad and my mum, the same time, they die from war. Yes, that's why I can't go to school. I live with my [younger] sister, myself [the two of us alone]. (Mary)

On arrival to Australia, Mary was expecting her first child. During this time, she undertook the 510 hours of free English language training on offer from the government. However, Mary had to suspend this training to take care of her family. During these early years of settlement, Mary desperately missed her family whom she had not seen in over 15 years: 'The whole seven years I stay home, I don't working. I don't have anything. Never. I have 15 years, I'm not seeing my family in [my country]. I can't go. I don't have money. Yeah, a very [big] problem' (Mary). The first seven years of resettlement in Australia were hard for Mary as her dire financial situation, coupled with the lack of necessary social networks, not only limited her ability to access education and employment and to care for her extended family, but also left her isolated with feelings of extreme sadness and loneliness.

Despite the extreme hardship in the first years of resettlement, Mary resumed her studies. She completed the 510 hours of free English language and then went on to study English for a further two years at TAFE, which she paid for herself: 'I paid, but my husband didn't pay for me'(Mary). As Mary's husband was working at the time, she did not qualify for educational assistance and received approximately $73 per fortnight in child-support payments from Centrelink. While Mary was undertaking her English studies at TAFE, a friend introduced her to the nonprofit organisation, the NP-A (which is the organisation that established the SE-A, the case

study for this thesis). Mary ceased her studies with TAFE to undertake English classes with the NP-A as the classes were free. Through the combined effect of her informal network and the support from the NP-A, Mary managed to maintain continuity with English language classes for the past four years, since the time of the interview.

Mary's primary source of income, from the time she separated from her husband, was Centrelink. Her fortnightly income was approximately $900. This amount was largely made up of the payment she received from Centrelink, including support payments for her child. A smaller portion of this income was from the casual employment Mary earned from the occasional work as a babysitter and the casual employment she gained through the SE-A, discussed further in Chapter 7. A large portion of Mary's income was allocated to rent, which was $700 per fortnight, leaving her with approximately $200 per fortnight for all other expenses including food, water, electricity, telephone, and taking care of her child's school requirements. In the hope of reducing her expenses, Mary had joined a waiting list for affordable housing. Despite, the financial hardship and struggle to pay her rent, Mary stated that she was in a better position without her husband, both emotionally and financially.

> But I'm happy. I can do [manage without her husband]. Just, I want to pay the renting. Because I need the place [to] sleeping proper, and then I go the [affordable housing centre] ask me about I need the house. They say you fill in application you put [your details], because I don't have at the moment the house. When they find a house, they call you. (Mary)

To overcome her financial stress, Mary wanted to find a part-time job where she could work five days a week, preferably from 9.00 a.m. to 2.00 p.m.; that is, 25 hours a week. The times Mary had allocated and the number of available hours for work were necessary restrictions to accommodate her child going to school. Mary was unable to afford childcare and also had difficulty finding someone to take care of her child. Furthermore, Mary wanted to work in childcare but was looking for a job where she could use either her cooking or cleaning skills as she considered her job prospects were restricted due to her limited spoken and written English language abilities. Mary's

attempts to apply for work either directly with an employer or through a Job Service Provider (JSP) had been unsuccessful to date, details of which are presented in Chapter 6.

5.1.2 Agnes[9]

Agnes arrived in Australia in 2004. She lived with her husband and had the primary responsibility of taking care of their five children, aged 14 to 20 years. All her children attended school. Agnes recalled attending basic primary classes for one to two years as a young girl, but had to stop her education to look after her siblings when her father became incapacitated due to a car accident. Before coming to Australia, Agnes had undertaken some basic training in hospitality and had found paid work by taking care of children, as a receptionist doing tasks such as answering the telephone and posting mail, and as a domestic worker. Since coming to Australia, Agnes had found work as a farmhand in country New South Wales from 2008 to 2009. She had also found casual work as a babysitter but had struggled to find work since 2009.

Agnes worried about many things and constantly questioned herself about her position in life. Along with worrying about financial hardships and struggling to feed a family of seven on $100 a fortnight, Agnes was also concerned about her age. She was worried that she had been looking for work for many years and emphasised her despair by telling me she was afraid she might be unable to find work because she was getting older. Agnes spoke positively about Australia and expressed gratitude for the support she had received through the welfare system: 'They [Australians] welcome you and they give you money for nothing' (Agnes). Agnes questioned why she was finding it so hard to secure a job. She wondered whether her attempts to find a job had been unsuccessful because this was not her country, or whether it was because she was not the right skin colour. Furthermore, Agnes wondered whether telling a potential employer

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[9] Agnes did not wish to be recorded for the interview, and therefore the sections of the thesis that retell her lived experience are based on handwritten notes taken both during and after the interview process. In the interview, I captured a few quotations verbatim, and these are reflected accordingly in this thesis. I did not ask Agnes why she did not wish to be recorded. However, Agnes told me about the added complexity that she and her family were facing. I raise this point to emphasise that many more structure affect the lives of the women and their families, therefore what my thesis shows is only a very small window into the daily complexity of the struggles negotiated by the women, and in particular Agnes.

that she planned to take a bus to work may limit her chances of securing a job. She was concerned by her lack of acceptance in Australia because she could not understand why people were not willing to employ her: 'Because I have tried to get a job. How come the people don't accept me?' (Agnes). This unemployment situation was of major concern for Agnes as the family needed money to keep up with the basic cost of living, such as food and rent: 'When you don't have money how can you pay rent?' (Agnes).

Apart from her employment worries, her financial worries, and the worries about the effect that the colour of her skin and her age had on her being unable to find work, Agnes was deeply concerned about many other things. She was concerned about the challenges in the community, especially among the refugee youth. Agnes was concerned about her future and the hardship of living in Australia. Despite all these worries, Agnes reassured herself of the positive aspects of her decision to come to Australia: a future for her children, which meant they would not have to be like her.

> Many, many children in the street. Many, many children in the jail. I don't know why
>
> Sometime I think, who tell me come here?
>
> Why I come here and they, they do this?
>
> I ask myself a lot of questions.
>
> This country is good to learn English.
>
> In my country I not learn. I don't want my children to be like me. (Agnes)

The primary source of income for Agnes' family was from her husband who worked as a cleaner and earned approximately $1,000 per fortnight. The cost of rent was $780 per fortnight. The family struggled to survive on the wage of her husband: 'Husband money not feed us. Sometimes there remain $100 to buy food for two weeks' (Agnes). Along with their dire financial situation, there was the additional responsibility of taking care of extended family members in their country of origin: 'I need to send something [money]. Mum, sister, brother. I need to help because they are

old' (Agnes). In a market-based economy that offered no support to offset the rising tensions of inequality and a labour market that rejected her (both points discussed in subsequent sections 5.2 and 6.2), Agnes was left to manage the day-to-day cost of living with the only available resources she had. Agnes was left to prioritise the high cost of rent above the wellbeing of her family. She was left with the challenge of feeding a family of seven on $100 a fortnight. This left Agnes feeling powerless, deeply saddened, anxious and confused. For Agnes, if the family could increase their income so that they could have an extra $500 a week instead of $100 a fortnight, they would be in a reasonable situation: 'If there remain $500 a week this is good' (Agnes). While the family had previously received financial support through Centrelink, Agnes informed me she was not entitled to Centrelink payments anymore due to the employment status of her husband.

To overcome their extreme circumstances of financial stress, Agnes wanted to work five days a week and would prefer to find shift work that would allow her to be home between the hours of 2.00 p.m. and 4.00 p.m., which is when her children returned home from school. To accommodate her family, Agnes also preferred to work between the hours of 10.00 a.m. and 1.00 p.m. and was prepared to work night shifts between the hours of 4.00 p.m. and midnight. Although these times were preferred they were not absolute as Agnes was desperate for any work.

5.1.3 Erika

Erika arrived in Australia in 2004. At the time of the interview, she was a single parent with an 8-year-old child. She was currently separated from her husband, whose whereabouts were unknown to her. Prior to coming to Australia, Erika had worked as a full-time cook in a childcare facility for five years, a full-time machine operator in a factory for seven years, and as a full-time medical support aide, providing oral polio vaccinations to children. Erika received no financial support from her husband. Her rental assistance had also been withdrawn from Centrelink as the rental bond was in her husband's name, which was seen by Centrelink as an indication that he was contributing to her rent payments.

> You know they [Centrelink] took it [rental assistance] because, you know they told me. You know my ex-husband he is with me in the form, in the rent form. And then they told me he is still now, you know, on the bond in the rent. 'You have to take this form to the [real estate] agent's and they sign you are pay this alone'. And then when I take the form to the agent's they told me we can't. (Erika)

Despite being separated from her husband and receiving welfare payments, she was unable to get this benefit reinstated because her husband's name was on the rental bond. To have her rental assistance reinstated, Centrelink required Erika to obtain an amendment to the commercial arrangement that would have only her name appearing on the bond—an indication that she was liable for the bond, and the only person paying rent. When Erika raised this request with the rental agency that held the bond for her rental property, she was advised that a change in the commercial agreement would result in a renegotiation of the contract. Erika was concerned that any attempt to amend or renew the bond would likely result in a change to the existing rental conditions. She was concerned that her rent would increase and, worse still, that she could end up losing her accommodation.

> When I have this problem [rental assistance], I ask her [estate agent] 'Okay I need to know when my contract is finished, and then I come and I renew this contract again. Maybe I renew it and I put just my name. This is my policy'. And she told me, 'No way, because, you know, because of bonds. Because of bonds. The bonds is not belonging to [you] alone, it belong to [your] partner too, you know. Unless he comes here, and if he wants to renew this maybe you fill a form like the new form. If we accept you or not'. Yeah to rent, not rent, and I pay new bond. I pay new rent. I pay everything new and this is very hard because this is rent of old rent. If I want to rent the new one, it is very expensive. (Erika)

Erika's situation was similar to that of both Mary and Agnes in that she, too, was looking for work to manage her basic living expenses. For Erika, her primary concern was the ongoing payment of her rent that had more than doubled over the past 10 years, having increased from $300 to $620 per fortnight for the same property: 'Yeah and it is worrying rent is so expensive' (Erika). Although Erika received Centrelink benefits, she battled to make ends meet on approximately $150 per fortnight, which was the balance after paying her rent. Erika was concerned that her rent would

increase and was continually searching for cheaper accommodation. She had applied for affordable housing but had been informed there was a 10- to 15-year waiting list for government housing. Erika believed that she would be in a better position if she could either find a job or obtain affordable housing: 'It's very hard. And I said if I get the government house it's okay or I get a job it's okay, but no government house, no job, very hard. It's very hard. But you know like money of Centrelink cannot do anything' (Erika).

Erika was desperate to find work and was prepared to work on weekends and during the school holidays. Erika was seeking full-time work, with the flexibility of working from 8.00 a.m. to 3.00 p.m. in close proximity to her suburb and accessible by public transport. These working criteria were needed to accommodate her school-going child. Erika could not afford to pay for childcare. On school days, Erika was able to arrange for her child to be taken care of by a group of parents who attended church every morning, from 7.00 a.m. to 7.30 a.m. The school opened to students from 7.30 a.m. On weekends, Erika could arrange for a neighbour to take care of her child. Erika's preference was to work in aged care, taking care of the elderly; however, she was prepared to work in any job, including as a kitchen hand.

This section presented the personal stories of the lived experiences of Mary, Agnes, and Erika. These personal experiences show that the women lacked access to all forms of capital, be that *cultural capital* though restricted access to education, *economic capital* through restricted access to employment, and *social capital* through weak social support networks. For Mary, Agnes, and Erika, the disruptive effects of forced migration extended to a wide range of feelings associated with their resettlement experience in Australia. As stated in Chapter 3, this thesis is situated within a relational understanding of power. This means it situates the analysis within a set of assumptions, which recognise that the feelings of the women are an indication of the relations of power that intersect their lives. This research is about the structures of power that uphold inequality; therefore, the next two sections (5.2 and 5.3) explore unresolved tensions of the women within the context of power structures that constrain access to the means of integration.

5.2 Gainful Employment: A Problem of Insufficient Income and Widening Inequality

All the women faced significant challenges in trying to meet the day-to-day costs of living. Mary, Agnes and Erika all expressed feelings of anxiety in relation to insufficient income and feelings of frustration with the attempts made to access the means needed to offset the cost of their basic living expenses. Anxiety is 'an uncertain struggle against uncertainty' (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 97), meaning that for Mary, Agnes, and Erika, anxiety was the ongoing uncertainty in knowing whether they would gain enough income to take care of themselves and their children. Vail (2015), in his analysis of uncertainty, situates anxiety as an aspect of insecurity where an individual's future is cast into doubt when aspects of their social life (such as employment, family, community, individual identity) become unstable, making it harder for them to identify their place in society (pp. 45-46). Again, the lack of gainful employment, lack of effective social support networks and anxiety with being unable to find the means to properly feed and take care of their children are all an indication of the insecurity in the lived experience of Mary, Agnes and Erika. Research has shown that, for the unemployed, anxiety from the lack of financial resources leads to a breakdown of social ties and increased social isolation (Gallie, Paugam, & Jacobs, 2003; Morris & Wilson, 2014). All the women expressed extreme frustration in their efforts to gain access to employment and affordable housing, both of which are held up as significant indicators of successful integration (Ager & Strang, 2008; Fozdar & Hartley, 2014; Hugo, 2011). Without access to gainful employment, that is, finding a source of income able to offset the problem of insufficient income, the women and their children were set on a dangerous path at high risk of homelessness, failing health, and acute poverty. This section examines more closely the issue of insufficient income to show the extent to which the women and their families were at high risk of absolute poverty and how close to homelessness they were. Attention is also paid to the problem of affordable housing to show the extent to which pressures in the rental market affected the women and were likely to persist in the absence of access to gainful employment. Delving more deeply into these issues further indicates the extreme pressure the women were under and clarifies what gainful employment meant to Mary, Agnes, and Erika.

For each participant, the high cost of rent was raised as their major concern. Rent was their most significant expense as it consumed over 75% of their income. Table 5.1 below, approximates the difference between the women's fortnightly income and rental payments. These data were gathered during the interview process.

Table 5.1

Fortnightly Income and Rent Based on Information From the Interviewees

Participant	Income	Rent	Rent as % of Income	Disposable Income After Rent
Mary	$900	$700	77.8%	$200
Agnes	$1,000	$780	78.0%	$220
Erika	$770	$620	80.5%	$150

Each participant's household can be categorised as experiencing a condition of severe housing stress. Generally, if a low-income household spends 30% or more of their income on rental expense, the household is said to be experiencing housing stress (ABS, 2015; Yates, 2007, 2016). Caution has been lent to using the 30% ratio as an effective measure for economic and social hardship, as this number is considered arbitrary and lacking in scientific rigour (A. Freeman, Kiddle, & Whitehead, 2000; Rowley & Ong, 2012). Nevertheless, all the women were in a situation that far exceeded this measure, with a level of housing stress significantly more than double this ratio, meaning they had insufficient income to offset their basic costs of living such as food and rent. Furthermore, a preliminary industry report suggested a causal relationship between this measure and significant negative health implications when the duration in stress extends three years (Rowley & Ong, 2012), which was exactly the situation of Mary, Agnes, and Erika.

A more recent study has suggested that housing insecurity for refugees not only has negative flow on effects to employment and education but further affects the cost of living expenses when children are involved (Fozdar & Hartley, 2014). Again, insufficient income to properly feed and take care of their children was the situation for Mary, Agnes, and Erika, which when situated alongside the risks of sustained unemployment, such as social exclusion (Colic-Peisker, 2009),

poverty (Saunders, 2006) and homelessness (Steen et al., 2012), presented a dire picture of the significant risk to the health and wellbeing of them and their families. Indeed, housing stress was a major contributor to the women's anxiety, and without access to gainful employment, the problems of insufficient income and widening inequality meant that the women and their families were slowly being pushed towards ill health and homelessness; that is, acute poverty.

For all the women, access to affordable housing was a significant issue. The problem of gaining access to affordable housing is consistent with previous studies that have reported on the challenge of housing for refugees (AHRC, 2010; Atem, 2011; Fozdar & Banki, 2017; Holas & Johnston, 2013; Ikafa, 2015; Rodeghiero, 2015) with the lack of affordable and available housing as an ongoing issue for refugees (Atem, 2011; Flatau et al., 2014; Hinsliff, 2007; RCOA, 2016a). It has long been established in Australia that there is a link between affordable housing and successful refugee integration (Jupp, 1994; Pittaway et al., 2009) and that access to affordable housing has a positive effect on the health and wellbeing of refugees, including an improved sense of safety, security, and belonging (Ziersch, Walsh, Due, & Duivesteyn, 2017). While there is limited research on refugee housing experiences in Australia (Forrest, Hermes, Johnston, & Poulsen, 2013), a shortage of housing supply has resulted in higher rental costs for low-income households (Hulse, Reynolds, Stone, & Yates, 2015) with affordable housing especially acute for low-income households (Yates, 2016). A study that drew on ABS data to compare home ownership and private rental trends for the periods of 1995 to 2012 indicated that low-income households are increasingly likely to rent rather than own a house, and that this pattern is especially concerning for those in the 35 to 44 age group given a widening of inequality over their life course, especially in the case of single-parent lower income families (Stebbing & Spies-Butcher, 2016). The concern here is with widening inequality, which suggests that for Mary, Agnes, and Erika, their tensions are only going to increase. This is particularly concerning for the women as rental assistance does not offset the increase in rent, leaving households faced with making trade-offs that affect wellbeing (Rowley & Ong, 2012). In other words, even if the women do manage to gain rental

assistance, without gainful employment their tensions will not subside. Mary, Agnes, and Erika were already prioritising rent over food, which is an indication that the health and wellbeing of them and their families were at further risk. In addition, it is argued that housing insecurity and homelessness become an increased risk for women as they get older, and more so for women of single status, such as Mary and Erika. Darab and Hartman (2013), largely attributed this risk to the traditional female gender role, which limits opportunities to employment, education, and the maintenance of social networks (pp. 363-364).

For households such as those of Mary, Agnes, and Erika, the issue of affordable housing presented a significant concern, especially because the women were already in a dire situation. They already experienced constant anxiety about meeting rental payments and were unable to satisfy their basic costs of living. Again, all the women indicated that, regardless of whether there remained little money for food, the rent always had to be paid. For Mary, Agnes, and Erika, not being able to properly feed and take care of their children was a situation that left them anxious with a deep sense of sadness and worry. The problem of widening inequality, lack of access to affordable housing, lack of support networks, increase in rent, and no means to offset the ongoing increase in expenses, were significant problems faced by all the women. Without access to gainful employment, their situation was only going to get worse.

This section has shown that the women were all seeking access to gainful employment, meaning a steady job that would provide enough income to enable them to properly take care of the health and wellbeing of them and their families. The personal stories of the women provided valuable insight into the disadvantage from which the women came and revealed the hardship that the women faced in their day-to-day struggle to meet the basic costs of living, such as paying for rent and food. These stories show the resilience of the women, in their ongoing determination to overcome their dire situation, but also reveal how close to homelessness the women and their children were.

5.3 Vulnerability: Unresolved Tensions Constraining Access to the Means of Integration

The women's individual and collective stories of resettlement demonstrate the disruptive effects of forced migration and the ongoing tensions with integration. All the women experienced a deep sense of loss, sadness, loneliness, and isolation. These feelings are commonly associated with the experiences of refugee women where support networks, such as family, are lacking (Fincher, Foster, & Wilmot, 1994) and, in particular, where Australian resettlement policy is failing to help refugee women with securing new and effective networks (Rodeghiero, 2015; Vromans et al., 2018). These feelings therefore indicate that the women lack access to the social capital necessary for successful integration. Forced migration, which involves the movement from one country to another, causes a change in social relationships across community settings that result in both the weakening and loss of important social ties (Deng, 2016; McMichael & Manderson, 2004), as well as the empowerment from patriarchal structures and the opportunity to learn and develop new skills (Fisher, 2013; Hinsliff, 2007; Saffu, 2014).

For Mary, the early years of resettlement were extremely difficult as she experienced a deep sense of loss, sadness, loneliness, and isolation. Mary not only remained at home to take care of her family but was also excluded from financial decision-making and restricted in pursuing her educational aspirations, as she abandoned her studies. The power dynamics intersecting Mary's life in the early years of resettlement were structured in such a way that they severely constrained access to the resources needed for successful integration. In other words, the agenda and preferences were shaped (Lukes, 2015) under the powers of patriarchy. Meaning that for the first seven years of resettlement the gendered roles set the agenda with Mary mostly invisible outside the home environment and her preferences to study English were constrained. Mary was therefore made powerless under the rules of patriarchy. Invisibility is where inequality, which is upheld through the inherent patriarchal bias embedded in the traditional gender role, is then reinforced by the ineffectiveness of the resettlement policy and process within the host society. Explained differently, through the traditional gender role, the powers of patriarchy constrained access to

resources and limited Mary's choices, while the humanitarian resettlement policy and process, such as that largely provisioned under Resettlement Service Organisations (RSO) of the Australian Red Cross (ARC) and Settlement Services International (SSI), remained ineffective in their ability to overcome this discrimination. Again, Mary was made vulnerable as she lacked the necessary support to continue essential English language education. This lack of support contributed to upholding the patriarchal powers and thereby weakened, rather than strengthened, both the cultural and social capital Mary needed for successful integration. In other words, weak institutional ties contributed to Mary abandoning her training and remaining isolated for the first seven years of resettlement. Indeed, the constraints of patriarchy were a significant problem faced by all the women, an issue which is further discussed in Chapter 6.

The breakdown of Mary's relationship with her husband released some emotional and financial tensions, as her income dependency was realigned to the welfare state. This shift in power dynamics, provided her with income support and therefore some means of control over financial decision-making. Despite this realignment, Mary's position did not improve, and she expressed feelings of sadness and anxiousness with respect to her financial struggles and effort to gain access to employment. There was a deep sadness in not having enough money for her family overseas and an ongoing anxiousness in being unable to meet her day-to-day living expenses, including the high cost of rent. Although the power dynamics had changed, through weakening patriarchal powers of the home, these powers strengthened ties with the neoliberal state but not the labour market. The significance of these findings is that they show how power circulates, that is changes form while upholding inequality in the layers of complexity associated with unresolved tensions that have persisted for Mary, even after 10 years of resettlement. Mary's frustrations in her efforts with finding employment, including under Australia's primary labour market program, is a point of further discussion in Chapter 6.

Similarly, the layers of complexity associated with unresolved tensions are noticed in Erika's frustration in her effort to manage the high cost of rent. Despite Erika's income dependency being

aligned to the welfare state, similar to Mary, she was made powerless when access to resources were withheld as her position was subordinated to that of her estranged husband by a complex set of rules at the intersection between Centrelink and the private rental market. Erika's position was threatened when she attempted to negotiate the rules. Two threats were made, first to her financial position through indicating an increase to her rent, and second through implying the loss of her accommodation altogether. Despite Erika's efforts, her situation had not improved. Tensions persisted and she was made to feel insecure and anxious. In other words, similar to Mary, Erika was made powerless to the competitive forces of the market, through a complex set of rules that threatened to push her towards homelessness.

For Agnes, the complexities of the relations that intersected her life are seen in the confusion she expressed about the contradictory feelings regarding her position in Australian society. It is important to acknowledge that throughout the interview, Agnes used the pronoun 'the people' quite extensively. While the context and details of Agnes' discussion made apparent the conceptual notions and organisational structures that intersected her life, I situate the following analysis within Agnes' inclusive understanding of 'the [Australian] people'.

As presented in Section 5.1.2, Agnes was conflicted in her understanding of the Australian people. On the one hand, Agnes expressed gratitude for the welfare support received as part of her resettlement experience, situating the Australian people as generous to have accepted her. On the other, Agnes' experience with being excluded from the labour market left her confused and wondering whether discrimination, such as racism, was the reason for feeling rejected by the Australian people. The confusion Agnes expressed can be explained by the disruptive process of habitus production, where intense feelings arose as Agnes was challenged with reconciling conflicting encounters with the Australian people. In other words, the initial notions of generosity and inclusion that Agnes constructed of the Australian people were challenged as she was rejected from the labour market with no explanation as to why. Agnes' confusion about the Australian people, is an indication that she lacked a sense of belonging within Australia. These conflicting

feelings send an important signal that suggests a practice of exclusion, racism in particular, is indeed a factor of constraining access to the means of integration. Conflicting feelings of gratitude are recognised in the discourse on refugees (Deng, 2016; Pittaway et al., 2009; Saffu, 2014; Vromans et al., 2018). Again, racism is a practice of exclusion based on cultural differences, where one group is made to feel inferior by the dominating group. Details of how Agnes is made inferior is further shown in Chapter 6 in her attempts to access the labour market. For now, I further discuss the significance of gratitude.

A study by Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2009) that located a discourse of gratitude among recent arrivals of refugees in Australia suggested that the effects of forced migration impact the sense of entitlement among refugees who tend to accept a degree of discrimination rather than expect full social inclusion into Australia. However, Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2009) also suggested that as time goes by, the discourse of gratitude may dissipate because of a reframed notion of social inclusion based on the mainstream understanding gained from time spent in the host society. Furthermore, if discrimination persists, refugees may start to experience dissatisfaction (or frustration) and resentment. Along similar lines, and as discussed in Chapter 2, it is important to note that Australia's humanitarian program (AHP) is heavily weighted towards providing support in the first 12 months of resettlement, following which refugees are pushed towards mainstream services where, under notions of mutual obligation, they start to experience the full effects of a market-based economy. Agnes' confusion about the conflicting notions of the Australian people may then be explained as her experiencing the effect of a shift in power relations from the welfare state to the neoliberal state. This disruptive process, with respect to finding gainful employment, is again the focus of discussion in Chapter 6.

This section showed that all the women experienced ongoing tensions in their efforts to gain access to the means to integrate. These unresolved tensions of discrimination, that is gender and racism, are a compounding effect in a market-based economy where housing affordability is out of reach due to the increase in the cost of rent and any access to rental assistance, even if

unrestricted, do little to arrest widening inequality. With ongoing discrimination and barriers impeding access to the labour market, the women's financial stress increased as they had no means by which to satisfy their basic needs such as covering the cost of rent and food. These unresolved tensions, expressed through a wide range of feelings, left the women vulnerable as they struggled to understand their place in Australian society and were left without the means to properly take care of themselves and their children.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter showed that the defining feature of the women's vulnerability was not the disadvantage from which they came but the structures of power that denied them access to the means of integration and upheld inequality. Rather than remove obstacles to integration, the women were threatened, made to feel insecure, and made inferior. Even after 10 years of settlement, for Mary, Agnes, and Erika there remained unresolved tensions of discrimination that restricted access to the means of integration. These unresolved tensions, expressed as a deep sense of loss, sadness, loneliness, isolation, anxiety, frustration, and confusion, resulted in the women being faced with the problems of insufficient income and limited access to the means of integration. This chapter provided an understanding of what gainful employment means to refugee women such as Mary, Agnes and Erika. It showed that without access to gainful employment, the women and their families were challenged with widening inequality and significant hardship as they traded food to pay for rent. This situation placed the women and their families at considerable risk of absolute poverty, homelessness, and failing health.

Despite the disadvantage that the women came from, and despite obstacles with multiple forms of discrimination the women continued to pursue all means possible to integration, including finding ways in which they could access affordable housing. This, too, presents as an obstacle. The lived experiences of Mary, Agnes and Erika provides knowledge of the complex structural layers to be negotiated for resettlement. These layers include the relationship with Centrelink, the rental market, the Resettlement Service Organisations (RSO), the labour market, the education and

training institutions and the job service providers (discussed next in Chapter 6). A conflicted understanding with the relationship to 'the Australian people' points to unresolved tensions of discrimination which hinder achieving a sense of belonging in Australia. Explaining these unresolved tensions with specific focus on access to gainful employment is the focus of subsequent chapters.

Chapters 6 and 7 draws deeper into the experiences of Mary, Agnes, and Erika to examine this unresolved tension and to explain the inequality within the structures of power that intersected their lives and impeded access to gainful employment. These chapters show how the vulnerability of the women became a defining feature of the position of perpetual crisis. Chapter 6 focuses on two primary fields, namely, the Australian labour market (ALM) and the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), the latter is inclusive of the Job Service Providers (JSP) and the Vocational Education and Training (VET) providers. Chapter 7 expands the analysis on the AFS with a particular focus on the nonprofit organisation the NP-A and its social enterprise; that is, the SE-A.

Chapter 6:

Maintaining the Position of Perpetual Crisis

Chapter 5 provided insight into the personal lives of Mary, Agnes, and Erika and showed that despite efforts by the women to gain access to the means of integration through employment, and subsequently, education and housing, unchallenged structures of power impeded access and left the women vulnerable to the risk of absolute poverty, homelessness, and failing health. The aim of this chapter is to investigate further what prevented Mary, Agnes, and Erika from gaining access to the labour market and the way they negotiated these obstacles.

Based on the analysis of the women's experiences, I argue in this chapter that in their effort to gain access to the labour market, the women became situated in a *position of perpetual crisis*. What defines this position is an *inhibitive force,* that is unrelenting in its capacity to exploit the vulnerability of the women in their ongoing search for gainful employment. This inhibitive force is the collective effect of the relationships that repeatedly pulled the women back into the market-based system of support where they ended up in an endless cycle of accumulation of cultural capital; that is, training certificates, work experience, and no job outcomes. By drawing on the experiences of Mary, Agnes, and Erika, this inhibitive force is identified through key points of intersection between the women, the labour market, the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), and the neoliberal state, that present as a barrier to employment. More specifically, these points of intersection include the quasi-market of Job Service Providers (JSPs), the various Vocational Education and Training providers (VET), or Registered Training Organisations (RTOs), Centrelink, and agents that act as gatekeepers to the labour market (the point at which the women and the social enterprise intersect under the AFS is the discussion of Chapter 7.)

For each point of intersection, I emphasise the complexity the women tried to negotiate in their attempts to gain entry to the labour market. I discuss the rules governing the set of relations that make up this inhibitive force and uphold the barriers to entry into the labour market. In this

chapter, I expose a contradiction within the neoliberal state where, under notions of mutual obligation, the women were pushed towards the labour market and then denied access.

Finally, by drawing on Bourdieu's (1977) concepts of power explained in Chapter 3, I conclude with a discussion of the inhibitive force to explain how it is nothing other than the collective abuse of power legitimately wielded under the guise of a market-based system operating under the Australian Framework of Support. Rather than overcome obstacles to address the needs of the women, the AFS reproduces the inequality that sustains the *position of perpetual crisis.*

6.1 Unresolved Tensions: The Abuse of Power at the Intersection of Mutual Obligation

For each of the women, a consequence of their income dependency on the state required that they participate in Australia's primary labour market program (APLMP) by undertaking certain labour market-related activities. Once in receipt of welfare payments from Centrelink, which is the government agency responsible for managing welfare payments (Appendix 4), recipients who are assessed as fit for work by the agency are provided a list of Job Service Providers (JSPs) to select one that will assist them with finding work (Olney, 2016, p. 97). Under notions of mutual obligation, Mary, Agnes, and Erika were compelled to undertake regular appointments with JSPs, which are part of the quasi-market of public employment service provision under the Australian Framework of Support (AFS). As discussed in the literature (refer Section 2.2.3), mutual obligation requires welfare recipients to perform authorised activities, such as job searches and interview attendance, in exchange for their welfare payments (Grahame & Marston, 2012; Warburton & Smith, 2003). Despite ongoing encounters with the JSPs, none of the participants in this study achieved a successful outcome; that is, they did not find any form of employment. This section offers insight into these encounters with the JSPs and Centrelink, which is the most visible point at which the women and the neoliberal state intersect. I argue that under the tenet of mutual obligation, the quasi-market of employment agencies, rather than situate the women in employment, serve to subordinate the women to the practices of the dominant neoliberal logic.

For Mary, severing the relationship with her husband realigned her income relationship with the state and, as such, placed her in a position where she had to comply with 'mutual obligations'. These obligations required Mary to attend regular meetings with the JSP and, as part of the conditions under mutual obligation, provide authorised evidence to the state to be released from these obligations. In other words, in exchange for her welfare payments, Mary had to comply with the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1990). For example, when Mary suffered an injury with her knee, she was required to provide Centrelink with a doctor's certificate to be released from her meetings with the JSP for a period of three months.

> When I separate with my husband, I went there [JSP]. I continued the [JSP]. Every week I want to go back there. I have problems with my knee and then doctor—I go to the family doctor. He say I cannot go [to find work]. He [doctor] write for me a letter. For me [he gives a] medical certificate. I give [medical certificate] for Centrelink and then I stop the [JSP]. Like three months. Then I feel better I go back [to the JSP]. (Mary)

For Mary, her encounters with the JSP were unsatisfactory for two primary reasons. First, she did not receive the necessary support from the JSP to assist her with understanding and achieving the tasks they set out for her, such as perform online job searches and make direct contact with prospective employers. Mary explained that when she first started with the JSP, she had no prior knowledge of how to operate a computer. Her recollection of her first encounter with an agent of the JSP was one of extreme frustration as her efforts to communicate her lack of understanding and request for help went ignored. Mary indicated that the JSP agent was unmoved by her request for help; she was instead issued a command to go to a computer.

> When I go the first time I ask him [JSP agent]. 'I don't know. Really I don't use the computer. I don't know about anything [about] the [JSP]. Because [it was] the first time I come. I don't know. Why can't you tell me exactly what I can do?' And then he leave me. He say, 'Go to the computer'. I don't know. I stay [by the] computer and then someone [a stranger with] the same language [as me] the same that—they come help me. They open the computer, bring the list of the job and then say, 'You find the job. And then you find a job what you need [for a] job. You write down the company, you write down the date and the telephone number and [then] call him [JSP agent]. And then

> [in the] afternoon you ask him [JSP] about job, the place, the company maybe [the JSP] make [for] you the appointment', and they [the stranger] go. That's it. (Mary)

Clearly, the JSP agent was unconcerned with Mary's needs. Mary was disciplined for not knowing how to perform the tasks required of her; that is, she did not know the preordained set of rules under the neoliberal state. She was treated as a defenceless child and made to feel powerless. Despite being treated as inferior, Mary complied with the request and stood next to a computer. She felt confused. Again, this act of compliance (a subordination of will) is a clear indication of power dynamics at play. Mary's powerlessness came to the attention of a stranger that could speak her native language. Through the generous support of this stranger, she learned how to complete some of the tasks that were required of her. The stranger signed on to the computer for Mary and performed a search for potential jobs. From this job search, Mary identified and selected those jobs that were of interest to her. She then proceeded to write up a list of preferred jobs that included the contact details of the prospective employers.

The second frustration for Mary was the requirement to make direct contact with prospective employers. For this particular request, Mary resisted and asserted her authority to make clear to the JSP agent that her English was at an inappropriate level for her to be in direct communication with a prospective employer. Mary was concerned that she may not be able to adequately respond if asked questions over the phone. In this instance, the JSP agent acknowledged Mary's concern and did not ask her to perform any additional tasks other than to sign a register before leaving. Despite countless visits to the JSP and repeating the same process of writing down preferred jobs and then signing a register, the sum of Mary's encounters with the JSP returned no job outcomes. Mary's experiences with the JSP left her in a position of despair. Repeatedly, with each encounter, Mary was made powerless:

> I write the phone, I write everything. I say, 'I can't call. You want [me] to call the company, you call. I don't call because I can't do it. I can't understand what he [employer] say'. He [JSP agent] say, 'Okay, leave it. You sign and you go'. That's it. Maybe [I] go there 100 times I cannot find job. Very, very, I don't know. (Mary)

The blatant disregard by the JSP agent for Mary's request for help is a clear indication that rules of power were in play. By ignoring the request, the JSP agent sent a signal to Mary that it was her responsibility to resolve the challenges she faced in trying to find the skills necessary to comply with the tasks assigned under mutual obligation. This signal, a form of misrecognition (Bourdieu, 2000) was the point at which the JSP agent, as a conduit of the neoliberal state, granted inferior standing and refused to recognise Mary's needs outside the terms set by the neoliberal state. As argued in Section 3.5 this is a crucial step in the way discrimination operates under the neoliberal state, a point to which I shall return later on in Section 6.3.

It is clear that again, Mary was without access to the means (English and computer skills) to advance her need for gainful employment. While Mary did eventually complete her 510 hours of free English language training (discussed in Section 5.1.1) this, and the computer training, were clearly inadequate for her to meet the expected requirements to find a paid job. These findings show that under the neoliberal state, policies do not adequately address the effects of past forms of discrimination, such as the powers of patriarchy that limited Mary's access to the education and skills needed to find work. As discussed in Chapter 5, the first seven years of settlement that rendered Mary invisible and constrained her access to the means of integration, in particular English language, became a continued effect of exclusion under mutual obligation.

Despite the lack of skills necessary to enter the labour market, the JSP made repeated attempts to push Mary towards the labour market, and each time, she was left with the responsibility to find ways to acquire the necessary skills to enter the labour market. For refugee women such as Mary, who are mostly invisible in the early years of resettlement, the mainstream services do nothing to redress any inequality, such as a shortfall in skills, and therefore further struggle arises. As argued further on in Section 6.4, these unresolved tensions and the market-based rules that govern the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) collectively work as a powerful force to consistently suspended Mary in an ongoing state of vulnerability. A possible explanation of why Mary received no support or recommendation from the JSP agent on how to

gain the skills needed for her to find a job is provided in the analysis later in sub-sections 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 on characterising the role of the JSP.

Similarly Agnes attended regular meetings with the JSP. The JSP regularly sent her letters advising of her next scheduled appointment. At these meetings, the JSP would ask Agnes about the number of days she had been to TAFE and the number of days she could find work. These encounters returned no employment outcomes. The interactions between the JSP and Agnes ceased once her husband started working. When the requirement to attend the JSP ceased, so did Agnes' Centrelink benefits. As mentioned in Chapter 5, Agnes' entitlements to Centrelink were dependent on the employment status of her husband, meaning Agnes was subordinated to the position of her husband. Again, similar to Mary, Agnes' relationship with the JSP was one of discipline and compliance where she reported on her obligations to meet authorised activities. This practice of the JSP (that is, discipline and compliance) as an extension of neoliberal state power is examined further in Erika's experience, next.

The requirement to pay regular visits to the JSP was shared by Erika who attended fortnightly sessions with a JSP. The duration of these sessions was 30 to 60 minutes. Similarly, Erika stated she had no success in finding any job leads through this relationship. She mentioned that she was required to attend regular appointments despite the JSP acknowledging they were unable to find her any job opportunities. Instead, the JSP encouraged Erika to continue to look for work and to extend her search for employment to the internet and her friendship networks. Again, under neoliberal notions of individual responsibility, the JSP pushed responsibility of finding work on to Erika, who lost confidence in the ability of the JSP to provide assistance with finding her a job.

> Yeah, I have been with them [JSP] almost now going to 1 year now. You know I've been there and I come back, but nothing. They told me they are looking for—every time they do for me an appointment. Yeah, and you know they told me, they asked me 'You have to look too in computer for a job, and we are here looking for you too. If there is anything we will call you and we will tell you'. And I say, 'Okay'. When I have an appointment [with the JSP] I go and come back. The same [only] talking . . . Well they

> told me they don't get anything. 'If there is anything we will call you, and you too you have to look and you ask your friend and you look and we are looking too'. (Erika)

Even though the JSP had no effect on the job market for Erika, it maintained a disciplinary role, meaning the JSPs task was one of enforcing compliance; that is, ensuring the women's dispositions are made to submit to practices of neoliberal logic. Erika explained that on one occasion, the consequences of arriving late for an appointment with the JSP resulted in her Centrelink payments being suspended for a fortnight. The explanation that Erika provided to the JSP for being late was that she was studying in Parramatta and missed the train. Erika believed that her reason for being late was understood and accepted by the JSP agent. However, Centrelink later informed her that her fortnightly payments would cease until she undertook an appointment with the JSP. The impact of Centrelink's action resulted in Erika being unable to cover her rent for a fortnight, and this raised serious concern for her that she could potentially lose her accommodation.

> But like [JSP] they are not help. I don't know. Because long time I with them. Even you know I study in Parramatta, in May you know and I miss the train and I have appointment with them [JSP]. And then I missed the train and I came late. I came late I think 20 minutes. Yeah and I told them, 'Sorry because I miss the train, that's why I come late'. And they told me, 'Okay, don't worry we can make for you another appointment and you will come', and I said, 'Okay'. When I go home they call Centrelink, and Centrelink you know stopped my payments . . . And they [Centrelink] told me, 'We don't pay for you any more until you do a, you did an interview' . . . After that, she [JSP] talk with Centrelink and then they pay me. And this I miss you know my payment—renting payment. Yes, I miss one fortnight I didn't pay and then I pay late too. Yeah. And I pay late to the renting. And this is very [big] problem. (Erika)

Despite her effort towards undertaking studies, the effect of noncompliance (that is, a missed appointment with the JSP) exposed her relationship with the JSP as one that went beyond the act of enforcing compliance to one of surveillance and punishment. That is, the JSP reported any act of noncompliance directly to Centrelink, the disciplinary arm of the neoliberal state. Through her relationship with the JSP, Erika experienced the power of the state; she was disciplined when

Centrelink imposed a severe penalty by placing sanctions on her welfare payments, an effect that shifted Erika and her family closer to homelessness.

This section demonstrated that the practices of the JSP agents under Australia's primary labour market program are such that rather than move the women closer to the labour market, they become a relationship of social control, a connection that returns no outcomes in relation to the labour market and serves no purpose other than to act as a telescreen (Orwell, 2000) of the state. This telescreen, which is a form of surveillance, is a relationship that ensured that the women remained ever compliant in reporting their movements to conform to the dominant ideology of the neoliberal state, including any capital (Bourdieu) accrued in relation to training and certification, any hours worked, any sanctioned leave of absence from Australia's primary labour market program (APLMP), and any misdemeanours in missed appointments with the JSP. This telescreen of the neoliberal state ensures that the penalty for noncompliance, such as missing an appointment with the JSP, can be administered almost instantaneously. The shock of this punishment serves as a dire warning of the danger of noncompliance: homelessness. For women such as Agnes, who have at some point been relieved of their income dependency on the state and therefore excluded from participation in APLMP, theirs is the ongoing challenge of being ignored by the state, one in which the cry for work and affordable housing goes unheard while the fear of their own age serves as a constant reminder that it is only a matter of time before they are entirely excluded from any prospect within the labour market. The next two sub-sections 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 offer a deeper analysis of these power dynamics under the neoliberal state.

6.1.1 Compliance: Just Going Through the Motions of Gaining Neoliberal Dispositions

The relationships between the women and the JSP agents can be characterised as 'just going through the motions' with no discernible job outcomes. All the women were frustrated in their interactions with the JSPs. The experiences of Mary, Erika, and Agnes are consistent with other qualitative studies, which have suggested that many long-term unemployed see their interactions with the JSP as perfunctory, leaving them frustrated and without job outcomes (Fowkes, 2011;

Marston & McDonald, 2008; RCOA, 2016b). Like a relationship between a parent with unruly children, Mary, Agnes, and Erika were severely disciplined and conditioned by agents imbued with neoliberal dispositions.

Under notions of mutual obligation, the women were deemed incapable as those in power decided their priorities. A clear agenda (Lukes, 2005) of compliance was set. It has been argued that the mainstream employment services field is driven by contractual compliance rather than employment outcomes, where the main outcome is 'ticking boxes' (D. Bowman et al., 2016), such as attending scheduled appointments and signing registers, which is the sum of the experience that all three women had with the JSP agents. As a final test of compliance, the women signed a register before they left the JSP. This act of signing, a seemingly natural act is a symbolic one where both parties indirectly legitimise the practices of the neoliberal state. Signing the register is not done as an acknowledgement of outcomes to satisfy the concerns or interests of the women; rather, it is performed because this is what both the women and the JSP agents are trained to do or, more precisely, trained to ignore. The refusal to acknowledge the needs of the women therefore becomes a 'trained capacity' to which both the habitus of the women and that of the JSP agent become predisposed and adapt. Through countless acts of signing, this refusal is legitimated as an acceptable practice within the field of public employment services, meaning that when the women were repeatedly disciplined into conforming to neoliberal practices, so too were the JSP agents.

This relationship therefore situated the JSP agent as a conduit for the neoliberal state, with a policing role that amounted to nothing other than surveillance and compliance; that is, where the JSP gathered information on the women's behaviour to pass on for necessary punishment in the event of noncompliance. In other words, this punitive relationship, which threatened homelessness and sits at the intersection between the JSP and Centrelink, clearly situates the JSP as an extension of state power.

Indeed, through the actions of the JSP, under a neoliberal state, it appears to make no difference in power dynamics of the game (Bourdieu, 1990) whether the women participate or not.

This process is a clear indication of how socialisation works under a neoliberal state. This process is consistent with welfare systems designed to reduce welfare dependency in favour of redirecting responsibility to overcome disadvantage from the government to the market and ultimately the individual (Mendes, 2009), as discussed in Chapter 2. Yet, despite receiving no employment outcomes, the women continued to be disciplined into participating in meetings with the JSP that delivered no value to the women, and rather reproduce inequality through the punitive treatment of the women. This treatment is harmful to women such as Mary, Agnes, and Erika who, as Chapter 5 showed, were already in dire financial stress and desperate to find work. It has been argued that the 'carelessness' of employment agencies is the consequence of an overemphasis on managerial technologies, such as accountability, which seek to control and monitor the activation of welfare recipients (D. Bowman et al., 2016). Again, this practice is about instilling the neoliberal logic in the dispositions of both welfare recipients and the JSP agents. The premise of mutual obligation, where activation criteria are designed to enhance the job chances of individuals (Morris & Wilson, 2014), clearly did not work for Mary, Agnes, and Erika. Regardless of the processes of mutual obligation, the women were already in dire financial situation and desperate to find work. For each of the women, their acts of compliance returned no labour market outcomes. Rather the women were repeatedly disciplined, threatened, punished, made powerless, and treated as inferior.

While a Weberian (1978) argument, based on individual responsibility, efficiency and social control suggests that the state bureaucracies need some means to deal with people and that all personal issues cannot be managed by the state resulting in the depersonalised manner of the state (R. Bates, 1984; Dietrich & Bernhard, 2016), the issue with this argument is that the women alone cannot overcome the obstacles to the labour market; in particular discrimination, learn English or achieve tasks of mutual obligation without the necessary resources and support. Like many refugees, Mary, Agnes, and Erika have different cultural capital, in particular language, and therefore they needed support to acquire the necessary capital that is fundamental to integration with the dominant culture. Clearly, both Australia's humanitarian program, which was the first

instance of support, and Australia's primary labour market program, did not adequately account for this need. More precisely, this cultural gap while recognised (as the JSP agents were aware of the women's difficulties, and the Australian government has a humanitarian resettlement support program) was ignored in favour of advancing dominant neoliberal dispositions. As the evidence shows, regardless of whether refugees are on welfare benefits or not (as in the case of Mary and Agnes) priorities are set which ignore this cultural difference. This is a crucial step as it situates the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) as one that discriminates based on cultural need; an important feature of the position of perpetual crisis, and a point of significant importance to my overall argument to which I shall return in the next section 6.1.2. For now, I restate, the issue with this Weberian argument is that it situates structural problem of discrimination as a personal issue. Furthermore, as previously discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, female refugees are consistently overrepresented in unemployment statistics, therefore this is not a personal issue and something else needs to explain the consistent overrepresentation of unemployed female refugees in the labour market.

The rules of the game, under mutual obligation, set a clear path that the women had to follow, and this path did not include recognising the needs of the women other than through the dispositions of the dominant neoliberal culture. This practice is a form of misrecognition (Bourdieu, 2000) as the dominant group (in this case the JSP and Centrelink agent's) refused to see the women other than through the lens of a neoliberal state, which can be seen enacted through upholding practices of mutual obligation where unresolved tensions were ignored and the women treated as inferior through being repeatedly disrespected and disciplined. The positions of agents such as the JSP, that are based on the unemployed such as Mary, Agnes, and Erika, and that are imbued with powers of the neoliberal state which ignore the intersection between cultural difference and the fundamental needs for integration, is indeed racist. Here, again we see the mark of separation as discussed in Section 3.5. This is how racism works under the neoliberal state.

6.1.2 Costed out: Sustaining Dominant Positions in a Quasi-market

This section examines deeper, the rules that govern mutual obligation and offers an additional, but more complex explanation for the relationship between the women and the JSPs that is explained as the effect of the market-based system that operates under the AFS. As discussed in Chapter 2, this is where the Australian government carries the cost of sustaining a quasi-market of employment service providers that compete for the unemployed (clients) and resources based on contractual terms set by the government. Already discriminated against because of cultural difference (as discussed above in Section 6.1.1), the women experienced additional layers of discrimination as cultural difference became further entrenched in market-logic. In other words, this section demonstrates how a class is also part of the intersectionality of female refugees.

A closer review of this system revealed that under market-based rules, the unemployed are classified by the Department of Employment (DE) into 'streams', with each stream attracting a different level of support (or resources) based on the length of time that welfare recipients have been unemployed (Davidson, 2014; RCOA, 2016b). Again, we see this mark of separation under the symbolic power of the neoliberal state (as discussed in 3.5). A hierarchy and particular path are set that separates welfare recipients into distinct categories, or streams, based on needs determined by the dominant group under a neoliberal state. Explained through the lens of a market-based system, this process, which I call *costing of the unemployed,* is where a rating system is applied that attaches a varying cost to each welfare recipient based on the length of time they have been unemployed. This cost is the amount of money that the government pays to employment service providers for the management and placement of the unemployed into the labour market. This is a crucial step, for at this point, the vulnerability of the unemployed is open to exploitation.

A system of inequality is entrenched by this costing mechanism as it constrains resources for those who are most at risk; that is, the long-term unemployed. This is achieved by the government shifting resources from those who are long-term unemployed to those who are 'at risk' of long-term unemployment and consequently upholding a system of structural inequality

and poverty for the most vulnerable (Davidson, 2014, pp. 1,11). In other words, the *costing of the unemployed* includes a layer of discrimination as this mechanism works to 'cost out' support from the system for the long-term unemployed, thereby further subordinating their unemployment position within the hierarchy of the field of labour supply. Yet, again (as discussed in Section 3.5), this separation is justified with market principles. Under the neoliberal state, an agenda is set, and preferences are shaped with the allocation of costs to each welfare recipient based in the interests of readily available labour supply to the market. A class-based system emerges.

This costing mechanism also works according to what I call *pricing vulnerability based on profitability*. This is achieved by the quasi-market of JSPs giving preference to those unemployed who are valued (costed) more highly. More specifically, it is where the JSPs 'game the system' through practices such as 'creaming' and 'parking', where they preference those unemployed who are deemed more profitable and underservice those who are most vulnerable (Considine, 2005; Considine et al., 2017; Onyx et al., 2016). Underservicing is a form of exploitation as it shifts resources from those who need them the most to support the interests of profit for the service provider. Operating this type of cost mechanism within the field of the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), drives the behaviour of providers to focus on those unemployed who are costed in such a way that they attract larger profit. While it must be acknowledged that the Australian government has implemented various mechanisms to curb this long-term practice, this type of system gaming remains prevalent (Considine et al., 2017). The class-based system is reinforced. The position of the unemployed is further subordinated to the interests of the JSP.

Furthermore, through these market-based processes, unintended costs are shifted towards the most vulnerable. This is achieved by basing the costing of the unemployed on a fixed price model. Fixed price means that the price paid to the service provider remains constant regardless of variation. For example, variations such as adverse economic trends and diversity of needs are not taken into account, with the risks therefore transferred onto employment service providers (Considine et al., 2017). This type of mechanism ensures maximum risk mitigation for the

government, as fixed costs are known regardless of changing conditions, while any risk resulting from shortfalls in profit or quality of service is absorbed by the service providers and ultimately, the unemployed thorough 'creaming' and 'parking'. While the government benefits from managing costs, and the JSP benefits from the flexibility of gaming the system, that is, retrofitting costs to fit profit, the long-term unemployed receive a suboptimal outcome. This means that any instance where profits or income are threatened, for example in the case of an economic downturn, the risk is ultimately carried by those who are most vulnerable, as mechanisms are designed to cost out those less likely to find work. Crudely put, the unemployed who are tagged to fetch a higher price are provided with resources and then peddled first to the labour market, further entrenching the class-based system in the interests of the JSP, government, the economy, that is, the neoliberal state.

Referring back to Bourdieu's (1990) concept of habitus, we can now see how the rules of the game are such that JSPs' habitus is under constant pressure of market-logic. This quasi-market, set up by the Australian government, uses market-based principles to increase competition among providers. The constant pursuit of profit, which is a fundamental principle within a market-based system, ensures that the JSPs habitus submits to the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1990) by finding innovative ways to sustain their own dominant positions within a highly competitive and contested field—they discriminate, cost out and exploit the most vulnerable. It is important to note, that while both the women and the JSPs submit to the dominant neoliberal logic, the difference between the habitus of the women and that of the JSP agents, is that the JSP's habitus was already inculcated with the dominant ideology of free markets under the guiding principles of profit and competition. Meaning, that under the neoliberal state, the rules that govern the habitus of the JSPs are based on a market mechanism that hold steadfast the principles of competition and profit. In other words, the JSP habitus is so deeply embedded with the dispositions of neoliberal logic that they are blinded to recognise anything else but their own neoliberal practice, which includes disrespecting and mistreating the women. They are blind to anything else because they take for granted that the

neoliberal principles that they serve define their positions; therefore, practices of disrespect, inferiority and withholding resources (that is the carelessness as discussed in 6.1.1) do not shock the JSP habitus—it the natural order of things. These rules, which are upheld by a complex set of bureaucratic and economic relations, are harmful because they ignore the social consequences of unemployment to job seekers such as Mary, Agnes, and Erika. To maintain their dominant position in a market-based system, the JSP needs to sustain a position of profitability and is therefore subordinated (and justified) to work within power structures conferred by the neoliberal state. This pursuit, made possible by the role of the Australian government as enabler of the quasi-market, is one where the state shifts responsibility for the unemployed towards an undemocratic market-based system. This system is unjust because it is not need, or vulnerability, which determines how resources are allocated, but rather the system is heavily weighted towards profitability. Clearly in a market-based system, those unemployed deemed more profitable are rewarded with resources and employment, and those who are not, such as Mary, Agnes and Erika, are disciplined and threatened with homelessness.

This costing out offers a possible explanation for why Mary, Agnes and Erika were not offered additional resources, such as English language and computer training which are fundamentally needed to perform the tasks required under mutual obligation. More specifically, these relations of power, which connect the Minister for Employment, Centrelink, Department of Employment and the Job Service Providers (JSPs,) are configured in such a way that under the market-based logic, effort is made to maximise profits for the service provider by minimising costs for the government, which includes reducing investment such as training for job seekers. Certainly, Mary, Agnes, and Erika were costed out as they gained no benefit from their association with the JSP, rather they were ignored—treated as inferior. Again, we can see the insidious way in which racism works under a neoliberal state (as discussed in Section 3.5) as those with cultural capital are deemed more profitable and therefore their interests are advanced at the expense of the most vulnerable.

In summary, through their income dependency on the state, the women acquired a set of trained capacities that did nothing to meet their need to access employment. This dependency, managed through a 'quasi-market' of employment agencies, offered no value with respect to negotiating the tensions between the women and the labour market. This includes being subjected to a system of categorising, costing, pricing, and profiteering where inequality is entrenched through a class-based system of support, and where responsibility for unemployment has shifted to the market and ultimately the individual. Under this market-based system, the long-term unemployed (the most vulnerable) such as Mary, Agnes and Erika, are made inferior as they are shifted into the lowest unemployment position and deprived of resources. This relationship is one where the women faced an ongoing struggle to remain ever compliant with the demands of the neoliberal state. This struggle is made visible through the ongoing fear of an imminent threat, the one missed appointment with the neoliberal state's *punitive partners*—Job Services Australia and Centrelink—would shift them closer towards homelessness. The intersection between the women and Australia's primary labour market program (APLMP) can be characterised as one that is misrecognised (Bourdieu, 2000), meaning that it is not about recognising the needs of the women with respect to employment, rather it is about complying with the dominant practices of the neoliberal state. These practices are not only harmful and do not get the women into employment but show that the agents of the neoliberal state (that is, Centrelink and the JSP) appear uninterested in aligning the needs of the women with those of the labour market. These power dynamics are tantamount to an agenda which, based on cultural need, locks people out of access to the fundamental means for integration to maintain dominant positions of power. As argued in Section 3.5, under the neoliberal state, this separation and allocation of inferior positions is an import way in which racism becomes deeply entangled within the market logic to uphold dominant positions of power. This process is an important feature of the position of perpetual crisis that deprives the women of crucial resources for integration. Certainly, the intersectionality of female refugees, is a complex entanglement of gender, race and class discrimination which under the APLMP becomes a relationship that is not about labour market outcomes; rather under the neoliberal state

it is about upholding positions of the JSP and submitting the women to neoliberal logic, the penalty for nonsubmission—homelessness.

6.2 Denied Access to Paid Work: Intersecting With the Deep Roots of Discrimination

Despite their lack of success in achieving employment outcomes through APLMP, Mary, Agnes, and Erika pursued other means to gain entry into the labour market. All the women applied for various jobs but received little response to their efforts. While a lack of available jobs in a failing labour market (as discussed in Section 2.2.2) may explain why the women had difficulty with finding work, again it does not explain the overrepresentation of unemployed female refugees (as mentioned in Sections 1.2 and 2.1.3). This section examines the direct attempts that the women made to gain access to work. It shows the barriers the women encountered and how they tried to negotiate these obstacles. In particular, this section takes a closer look at the inequality experienced by the women to show how the labour market upholds discrimination. First, details of the women's experiences are described, followed by a more detailed analysis.

Mary tried various means to find employment but was largely unsuccessful. She found work as a casual babysitter, but this work was infrequent. Furthermore, while Mary would have liked to work in childcare, she did not see an immediate future in being able to work in this sector as she believed she lacked the English writing skills needed to perform the task of writing reports, which she considered an important duty of a childcare worker. This limitation resulted in Mary seeking opportunities that primarily required skills in cooking and cleaning. Again, Mary saw work of this kind as not having the requirement to either talk with customers or write reports. Limited access to skills development (for reasons discussed in 6.1 above) reduced the choices in what to do and be (Sen, 1993) as discussed in Chapter 5.

> Another thing, maybe another [type of] job, maybe I need the English more. I can't speak with people. I can't write well the report, something. That's why I can't. Maybe I can't work with another [type of] job. Maybe if [the manager] give me problem, I can't do it. But something I do easy, like cleaning, maybe like cooking. I know food, what I cook. But the another [type of job], some work which have the writing. I can't. (Mary)

On one occasion, Mary successfully applied for a cleaning job at a school. While she managed to secure an interview, her parental responsibilities restricted her from getting the job, as she was unable to meet the employment condition of performing a split shift that required her to be at the school from 5.00 a.m. and then return for a second shift at 4.00 p.m. on the same day. The requirement to find before- and after-school care for her child placed a heavy burden on her ability to commit to the time demands of the job. While Mary believed she could arrange to have someone take care of her child after school, to find the same at 4.00 a.m. in the morning proved an impossible task.

> Before, I applied the cleaning—for a school. Like people working in a school cleaning, but when I applied and the company say, 'You must go in 5 o'clock [to] the school to clean'. You need to get [up] 4 o'clock, 4 o'clock in the morning. In the afternoon when I go there at 2:30 [pm] for 6 [pm]—the problem my son. I cannot pick [him up from] school. This I can't [do] . . . It's too early. I can't get there . . . Yeah but when I applied [for the job and requested] maybe the afternoon, [as] the morning no good. Maybe I go the afternoon, maybe I find someone to give my son [to look after in the] afternoon. And then they [employer] say, 'No school like this—in the morning and afternoon. You cannot have a half day'. (Mary)

Despite the time constraints of the job not suiting her parental responsibilities, Mary attempted to negotiate this obstacle with the employer. This negotiation was unsuccessful, as the employer would not accommodate Mary's request for a half-day shift to enable her to work afternoons only. Certainly, both the inflexibility of the labour market and lack of childcare support made finding work an impossible task for Mary, details of which are discussed further in the final analysis of this section.

Unlike Mary, who had managed to secure an interview for employment, both Agnes and Erika were unable to get an interview at the aged-care facility where they volunteered for work experience. In both cases, despite having a positive social connection with the aged-care facility, both women received no response when they submitted their job applications. Agnes found her unpaid work experience role with the aged-care facility through word of mouth. Her primary job

in the aged-care facility was to clean the rooms of the elderly. Agnes informed me that she volunteered with this aged-care facility for one year, and that she applied twice for a position with the facility, once as a cleaner and the second to work in the kitchen. On both occasions, she did not receive a response from the aged-care facility. Agnes mentioned that because of this rejection, she frequently asked herself why she was unable to secure a job. Agnes further explained that she often wondered whether the reasons for her not getting a job and not receiving a response from the aged-cage facility were because her English language was not good enough or because of the colour of her skin. When I asked Agnes to explain more about why she thought the rejection might be about the colour of her skin, she informed me that she had no story to tell, and that questioning herself and offering up these reasons was just her way of trying to find answers for this rejection. Agnes restated her frustration and confusion in not being able to find a job by reemphasising that she had volunteered for one year without pay, and that she was well liked at the aged-care facility. The constant need to question herself to find answers was Agnes' way of dealing with the irreconcilable situation between the generosity of her time, being liked by the aged-care facility and the lack of reciprocation from the aged-care facility in acknowledging her job applications. Again, we see the common theme of Agnes having conflicting experiences in her interactions with the 'Australian' people (as discussed in Section 5.3). In this case, the agents of the aged-care facility that accepted her for unpaid work, while denying her application for paid work, that is, access to the 'real labour market'.

Agnes indicated that while she would have liked a job working in aged care, as she enjoyed talking to the elderly and taking care of them, she was prepared to take on any form of work. Specifically, Agnes was looking for work in childcare, as a cleaner, including jobs that required sewing or working in an office. Certainly, as shown in Chapter 5, Agnes internalised her struggle to find work as she felt conflicted. Agnes' concerns of discrimination, including racism, are discussed in more detail further on in this section.

In Erika's case, she undertook work experience as part of the training for Certificate I in Aged Care, which she completed through TAFE, and for Certificate III in Aged Care, which she completed through a private college. Both courses required full-time participation, working five days a week for up to three weeks. Erika enjoyed her work experience and talked of her positive yet challenging interactions in dealing with people in aged care.

> We shower the people [elderly] and I feed them. And I talk with them . . . You know some people they have dementia, and I talk with them. Even they are talking rude or fight and [I] talking with them. Because this all things we learn it in the course. How to communicate [with] the dementia people and some, they are very aggressive, and some is, some they are not talking. Yeah, this is all, and I understand. (Erika)

Erika informed me that while she was undertaking her Certificate I in Aged Care she was approached by the manager of the facility to submit a job application. From Erika's conversation with the manager, she was under the impression there was a job at the aged-care facility and that she needed to submit an application to gain employment. However, Erika returned twice to the aged-care facility to follow through with her application, and on both occasions, she was met with hostility (expressed as anger) by a particular staff member of the facility. Erika explained that, as she had received no contact from the manager, she wondered whether her job application was handed in at all. She also wondered whether her job application had been destroyed by the staff member she had given it to at the aged-care facility. Erika did not pursue this negative experience any further. Similar to Agnes, Erika was conflicted by the different experiences of being both accepted and then rejected by the aged-care facility. She, too, was confused and internalised the challenge of trying to gain access to the 'real' labour market.

> But you know this one. The manager [at aged-care facility] is very, very happy of me. And she told me, 'You have to bring your things and you work here'. And I told [her], 'okay'. And then she give me form, and I took the form and I filled it . . . When I go there you know the nurse—I ring the bells and the nurse comes out. I told her, 'I need to see the manager because every day she will ask, "Come and see us, we work"'. And, like when I told her [nurse], 'I need to take this form to the manager please, I need to see her', and she [nurse] told me 'And what am I doing here? Give it to me. I will take

> it to her!' Yeah. And she take it from me. Like that [demonstrates by grabbing a piece of paper], and she [nurse] closed the door. Yeah. And this. No phone, no anything anymore. You know she [manager] is not ring me. The next time when I go, the same woman [nurse], the same woman I meet her and she told me, 'I give to her the form and she will ring you'. But I don't know, and I say, 'Oh my God, my form, maybe she's gone and rubbish [destroyed my form]. I don't know. Maybe she has gone rubbish'. (Erika)

Despite the negative experience she encountered with the aged-care facility, Erika continued to seek employment through other means. In particular, she tried to find work through her friends, at the local shopping centre in her neighbourhood, at the local clubs, and at a cleaning company. All her attempts to find work through these means were unsuccessful. Erika informed me that the response from the companies where she put in her applications, either hand delivered, or uploaded to the organisations' websites, did not provide her with much feedback other than the company letting her know they would notify her if they had a job opportunity. Erika was frustrated with the lack of finding work.

> I said maybe I get a job in—what is it called—in Workers Club, because they wanted—and I filled a form and yeah. I filled the application form to them. Yeah and I fill application form to shopping centre too, for cleaner. All. I don't know. Even the cleaner or kitchen-hand, I don't know why it's hard. Someone is not get this job . . . I go and I ask the people of cleaner [company]. I ask every day and I know someone there and I ask them if there are any cleaner [jobs]. All the same they told me, 'We need someone, we will call you'. Even in [local] shopping centre. I came here too [the NP-A] and I asked. And yes in Monday I went to the RSL [Returned and Service League] in [nearby neighbourhood]. Yeah and they told me you have to go to the website. Yeah and you do it [application] on-line. And I came here to [NP-A staff] and she helped me. And we did it [job application]. She print to me the form out and I fill it and I say, 'Tomorrow I don't have school maybe I can take it to them and I try. Maybe there is something'. (Erika)

While Erika's preference was to work in aged care, she was desperate to find work and was willing to take on any job. Other than the casual work she had found with the SE-A, Erika had only been able to find jobs that were related to work experience, and she was therefore worried that her English language may be the reason she was unable to find work. Erika did emphasise, however, that her English had improved over time, and she expressed pride in this achievement.

> Because you know I am very worried about the job now. I am really need a job. I don't worry about anything if I get a job I will be okay . . . Yes. Since I came here [Australia] I am just doing course, and I did work experience. That's all. When I apply for any job, there is no one calling me. And I think, maybe because of language or something like that. Now I don't say, I am speak English good. But I am better than before. (Erika)

Each of the women raised the concern that they thought their level of English was a reason for their exclusion from employment. While English language has been recognised in the literature as a major obstacle to gaining entry into the labour market, it must be noted that for all the women, their level of English did not prevent them from undertaking training courses, participating in unpaid work experience, or directly negotiating entry into the labour market. In all cases, the women had obtained or were in the process of obtaining the necessary certificates and had some level of Australian work experience, which suggests they were eligible for the jobs they directly applied for. Furthermore, neither Mary, Agnes, nor Erika required an interpreter for this study. It has been acknowledged in the literature that English language may not always be a barrier to employment, especially when these jobs are within the secondary labour market (Bloch, 2004; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006; DIAC, 2011). In Mary's case in particular, her limited access to English training in the first years of settlement while limiting her choices, did not prevent her from trying to negotiate entry into the labour market. Despite her success in gaining access to a job interview and being able to reach into her social networks for some level of child support, her attempts to secure a job were unsuccessful. For Mary, the employment opportunity was beyond reach as she was without both economic capital and the necessary social capital to effectively support her mothering role. In other words, access to the labour market is not free. There is a cost (or rather a price to pay) to gain entry.

The lack of affordable and suitable childcare was acknowledged in the literature as a barrier to entry for refugee women in Australia. The female gender role is recognised as a marker for power struggles within the labour market for refugee women (Bach & Carroll-Seguin, 1986; Tomlinson, 2010). This struggle is representative of the tensions, which all the participants

experienced, between their caring role and the demands of the labour market, especially as their caring role limited the time available for work. Naturally, the women had inherited gender discrimination, which remains deeply embedded within the power structures of Australia's social order. While gender discrimination is a condition that affects the wider Australian population, for unemployed female refugees such as Mary, Agnes, and Erika, the significance here is that it adds another layer to an already-complex situation. This means that the full weight of the relations that uphold Australia's unresolved history of gender discrimination had a compounding effect on the unemployment position of the women as they tried to negotiate ways in which manage their childcare responsibilities with the demands of work. Clearly, the women were unable to pay for childcare services. Indeed, these historic rules of gender discrimination remain a great contradiction of the game. These rules have the effect of the disenfranchised being made to pay a penalty; that is, they are made to carry the cost for the discrimination to be part of the labour market. Without a job the women had no means to offset this discrimination and continued to struggle to enter the labour market within the constraints of their social networks.

For both Agnes and Erika, their experience with trying to find paid work with the aged-care facilities where they were undertaking work experience left them feeling confused as they had both volunteered many hours with these organisations. The confusion that the women experienced, being accepted for unpaid work but rejected for paid work, is an indication that they were without a sense of belonging in the relationships they had with the aged-care facilities. In both cases, interpersonal discrimination, in particular racism, is identified as a possible explanation, as clearly both women were repeatedly ignored by gatekeepers that restricted access to key decision-makers. All the women were visibly different, and in Agnes' case, she was particularly concerned that the colour of her skin could have been a reason for her being rejected by the aged-care facility that she had volunteered with for a year. Again, discrimination, in particular racism has been argued as prevalent within the Australian labour market, as discussed in Chapter 2, and more specifically,

the study of Colic-Peisker and Tilbury's (2007a) which showed that level of whiteness in skin colour improves labour market outcomes for refugees.

This section has demonstrated that the roots of gender, class, and race discrimination clearly had an effect of limiting access to the labour market for Mary, Agnes, and Erika. On the one hand, they faced restrictions as they had no means to overcome the interpersonal discrimination that presented as barriers to the labour market on the other, they faced structural (or institutional) discrimination through the delegitimising of any claim to resources. Discrimination is a persistent theme throughout this thesis (as discussed in Chapter 5 and Section 6.1 above) and not only plays a central role in limiting the types of jobs the women could apply for, but is a key feature which sustains the position of perpetual crisis. Again, we see that the premise under the neoliberal state, where individuals are pushed towards the market, clearly does not work for women such as Mary, Agnes and Erika when they lack the resources (economic, social and cultural capital) that are needed to overcome discrimination. Wedged between a labour market that restricts access and a quasi-market of employment service providers (JSPs) that do nothing to overcome the discrimination experienced by the women, the women get pushed back into the Australian Framework of Support, where they end up in an ongoing cycle of exploitation as the next section demonstrates.

6.3 The Never-Ending Cycle of Certification: *27 Certificates and Not a Single Job*!

Despite the lack of employment outcomes from the quasi-market of employment providers (JSPs), which operate under Australia's primary labour market program (APLMP), and despite being excluded from the labour market, Mary, Agnes and Erika continued to pursue other means, such as training and education, in the hope that this would increase their chances of finding paid work. The women end up in a market place of VET, which since the early 1990s has become a nationally coordinated system that aims to respond to all industry and improve employment outcomes (K. Bowman & McKenna, 2016; S. Webb, Faine, Pardy, & Roy, 2017). This aim, which expanded training beyond trade roles in industry such as manufacturing and construction to

nontrade roles in areas such as retail, hospitality, business services, information technology, and community services (Choy, Bowman, Billett, Wignall, & Haukka, 2008), is delivered through a market-based system of approximately 4,000 public and private training providers that primarily operate as Registered Training Organisations (RTOs) (Braithwaite, 2018; Burke, 2018).

This section argues that for refugee women such as Mary, Agnes, and Erika, the marketplace of public and private VET providers did little to align their interests with job growth in the labour market; rather, the accumulation of certificates became an end in itself. Table 6.3 below, provides a summary of the various training courses that the women undertook since their arrival in Australia. These data are based on what the women recalled of the names of the training courses during the interview process.

Table 6.3

Summary of Training Based on Information Recalled by the Interviewees

Mary	**Agnes**	**Erika**
510 Hours English Language TAFE English Course NP-A Free English Language Certificate II in Hospitality	510 Hours English Language Certificate III in Aged Care Certificate III in Childcare Certificate II in Hospitality Certificate in Business	610 Hours English Language Certificate I in English Certificate II in English Certificate III in English Preparation for Work and Study Certificate I in Aged Care Certificate III in Aged Care Certificate II in Hospitality Certificate II in Cleaning Responsible Service of Alcohol Certificate in First Aid

Again, in Mary's case, she had a desire to work in childcare but believed she did not have the necessary writing skills to pursue this area of interest. At the time of the interview, Mary was undertaking English language classes and studying Certificate II in Hospitality. Both these courses were being undertaken with the NP-A, which has a Registered Training Organisation (RTO), and is the organisation that set up the social enterprise the SE-A, discussed further in Chapter 7. On completion of her studies, Mary planned to undertake more training courses. Mary was not specific

about these future training courses, only that they offered the opportunity to improve her English language skills.

> I need to work in the childcare. [I] like childcare. This why [childcare is a] problem—when you work with childcare you must write the report, but my English is not enough. I can't do it—all this one [writing]. That's why I want, when I finish the course, I want—I study more. I continue to study. That's all. (Mary)

Using training as a way of improving English language capabilities was a common theme among all women. During her time in Australia, Agnes informed me she had obtained a Certificate III in Aged Care, which she had completed shortly after arrival in Australia. While aged care was Agnes' preferred area for employment, she had also obtained a Certificate III in Childcare, which she had completed in 2012 at a TAFE. At the time of the interview, Agnes was undertaking a Certificate II in Hospitality and a Certificate in Business, which she was unclear about and not sure when she would finish. Both of these courses were being undertaken with the NP-A at the time of the interview.

Similarly, Erika had pursued multiple courses and certificates across a wide range of areas. Erika informed me that although she had amassed 27 certificates, she was still unable to find work. On arrival in Australia, Erica completed the free 510 hours, plus a further 100 hours of free English language training from the government. She also completed four courses at TAFE that included Certificate I and Certificate II in English, Certificate I in Aged Care, and a course in 'preparation for work and study'. Further, Erika informed me she had also completed a Certificate in III in Aged Care at a private college and that she had undertaken a one-day Responsible Service of Alcohol course, as she needed it to apply for a job with a local club. With the NP-A, Erika informed me that she had also completed Certificate II in Hospitality, Certificate II in Cleaning and was also currently undertaking Certificate III in English.

> Since I came here, I did 510 English and they increased to me 100 more. It become 610. And I went to TAFE and I did a course of English too—Certificate I, Certificate II and Preparation for Work and Study. And then another course I don't know. Yeah and I did

> Certificate I of Aged Care in TAFE too. And I did you know, what is—First-Aid. And I did Information about Child-Care. Yeah and I did Age-Care Certificate III in private college. And here in [NP-A] I am doing now Certificate III English and still I am not finished yet. And here [NP-A] I did Hospitality Certificate II. And I did Cleaner-Certificate II, too—What is it? Yeah, I think this is called, just one day of Responsible Service of Alcohol. . . If there is no any job, like I didn't stay—I continue with English. Yeah, I said if I don't get a job, I continue with the English and you know now I think I have 27 Certificates. 27 certificates! Since I came here, since 2004, I have 27 certificates! And this is all. I take it [training] too. And TAFE and private one and here in [NP-A]. All. (Erika)

Despite acquiring a significant number of certificates, Erika was unable to find work and informed me that she would continue to pursue training in the hope that it would improve her English and subsequently aid her chances of finding employment.

The findings of this section indicate that all the women undertook additional training in the hope that this would improve their employment outcomes. They all indicated that they would continue to pursue additional training until they found work. Undertaking education and training to improve job outcomes is not an uncommon practice among refugee women (Saffu, 2014) and it is shown that they continue to undertake training and accumulate certificates in a range of areas until they find work (S. Webb et al., 2017). Despite having completed the 510 hours of free English training, Mary, Agnes, and Erika considered learning English, through these training courses of significant importance to finding employment. This standpoint of the women is consistent with the literature reviewed, which suggested that English language is the best predictor of employment outcomes, and that the 510 hours of free English training is inadequate. These findings show another defining feature of the position of perpetual crisis is that any unresolved tensions with access to the labour market or limitations with access to resources, such as inadequate English language training, manifest as an ongoing accumulation of other forms of capital, such as obtaining certificates in hospitality and business. *However, the important point here is that despite the significant number of certificates acquired, the employment situation of the women did not improve.*

The relationship between the women and VET is consistent with neoliberal notions of workfare, where systems are designed to ensure an adequate surplus of labour by keeping the unemployed in a ready state of employability until jobs become available (Jessop, 2002). Although, it has also been argued that in liberal market economies, such as Australia, VET is a mechanism for the management of failure; that is, it is an area into which those who are considered 'weakest' may be shoved (Bosch & Charest, 2008; Murray & Polesel, 2013). Nevertheless, this relationship can be likened to that of the JSP (as discussed in Section 6.1) where the outcome under VET can also be characterised as one that is misrecognised (Bourdieu, 2000). Rather than being designed to help the women, more training did not lead to employment outcomes. As discussed in the theoretical chapter, misrecognition is the precondition for symbolic violence.

In their attempt to find work the women were situated on a path of endless accumulation of cultural capital, in the form of vocational certificates, with no discernible job outcomes. Symbolic violence is seen in the way the women unconsciously discounted their experiences of exclusion, discrimination and exploitation, in favour of an ongoing process of certification that they saw as a necessary, natural, and an inevitable path to employment. Certainly, in their pursuit of training the women unknowingly create demand for more training, which is both an irony and feature of the position of perpetual crisis. This unconsciousness, where the rules of inequality are discounted and the ongoing process of capital accumulation, through a market place of VET providers, is credited, can be described as an effect of habitus production. In this regard, the habitus of the women normalised their situation by accepting more training as an appropriate response to inequality. Mary, Agnes and Erika internalised their struggle for gainful employment. Again, through the ongoing act of accumulation of certificates (a form of compliance), the neoliberal push towards individual responsibility is repeatedly embedded as a trained response to systemic failure, the effect of which is to emphasise to the women that something about themselves must be 'fixed'.

Based on the experiences of the women, more training does not lead to employment outcomes; this is tantamount to the participants blaming themselves for the acts of discrimination

and exclusion, both personally and structurally, that they had experienced. The act of self-blaming among refugees is not an uncommon response to discrimination, especially racism (Bjørkli, 2010). Self-blaming echoes the neoliberal response, where unemployment is seen as an individual failing rather than a structural or policy failure (Denny & Seddon, 2014); that is, it is consistent with the neoliberal practice of pushing people towards individual responsibility regardless of whether the labour market is failing to provide an adequate supply of jobs and regardless of whether barriers such as discrimination constrain access to the labour market. The important point here, however, is that the relationship that the women have with the VET providers, already rests upon the discrimination including race, gender and class as discussed in Sections 6.1 and 6.2 above. Therefore, under these power dynamics where VET has no effect on labour market outcomes, VET remains just another way discrimination (gender, race, class) is reproduced under the Australian Framework of Support (AFS).

But this is not the full story as there is another important feature at this intersection which suggests the mark of an indifferent state. As discussed in the paragraph above, in one respect the power dynamics can be explained as structured to support the neoliberal push towards making flexible labour markets work; in another it can be seen as structured to make the quasi-market work at the expense of the women. For example, while the women's primary interests were to find work in childcare and aged care, they accrued capital in areas such as hospitality and business. The significance of the women's experiences shows that the relations of power are structured in such a way that the needs of the women were not only subordinated to neoliberal practice by keeping them in a ready state of employability (or 'managing failures'), but also, that these power dynamics lacked focus in aligning the interests of the women with areas of job growth in the market (that is growth in the 'real market'). The women's areas of interest, which fell within the healthcare and social services industry, have repeatedly been reported by the Department of Jobs and Small Business (DJSB) (previously named under the Department of Employment (DE)) as the primary source of demand for new job creation since the 1990s (DE, 2016; DJSB, 2018b). According to

these reports, demand for jobs in these industries is ongoing and projected to increase as far out as 2023, with factors such as Australia's aging population, childcare and home-based care all driving an increase in demand. A study that examined the link between VET and the labour market suggested that where steps have been taken to deregulate markets, such as in Australia, the connection between VET and the labour market is weak (Bosch & Charest, 2008). Again, neither the discrimination, exploitation, nor barriers to the labour market or lack of alignment with job growth in the market are held to account. Certainly, Mary, Agnes, and Erika experienced the effects of an indifferent state. Yet again the power dynamics can be characterised as one that is misrecognised (Bourdieu, 2000), meaning they appear uninterested in aligning the needs of the women with the labour market. Despite common interests between the women and labour market demand, the situation for the women did not improve; rather the women remain ongoing in search of more capital accumulation in the form of certificates in the hope that this would at some point overcome their desperate need for gainful employment. The power dynamics operating under VET have a compounding effect as they add another complex layer to the discrimination already experienced by female refugees. These relations are about perpetuating a system of artificial demand where VET providers appear focused on an endless production of training and education with little regard for the ongoing struggle of the refugee women or at the very least aligning the interests of the women with job growth in the 'real' labour market. Rather, refugee women accumulate certificate in various areas with no discernible employment outcomes. Under these conditions, the needs of refugee women, to find paid work are transformed into products for their own consumption. This is the mark of an indifferent state, as the power dynamics becomes one of exploiting the vulnerability of the women, to uphold positions (or jobs) in the quasi-market despite 'real' job demand in the market.

In summary, under a market-based system of support, where VET is seen as a mechanism for the management of failure and keeping the unemployed in a ready state of employability, the power dynamics are structured in such a way that they do nothing to align the interests of refugee

women such as Mary, Agnes, and Erika with job growth in the labour market. Crudely put, under a quasi-market of VET service providers, aided by inaction of the JSPs, the women end up consuming their own vulnerability as training and certification becomes an end in itself, that is, it becomes the solution to their need for gainful employment. For VET providers, the vulnerability of the women becomes what defines their positions, that is, the purpose and existence of their jobs. Without employment outcomes the women remain at high risk of homelessness, ill health, and absolute poverty.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter clearly brought the barriers to the fore that restrict access to employment and showed what a perpetual crisis looks like from the lives of unemployed refugee women. In their struggle to overcome their vulnerability, that is, their exclusion from work as the fundamental means to offset a crisis with the basic cost of living, the women became trapped in a position of perpetual crisis. What defined this position is that, despite a significant amount of effort from many stakeholders, including the women themselves, the organisations of the Australian Framework of support (AFS) inclusive of the government agencies and various departments, the situation of the women did not improve. The women remained vulnerable as they became wedged between a labour market that denied access and an Australian Framework of Support that did little to support their need for gainful employment; rather the women were constrained in their access to the fundamental resources needed to access employment and they became open to exploitation from within the AFS itself as they remained in an endless cycle of accumulation of certificates.

A defining feature of the position of perpetual crisis, which I called the inhibitive force, is the collective effect of a set of relationships, that uphold inequality through reproducing multiple forms of discrimination, which under a neoliberal state, places refugee women such as Mary, Agnes and Erika on an endless path of exploitation. This inhibitive force is made visible by myriad force relations that collectively operate as a netlike structure under the AFS, seen primarily as the Resettlement Service Organisations (RSOs), the Job Service Providers (JSPs), the Vocational

Education and Training providers (VET), the Department of Employment (DE), and Centrelink. Despite related interests between the women and projected demands of job growth in the labour market, this powerful force returned no labour market outcomes. Instead, these relationships collectively culminate in upholding a position of perpetual crisis for unemployed female refugees. This position is maintained through countless actions which collectively control and exploit the vulnerability of the women (or rather crudely put, which collectively feed off the vulnerability of the women). Again, this is nothing other than misrecognition, an abuse of power that is collectively imposed by the field (Bourdieu, 2000), as it offers no value, or very little, to the need for gainful employment. The resilience and determination of the women to not let themselves and their families fall into homelessness is in itself a powerful countermeasure, that is a form of resistance, against the inhibitive force; but not powerful enough, as the women remain on a path in endless pursuit for the means needed to gain entry to the labour market.

To clarify, the disadvantage and vulnerability upon which this inhibitive force rests are the combined lifelong experiences of refugees such as Mary, Agnes, and Erica; that is, their accumulated labour, or capital (Bourdieu, 1986), which is not limited to the hardship of losing parents, the immense responsibility of caring for siblings, the displacement from country of origin, the unsupported parental responsibilities, the breakdown of family relationships, the copious number of Australian certificates, the various means of precarious work, the numerous hours of free labour volunteering within Australia's institutions, the many hours spent in search of labour market opportunities, and the endless acts of complying with fruitless job search activities as sanctioned by the state. With an average of 40 years' life experience, of which upwards of eight years had been spent in Australia accruing capital for the means to integration, this is a position in constant strife, framed by discrimination and exploitation from the highest office of the Australian state, as certainly minister Dutton was talking about women such as Mary, Agnes and Erika. It is a position that has restricted access to the fundamental resources that are needed for successful integration, a position that draws on the extraordinary capacity of vulnerable women to live

thorough the ongoing suffering of trying to feed and take care of their families on approximately $100 a week while in endless search for the means needed to offset their next installment of expense. This is a position in which the women are disciplined and punished into regulating their own behaviour. This is the disadvantage and vulnerability upon which the *inhibitive force* rests.

To further clarify the rules of the game upheld by the inhibitive force, these rules, which were made visible through the way the women were disciplined, discriminated against, threatened, made inferior and exploited. These rules operated on one underlying principle: indifference to the exploitation of refugees. This indifference is sustained under a complex set of rules which in the first instance was the failure to recognise (to misrecognise) the women other than through the lens of a neoliberal state and then in the second instance to use this failure to sustain dominant positions (or jobs) of power. Clearly, rather than advance the interests of the women with respect to the labour market, the inhibitive force acts as a countermeasure in two fundamental ways. First, through a quasi-market of employment providers (JSPs) governed by the neoliberal state, the needs of the women were ignored. The women gained no benefit from this relationship, and instead they were drawn closer to homelessness, helplessness, and despair should they falter in their duty of compliance with meaningless obligations to the state. Second, through a nationally coordinated system of VET providers, the women were disciplined into an ongoing process of capital accumulation that delivered a range of training and education programs that did nothing for their need to enter the labour market. Rather, the VET became an end in itself as the women were compelled towards a never-ending cycle of certification, one that offered the illusion of work while ignoring the mutual interests between the women and industries of job growth.

Indeed, the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), which is governed by market-logic that is upheld by the neoliberal state, manifests an exploitative force that legitimises the ongoing exploitation of the inequality embedded in the unemployment position of female refugees. Therefore, the position of perpetual crisis, can be defined as the complex entanglement of multiple forms of discrimination (based on gender, race, class) which intersect across multiple structural

layers (such as JSP's, VET, the labour market), while by themselves may follow useful intentions, have a compounding effect that exploits the vulnerability of female refugees to sustain dominant positions of power within the quasi-market, that is, the very structures that are meant to support the women, perpetuate exploitation.

Chapter 7:

Normalising the Position of Perpetual Crisis

To explain the role of the social enterprise in these power dynamics, this chapter draws deeper into the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) to present a study of the nonprofit organisation, the NP-A, and its social enterprise, the SE-A. This chapter draws on the experience of four staff members of the NP-A, as well as Mary, Agnes, and Erica. Chapter 6 revealed the barriers that restrict access to the labour market and the conditions that maintain the position of perpetual crisis. It demonstrated how access to the labour market is difficult for unemployed female refugees such as Mary, Agnes, and Erika because they are wedged between a labour market that denies access and a framework of support that pushes them towards a cycle of ongoing certification and training with no employment outcomes and ongoing exploitation.

Based on the findings presented in this chapter, I argue that the social enterprise acts as a tool for the commodification of vulnerability that is used to sustain the nonprofit in a market-based system of support; that is, the AFS. This chapter empirically shows how the vulnerability of the refugee women is constructed as a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977) that is used to re-establish the legitimacy of nonprofit organisations in the quasi-market of service providers that constitutes the AFS. This symbolic capital is an insidious form of capital because, rather than improve employment outcomes for the women, the unemployment status of the women shifts from unemployed to underemployed, and increasingly, their vulnerability is further entrenched in market-logic.

Findings in this chapter are presented in the following sequence. First, an overview of the NP-A and the SE-A, is presented. Then, I draw on the experiences of four staff of the NP-A to show how they construct the notion of social enterprise to situate employment for refugees as a crucial feature in defining the social enterprise. Next, I demonstrate how the NP-A, within the context of neoliberal reform, scrambles to make a difference amid a crisis of funding and legitimacy, and reveal the tensions that shift the NP-A's position towards the social enterprise.

Finally, I explain how the NP-A's reconstructed notion of social enterprise sustains the inhibitive force through restructuring relationships which further entangle the insecurity of the refugee women with the market-logic to sustain the position of perpetual crisis.

7.1 Overview of the NP-A and the SE-A

This section presents an overview of the non-profit organisation in the case study under investigation. The NP-A, which oversees the strategic aims and resources of the social enterprise the SE-A, is a well-established, nonprofit organisation that has operated for over 25 years in Western Sydney. Under Australian Taxation Office (ATO) regulations, the NP-A is classified to operate as a recognised public benevolent institution (PBI) with deductible gift recipient (DGR) status. These classifications, which are upheld by the ATO, situate the NP-A as a nonprofit organisation (or charity) that receives tax exemption and whose main purpose is 'relief of poverty, sickness, destitution or helplessness'(ATO, 2003, p. 3). Viewed differently, the NP-A may be likened to a small business as it has an annual revenue of just under $2 million (ATO, 2018). According to the Australian Charities and Not-for-profits Commission (ACNC), which is an independent national regulatory body for charities, the NP-A can be classified as a large charity as its revenue is in excess of $1 million (ACNC, 2015, 2017; Dalton & Butcher, 2014).

The NP-A received funding from various sources. Historically, the NP-A's primary source of funding was from government grants, although it is important to note that in the first five years of operation, the NP-A also established a café as a source of income. The significance of the café is that under the broad understanding of what constitutes a social enterprise in Australia, that is, an organisation that undertakes trading activities to fulfil their social mission (Barraket et al., 2010; Eversole, 2013), the NP-A may be classified as a mature social enterprise as it has largely operated with a mixed organisation logic from very early in the lifecycle of the organisation.

The NP-A's source of funding had changed over time. Details of why and how these funding relationships have changed and the impact of this change are discussed in Sections 7.3 and 7.4. At

the time of the interview, the NP-A's major sources of income were funding partners such as a longstanding private donor, a well-established national foundation, and federal, state, and local governments. The NP-A established the SE-A primarily through funding received from a national foundation, although some funding was received from government grants. Finally, the NP-A received income from the different enterprises that fell under the NP-A's operational framework, such as its onsite café and its Registered Training Organisation (RTO), as outlined below in this section. In addition to these funding sources, the NP-A supported its mission through the efforts of volunteers and through forming partnerships with various education and training organisations that offered free skills and expertise, mainly in the form of English language teachers that were from a large VET organisation which taught English to migrants as well as from health and nutrition specialists that were from local and state governments.

With an overarching social mission of 'building communities', the NP-A was initially established to provide training to the long-term unemployed. Over time, the primary aim of the organisation expanded to focus more broadly on marginalised individuals and communities. The groups supported by the NP-A included youth, people suffering with mental health concerns, the long-term unemployed, new migrants and refugees, and people recently released from prison. Based on a summary of the NP-A's organisational documents, a team of full-time and casual employees, as well as volunteers, support the organisation's mission by undertaking activities that aim to enable community integration, provide opportunity for training and employment, and assist with living healthy lifestyles.

The NP-A's organisational structure, illustrated in Figure 7.1, was governed by a board of directors (BoD) and had a management structure that included a CEO and a senior staff member that oversaw each area as depicted in Figure 7.1 and further outlined below.

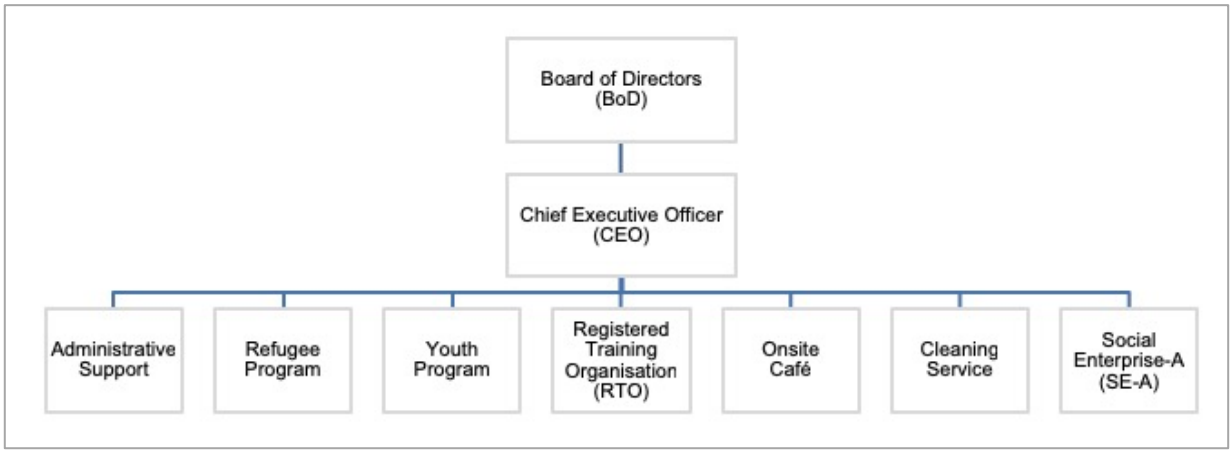

Figure 7.1 NP-A organisational structure.

- **Administrative Support:** This area oversaw the day-to-day financial, IT, administrative, and reporting functions.
- **Refugee Program:** This mainly provided free English language support for approximately 80–100 refugees per annum, mainly women. In addition, this program offered ad hoc support such as assisting with completion of forms, ATO tax enquiries, citizenship training, and general support and education with navigating the complex day-to-day living in Australia, such as providing information on health and wellbeing and access to various government services.
- **Youth Program:** This focused on developing the soft skills deemed necessary for employment such as communication, team work, and organisational skills. The program supported approximately 100 students who were at risk of disengaging with education and employment.
- **Registered Training Organisation (RTO):** This provided work-based experience and training in government-accredited courses in areas such as hospitality. Students participating in these courses were mainly from culturally diverse backgrounds with a large percentage of them refugees.
- **Onsite Café:** The café opened daily and had two primary shifts, one in the morning that served a variety of breakfasts and a second in the afternoon that offered lunch and afternoon

teas. The café also catered for functions outside these times, but these were mainly fundraising events for the NP-A.

- **Cleaning Service:** This operated as a commercial cleaning social enterprise that provided training and employment for approximately 35 marginalised members of the local community.
- **Social Enterprise-A (SE-A):** This provided event and catering services in support of various community and corporate events with the aim of providing paid employment to refugee women. This social enterprise form part of the case study for my thesis.

The SE-A had been in operation for approximately 12 months at the time of the interviews and operated as an events management service that provided catering for various community and corporate events. The SE-A operated as a separate but integrated structure within the NP-A. For example, while the SE-A had a specific structure within the NP-A, it was dependent on NP-A as it made use of resources such as facilities, infrastructure, and staff to support administration, training, supervisory and management activities. This interdependency resulted in vague estimates of the budget and actual costs to run the SE-A.

The SE-A employed a dedicated social enterprise supervisor who was responsible for coordinating all activities associated with events. These activities included drawing up schedules, booking venues, calculating costings, preparing menus, arranging kitchen facilities, and organising and supervising casual staff and volunteers. In particular, the social enterprise supervisor was responsible for recruitment and on-the-job training of the refugee women that were paid to assist with the event. This position was also responsible for the engagement of skilled NP-A staff that were used to train and support the refugee women with activities such as the setup of the venue, including arranging chairs and tables, laying crockery, operating the dishwasher, preparation of food and beverages, greeting guests, and serving food. Marketing of the SE-A primarily occurred through its existing network of funding providers, occasional marketing in the local newspaper, and various undertakings by the CEO of the NP-A. For example, at the time of the interview, the

SE-A had secured six corporate events through the CEO's fundraising activities. The average number of guests at each event varied from 25 to 39, with an average cost of approximately $30 per head. As part of these events, refugee women were engaged to talk to guests about their life story, including their migration and resettlement experiences. Hosting these types of events enabled the SE-A to employ up to five refugee women on a casual basis at least once a week or once a fortnight.

In summary, the mission and aims of the NP-A were broadly reflective of the normative values of nonprofit organisations espoused in literature that sought to identify and characterise the common practices across nonprofit structures within Australia. In the broadest sense, nonprofit organisations in Australia are characterised as organisations oriented around a set of religious or ethical values concerned with notions such as solidarity and alleviation of poverty (Lyons, 1998, 2001; Nevile, 2009). Section 7.2 contributes to an understanding of the social enterprise by examining what the notion meant to the staff of the NP-A.

7.2 Differentiating 'Profit-for-Purpose' From 'Social Enterprise'

This section draws insight from the staff of the NP-A to explore their understanding of the notion of social enterprise as it pertained to the organisation. The findings reveal that while the NP-A may broadly be classified as a social enterprise (as discussed in the previous section), to staff, the notion had a specific meaning that was inclusive of the people who were directly engaged with the organisation, such as Mary, Agnes, and Erika. This section shows how agents of the NP-A broadly conceived the notion of social enterprise.

The NP-A held no formal definition of 'social enterprise', and none of the staff referred to the NP-A as a social enterprise. Staff members held varying views on the notion of social enterprise; when referring to the SE-A, however, there was a general understanding from all interviewees that the social enterprise was about strengthening community participation through employment while at the same time striving for the organisation to become independent of external

funding. This means it had a dual purpose; that is, both a social and economic objective. One view held by an NP-A staff member positioned the social enterprise as a place of belonging where refugee women gained skills and paid work while feeling comfortable with their interactions with the wider community, particularly with staff and patrons:

> At the end of the day the outcomes have always been to assist as many people as possible and to achieve employment or some sort of sense of community within the people that come here, so that they can feel that they have somewhere to go and that they belong and have earned some gainful employment somewhere, and [the SE-A] has offered those people employment . . . Social enterprise is an environment where lots of different community members can get together and create something that gives us a bit of funding that we can put back into [the SE-A] and support people. (Staff 9155)

A similar view held by another agent of the organisation saw the social enterprise as strengthening social capital, that is, the social networks of refugees, while offering a way for the organisation to become self-reliant, or sustainable:

> Social enterprise is, what it means to us as an organisation, is that we have these enterprises that are about more than just making money, they're about building social capital, they're about building communities, they're about creating networks, and then over years is the profit margin which is then used, which is then ploughed back into it to continue it so we can be independent of government or external funding, or less reliant on it. (Staff 1543)

A more comprehensive understanding of the social enterprise was offered by the staff member who championed the move towards establishing the SE-A. The notion of social enterprise was further defined through offering a distinction between two major processes going on within the NP-A, namely, 'profit-for-purpose' and 'social enterprise'. On the surface, these two processes appeared indistinguishable. For example, the revenue for both processes was generated from sources such as government grants and private donors, as well as income generated through trading activity. In the case of the profit-for-purpose processes, however, trading income was generated from sales at the café, and in the case of the processes for the social enterprise, the SE-A, income was generated from the catering services provided by hosting events, mainly for corporate clients.

From a revenue generation perspective, both the profit-for-purpose and the social enterprise processes used a combination of external and internal funding sources. In both cases, the revenue generated went back into the organisation, albeit the revenue generated from the profit-for-purpose was used to support the NP-A's mission and community programs as a whole, while the revenue generated from the social enterprise was used to sustain the SE-A, itself. The distinction was further explained by the interviewee that the revenue generated served two purposes: the overall mission of the organisation and the distinct need of the refugee women. More specifically, that the revenue of the social enterprise had a specific purpose to employ people with a social need. In other words, the SE-A had a particular purpose of creating paid positions for refugee women such as Mary, Agnes, and Erika, who participated in the training programs at the NP-A and were excluded from the labour market.

> We have profit-for-purpose businesses, which is [the RTO] and the cafe, and then you have social enterprises which are the enterprises that are working with a social need and employing people with that need to create a difference . . . It's [the RTO] a profit-for-purpose business and the purpose is us [the NP-A]. It's different, it's still part of the charity framework within which we sit and we keep our charity status because we're providing all of those services and this [the RTO] is just a form of income to it [the NP-A] . . . They're really only social enterprises, I think if they're run with people who have a need for employment that might not be achieved in the open market, who have issues that are being directly dealt with by that enterprise, by their engagement within that enterprise. So they are getting skills that they really need, they're getting employment and they're also being able to have conversations about what matters to them at their period of cultural—of working well within our community and of being recognised for their strengths. So I don't see a social enterprise as just an enterprise that does good, because you could say a hospital was a social enterprise or a bank was a social enterprise. I think that they're enterprises. I think the social enterprise works with people who have the social need and contributes directly to the organisations mission. For example if [the NP-A] set up an enterprise. Well, I think that when I came here, I don't think the cafe was really a social enterprise. I think it was an enterprise. (Staff 1261)

The point of difference between the profit-for-purpose and the social enterprise was further clarified by example, with the interviewee making a comparison between a social enterprise on

one hand and a hospital and bank on the other. It was suggested by the interviewee that similar to the SE-A, a hospital had a mission to provide a social benefit to those who are in need—who are sick or injured. Hospitals also rely on funding, and in the case of private hospitals, they rely on some measure of market principles such as profit making. In this case, the hospital takes on a similar definition to that of a social enterprise, which in its simplest form is a structure that combines a measure of value that embraces both a social benefit and profit formula. This understanding also holds true for banks such as Garman Bank and Charity Bank, which have similarly been described as social enterprises (Alter, 2007; Rahdari, Sepasi, & Moradi, 2016). For the interviewee, however, the distinction is that the hospital (or bank) does not employ those who are in need. Rather, the position of the patients (or client) is as a 'receiver' of medical care (or loan). Stated differently, unlike the hospital or bank, the SE-A employs people that have a social need, people who are marginalised; that is, excluded from the labour market. In this case the significance of the notion of social enterprise was the position of refugee women within the organisation. The social enterprise was a means to change the underlying organisational structure by creating paid positions for refugee women, therefore placing women, such as Mary, Agnes, and Erika in a more prominent position within the hierarchy of the organisation and consequently, the wider society.

Collectively, the NP-A's understanding of the social enterprise was consistent with Eldar (2017) definition, which differentiated social enterprises based on the importance of the direct relationship it has with its beneficiaries (as previously discussed in Section 2.3). However, the participants, or agents of the NP-A, expressed a more distinct definition that explicitly extended Eldar's notion of social enterprise to include a paid position for refugee women, that is a change to the hierarchy of the organisation, itself. This distinction, however, is not without issue. For example, as discussed in Chapter 2, more recent debate has suggested that even a fast-food chain that places emphasis on being able to offer young people their first job may be classified as a social enterprise as it works to shift the position of unemployed youth into the labour market (Pestoff &

Hulgård, 2016). Of course, the distinction here is that the NP-A is a nonprofit organisation and is not working with the general population but with refugee women who have been excluded from the labour market.

Nevertheless, employment as an outcome was an important distinction in the NP-A's notion of a social enterprise as it signalled a clear shift in the NP-A's traditional practice, both with refugee women and within the Australian Framework of Support (AFS). This is a crucial move, because at this point, the women's vulnerability becomes further entangled in market-logic. Section 7.3 will show how the vulnerability of female refugees such as Mary, Agnes, and Erika is further commodified.

This section revealed that the model of the social enterprise, as constructed by the NP-A, signalled a change in responsibility for the employment of marginalised refugee women. Within the NP-A, under the notion of social enterprise, the revaluing of positions suggests that the position of the refugee women was made more prominent and permanent. Under this model, the NP-A takes on the responsibility for employment and therefore its move towards social enterprise further entrenches notions of mutual obligation. Again, as discussed in Chapter 2, this echoes the tenets of neoliberal reform where there is a push from the government towards the market and the individual to resolve conflicting tensions. In this case, however, the push is towards precarious work in the 'quasi-market', that is the Australian Framework of Support. The remaining sections of this chapter will now show how this shift in the NP-A's practice towards a model of social enterprise further contributed to the position of perpetual crisis.

7.3 Constructing Vulnerability as a Form of Symbolic Capital

Interview findings from staff of the NP-A offered two primary triggers for the NP-A's move towards the social enterprise. The first, based on external pressures, revealed the uncertainty of funding and environmental transformation as key motivators for the NP-A's move towards establishing the SE-A. The second revealed a concern with how the refugee women were

positioned within the NP-A as 'receivers' and not 'participators'. These explanations support findings in the literature that situate economic rationalism and legitimacy as reasons for the move towards the social enterprise (Dart, 2004; Dees, 1998a). This section explains how these two triggers influenced the NP-A towards the practice of social enterprise and also contributes to the debate in literature surrounding the source of legitimacy for the social enterprise (Hervieux, Gedajlovic, & Turcotte, 2010). It reveals how the legitimacy of the social enterprise is constructed as a form of symbolic capital that sustains and the position of perpetual crisis.

7.3.1 Scrambling to Make a Difference Amidst a Crisis of Funding and Legitimacy

Uncertainty in funding was cited as the primary reason for the NP-A's move towards social enterprise. In other words, the shift towards market-logic was seen as a necessary step to maintain its dominant position in a market place of providers where the NP-A was struggling to stay in view. While interviewees held various levels of understanding as to what triggered the uncertainty in funding, the following explanations were broadly consistent in highlighting that the move was associated with forces external to the NP-A. A broadly held view attributed changes in external funding structures as a primary reason.

> I think [the NP-A's] mission has gone a bit roller-coastery, the focuses have changed and it is not necessarily [the NP-A's] fault. I think it has to do with funding and the way that different schemes have been funded. So we've had to redirect what we can apply for and things to focus on to keep us alive. (Staff 9155)

A more detailed explanation suggested that reduced funding from the government had created increased competition among nonprofit providers. Under these conditions, the notion of social enterprise was appealing as it offered a way for the NP-A to overcome financial uncertainty while upholding the benevolent values of the organisation. In other words, the social enterprise was reasoned as a strategic solution to the uncertainty of funding and a means to uphold the social mission of the organisation.

> From my understanding what influenced [the NP-A] to set up [the SE-A], is a kind of, a multi sort of, multi-influenced thing. So, on the one hand we were cognisant of the

> fact that there is less and less funding and more and more organisations applying for that funding. So the actual—and that there are general financial pressures on us as an organisation. So that way we needed to start thinking quite differently than how we worked with—because you know we work with [many marginalised groups], and refugees being one of our primary focus groups. We realised that, that funding, underpinning funding was changing and at the same time we also realised that the social enterprise model was something that was a positive way of treating people like people . . . At the moment there is a lot of money being taken out of community programs, from the federal government so we don't know how that's going to affect us just yet. (Staff 1543)

A more complex set of explanations for the trigger towards social enterprise came from the staff member who championed the move towards establishing the SE-A. Again, while uncertainty of funding was reasoned as an impending threat, this explanation broadened the understanding by emphasising a transformation within the environment, or field in which the NP-A was situated, (that is the AFS) was a contributory factor. Changes in government funding, associated with the management of government budgets (both federal and state), were interpreted as a sign that Australia's policy was shifting further towards an 'American system', which strives for greater efficiency. This efficiency, identified as a reduction in the complexity of government administration, was rationalised as the Australian government taking action to limit government resources to a handful of large nonprofit organisations that had an operating income of $2 million and above. This practice was interpreted as a threat as it was seen to force smaller civil society operators, such as the NP-A, to seek out merge partners. At the time of the interview, the NP-A was seeking a merge partner, discussed again in Section 7.4.3.

> There's going to obviously be a lot less funding from federal and state. Just the mind-frame and the mirroring of the American system more in our system, in a way that the current budget's being done . . . The funding situation is going to force us to get real because neighbourhood centres and all these small little groups under $2 million really, you're going to have to merge, because otherwise you won't get the services that government are sending out and government only want to deal with about three or four major players, otherwise it's far too complex . . . There's been a lot more focus on 'you've got to be sustainable', 'you've got to be reliable', 'your funding's not going to

> continue', 'you can't rely on funding', 'you've got to do something'. That sort of language . . . And that's why I think the language around social enterprise—that's what I'm—that's why the language around social enterprise is interesting and there are more people talking about it, because the focus has been, 'be sustainable', 'take responsibility', 'make it happen' and people have been looking at this social enterprise, and I think that that's just the beginning of it . . . That we all have one, you know, that everyone's got a social enterprise, it's a happening thing, you're not in the group if you haven't got one. And in a way, I think that's what's making it more and more meaningless, to call things social enterprises . . . This focus on social enterprises is a little bit like a flag saying, 'Well, we can look after ourselves if we can just be a social enterprise' and so everything is becoming a social enterprise, because that's looking after ourselves and being responsible and self-sustaining . . . I think they [social enterprises] will become increasingly important—whether or not they are successful—because I think that they fit the rhetoric of being sustainable and responsible, which is what this government is about, and being a small, a small government service provision and being focused on free market, and things like that. So yeah, I think they will become increasingly important even if it's just to fit the rhetoric, to get funds. (Staff 1261)

The impending threat to funding was seen by the interviewee as a trigger that not only created a heightened sense of urgency, but also drove a *language of change* within the nonprofit sector. This language of change, identified through emergence of terms such as *sustainability, reliability,* and *financial responsibility*, was associated with notions of free-market and specifically the practice of social enterprise. Interestingly, the interviewee viewed the notion of social enterprise with some scepticism. It was seen as a rhetorical device that was being used to attract funding and consequently was at risk of becoming a meaningless term as more organisations rebranded themselves as social enterprises, suggesting that the move towards social enterprise is an end in itself. Nevertheless, these language cues and changes in funding acted as a signal that the field within which the NP-A was situated, was shifting behaviour towards the practice of social enterprise as a means to avert the impending crisis to funding. Within this field, that is the AFS, mergers as well as social enterprises were seen as the way to overcome the imminent threat to funding. These findings support the literature that suggest under the tenets of neoliberal reform, for reasons of economic efficiency, competitive tendering has created highly competitive field

where competition favours larger organisations and therefore forces smaller operators (such as the NP-A) to seek out merge partners and transform towards pro-business logic which resemble the practice of social enterprise.

As discussed in Section 6.1, the quasi-market under the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) is again seen to push organisations towards market-logic by disciplining behaviour through constraining resources. This practice can also be seen to mirror the push towards individual responsibility that Mary, Agnes, and Erika received under the tenet of mutual obligation. In other words, under the neoliberal state, both the NP-A and the refugee women faced an impending crisis and were pushed towards market-logic to find ways to obtain a sustainable income. *The important point here is that the social enterprise becomes a symbol of difference, without making a difference.*

As a symbol of difference, perpetuated through a language of change, the social enterprise signalled a restructuring of the field within which the NP-A was situated. The moment that agents of the NP-A (that is the interviewee), recognised this change in language, is the precise point, that the social enterprise becomes a form of symbolic capital that is, a way of legitimising hierarchy and distributing resources (or funding) within a field. The notion of social enterprise was seen by the interviewee to establish an exclusive boundary (that is another field within the AFS), one that not only separated those nonprofit organisations with social enterprises from those without one, but also acted as a means to attract funds (again, as discussed in Section 3.5, we see the mark of separation and the market-logic as a justification). Through their associations within a particular field, organisations gain resources and legitimacy (Baum & Oliver, 1992), therefore within the field of nonprofit organisations, the transition towards a social enterprise becomes a necessary one for the sake of being in the group and being eligible to attract funding; that is, for reasons of pragmatic legitimacy (Suchman, 1995). Consistent with Bourdieu's notion of habitus, as explained in Section 3.2, the findings of this section show how the integrative capacity of the habitus of the nonprofit agent plays an important role in realigning interests to gain legitimacy and consequently,

resources. This finding offers a minor contribution to the gap in literature, connecting institutional analysis (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) with Bourdieu's notion of habitus, as raised by Emirbayer and Johnson (2008, p. 37).

7.3.2 Commodification of Vulnerability

While all staff had raised employment as an important aspect of the SE-A, the explanation of refugee women being positioned within the NP-A as 'receivers' and not 'participators' offered further insight into why employment was an important reason for establishing the SE-A. This explanation, again by the person who championed the move towards the SE-A, revealed that a personal concern with the way refugee women were positioned within the NP-A had acted as a trigger for establishing the social enterprise.

> The main thing that influenced me to focus on setting up [SE-A] was to try and get the refugees more engaged as being able to have, I suppose you could say a voice or a say in, in what they did here. So rather than just being training, it was trying to link into something they already knew which was around their own culture and their own food, and getting them to prepare that with others, to teach others . . . So what influenced me predominantly was the position of women in our programs, where they were receivers rather than engaged in making something happen and also, this was a way that we could pay them. And one of the biggest barriers to their full community participation I think is employment and being paid. So it was to actually give them practice as well as having to be here [at the SE-A] at a certain time, do a certain job and be paid for it. Those were the reasons. (Staff 1261)

This explanation suggested that the traditional practice of the NP-A as a profit-for-purpose, that is as a provider of training and education was seen to position the refugee women as '*receivers'* rather than '*participators'* in the NP-A. This means that the NP-A faced a challenge of legitimacy within the organisation itself, as its traditional approach to supporting refugee women, that is, through training, was seen to contribute to the vulnerability of the women as it restricted their ability for wider community participation. In other words, the traditional practice of the NP-A was seen to undermine the mission of the organisation by placing refugee women in an inferior position.

In this instance, the move towards the social enterprise was not viewed by the interviewee with scepticism; rather, it was seen as a legitimate way to transform the traditional practices of the NP-A while upholding the mission of the organisation. It was also suggested by the interviewee that the social enterprise was a way of providing refugee women with 'a voice' that would influence the way that the NP-A provided support to the women and consequently, their position within the NP-A and the wider society. In particular, the social enterprise was seen by the interviewee as a way to get the women into the labour market by offering employment, thereby placing the women on a path to 'full community participation'. These findings are consistent with arguments that suggest nonprofit organisations, such as the NP-A, are largely governed by social norms, and therefore moral legitimacy becomes a force of influence (Dart, 2004; Meyer & Rowan, 1977b). This means that the social enterprise was also seen by the interviewee as a way to redress the internal tension that they had with the way refugee women were positioned as receivers and not participators, and therefore the move towards the social enterprise was reasoned as acceptable because it was seen as morally legitimate. Indeed, it can be stated that the move to social enterprise was one that included 'good intentions', but this is not the full story.

The resolution of these conflicting views of social enterprise, by the person who championed the move towards the social enterprise, can be explained as habitus at work. On the one hand, social enterprise was viewed with scepticism, as a meaningless term with the means to attract funds. On the other, social enterprise was viewed as appropriate as it offered a means to 'full community participation' through employment. In this case, the *habitus of the social enterprise agent*, challenged with the task of aligning conflicting logics under a market-based system, constructed an innovative solution, one that superseded the scepticism associated with the practice of social enterprise, and supplanted it with a notion of social enterprise that was *meaningful* and *desirable*. This process of habitus production, that is to align conflicting logics, is consistent with arguments that the role of the social entrepreneur (in this case the person who championed the move towards the social enterprise) holds a crucial position in negotiating conflicting tensions

(Dees, 1998b; Hervieux et al., 2010; Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). This alignment (or integration) is a significant move, for at this point, the vulnerability of the refugee women was assigned value by the NP-A and further entrenched in market-logic.

By aligning with the dominant logic, the NP-A was awarded the symbolic power of the neoliberal state, and therefore legitimated in its move to assign value to the vulnerability of the women. Again, this is the instance in which the NP-A further cements its role a conduit of the neoliberal state. This new form of symbolic capital is subjectively and socially constituted by a particular set of interests within the field of the AFS. Assigning value to the vulnerability of the women effectively situated them as an important source of funding for both the SE-A and NP-A (further explained in Section 7.4). Rather than being 'costed out' for being less profitable (as discussed in Section 6.1.2, under the JSP) the women are 'costed in' as vulnerability attracts revenue. This is a clear indication of how power circulates (Foucault, 1980) without making a difference to needs of the refugee women for gainful employment, as demonstrated further on in this chapter.

Again, as demonstrated earlier in Chapter 6, vulnerability as a means of upholding positions within the AFS becomes an important feature of the position of perpetual crisis. In this case, vulnerability of the women became further entangled in market practice as it became an important means to overcome a crisis of funding and legitimacy (that is maintain dominant positions) and through funding was also assigned an economic value. Symbolic capital has 'economic value' and therefore acts as a commodity (Appadurai, 1994) that can be represented as a market transaction (Carvalho & Rodrigues, 2008). In this case, the market transaction was between the nonprofit organisation, the NP-A, and the various funding partners, both state and nonstate agents, as well as the various trusts and foundations that had the power to determine which vulnerability to fund, or more precisely which form of discrimination to perpetuate (further explained in Section 7.3.3). In other words, the market decided how resources, or funds, were to be allocated, which in this case were allocated to sustain the social enterprise, the SE-A. Of course, the volunteers as well as

those end consumers who purchase the services of the SE-A, such as the organisations paying $30 a head as discussed in Section 7.1, are also implicated in the commodification of vulnerability.

The importance of this step cannot be overemphasised because at this point, there was a revaluation of refugee capital as vulnerability became further embedded in the market-logic as a form of symbolic capital. Again, the distinction with this form of symbolic capital is that it is not bestowed upon the women or their actions, but on their vulnerability within the 'quasi-market' system, that is, the rules that situated them as vulnerable in the first place.

In this case, the needs of Mary, Agnes, and Erik were subordinated to market-logic, more specifically, to the interest of those within the quasi-market of the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), that is, the NP-A. Not only is discrimination and exploitation embedded in this form of symbolic capital (further explained in Section 7.3.3), but also the exclusion of women's choices as their interests in childcare and aged care were also subordinated to the interest of players in the quasi-market. This is tantamount to withholding preferences (Lukes, 2005) as the interests of the women are not aligned with job growth in the labour market; rather it is the NP-A's competency in hospitality, that the women are trained and positioned in for precarious work. Again, we see the mark of the indifferent state hidden deeply within the complexity of the power dynamics within the field as the interests of the women are misaligned with areas of job growth in the healthcare and social services industry (as discussed in Chapter 6). *This is the irony—the rules of the game uphold the inequality and then awarded status to dominant players at the expense of the women.* Clearly, this practice also challenges the idea of female refugees as the 'beneficiaries' of the social enterprise (as previously discussed in Section 2.3.1 of the literature review).

While it may be argued that all services under the Australian Framework of Support (including those largely funded through government as offered by the Job Service Providers) rely on some form of commodification of vulnerability by virtue of the system being governed under market-based principles; the difference with the social enterprise is that it not only rests on the failings of these government funded services but that it serves to normalise these failings which

gives the appearance of offering a solution to the crisis of female refugees, that is, it acts as a 'veil of symbolic relations' (Bourdieu, 1990). Both of these points of differentiation are discussed next in Sections 7.3.3 and 7.4. In particular, these sections will show, and provide a possible explanation for, why Mary, Agnes and Erika despite being under no illusion about the ineffectiveness of the JSP (Section 6.1), or the vocational certification and training providers for that matter (Section 6.3), hold a different view of their relationship with the social enterprise even when their situation still does not improve. The point here, however, is that under the social enterprise commodification is normalised, meaning it is pervasive and becomes more entrenched, not only because it draws deeper into the experiences of the women to commodify their vulnerability, but because it seen by the women as well as actors of the AFS (in particular the social enterprise) as the natural thing to do.

7.3.3 Resting on the Foundation of the Position of Perpetual Crisis

While sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2 provided the reasons for the NP-A's move to establish the SE-A, it is important to emphasise that it is the vulnerability of the women, that is, being situated in a position of perpetual crisis, that underpins this move in the first place. And, therefore the foundation upon which the SE-A is established is based on the NP-A's role in upholding the history of the women's experience with multiple forms of discrimination across multiple structural layers. Again, Mary, Agnes, and Erika were engaged with the NP-A under both models of practice; that is, as the profit-for-purpose and the social enterprise. As discussed in Section 6.3 ('The Never-Ending Cycle of Certification: 27 Certificates and Not a Single Job!') the women undertook various training courses with the NP-A through the RTO as part of the profit-for-purpose model, and therefore the NP-A already formed part of the power dynamics which relegated the women to a position in which they need to 'fix' something about themselves. The significance of the irony here is important to stress—*the NP-A, complicit in producing the position of perpetual crisis, now establishes the SE-A which rests on this very foundation of inequality.*

Stated differently, as a form of symbolic capital the social enterprise is established based on a history of discrimination and exploitation of the field. Deeply encoded in this form of symbolic capital are the 10 years of struggle of Mary, Agnes, and Erika to gain access to the means of integration. This form of symbolic capital was legitimated where, under Australia's primary labour market program (APLMP), the women are pushed to the labour market and then denied access. It was legitimated by the exploitation going on under the Australian Framework of Support (AFS), which can be seen in the ongoing supply of certification, with no discernible labour market outcomes. It was legitimated by the various forms of discrimination that the women experienced in the labour market. All the instances where refugee women, such as Mary, Agnes, and Erika are disciplined, threatened, punished, made powerless, made inferior, and deprived of the fundamental resources needed for successful integration, legitimated this form of symbolic capital.

With the SE-A's foundation resting on the position of perpetual crisis, the vulnerability of Mary, Agnes, and Erika was further entrenched in market-logic as it was recognised and awarded elevated status by the NP-A. It is not through any further acquisition of cultural, social, or economic capital that the position of the women changed with respect to the NP-A. In fact, as discussed in Chapter 6, following the direct encounters the women had with Australia's labour market and Australia's primary labour market program (APLMP), both fields rejected the value of their capital. Clearly, as a form of symbolic capital the vulnerability of female refugees was not widely recognised because is not a means of exchange that will allow the refugee women to move easily across fields to convert the symbolic capital into jobs. Indeed, the hardship of the women is undeserving of the prestige or honour bestowed upon those who are awarded status such as under the symbolic capital of the Australian of the Year Award (AYA). Rather, this symbolic capital, which awarded value to the NP-A through funding, only changed the position of the women within the organisation itself. This symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986), which is constrained by the precarious nature of the women's relationship to the NP-A and which cannot be used by the individuals upon whom it is based, situates this type of symbolic capital as an insidious form of

capital which subordinates the struggles of the women to the divisive categories that have been constructed for them. This form of symbolic capital, which has semblance with *race* as a form of symbolic capital as it immediately codes one group of people as inferior to afford privilege to another, is extremely harmful to refugee women. Again, the harm caused is seen in the way that the women's interests in what to do and be, are negated as the NP-A's interests in hospitality are advanced for the women. Yet again, this form of symbolic capital is extremely harmful to refugee women, because the vulnerability of refugee women is coded as the foundation upon which all associated relations maintain their dominant positions.

In summary, these findings show that in their struggle to overcome a crisis of funding and legitimacy, the NP-A constructed a notion of social enterprise that commodified the vulnerability of refugee women, and therefore the NP-A and all associated relations, are further implicated in the myriad of force relations which reproduce inequality—the position of perpetual crisis.

Having established that the social enterprise is an insidious form of symbolic capital that intersects with the position of perpetual crisis, the next section takes a closer look at how the NP-A reconfigured relationships in support of providing employment to refugee women such as Mary, Agnes and Erika and explains why the social enterprise will do little to meet the labour market needs of the women.

7.4 Normalising the Abuse of Power

By drawing on the experiences of staff of the NP-A as well as Mary, Agnes, and Erika, this section further explains the relationship between the women, the NP-A, and the SE-A, that is, the women's relationship to the processes of profit-for-purpose and social enterprise. It shows how the social enterprise, which was constructed as a form of symbolic capital averts the impending funding crisis and restructures positions within the NP-A. Finally, this section shows how further transformation, that occurred after the SE-A was established, pushed the NP-A deeper into the market-logic. Rather than improve the situation for both the NP-A and the women, both were made further

subservient to market practice. It is important to restate that in my interviews with Mary, Agnes, and Erika, I was mindful not to introduce the term social enterprise (for reasons discussed previously in Section 4.4.1). None of the women used the term social enterprise; rather, the names of staff and whether the women were paid, or not, indicated the processes under discussion.

Through the notion of social enterprise, the NP-A gained access to multiple sources of funding, including access to long-term funds from a national foundation.

> I know we've had all sorts of different types of funding so we have had a bit of money from [the national foundation]. Well actually quite a bit of funding from [the national foundation] through, like quite large chunks. Like, several hundred thousand dollars over several years. (Staff 1543)

Collectively, the funding sources were considerably large enough to reposition the notion of social enterprise as a primary source of new revenue generation for the NP-A. Aligning their funding relationships with both state and nonstate institutions that valued the notion of social enterprise opened up access to a new revenue stream that enabled the NP-A to establish the SE-A, as well as employ additional staff and make a small profit.

> I think we make 70% of our money [revenue] from social enterprises. I think that might be a bit over generous but we make a lot more money from our social enterprises now then we get from our [mainstream] funding . . . They [the social enterprises] have been funded, by [government department], that's state. [The SE-A] is being funded, initially with the start-up money from [government department] which is federal, and [the national foundation]. So they have received quite significant start-up funding, which has enabled us to employ people to run them and has enabled us to pay wages before we make a profit. So at the moment [the SE-A] makes a small profit each time, not a great deal. But, it [the SE-A] keeps itself within its funds . . . In fact the social enterprises are really important for the [RTO], because the [RTO] gets funding because [the SE-A] can provide on-job training in hospitality and make a little business . . . and that enables us to get much better success rates from our [RTO] training programs. So they're, what's the word? They're interdependent. The [RTO's] success is supported by the social enterprise . . . Yeah, because if we didn't have a situation where we could provide employment or on job training through the social enterprise, we would find that we would be less likely to get funding for the [RTO], so they're symbiotic. (Staff 1261)

Apart from a new revenue stream, the pursuit of social enterprise also provided the NP-A with a means by which to gain funds for its profit-for-purpose, such as the Registered Training Organisation (RTO). The SE-A, with its ability to provide on the job training and employment opportunities, created interdependency between these two organisational processes, as having the social enterprise made it easier to attract funds for the RTO (that is the profit-for-purpose process). It is important to note that while the SE-A attracted external revenue, the social enterprise itself was not a significant source of revenue, as the income generated was not enough to grow the SE-A, a point of discussion further on, in Section 7.4.2. The next part of this section now explains how Mary, Agnes and Erika were engaged with the NP-A and SE-A under these processes of the profit-for-purpose and the social enterprise.

7.4.1 'Profit-for-Purpose': Creating a Safe Place

First, under the processes of the profit-for-purpose the women received training and job support from the NP-A. These activities included unpaid work-based training courses such as hospitality, business, and English language courses, as discussed in Chapter 6. The job support included computer-based assistance in applying for online jobs and assistance with drafting cover letters and resumes. Again, we see how power works under the Australian Framework of Support, as constraining resources by the JSP (as discussed in Section 6.1) pushes the women towards the NP-A. By this very act the NP-A becomes complicit in upholding the power dynamics that denied resources to the women. The following provides details about these interactions within the profit-for-purpose processes and shows how the NP-A reproduces inequality.

In 2012, through word of mouth, Mary learned about the NP-A (as previously discussed in Section 5.1.1). She informed me that the primary reason she made contact with the NP-A was that she had hoped to find paid work. While Mary did not obtain any paid work from the start of her relationship with the NP-A, she undertook English language training as this was offered free of charge. Mary also undertook a nationally recognised course of Certificate II in Hospitality, and was pursuing both these courses at the time of interview (as discussed in Chapter 6). As part of the

Certificate II in Hospitality, Mary undertook unpaid work experience at the NP-A's on-site café. She explained the benefits of her relationship with the NP-A by comparing it to her experiences with the JSP.

> Because the [NP-A] know the people [refugees]. The refugees need the help. There by the [JSP] they don't know when you [need] help, or any help. You come, you find job, that's it. The [NP-A] maybe find you [a job]. They tell you exactly what can you do. You know, you do. You say you don't know, say, because they help. When you make a job they bring someone help with you. You two together. That's why maybe you learn a lot and then maybe you do yourself. But [those refugees] who they go there the [JSP], we don't know [how to] speak the English. We don't write, we don't read the company name, how can you do it [find a job]? Big problem. (Mary)

For Mary, unlike her experience with the JSP, the NP-A had an understanding of refugees' circumstances. They had the 'know how' to effectively support refugees when they needed help. Mary emphasised that the know how of the NP-A encouraged refugees to learn and to ask questions. She saw a key difference between the NP-A and the JSP in that the former had staff working with refugees to show them how to perform specific tasks and activities needed of them. Mary attributed this support as having an impact on improving the confidence levels of refugees and improving the prospect of finding employment. Mary was positive about her encounters with the NP-A. This relationship was in stark contrast to that of the JSP, which she saw as callous and problematic, as discussed in Chapter 6. For Mary, unlike the NP-A, the JSP lacked the capacity to engage refugees that were without the necessary skills needed to undertake the processes requested by the JSP.

Similarly, Agnes situated her experience with the NP-A as positive in comparison to that of the JSP. The NP-A also provided her with assistance in searching for jobs, in particular with help to write up her resume. Furthermore, Agnes advised me that through the NP-A she could continue her education when she was unable to attend TAFE since she could not afford the costly fees. Like Mary, Agnes was undertaking Certificate II in Hospitality. As part of this training she, too, undertook unpaid work experience in the NP-A's onsite café.

Again, similar to Mary and Agnes, Erika had also undertaken unpaid work experience at the NP-A's onsite café and had furthered her English language through free classes with the NP-A. She, too, was positive about her experiences with the NP-A and had received support with searching for jobs online. Yet again, Erika expressed the benefit of her relationship with the NP-A by comparing it with the negative experiences of the JSP.

> The [NP-A] is like very helpful. Yeah even in English too. Yeah very helpful. And that why I say, 'why you [the NP-A] not open the agent [employment service] here for the people? You see them. Like the people doing the hospitality here or doing any course here they [need] help to get a job in anywhere'. But like [JSP] they are not help. I don't know. (Erika)

As an indication of her positive experience with the NP-A, Erika told me that she had also made a request to the NP-A to establish an employment agency to assist the refugee women that attend the NP-A with finding work. Again, Erika emphasised that the refugees attending training at the NP-A mostly needed help with finding paid work.

In summary, under the profit-for-purpose these findings, which lend more detail to the discussion in Chapter 6, show how the women became engaged with the NP-A because of their exclusion from the means to integration, including gainful employment and access to training that was affordable. All of the women were positive about their experiences with the NP-A as they were treated with respect by staff. The offer of free English training and support by the NP-A relieved some of the tension with gaining access to the means of integration, as the women were able to improve their English language while gaining necessary support with job search activities such as writing up their resume and filling in online job applications. Again, while the women gained a sense of wellbeing in their interactions with the NP-A, the training that the women received from the NP-A, such as hospitality and business, were not aligned with their interests or work experience, which were in the area of childcare and aged care, areas of significant job growth in Australia. Clearly, as a provider of education and training, the NP-A, in the first instance, contributed to the position of perpetual crisis (as argued in Chapter 6).

7.4.2 'Social Enterprise': Creating a Marginal Opportunity

Second, under the processes of the social enterprise, the women received paid work through the SE-A. This work, however, was casual and infrequent. Through its new funding stream, the NP-A were able to appoint a dedicated social enterprise supervisor who was responsible for overseeing all activities associated with the SE-A. In addition, the SE-A employed four to five refugee women on a casual basis at least once a week or once a fortnight as indicated by the supervisor of the SE-A: 'I've got four [refugee women] and one more now that does bits and pieces. So I've got four regular full-time. Like it's pretty much almost every Thursday that they, or every second Thursday that they work—paid' (Staff 9198). The significance of this finding is that it shows how inadequate the opportunity with the SE-A was in meeting the needs of Mary, Agnes, and Erika to work five days a week, as discussed in Chapter 5. After all, the women were engaged in activities, including training, with the NP-A in the hope that it would support their need for gainful employment.

Under the direction of the SE-A's supervisor, Mary undertook paid casual work. Again, this casual work was well below Mary's need to work five days a week. In fact, Mary stated that the work with the NP-A was infrequent. When Mary did work for the SE-A, it was between four and five hours, and she received approximately $100 pay.

> But when they call the [SE-A supervisor], sometimes I might do the café with [SE-A supervisor] . . . Maybe four hours. Maybe one day, maybe five [hours]. One day, just one day. I don't work a lot. Sometimes I work in the training [with the NP-A]—like training. No pay. (Mary)

Mary also made the distinction that when she undertook work at the NP-A through her hospitality training, she received no pay, but when the SE-A supervisor contacted her, it was for paid work. In other words, Mary explained that the difference between processes of the 'profit-for-purpose' and the 'social enterprise' was whether she received payment or not. In one respect, this finding, which is similar to the experiences of Agnes and Erika, is an indication of the women's determination to pursue all possible means to gain access to the labour market, regardless of whether they were paid, or not. In another, this highlights the complexity of the relationship the

women had with the NP-A. Again, when the women worked in the onsite café for the benefit of training, they experienced the effect of the 'profit-for-purpose'; however, when the women worked on a catering event for the SE-A, they experienced the effects of the 'social enterprise'. Either way, both required that they perform tasks in hospitality, such as food preparation. The only significant difference between these processes being when the social enterprise supervisor called the women, they got paid for their efforts. Despite the limited employment opportunity, Mary was happy to gain some paid work with the SE-A; furthermore, she spoke positively of her experience with the SE-A: 'When I find a job at [the SE-A] I feel happy. Because I'm happy. I like the place, everything the [the SE-A]' (Mary). Certainly, Mary experienced feelings of wellbeing with both the NP-A and its social enterprise, the SE-A.

Erika also informed me that while her work with the SE-A was infrequent, she was happy to have a job. Again, she emphasised that there were many people looking for work with the SE-A and that she, too, had approached them for permanent work but had been told there were no permanent jobs available, and if one became available, they would contact her.

> You know like this year I just come here 2 days [the SE-A]. Yeah, you know like we helped one cook who is cooking. We cut the things and I washed the things . . . to the blood, cups in [the dishwasher]. Look it's good because, you know I am working. Because it's a job, it's good. And even my work experience I did it here. Yeah and I told them [NP-A] because there is many people [wanting] work, they told me if they want anyone to work like permanent they [SE-A] will call you. (Erika)

Similarly, Agnes obtained casual work through the SE-A; however, her experience was different in that she was sometimes asked to speak at these events. Agnes informed me that she had specifically been asked to 'tell your history' (Agnes) and that she was happy to talk about her experience as a refugee. For Agnes, talking about her traumatic experiences increased her confidence, especially when strangers congratulated her for being able to talk about her life. Agnes experienced feelings of wellbeing in her interactions with the SE-A.

Mary, Agnes, and Erika shared similar experiences in their encounters with the SE-A. The women received little paid work from the SE-A. Based on feedback from the participants, including the supervisor of the SE-A, the women earned approximately $200 per month. Despite the limited hours of paid work, they enjoyed their time at the SE-A. The positive sense that the women experienced is consistent with discussion in Chapter 2 that credit social enterprises with the capacity to improve wellbeing (Farmer et al., 2016), particularly for people from non-English-speaking backgrounds (Kong, 2011; Kong et al., 2018). For Mary, Agnes, and Erica, the SE-A created a safe space where they could learn and engage in conversation with staff and the wider community. Again, this is consistent with previous discussion in Chapter 2 that have suggested the social enterprise creates value (C. Mason, 2012) through increasing both social and cultural capital (Hasan, 2005; Leadbeater, 1997).

While Mary, Agnes and Erika expressed positive feelings in their encounters with both the NP-A and SE-A, these feelings of wellbeing can similarly be interpreted as having semblance with notions of gratitude. Drawing on Colic-Peisker and Tilbury's (2009) study as discussed in Section 5.3, would suggest that these feelings of gratitude may change overtime especially if the women's situation with the NP-A does not improve, which as Section 7.4.3 will show is highly probable. In other words, as time goes by these feelings may dissipate and be replaced with frustration when a reframed notion of both the NP-A and the SE-A emerges based on the inability to effectively support the women.

This section has shown that through their start-up funding, the NP-A were able to make a fundamental change to their staffing structure; that is, they were able to create and transform positions within the structure of the organisation. The relationship between the women and the NP-A is complex, as the findings show, Mary, Agnes, and Erika were first engaged with the NP-A because of their vulnerability; that is, restricted access to the means of integration with no means to offset the rise in cost of day-to-day living, that is lack of access to employment. While the women engaged with the NP-A to enhance their English language skills and undertake vocational

training, the primary reason for this relationship was their unmet need to find gainful employment. Collectively, these findings show that while the women experienced feelings of wellbeing in their interactions with the NP-A, the practice of social enterprise offered a marginal outcome. Again, this in itself is an indication of how the inhibitive force masks the true forces of power relations as the women were made to feel positive about mistaking the quasi-market as operating as the 'real' labour market, an indication that the social enterprise is built on false hopes. Rather than gainful employment, the social enterprise created a quasi-labour-market-position, one that provided only momentary relief of a safe space within in which to accrue capital that offered at most $200 a month with which to offset their next installment of expense. The next section draws deeper into the NP-A's relationships to show how precarious this relationship is. Certainly, the likelihood of a reframed notion of social enterprise is high.

7.4.3 Realigning Relationships, Reconfiguring Positions, and Reproducing Inequality

The implementation of the social enterprise was not without consequence for the NP-A. Despite the NP-A's longstanding practice of generating income by trading through the café, the practice of social enterprise challenged a longstanding relationship with their primary donor. This major donor withdrew their long-term funding as they considered the social enterprise as too 'businessy'. The breakdown of this relationship placed the NP-A in a position where they had to pursue another long-term funding partner to make up for the loss in revenue. At the time of the interview, the NP-A was looking for a long-term funding partner that was open to the idea of social enterprise as a means to achieve their mission.

> I mean, they [private donor] are not supporting us anymore . . . And I know that a lot of the [members of private donor] feel that it's too businessy, so it's how you measure success. I mean they've—I've had a lot of, like I guess flak, from being too business focused here so that's something that I didn't do well. You know, I didn't change their head space. They found it very hard to understand why I was on about trying to get an income in for the place and be a social enterprise, that made my life really difficult for a while . . . Well, we are not going to have [private donor's] support. I mean that's why

> we're merging, looking for a merge partner, and looking at [another private donor]. (Staff 1261)

The challenge of managing conflicting tensions, that is, between managing social and economic interests, extended to staff as well. This tension was highlighted when one of the interviewees raised a concern with the practice of having the refugee women share their personal stories. It must be noted that while there was a general sense from staff of the NP-A that the women were comfortable with sharing their stories, (also expressed by Agnes in Section 7.4.2) this practice raised a concern with one staff member who viewed it as unhelpful. The interviewee saw this practice as challenging the obligation of the SE-A to create a positive experience for guests (or paying customers) while ensuring support for the refugee women (or 'beneficiaries' of the social enterprise). This finding challenges the question of who exactly the beneficiaries of social enterprises actually are; that is, the women or the paying customer?

> It [SE-A] can also sort of turn into a nice lunch with then listening to awful stories about things that happened to people and I don't know whether that is something that's great. It's not positive. I think it's—where does your return patronage come from then? Where does that leave those guests or also more to the point those ladies [refugees] that helped us cook? Thankfully we don't have [refugees] that don't want to come back, they're interested in doing that [sharing life stories], but every now and then I think it gets a bit on the negative side. (Staff 9155)

Clearly this staff member struggled to find a balance between meeting the needs of paying customers and supporting the needs of the refugee women. More specifically, this finding raises the question about whether telling their stories as part of a market-based solution is really about helping the women. It is argued that when faced with conflict between economic and social interests, profit maximisation dictates direction of a social business, regardless of an organisation's social mission (Yunus, Moingeon, & Lehmann-Ortega, 2010). Furthermore, the significance of the move to have refugee women share their life stories is that it embedded the vulnerability of the women further in the profit structure of the social enterprise. A price was attached to the women's stories. This is an important step because it is not only the vulnerability of the women that is

opened to exploitation, but price also opened up the women's disadvantage (their history) to further exploitation. Garrow and Hasenfeld (2014) warned that social enterprises oriented towards employment of vulnerable people not only face the challenge of becoming dominated by market-logic, they also risk the appeal of their social mission as any success becomes entangled in competition for market revenue and consequently undermines the social rights of the vulnerable through exploitation, which situates the vulnerable as 'production workers' rather than social recipients (p. 1489). In other words, the women's history (both disadvantage and vulnerability, both past and present) became products for sale; that is further entangled in the market-logic as their history becomes commodified at the risk of losing its appeal through competition when other organisations follow this practice of marketing vulnerability and disadvantage. This finding offers a minor contribution to the debate by with Eldar (2017) on the importance of the beneficiary to the definition of social enterprise (as discussed in Section 2.3.1).

Nevertheless, the NP-A's move towards the practice of social enterprise effectively realigned their funding relationships with partnerships that were supportive of the notion of social enterprise. Consistent with discussions on funding and legitimacy as detailed in Chapter 2 and Section 7.3 above, this move shifted the NP-A's relative position closer towards market-based logic as a primary means of gaining revenue for the organisation as a whole. This finding shows how charities and civil society transforms towards market principles. The significance of this finding, however, is that the NP-A's funding relationships effectively shifted from a longstanding funding partnership to a short-term funding partner, albeit one that provided significant start-up funding. It is recognised that social enterprise organisations face inherent tensions between their social and economic interests, and that these tension may be irreconcilable if the interests are viewed as being in direct competition with each other (Moizer & Tracey, 2010). Certainly, the NP-A faced tensions between their economic and social interests. From an economic standpoint, the loss of the longstanding association signalled the complexity with managing the tensions of a double-bottom line; that is, trying to balance both the economic and social objectives of the

organisation. The withdrawal of funds is an indication of an unresolved tension and showed how the move towards the social enterprise had challenged the legitimacy of the NP-A's relationship with their longstanding partner. This shift was not without consequence. The effect of decoupling a longstanding funding association meant that the NP-A's overall funding position weakened their sustainability as they went in search of a merge partner. Similar to the women, the NP-A faced a crisis with insufficient income.

In addition, while the SE-A received significant start-up funding, which enabled it to make casual positions within the organisation for refugee women, maintaining the social enterprise was not without challenge. Although the SE-A was seen to make a small profit, this profit was not large enough to ensure the organisation would be able to grow and become sustainable: 'I don't think its [the SE-A] sustainable, because its–we don't make much of a profit to put into it to expand' (Staff 9198). More specifically, concern was raised with respect to the SE-A's underlying business model that lacked both the skills and profit needed to reinvest to grow the social enterprise. In particular, the lack of marketing was considered a significant factor hindering growth of the SE-A: 'Marketing, we don't have enough money to put really great money out there and if we did, I think it [the SE-A] would definitely soar [grow]' (Staff 9155). Clearly the SE-A lacked the ongoing investment needed to grow a business in a market-driven environment. Again, crudely put, under a market-based framework of support, this situation is similar to that experienced by refugee women such as Mary, Agnes and Erika as they, too, needed upfront investment; that is, they needed funds for expenses such as childcare to be able to fully participate in the labour market.

Further to the social enterprise lacking investment to grow the business, the interviewee raised concern that the model was based on employing people with a low level of skill, and therefore, this constraint automatically positioned the SE-A as a business that inherently operated with a low margin of income, consequently limiting its capacity to generate a larger profit margin.

> Being sustainable, and making it, and making a large enough margin to do that . . . Like any young business you need a credit flow. Businesses don't work without investment,

> and so we've got our funding investment, which is the investment and we've just got to be smart enough like with any other business, to market effectively, and grow the business, so that we do get that margin. It's the same as any—I don't—I think it's exactly the same sorts of challenges as you know, is your marketing right, is your story right, are the people able to develop the skills that you need from that marginalised group, or not? And, yeah, I guess that's it—and the other thing I think is that, when you choose to run a social enterprise with people, who have a fairly low English level or low skill level, you're often in a business space that has a small margin . . . The only way you can make that margin is to move them into services. (Staff 1261)

The challenge of sustainability for the social enterprise was complex. First, the SE-A was challenged in its capacity to generate a significant margin to reinvest the funds needed to grow the social enterprise. Indeed, it was without the capacity to align with the fundamental principles of growth and reinvestment (Harvey, 2010), significant indicators of sustainability under capitalism as discussed in Chapter 2. Not only did the SE-A lack the economic capital to reinvest, but the interviewee raised the concern that the SE-A also lacked the resources and skills that were needed to transform towards a service-based model that would help generate a large enough profit margins to offset their growth and reinvestment needs. Ongoing access to economic capital is deemed a major factor to advance an early stage social enterprise towards accelerated growth (Steiner & Teasdale, 2016). Furthermore, without some level of assurance on the growth in revenue, the interests of the NP-A as a whole, both economic and social, became exposed and therefore at risk due to the complex interdependency among organisational processes. For example, the symbiotic relationship between the NP-A's profit-for-purpose and social enterprise processes meant that any disruption to the SE-A would have some consequence on gaining revenue for the profit-for-purpose. Likewise, the SE-A's dependency on the NP-A, such as the administrative and infrastructure resources of the NP-A, meant that a disruption to the continuity of overall funding of the NP-A would have an effect on the SE-A. Clearly, the decoupling of their longstanding partner presented a risk to the NP-A as they went in search of another funding partner, this time one that more closely aligned to the notion of social enterprise; that is, market-logic. Under neoliberal reform, the push towards market-based logic for nonprofit organisations such as the NP-

A, therefore presents a high risk as organisations struggle to survive in the absence of a framework that provides reinvestment support (funds and skills) required to grow the social enterprise.

Furthermore, by attaching a wage to the connection between the women and the SE-A, the positions of the women instantly shifted from outside the labour market to inside the labour market. Making a 'quasi' labour market position, the social enterprise effectively recoded the labour market status of the women from unemployed to employed, a status which is an important indicator of successful integration, and a key trigger for policy settings as discussed in Section 2.1.3. The employment status of the women, however, was one of significant underemployment as the SE-A did little to meet the needs of the women to work five days a week. Again, we see how the social enterprise masks the true forces of inequality by shifting the employment status of female refugees without making a difference to their need for gainful employment.

In summary, this section has shown that in their move towards the social enterprise, the NP-A created a heightened risk of sustainability for the organisation as a whole. The loss of their longstanding funding partner, coupled with the absence of an effective framework of support that would overcome the limitations in skill and the uncertainty of funding, both of which were needed to grow the SE-A, threatened both the NP-A and SE-A. Relationships were transformed, placing the NP-A and its social enterprise on a path in endless search for the means to ensure its self-sustainability. Indeed, the position of the NP-A to find ways to become sustainable through generating a large enough profit to offset its need for growth, echoes the position of perpetual crisis. Again, the women become entangled with a market-based solution that exploited their vulnerability while offering little hope of arresting their decline in a market-based economy of widening inequality.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined more closely the impetus towards social enterprise. It showed how the nonprofit organisation, the NP-A, scrambled to make a difference amid a crisis of funding and

legitimacy triggered by the marketisation happening within the Australian Framework of Support (AFS). Under neoliberal reform policies, where the market becomes the main form for the distribution of resources, the role of the social enterprise affords legitimacy to the nonprofit organisation through subordinating the vulnerability of unemployed female refugees to the interests of the market. This move, both sustained and reproduced the inhibitive force, meaning the relations that upheld the position of perpetual crisis. Funding relationships within the nonprofit were realigned towards partners that were more open to the notion of social enterprise, with internal processes made dependent on the social enterprise as a means for funding. These moves presented a significant risk to the NP-A as they severed a longstanding funding relationship in favour of a short-term funding partnership, albeit one that provided significant start-up funding. This transformation shifted the dependency of the NP-A as it become increasingly reliant on market-logic to sustain the organisation as a whole. The sustainability of the NP-A was threatened both as a consequence of the loss of continuity in a longstanding funding source and as a lack in capacity of the social enterprise to generate a large enough profit to adhere to the fundamental market principles of growth and reinvestment. These findings, while offering a unique account of the social enterprise and while contributing to a more detailed understanding of the notion of social enterprise, are not significant in themselves.

The significance of this chapter lies in how social enterprise masks the true forced of inequality by resting upon the foundation of the position of perpetual crisis and reconstructing female refugee vulnerability as a form of symbolic capital. The findings show, through aligning with the dominant logic, the NP-A was awarded the power of conversion (symbolic power), meaning it became a conduit for the neoliberal state and, as such, had the authority to code the women's vulnerability, as legitimated within the AFS. In other words, the power to construct the vulnerability as a form of symbolic capital comes from those institutions and entities that award resources to the NP-A; that is, those private funders and the state. The issue here is that symbolic capital is an insidious form of capital, as it affords 'honour' and 'prestige' to those who construct

it within the ‘quasi-market’, such as the NP-A, while it has no use value for those upon whose vulnerability it is based; that is, the refugee women.

Furthermore, this chapter showed that through constructing vulnerability as a form of symbolic capital, refugee women such as Mary, Agnes, and Erika are further exploited as their disadvantage became entangled in market-logic which offers a marginal opportunity that shifts their position from unemployed to underemployed while sustaining their position of perpetual crisis. The refugee women remained ongoing in endless pursuit of gainful employment. Finally, this chapter showed that the NP-A’s move to the social enterprise presented a heightened risk to both the economic and social interests of the organisation. The NP-A struggled to be sustainable, while the SE-A did nothing more than to offer the refugee women a fleeting experience in a safe space with a marginal income that did little to arrest their crises. Rather, a price was attached to their vulnerability, and as a consequence, their vulnerability was opened up to further exploitation. The women remained ongoing in search of the means for gainful employment. This chapter has shown that a defining feature of the intersectionality of female refugees is the way in which inequality is reproduced, that is, the position of perpetual crisis is sustained.

Chapter 8:

Conclusion: A Perpetual Crisis

Through examining the processes that intersect the lives of unemployed female refugees, this thesis demonstrated how the market-based rules that govern and shape the relationships under the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) collectively produced an inhibitive force that sustained what I called the *position of perpetual crisis* for female refugees. In my concluding analysis, I cover two themes. First, the struggle of unemployed female refugees against an indifferent state, and then the resilience and intersectionality of female refugees. Following this, I conclude with future research and my final remarks.

The research problem was explored through a multilevel case study design that drew on the perspectives of both female refugees and agents of a social enterprise to answer the following question: *What role in the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) does the nonprofit social enterprise play in the gainful employment of female refugees?* By drawing on notions of power, this thesis revealed the inequality of female refugees' unemployment position, and by situating the discussion within the broader context of structures of power demonstrated how the role of the social enterprise and the state affected this position.

8.1 The Struggle of Unemployed Female Refugees Against an Indifferent State

This thesis argued that the struggle of unemployed female refugees to find gainful employment is a struggle against an indifferent state. The mark of an indifferent state was demonstrated by the way various organisations and institutions (inclusive of government) collectively reproduce a framework of support that did little to support the needs of refugee women for gainful employment, even when the interests of the women in aged care and childcare aligned with significant job growth in the healthcare and social services industry in Australia. Rather, the collective effect of these organisations ignored the discrimination and perpetuated the exploitation of unemployed female refugees. More specifically, this thesis demonstrated how the Australian government's

commitment to the resettlement of refugees operates under a set of neoliberal policies, which driven by market-based logic, do not work for female refugees. The issue with these policies is that by their very design, they are discriminatory, and more to the point, inherently racist. It is known that in most cases, female refugees come from diverse cultural backgrounds, are visibly different and have experienced significant disadvantage; therefore, at the very least, they need access to fundamental resources and support to help bridge the cultural gap and overcome the discrimination that impedes access to gainful employment. As the findings show, even after 10 years of resettlement, the refugee women remain trapped in an ongoing crisis.

An examination of this crisis revealed that the underlying neoliberal principles of mutual obligation, individual responsibility, and market-logic create a contradiction, which leaves little hope for the successful integration of female refugees into the labour market. This contradiction was defined by the way in which female refugees were made vulnerable through the ongoing discrimination and a denial of access to fundamental means to integration, while at the same time having this vulnerability exploited by the very system that was meant to support them with gaining access to the labour market. Crudely put, this exploitation was tantamount to a system that is designed to position the category of 'female refugee' as inferior within the national hierarchy and have female refugees unknowingly participate in consuming their own vulnerability (such as through the endless accumulation of certification) in order to uphold the positions, or more precisely the jobs of dominant players in a market-based system of support. Indeed, neoliberal policies are racist, uphold inequality and provide a basis for maintaining power.

Without an understanding of how market-based systems *work* and are *used* to maintain power, the ongoing exploitation of female refugees will not only remain, but will become increasingly complex in Australia. The thesis demonstrated how relationships that are reconfigured to align with governing principles under neoliberal policy, further entrench the exploitation of the vulnerability of female refugees to become deeply embedded within the practice of the social enterprise. This thesis made a theoretical contribution to this challenge by using Bourdieu's

concepts of power to show how the social enterprise is constructed as an insidious form of symbolic capital that has its foundations built on the exploitation of vulnerability, which as the thesis argued is a significant source of power to uphold the positions of dominant players. Furthermore, this thesis made a small contribution to the debate on the notion of social enterprise by challenging the idea of the actual beneficiary of social enterprises. In theory, while refugee women may be classified as beneficiaries of social enterprise, in practice the thesis has shown that dominant positions under a market-based framework, including those of the social enterprise, rest on the vulnerability and resilience of refugee women and therefore gain the most from the practice of social enterprise. Finally, while the thesis did not aim to directly engage in the arguments on the undertheorisation of Bourdieu's notion of habitus, it does make a contribution to the debate within organisational studies (refer 3.2) by providing an empirical account of the disruption and innovation within the transformative processes of the habitus production.

Neoliberal policies are designed to shift responsibilities away from the state to the market, which means the exploitation of female refugees will increasingly move outside the purview of the government. Again, this exploitation was made apparent through empirical data which showed an endless accumulation of certificates and no clear path that aligns the needs and interests of female refugees with the growth in job creation: '27 certificates and not a single job!'. The copious number certificates accumulated made clear that this exploitative gap was rapidly increasing. Furthermore, the growth in the number of nonprofit organisations rebranding themselves as social enterprises to attract funds also presented a worrying sign of an increasingly complex environment with the potential to further exploit the vulnerability of female refugees. The argument of this thesis raised an even more troubling sign as it explained how the exploitation of female refugees not only confers status and resources on organisations such as the social enterprises, the employment service providers, and the education and training providers, but also political leaders, who sit at the centre of state power and exploit the situation of refugees, both employed and unemployed. As this thesis argued, even from the highest office of the Australian government, this

gap is exploited for political gain as the category of 'refugee' is set up in opposition to 'Australian', which again is a clear indication of how racism works within a neoliberal framework and is used to maintain power.

The findings of this thesis are a warning to organisations operating under the Australian Framework of Support, such as the social enterprise, the resettlement service organisations (RSOs), employment service providers (JSPs), the Vocational Education and Training providers (VET), the nonprofit and, government departments and agencies; that if they do not take serious account of how market-based systems work and how they are used to maintain power, they will continue to uphold the struggle of female refugees. Indeed, they will continue to uphold practices that exploit vulnerability and cause harm to female refugees.

8.2 The Resilience and Intersectionality of Unemployed Female Refugees

The central finding of this thesis was that female refugees cannot break out of the *position of perpetual crisis* that they unwittingly find themselves in. This *position of perpetual crisis* was defined by a labour market that denied access and a market-oriented system of support that repeatedly builds on processes that exploit the compounding effects of multiple forms of discrimination across multiple structural layers. As the findings clearly demonstrated, the market-based framework of support did little to overcome the need of female refugees for gainful employment, rather the women were ignored and made vulnerable through processes that repeatedly exploited their vulnerability. The seriousness of what is going on here under this market-based system of support and what it further facilitates, cannot be over emphasised.

Again, empirical evidence showed that regardless of whether female refugees received welfare benefits or not, they were faced with problems of restricted access to the means of integration, discrimination, exploitation and insufficient income to offset the rising costs of day-to-day living. More specifically, the women were denied access to the fundamental resources needed to successfully integrate into Australia, and then this vulnerability was commodified,

which, as the findings show, becomes a necessary step for structures such as the nonprofit and the social enterprise to remain dominant in a market-based system of support.

And again, this thesis argued that the struggle that female refugees face is a struggle originating in the female refugees' position defined by the intersectionality of gender, race and ethnicity. The intersectionality of female refugees was demonstrated as the myriad of force relations that perpetuate multiple forms of discrimination across multiple structural layers to culminate in the position of perpetual crisis which itself (as shown with the social enterprise) serves as a foundation to reproduce and sustain the discrimination of female refugees—the position of perpetual crisis. It is the very intersectionality of gender, race and being a refugee that underpin the position of perpetual crisis and the indifferent state. This was demonstrated by the way that the women were constantly disrespected, treated as inferior, exploited and disempowered at each point between them and the means to integration. These points include the labour market, the resettlement service organisations (RSOs), the employment service providers (JSPs), the Vocational Education and Training providers (VET), the nonprofit, the social enterprise, the government departments and agencies, and of course the practice that separates 'refugee' from 'Australian'. While these points seem independent or almost disconnected, they define the perpetual crisis for female refugees. Collectively, through a set of neoliberal dispositions, agents operating at these points of intersection ignore the vulnerability of refugee women, and therefore perpetuate inequality such as race, class, and gender discrimination, while at the same time exploit the vulnerability of the refugee women, which again as the thesis demonstrated is part of the practice to maintain dominant positions.

Despite the heavy burden of these compounding effects, the refugee women remained resolute in their determination to integrate into Australia. Their resilience and determination were made visible by their ongoing effort to overcome the obstacles that impeded access to gainful employment, including pursuing more training, pursuing work opportunities (both paid and unpaid) as well as finding ways to improve their language skills and strengthen their weak social

networks that were needed to support their efforts with gaining access to work. However, as the thesis demonstrated, the ongoing pursuit by the women for certification, training and the social enterprise, ironically is also part of the practice that sustains the position of perpetual crisis.

If policymakers fail gain knowledge directly from refugee women about the way policy affects their lives and what gainful employment actual means to the refugee women, there will continue to be a deficiency in policy design that not only ignores but reproduces the intersectional discrimination experienced by refugee women. That is, policy that fails to address the problem of gainful employment and rather, reproduces exploitative practices that are harmful to female refugees and designed to feed off both the vulnerability and the resilience of female refugees. This inadequacy in policy design is particularly troubling as it was shown that there has been an increase in the number of social enterprises focused on employment, suggesting that the discrimination and exploitation experienced by female refugees is becoming more widespread and complex as it becomes deeply embedded, that is normalised, within structures of support in Australia.

Again, without knowledge from the women themselves regarding what gainful employment means to them and how the social enterprise contributes to this, advocates of the social enterprise, such as governments, foundations, trusts and end consumers run the risk of perpetuating the exploitation of refugee women, that is, maintaining the position of perpetual crisis. This appearance of ignorance (that is lack of knowledge) indicates a lack of understanding of the serious needs of the refugee women for full participation in Australian society, cementing instead the position of perpetual crisis as a permanent crisis.

8.3 Future Research

This study was based on a single case study, which offered the perspectives of a small number of participants associated with a nonprofit social enterprise in Sydney, Australia. Therefore, the results may not be generalisable to all refugee women and all social enterprise structures. Future studies could undertake a similar comparative study, which draws on perspectives of both the

refugee women and the social enterprise agents across both nonprofit and for-profit social enterprises. However, consistent with an approach of the instrumental case study (Stake, 1995), the concern of this study was with explaining the participants' experiences within the broader context of the structures of power that extend outside the case itself. In addition, data which has already been gathered on the two additional cases for this study are intended to support future research through a comparative case study analysis that will build on the features and dimensions of this research. The findings of this study also suggest that future studies could benefit from an expanded statistical dataset that includes the underemployment rate of female refugees. As discussed in Chapter 1, the absence of underemployment statistics from the Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset (ACMID), limited the extent to which this study could show the number of refugee women without gainful employment. As the study shows, the emergence of the social enterprise has an effect on the employment status of refugee women as it shifts their status from unemployed to underemployed, suggesting that the ongoing crisis of female refugees is more acute than presented in this study. With the increase in the number of non-profit organisations rebranding themselves as social enterprises, statistical data on the underemployment rate of female refugees will help to some extent to show the effects of the ongoing move towards market-logic.

8.4 Final Remarks

For over 60,000 years, Australia has been a country of diverse peoples. For the past 250 years, Australia has struggled with its diversity. Over the past 45 years, while much progress has been made, more recently we see dominant powers use neoliberal mechanisms of control to operate a system of governance that subordinates the needs of refugees while ignoring market failures and discrimination in support of upholding dominant positions of power. This practice therefore situates the state as one which lacks both the ethical and pragmatic foundations to advance successful integration for unemployed female refugees. These dominant powers, which are upheld by the highest office of the Australian state, would have us regress by coding into our social order a separation of 'refugee' from 'Australian', which is predicated on dominant players upholding

their positions of power through exploiting the vulnerability of small group of people that have low socio-cultural standing in Australia. This racialised system of governance, which can only be described as cruel and unjust, is seen to entrench exploitative practices that have semblance with the colonial mentalities of Australia's racist past.

Many, many children in the street. Many, many children in the jail. I don't know why.

Sometime I think, who tell me come here?

Why I come here and they, they do this?

Because I have tried to get a job. How come the people don't accept me?

I ask myself a lot of questions.

This country is good to learn English.

In my country I not learn. I don't want my children to be like me.

(Agnes)

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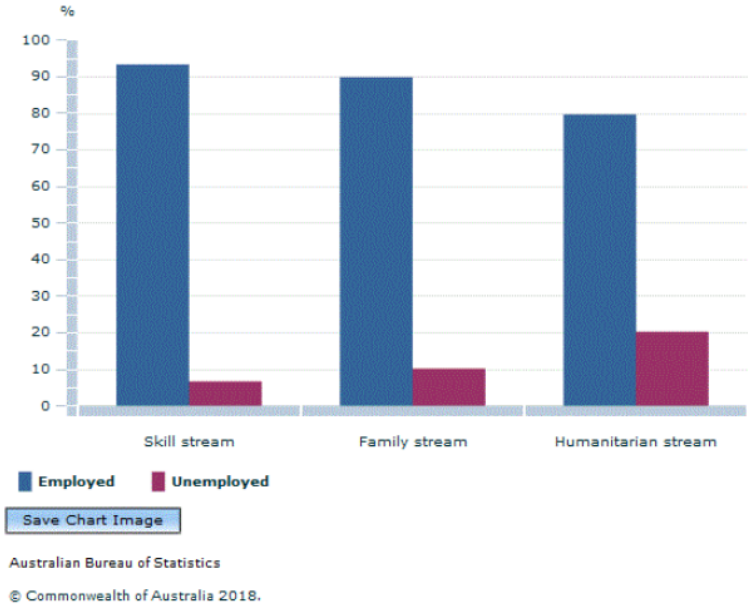
Appendices

Appendix 1: Labour Force by Visa Stream

Of those Skill stream migrants who were in the labour force, 93.3% were employed and 6.7% were unemployed. For Family stream migrants, 89.8% were employed, and 10.2% were unemployed.
Humanitarian migrants in the labour force were less likely than migrants from the other visa streams to have found work with 79.7% employed and 20.3% unemployed. However, Humanitarian migrants (17,837 people) are a relatively small group compared with the other visa streams, representing the smallest proportion of the total unemployed permanent migrant population at 15%.

GRAPH 6: Permanent migrants(a) aged 15 years and over who were in the Labour Force by visa stream, 2016



Footnote(s): *(a) Migrants whose arrival date pertaining to their permanent visa was between 1 January 2000 and 9 August 2016 (Census night).*

Source(s): *2016 Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset*

Source. Obtained from Australian Bureau of Statistics: 3417.0 - Understanding Migrant Outcomes - Insights from the Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset, Australia, 2016 (ABS, 2018c)

Appendix 2: Labour Force Status by Visa Stream, Applicant Status and Sex for 2011

Australian Bureau of Statistics

Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset, 2011

SEXP Sex and LFSPH Labour Force Status by VISAP Visa Type

Counting: Persons

Filters:

Default St Persons (#)

VISAP Visa Type			Skilled	Family	Humanitarian	Total	TABLE A: Unemployed Percentage				
	SEXP Sex	LFSPH Labour Force Status					Skill	Family	Humanitarian	Total	
	Female	Employed	188,107	116,537	10,668	315,312					
		Unemployed	15,769	15,810	3,453	35,040	7.7%	11.9%	24.5%	10.0%	LINE 1
		Not in the labour force	75,418	109,854	34,290	219,552					
		Not stated	1,849	4,081	1,692	7,625					
		Total	281,146	246,289	50,099	577,530					
	Male	Employed	263,811	98,503	24,207	386,518					
		Unemployed	13,495	9,040	6,097	28,630	4.9%	8.4%	20.1%	6.9%	LINE 2
		Not in the labour force	37,024	31,864	27,476	96,369					
		Not stated	1,991	1,844	1,993	5,826					
		Total	316,319	141,246	59,767	517,340					
	Total	Employed	451,915	215,041	34,868	701,829					
		Unemployed	29,269	24,850	9,555	63,664	6.1%	10.4%	21.5%	8.3%	LINE 3
		Not in the labour force	112,437	141,725	61,759	315,922					
		Not stated	3,849	5,921	3,690	13,456					
		Total	597,472	387,530	109,863	1,094,868					

INFO Cells in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data. Discrepancies may occur between sums of the component items and totals.

INFO Continuous variables in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data.

Symbol Description

No scaling applied

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NOTE FOR TABLE A: Table A has been formulated to show the Unemployed Percentage by visa stream and sex for those migrants that are in the labour force.

The unemployed percentage in Table A has been calculated by taking the number of unemployed for that particular visa group
(females, males, total) as a percentage of the total number in the labour force (employed and unemployed) for the particular visa group. For example in Table A, the Unemployed Percentage for Humanitarian Females (Line 1) is calculated as follows:

1. Total Humanitarian Females Employed and Unemployed : 10,668 + 3,453 = 14,121
2. The Unemployed Percentage for Humanitarian Females : 3,453 / 14,121 x 100 = 24.5%

Source.: Obtained from Australian Bureau of Statistics ACMID dataset for 2011 using Tablebuilder (ABS, 2014).

Appendix 3: Labour Force Status by Visa Stream, Applicant Status, and Sex for 2016

Australian Bureau of Statistics

Australian Bureau of Statistics

34170DO001_2016 Understanding Migrant Outcomes - Insights from the Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset, Australia, 2016

Released at 11.30am (Canberra time) Wed 18 Jul 2018

Table 12 Labour force status by visa stream, applicant status and sex, permanent migrants 15 years and over

	Skill no.	Family no.	Humanitarian no.	Other permanent no.	Total no.
TOTAL					
Females					
Employed	**358,646**	**209,452**	**22,625**	**369**	**591,091**
Unemployed	**31,169**	**27,435**	**7,022**	**34**	**65,658**
Not in the labour force	118,716	169,796	52,384	170	341,066
Not stated	2,176	4,155	1,399	-	7,731
Total	*510,697*	*410,836*	*83,442*	*569*	*1,005,550*
Males					
Employed	**484,616**	**159,500**	**47,195**	**419**	**691,722**
Unemployed	**29,169**	**14,327**	**10,812**	**32**	**54,339**
Not in the labour force	59,537	54,004	38,910	127	152,577
Not stated	2,418	2,229	1,864	-	6,519
Total	*575,736*	*230,066*	*98,786*	*572*	*905,161*
Persons					
Employed	**843,259**	**368,958**	**69,823**	**783**	**1,282,817**
Unemployed	**60,339**	**41,761**	**17,837**	**58**	**119,998**
Not in the labour force	178,254	223,801	91,304	291	493,646
Not stated	4,598	6,383	3,263	9	14,250
Total	**1,086,442**	**640,905**	**182,225**	**1,142**	**1,910,711**

TABLE A: Unemployed Percentage	Skill	Family	Humanitarian	Other Perm.	Total	
Unemployed	**8.0%**	**11.6%**	**23.7%**	**8.4%**	**10.0%**	**LINE 1**
Unemployed	**5.7%**	**8.2%**	**18.6%**	**7.1%**	**7.3%**	**LINE 2**
Unemployed	**6.7%**	**10.2%**	**20.3%**	**6.9%**	**8.6%**	**LINE 3**

NOTE: The statistics presented in this table are from the 2016 Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset (ACMID).
They may differ from statistics on migrants from the 2016 Census dataset or from the Australian Government Settlement data.
NOTE: Cells in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data.
Discrepancies may occur between sums of the component items and totals.

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NOTE FOR TABLE A: Table A has been formulated to show the Unemployed Percentage by visa stream and sex for those migrants that are in the labour force.

The unemployed percentage in Table A has been calculated by taking the number of unemployed for that particular visa group (females, males, persons) as a percentage of the total number in the labour force (employed and unemployed) for the particular visa group. For example in Table A, the Unemployed Percentage for Humanitarian Females (Line 1) is calculated as follows:

1. Total Humanitarian Females Employed and Unemployed : 22,625 + 7,022 = 29,647
2. The Unemployed Percentage for Humanitarian Females : 7,022 / 29,647 x 100 = 23.7%

Source. Adapted from Australian Bureau of Statistics ACMID dataset 3417.0/Table 12 (ABS, 2018b)

Appendix 4: Defining the Australian Framework of Support

The Australian Framework of Support (AFS), is a term that I have used to represent the social relations that operate as a collective influence of government, nonprofit and for-profit organisations that work to support the legal, policy and program structures that offer social support across areas such as resettlement, welfare, housing, community development, health, education, training and employment. Examples of some of these organisations, include Centrelink, the Department of Employment, Settlement Services International (SSI), TAFE, The Salvation Army Employment Plus and Max Employment. The Australian Framework of Support (AFS) is inclusive of foundations and trusts, as well as the nonprofit organisation called the NP-A (Nonprofit Organisation-A), and its social enterprise named the SE-A (Social Enterprise-A), which are the focus of the multilevel case study for this thesis. Both the NP-A and the SE-A are pseudonyms used to protect the identity of participants.

In one sense the relationships that underpin the Australian Framework of Support can be seen to be broadly representative of *the welfare state,* that is oriented towards 'the social', but as shown throughout the research study, it is the market principle which dominates and therefore the Australian Framework of Support (AFS) is positioned as a market-based system of support that is more representative of those relations under the neoliberal state. Refer to Chapter 3, Section 3.5 for more detail on theorising notions of the state, including the welfare state, the neoliberal state and the indifferent state.

The following briefly details the main organisational structures under the AFS that are significant on account of intersecting the lives of female refugees. Details of the organisational structured named the NP-A and the SE-A are explained in more detail in chapter 7.

- **Centrelink** is a government department that falls under the Department of Human Services. It is largely responsible for the administration of welfare payments. Administrative responsibilities include determining who is eligible for welfare payments. It also applies

sanctions, or penalties, for instances of non-compliance when welfare recipients are considered to be in breach of the conditions associated with receiving welfare payments, such as not attending regular meetings with government appointed employment service providers (DHS, 2017; JA, 2015). Centrelink, while included under the AFS, is also seen as an administrative structure of *the state*.

- **Job Services Providers (JSP)** is a term which I have used to broadly represent the various for-profit and nonprofit employment service organisations that operate as a quasi-market of service providers that are contracted by the Australian Government to assist eligible jobseekers with finding employment. The current government contract, called 'jobactive' (formerly Job Services Australia), also includes various targeted programs such as Work for the Dole, which provide job seekers with skills and work experience with the aim of moving them off welfare and into employment (JA, 2015). The JSPs, include organisations such as Max Employment, The Salvation Army Employment Plus, Sarina Russo Job Access.

- **Registered Training Organisations (RTO)** are registered public and private providers of vocational education and training (VET) that form part of the Australian government's uniform approach to training and education. VET aims to assist Australia's competitiveness in a global economy while ensuring all working-age Australians have access to government-subsidised training up to their first certificate III level qualification (K. Bowman & McKenna, 2016). Part of this group of providers include organisations such as Navitas Limited and TAFE NSW which deliver free English language programs (510 hours of training) to eligible humanitarian entrants (DET, 2016). The RTO's are also referred to as VET providers within the thesis.

- **Resettlement Service Organisations (RSO)** is a term that I have used to broadly represent the various government, for-profit and nonprofit service providers that deliver services to

newly arrived migrants, particularly refugees. These organisations deliver services and support that mainly fall under the various programs that make up Australia's Humanitarian Program. These services are largely funded by the Australian Government through a market-based system of competitive tendering which contracts services out to organisations such as the Australian Red Cross, Settlement Services International (SSI), the Migrant Resource Centres (MRC), and various community and church based associations, including Anglicare, Mission Australia, The Smith Family and St Vincent de Paul Society (DSS, 2018; Fozdar & Hartley, 2013; Song, 2013). Details of both the humanitarian program and market-base system are discussed further in Chapter 2.

Appendix 5: Humanitarian Programme Visa Grants (1977–78 to 2016–17)

Humanitarian Program visa grants, 1977–78 to 2016–17

A freeze pane has been added to the table header allowing you to scroll and identify more with each column header.

Year	Refugee	Special Humanitarian Program	Special Assistance Category	Onshore	Total
1977–78	9,326	0	0	0	9,326
1978–79	12,750	700	0	0	13,450
1979–80	17,677	2,277	0	0	19,954
1980–81	20,795	1,675	0	75	22,545
1981–82	20,195	1,722	0	0	21,917
1982–83	16,193	861	0	0	17,054
1983–84	12,426	3,059	0	0	15,485
1984–85	9,520	4,687	0	0	14,207
1985–86	7,832	3,868	0	0	11,700
1986–87	5,857	5,434	0	0	11,291
1987–88	5,514	5,878	0	0	11,392
1988–89	3,574	7,735	0	0	11,309
1989–90	1,238	10,451	0	726	12,415
1990–91	1,497	8,287	0	1,500	11,284
1991–92	2,424	4,360	2,363	2,862	12,009
1992–93	2,893	2,392	5,657	903	11,845
1993–94	4,315	2,524	5,840	1,391	14,070
1994–95	3,992	3,675	5,545	1,646	14,858
1995–96	4,643	3,499	6,910	1,200	16,252
1996–97	3,334	2,470	3,848	2,250	11,902
1997–98	4,010	4,636	1,821	1,588	12,055
1998–99	3,988	4,348	1,190	1,830	11,356
1999–00	3,802	3,051	649	2,458	9,960
2000–01	3,997	3,116	879	5,741	13,733
2001–02	4,105	4,197	40	3,974	12,316
2002–03	3,996	7,212	0	911	12,119
2003–04	3,851	8,912	0	784	13,547
2004–05	5,289	6,684	0	952	12,925
2005–06	5,699	6,739	0	1,247	13,685
2006–07	5,924	5,157	0	1,707	12,788
2007–08	5,951	4,721	0	1,932	12,604
2008–09	6,446	4,471	0	2,495	13,412
2009–10	5,988	3,234	0	4,535	13,757
2010–11	5,998	2,973	0	4,828	13,799
2011–12	6,004	714	0	7,041	13,759
2012–13	12,012	503	0	7,504	20,019
2013–14	6,501	4,515	0	2,752	13,768
2014–15	6,002	5,007	0	2,747	13,756
2015–16	8,284	7,268	0	2,003	17,555
2016–17	9,653	10,604	0	1,711	21,968

Source data: Department of Home Affairs

Notes:

1. Data prior to 2001–02 is based on published historical information. Data from 2001–02 to 2010–11 was extracted from departmental systems at 30 June 2011 and therefore may differ from statistics previously published in annual reports or elsewhere.

2. The 2015–16 and 2016–17 statistics include visas granted towards the annual offshore resettlement component of the Humanitarian Program, and the additional 12,000 places for people displaced by conflict in Syria and Iraq.

Source. Obtained from the Historical Migration Statistics dataset available off the Department of Home Affairs website (DHA, 2018).

Appendix 6: Australia's Humanitarian Program—Visa Subclasses

Overview of Australia's humanitarian program

There are various visa subclasses within Australia's refugee and special humanitarian program, each granted for particular reasons to particular groups of people. The visa subclass indicates a person's background and circumstances, and access to government funded services.

Visa subclass #	*Visa name*	*People to whom it is granted*
200	Refugee	Most have been identified by UNHCR and referred to Australia for resettlement. Must be a refugee and have a protection need that can only be met through resettlement. Some are self-identified or have been referred to Australia through another channel.
201	In country special humanitarian	Granted to people still in their home country (i.e., not refugees but subject to persecution). Most are self-identified. Very few granted.
202	Special humanitarian program	Holders must be outside their home country and face substantial discrimination amounting to gross violation of their human rights in their home country. They are not required to be refugees but in many cases are. There must also be a link to Australia in the form of a proposer (an individual or organisation) who will be the holder's main supporter after arrival.
203	Emergency rescue	Cases identified by UNHCR and moved because the person is in imminent danger. High levels of recent trauma; will not have had time to prepare for relocation.
204	Woman at Risk	Cases usually identified by UNHCR and typically either single women or female-headed households and their dependants. Selected because of their vulnerability; many have experienced significant torture/trauma.
866	Permanent protection (onshore)	Visa granted to those recognised as refugees or found to be persons in respect of whom Australia has complementary protection obligations after they applied for protection visa in Australia. Some have been in detention; others are in the community during the determination process. No longer available to those who arrive in Australia without a valid visa (usually by sea).
785	Temporary protection (onshore)	Visa granted for three years to those recognised as refugees or found to be persons in respect of whom Australia has complementary protection obligations after they applied for protection visa in Australia. Some have been in detention; others are in the community during the determination process. No longer available to those who arrive in Australia without a valid visa (usually by sea).
790	Safe haven enterprise	Visa granted for up to five years to those recognised as refugees or found to be persons in respect of whom Australia has complementary protection obligations after they applied for protection visa in Australia. Some have been in detention; others are in the community during the determination process. At least one member of family must intend to work or study in a regional area and not apply for Centrelink payments.

Source. Fozdar and Banki (2017, p. 63).

Appendix 7: Australia's Humanitarian Program—Rights and Services

Rights of refugees and humanitarian entrants in Australia (according to visa class and date of arrival)[27]

RIGHTS	*Resettled refugees (visa subclasses 200, 201, 202, 203 and 204)*[1]	*Permanent protection visa holders (visa subclass 866)*[2]	*13/8/12 to 19/7/13 arrivals temporary protection visa holders and safe haven enterprise (visa subclass 785 and 790)*[3]	*Post 19/7/13 arrivals*[4]
Housing	As per Australian permanent residents PLUS bond assistance, support finding accommodation and household formation package (furniture, white goods, etc.)	As per Australian permanent residents PLUS bond assistance[5]	As per Australian permanent residents	No
Health	As per Australian permanent residents PLUS specialist physical, mental and dental health care and counselling support	As per Australian permanent residents PLUS specialist physical, mental and dental health care and counselling support	As per Australian permanent residents	No
Work and employment	As per Australian permanent residents	As per Australian permanent residents	As per Australian permanent residents	No
Social security and welfare	As per Australian permanent residents PLUS exemption from two year waiting period imposed on migrants	As per Australian permanent residents PLUS exemption from two year waiting period imposed on migrants	Mutual obligation ('work for the dole') Possible residency requirements	No
Education	As per Australian permanent residents PLUS access to language programs (children, youth and adults)	As per Australian permanent residents PLUS access to language programs (children, youth and adults)	Access to schools. Tertiary education at foreign student rate. No free language tuition for adults	No
Family reunification	As per Australian permanent residents PLUS priority in cases of immediate family PLUS access to special humanitarian visa option	As per Australian permanent residents PLUS priority in cases of immediate family PLUS access to special humanitarian visa option	No	No
Nationality and documentation	As per Australian permanent residents	As per Australian permanent residents	Only eligible for another TPV or SHEV.	No
Freedom from discrimination	As per Australian permanent residents	As per Australian permanent residents	Unclear at this time	No

Notes: [1]Resettled refugees are those who are granted a permanent visa outside Australia, either as part of the formal UNHCR resettlement program (visa subclass 200, 201, 203 and 204 holders) or have a link to and are proposed by an Australian permanent resident or citizen under the special humanitarian program (visa subclass 202).

[2]Those holding a permanent protection visa include:

- those who arrived with valid entry documents and subsequently sought and obtained protection (through determination of refugee status or eligibility for complementary protection)
- those who arrived without valid documents (mainly by boat but also by air) and were granted protection prior to 13/8/12.

[3]The Abbott Government introduced temporary protection visas after its election in 2013 but these were disallowed by parliament in December 2013. They were finally passed in December 2014.

[4]Boat arrivals after 19/7/13 are taken to offshore processing centres and will never be resettled in Australia.

Source. Fozdar and Banki (2017, p. 64).

Appendix 8: Offshore Humanitarian Grants Referred by UNHCR

Australian Government
Department of Immigration and Border Protection

FOI Request – Offshore Humanitarian grants Referred by UNHCR and Community Proposal Pilot (CPP)

Request for access to documents - *Freedom of Information Act 1982* (FOI Act)

On 7 March 2017, the Department received an FOI request from Asher Hirsch of the Refugee Council of Australia via the Right-to-know website. The applicant is seeking access to the following statistics:

> *'How many refugees who have been resettled in Australia through the offshore Refugee and Humanitarian Program have been referred by UNHCR? How many have been selected based on community proposals in Australia?'*
>
> *Please provide a breakdown by financial year and by visa subclass, for the financial years 2011/12 to 2015/16, as well as up to 7 March 2017.*

Offshore Humanitarian Refugee stream visa grants referred by UNHCR, 2011–12 to 2016–17 (to 07 March 2017)

Subclass	2011–12	2012–13	2013–14	2014–15	2015–16	2016–17
200	4,299	8,478	3,808	3,367	4,463	2759
201	0	0	0	<5	0	0
203	0	24	<5	10	<5	9
204	644	1,498	910	882	971	389

Offshore Humanitarian visa grants under Community Proposal Pilot (CPP), 2013–14 to 2016–17 (to 07 March 2017)

The Community Proposal Pilot commenced on 1 June 2013.

Subclass	2013–14	2014–15	2015–16	2016–17
201	40	10	6	0
202	205	497	394	440
204	0	0	0	<5

Data Notes:

1. As information has been drawn from dynamic system environments the information provided may differ from previous or future reporting.
2. 2011–12 to 2015–16 offshore data was extracted from Departmental systems on 04 July 2016.
3. 2016–17 offshore data was extracted from Departmental systems on 10 April 2017.

Released by DIBP under the *Freedom of Information Act 1982*

1

Source. (DIBP, 2017d)

Appendix 9: Australia's Humanitarian Program Visas—% of UNHCR Referrals

TABLE A: Humanitarian Program visa grants, 2011-2012 to 2015–16						
Year	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	
Refugee	6,004	12,012	6,501	6,002	8,284	Line 1
Special Humanitarian Program	714	503	4,515	5,007	7,268	Line 2
Onshore	7,041	7,504	2,752	2,747	2,003	Line 3
Total	13,759	20,019	13,768	13,756	17,555	Line 4

TABLE B: Offshore Humanitarian Refugee Stream Visa Grants Referred By UNHCR						
Year	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	
Refugee Subclass 200	4,299	8,478	3,808	3,367	4463	Line 5
Refugee Subclass 201				5		Line 6
Refugee Subclass 203		24	5	10	5	Line 7
Refugee Subclass 204	644	1,498	910	882	971	Line 8
Total UNHCR	4,943	10,000	4,723	4,264	5,439	Line 9

TABLE C: Offshore Humanitarian Refugee Stream Visa Grants Referred By UNHCR						
Year	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	
Total UNHCR as a % of Total Refugee	**82.3%**	**83.3%**	**72.7%**	**71.0%**	**65.7%**	Line 10

NOTES

TABLE A:
Refer Appendix 5. Data is based on the table in Appendix 5 for years 2011-12 to 2015-16.

TABLE B:
Refer Appendix 8. Data is based on table in Appendix 8 entitled Offshore Humanitarian Refugee stream Visa grants referred by UNHCR

TABLE C:
Data is calculated based on the number of Visa's referred by the UNHCR (Line 9) as a percentage of the Total Refugee Visa's (Line 1).

Appendix 10: Spoken English Language Proficiency by Visa Type 2016

Australian Bureau of Statistics

Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset, 2016
SEXP Sex and ENGP Proficiency in spoken English by VISAP Visa Type and LFSP Labour force status (hierarchical)
Counting: Persons

Filters:
Default Summatior Persons (#)

VISAP Visa Type			Humanitarian					Skilled					Family				
LFSP Labour force status (hierarchical)			Unemployed	Employed	Total in Labour Force	Unemployed as % of Labour Force	Employed as % of Labour Force	Unemployed	Employed	Total in Labour Force	Unemployed as % of Labour Force	Employed as % of Labour Force	Unemployed	Employed	Total in Labour Force	Unemployed as % of Labour Force	Employed as % of Labour Force
	SEXP Sex	ENGP Proficiency in spoken English															
	Female	Very well	2743	9912	12655	22%	78%	14252	160003	174255	8%	92%	9275	79178	88453	10%	90%
		Well	2173	7360	9533	23%	77%	7911	69183	77093	10%	90%	8752	52059	60811	14%	86%
		Not well	1378	3000	4378	31%	69%	1620	10440	12060	13%	87%	4116	16343	20459	20%	80%
		Not at all	183	292	475	39%	61%	93	1065	1158	8%	92%	626	2444	3070	20%	80%
	Male	Very well	4122	17135	21258	19%	81%	13351	228297	241648	6%	94%	4150	45649	49799	8%	92%
		Well	3631	17898	21529	17%	83%	5841	96151	101991	6%	94%	3652	34491	38143	10%	90%
		Not well	2044	7888	9932	21%	79%	1181	13452	14633	8%	92%	2304	14958	17262	13%	87%
		Not at all	245	811	1056	23%	77%	105	1484	1589	7%	93%	540	2754	3294	16%	84%

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Symbol Description

No scaling applied

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Source.: Obtained from Australian Bureau of Statistics ACMID dataset for 2016 using Tablebuilder (ABS, 2018d)

Appendix 11: Highest Educational Attainment by Visa Type

Australian Bureau of Statistics

Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset, 2016
HEAP Level of highest educational attainment by SEXP Sex, LFSP Labour force status (hierarchical), VISAP Visa Type and ENGP Proficiency in spoken English
Counting: Persons

Filters:
Default Persons (#)

SEXP Sex	**Female**				
LFSP Labour force status (hierarchical)	**Unemployed**				
VISAP Visa Type	**Humanitarian**				
ENGP Proficiency in spoken English	**Very well**	**Well**	**Proficiency Total**	**Educational Attainmant as % of Total**	
HEAP Level of highest educational attainment					
Postgraduate Degree Level	93	37	130	3%	45%
Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate Level	36	14	50	1%	
Bachelor Degree Level	297	206	503	10%	
Advanced Diploma and Diploma Level	364	251	615	12%	
Certificate Level	384	539	922	19%	
School Education Level					
Year 12	955	538	1493	30%	46%
Year 11	213	102	315	6%	
Year 10	186	139	325	7%	
Year 9	91	55	146	3%	
Year 8 or Below	30	131	161	3%	3%
Supplementary Codes			0	0%	
No Educational Attainment	8	74	82	2%	2%
Inadequately Described	24	22	45	1%	4%
Level of Education Not Stated	74	76	149	3%	
Not Applicable	0	0	0	0%	
Total	2755	2182	4936	100%	

INFO Cells in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data. Discrepancies may occur between sums of the component items and totals.
INFO Continuous variables in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data.
Symbol Description

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Source.: Obtained from Australian Bureau of Statistics ACMID dataset for 2016 using Tablebuilder (ABS, 2018d)

Appendix 12: Skill Level Groups

Skill Level	Description
Level 1	Occupations at Skill Level 1 have a level of skill commensurate with a bachelor degree or higher qualification. At least five years of relevant experience may substitute for the formal qualification. In some instances relevant experience and/or on-the-job training may be required in addition to the formal qualification.
Level 2	Occupations at Skill Level 2 have a level of skill commensurate with an Associate Degree, Advanced Diploma or Diploma. At least three years of relevant experience may substitute for the formal qualifications listed above. In some instances relevant experience and/or on-the-job training may be required in addition to the formal qualification.
Level 3	Occupations at Skill Level 3 have a level of skill commensurate with Certificate IV or Certificate III including at least two years of on-the-job training. At least three years of relevant experience may substitute for the formal qualifications listed above. In some instances relevant experience and/or on-the-job training may be required in addition to the formal qualification.
Level 4	Occupations at Skill Level 4 have a level of skill commensurate with Certificate II or III. At least one year of relevant experience may substitute for the formal qualifications listed above. In some instances relevant experience may be required in addition to the formal qualification.
Level 5	Occupations at Skill Level 5 have a level of skill commensurate with Certificate I or compulsory secondary education. For some occupations a short period of on-the-job training may be required in addition to or instead of the formal qualification. In some instances, no formal qualification or on-the-job training may be required.

Source. Australian Bureau Statistics (2016a, p. 14)

Appendix 13: Project Details—For the Social Enterprise

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Employment and Refugee Women

Project Details

The **focus of this project** is the study of ***the role nonprofit social enterprise programs play towards increasing the employability and employment opportunities of refugee women in Western Sydney***. The **project aims** to examine the practices of nonprofit social enterprise programs as well as the labour market opportunities that are available to refugee women including the employment challenges and the unique labour market capabilities of refugee women. In addition, this project aims to understand government research and policy that is focused on influencing refugee employability, in particular, employment outcomes for refugee women in Western Sydney.

The **relevance and significance** of this project is to better understand the struggle refugee women face with gaining entry into the labour market and the role that social enterprise programs play in relieving this burden. According to a study released by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship in 2011, there remains a high level of *unemployment* amongst first generation refugees, in particular refugee women[1]. This project aims to substantially enhance our knowledge on the role that social enterprise programs play in the employability of refugee women in Western Sydney and will provide knowledge on the influences of government research and policy on employment outcomes for refugees.

The **research will contribute** to more balanced public debates on refugee unemployment and the influences of social enterprise programs, government policy and the labour market opportunities for refugee women in Western Sydney. A more informed understanding of the relationships, practices and influences of the intersection between refugee women, social enterprise programs, labour market opportunities and government policy and research will provide a basis for more informed labour market policy outcomes.

This study is being **conducted by doctoral research student** Desireé Gaillard [✉☎ contact details], under the supervision of Associate Professor Ellie Vasta [✉☎ contact details] of the Department of Sociology at Macquarie University. *This research* is being conducted from the Macquarie University and *has nothing to do with the government*.

The **findings of this study** will be written up in an academic doctoral thesis intended for later publication in a book and relevant journals. Any contributions to this project will be anonymous and no individual or organisation will be identified in any publication of the results. The information gathered in this study will only be available to the doctoral research student and the supervisor whose contact details appear above.

If you would like to **participate in this study**, please contact **Desireé Gaillard** on the contact details listed above.

---

[1] DIAC, G. (2011). *A Significant Contribution: The Economic, Social and Civic Contributions of First and Second Generation Humanitarian Entrants : Summary Findings*. Department of Immigration and Citizenship Retrieved from http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/research/_pdf/economic-social-civic-contributions-about-the-research2011.pdf.

Appendix 14: Interview Schedule—For the Social Enterprise

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To Whom It May Concern:

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed for the *Employment and Refugee Women* project.

This letter is to confirm that your contribution to this project will be **anonymous** and that no individual or organisation will be identified in any publication of the results. If this study uses what you say or quotes what you say, your name, and any details that could identify you as an individual, will not be used, or, in certain circumstances, will be changed to further protect the identity of individuals and organisations.

A summary of the findings will be made available to you on request. If you would like to have a copy of this information when it becomes available, please contact **Desireé Gaillard,** who is the Macquarie University doctoral research student for this project. Desireé's contact details are listed below.

The **findings of this study** will be written up in an academic doctoral thesis intended for later publication in a book and relevant journals. *This research* is being conducted from the Macquarie University and *has nothing to do with the government*.

We are hoping to record the interview and this will not in any way undermine the anonymity of your identity. However, if you do not wish to have this interview recorded, we will respect your wishes and hope that you will allow Desireé to take notes. The interview will take up to an hour. Attached please find details of the questions to be asked.

Participation in this study is entirely **voluntary**: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

With best wishes, and many thanks,

Desireé Gaillard
Macquarie University
[✉☎]

Please note: *The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics and Integrity (telephone [02] 9850 7854, email: ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.*

V1.1, November 2014

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

Employment and Refugee Women

No: _____

This **project** is about **non-profit social enterprise programs** and the role these programs play in the **employability and employment of refugee women**. With specific regard to your experience with a non-profit organisation that has setup social enterprise programs of this nature;

1. I was wondering if you could tell me what ***influenced*** the organisation to set up programs of this nature?

2. At the time of setting up these programs can you please explain what the organisation had ***expected to achieve***?

3. The organisation has specifically set up these programs to include the **term Social Enterprise.** Can you explain why the organisation considers these programs to be a **Social Enterprise**?

4. Could you provide some insight into how these social enterprise programs are ***funded***?

5. In your experience, what do you consider the ***most significant challenges*** for these social enterprise programs and why?

6. Has the organisation been ***successful in achieving its aims*** for these social enterprise programs and how have the ***outcomes been measured***?

7. In your opinion, what have been the most ***significant factors that have contributed to achieving these outcomes***?

8. In your opinion, will these social enterprise programs continue to run for a **longer term** (i.e., more than 3-5 years) and can you explain why you believe this to be the case?

9. With reference to these social enterprise programs, is there any **selection criteria** determining who is eligible to participate in the programs? And can you provide some insight into why this may or may not be the case.

<u>I would like to now ask you a couple of questions about social enterprise programs within the **Non-profit Sector.**</u>

10. Do you think there has been an **increase** in non-profit social enterprise programs that are specifically focused on the employment of refugees? Why do you think this may or may not be the case?

11. Do you think non-profit social enterprise programs that are focused on the employment of refugees will become **increasingly important for refugee women** to gain entry into the employment market? Why do you think this may or may not be the case?

<u>I would like to now ask you some specific questions about **refugee women**:</u>

12. Do you think that **non-profit social enterprise programs** will have an ***impact on reducing long-term unemployment for refugee women? Why or why not?***

13. What do you consider to be the ***main obstacles to employment of refugee women?***

14. Do you have any suggestions on how these ***obstacles can be overcome***?

15. Is there ***anything else*** you would like to add that may not have been covered?

16. Is there ***anyone else*** you think I should talk to about employment and refugee women?

Appendix 15: Combined Information Sheet and Interview Schedule—For Refugee Women

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

Department of Sociology
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109 AUSTRALIA
Phone **+61 (0)2 9850 8078**
Fax +61 (0)2 9850 9355
Email sociology@mq.edu.au

Participant Information Sheet

You are invited to participate in a study of ***Employment and Refugee Women.*** This study is to understand the **struggle refugee women face with finding employment** and will also study the **role nonprofit employment programs** play in the employment of refugee women in Western Sydney.

This study aims to contribute to discussion on refugee unemployment and policy outcomes, and will study:

- the practices of **nonprofit employment programs**,
- the **employment opportunities** that are available to refugee women,
- the **employment challenges** and the **unique skills** of refugee women,
- the **government research and policy** on refugee employment.

This study is being conducted by doctoral research student Desireé Gaillard [✉☎], under the supervision of Associate Professor Ellie Vasta [✉☎] of the Department of Sociology at Macquarie University. The **findings of this study** will be written up in an academic doctoral thesis intended for later publication.

If you decide to participate you will be asked to answer a set of ***questions*** which are attached to this *Participant Information Sheet*. Your contribution to this project will be **anonymous** and no individual or organisation will be identified in any publication of the results. If this study uses what you say or quotes what you say, your name, and any details that could identify you as an individual, will not be used, or, in certain circumstances, will be changed to further **protect the identity of individuals and organisations**. The information gathered in this study will only be available to the doctoral research student and the supervisor whose contact details appear above.

A summary of the findings of this study will be made available to you on request. If you would like to have a copy of this information when it becomes available, please contact **Desireé Gaillard** using the contact details above.

We are hoping to record the interview and this will not in any way undermine our commitment to keep your identity anonymous. However, if you do not wish to have this interview recorded, we will respect your wishes and hope that you will allow Desireé to take notes. The interview will take up to an hour.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason.

With best wishes, and many thanks,

Desireé Gaillard
Macquarie University

Please note: *The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics and Integrity (telephone [02] 9850 7854, email: ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.*

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

Employment and Refugee Women

No: _____

(Please ✓ tick one box for each of the questions)

1. ***Note taking and recording of the interview***
   a) *Are you comfortable with notes being taken during the interview?* ☐ Yes ☐ No
   b) *Are you comfortable with the interview being recorded?* ☐ Yes ☐ No

2. ***Age***
   ☐ 18 – 24 ☐ 25 – 34 ☐ 35 – 44 ☐ 45 – 50 ☐ 50 +

3. ***Are you an Australian Citizen or Australian Permanent Resident?***
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

4. ***In which year did you arrive in Australia?*** _____

5. ***When you arrived in Australia did your visa status ever stop you from getting paid work?*** _____

6. ***What educational level have you completed?***
   ☐ Basic Primary ☐ Primary ☐ High School ☐ Trade School ☐ University

7. ***What trade or professional training/studies have you completed?*** _____

8. ***Have you ever worked before?***
   ☐ Yes ☐ No, please go to **Question 12.**

9. ***What type of work did you do before coming to Australia?*** _____

10. ***Can you tell me about any paid jobs you have had over the past three years?***

11. ***Are you currently working?***
    ☐ **Yes.** ***If yes, please answer the questions below:***
    a) What type of work are you doing? _____
    b) How many hours do you work in a week? _____
    c) Did you get this job because of any training programs you have taken in Australia? ☐ Yes ☐ No
    If yes, please specify which training programs_____
    d) What do you think are the ***most important things that have helped you find employment*** in Australia?

    ☐ **No.** ***If no, please answer the questions below:***
    a) When did you last work? _____
    b) What type of work were you doing? _____
    c) At the time how many hours did you work in a week? _____
    d) What do you think are the ***most important things that will help you find employment*** in Australia?

12. **How many hours would you like to work in a week?** _____

13. **Are there any days or hours where you cannot work?** ☐ Yes ☐ No
    If yes, please specify the days or hours that you cannot work _____

14. ***What type of work would you like to be doing?*** _____

15. ***What other type of work*** **do you think you could do?** _____

16. What have been the ***challenges*** you have faced with finding ***employment***?

17. Do you have a particular skill, or a particular type of job that ***you are really good at***, but have not been able to find work using these skills? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, what are these ***skills*** and can you tell me which ***jobs you have applied for***?

18. I will now ask you about **programs** which have been **set up by non-profit organisations to help you with employment**. I would like to know how these programs have helped you with employment.

Have you participated in any employment programs?

☐ **Yes.** ***If yes,***

a) Can you tell me about the program and how *it has* ***helped you?***
b) What have been some of the ***challenges*** with this program?

☐ **No.** ***If no,***

a) Do you know of any employment programs?
b) Do you think you may participate in any of these employment programs in the future?
c) How you think this type of employment program will help you?

19. Can you tell me about any **other employment programs** you have taken in Australia?

20. Have you ***experienced any form of barriers*** in trying to gain employment?

21. Can you think of anything else that ***makes it hard*** *for either* ***you or other refugee women*** *to* ***find employment*** and to ***remain in employment***?

22. Is there ***anyone else*** you think I should be talking to about the challenges of employment for refugee women?

Appendix 16: Combined Information Sheet and Interview Schedule—For Refugee Women with Interpreter

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

Department of Sociology
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109 AUSTRALIA
Phone **+61 (0)2 9850 8078**
Fax +61 (0)2 9850 9355
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Participant Information Sheet

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This study aims to contribute to discussion on refugee unemployment and policy outcomes, and will study:

- the practices of **nonprofit employment programs**,
- the **employment opportunities** that are available to refugee women,
- the **employment challenges** and the **unique skills** of refugee women,
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This study is being conducted by doctoral research student Desireé Gaillard [✉☎], under the supervision of Associate Professor Ellie Vasta [✉☎] of the Department of Sociology at Macquarie University. The **findings of this study** will be written up in an academic doctoral thesis intended for later publication.

If you decide to participate you will be asked to answer a set of ***questions*** which are attached to this *Participant Information Sheet*. Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are **confidential**, except as required by law. No individual or organisation will be identified in any publication of the results. If this study uses what you say or quotes what you say, your name, and any details that could identify you as an individual, will not be used, or, in certain circumstances, will be changed to further **protect the identity of individuals and organisations**.

A summary of the findings of this study will be made available to you on request. If you would like to have a copy of this information when it becomes available, please contact **Desireé Gaillard** using the contact details above.

We are hoping to record the interview and this will not in any way undermine our commitment to keep your identity confidential. However, if you do not wish to have this interview recorded, we will respect your wishes and hope that you will allow Desireé to take notes. The interview will take up to an hour.

Should you wish to have an interpreter present for the interview one will be made available. If an interpreter is used, the interview will take a little longer to complete.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason.

With best wishes, and many thanks,

Desireé Gaillard
Macquarie University

Please note: *The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics and Integrity (telephone [02] 9850 7854, email: ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.*

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

Employment and Refugee Women

No: _____

(Please ✓ tick one box for each of the questions)

1. ***Note taking and recording of the interview***
   a) *Are you comfortable with notes being taken during the interview?* ☐ Yes ☐ No
   b) *Are you comfortable with the interview being recorded?* ☐ Yes ☐ No

2. ***Age***
   ☐ 18 – 24 ☐ 25 – 34 ☐ 35 – 44 ☐ 45 – 50 ☐ 50 +

3. ***Are you an Australian Citizen or Australian Permanent Resident?***
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

4. ***In which year did you arrive in Australia?*** _____

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   ☐ Basic Primary ☐ Primary ☐ High School ☐ Trade School ☐ University

7. ***What trade or professional training/studies have you completed?*** _____

8. ***Have you ever worked before?***
   ☐ Yes ☐ No, please go to **Question 12.**

9. ***What type of work did you do before coming to Australia?*** _____

10. ***Can you tell me about any paid jobs you have had over the past three years?***

11. ***Are you currently working?***
    ☐ **Yes.** ***If yes, please answer the questions below:***
    a) What type of work are you doing? _____
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    c) Did you get this job because of any training programs you have taken in Australia? ☐ Yes ☐ No
    If yes, please specify which training programs_____
    d) What do you think are the ***most important things that have helped you find employment*** in Australia?

    ☐ **No.** ***If no, please answer the questions below:***
    a) When did you last work? _____
    b) What type of work were you doing? _____
    c) At the time how many hours did you work in a week? _____
    d) What do you think are the ***most important things that will help you find employment*** in Australia?

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15. ***What other type of work*** **do you think you could do?** _____

16. What have been the ***challenges*** you have faced with finding ***employment***?

17. Do you have a particular skill, or a particular type of job that ***you are really good at***, but have not been able to find work using these skills? ☐ Yes ☐ No

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☐ **Yes.** ***If yes,***

a) Can you tell me about the program and how *it has* ***helped you?***
b) What have been some of the ***challenges*** with this program?

☐ **No.** ***If no,***

a) Do you know of any employment programs?
b) Do you think you may participate in any of these employment programs in the future?
c) How you think this type of employment program will help you?

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20. Have you ***experienced any form of barriers*** in trying to gain employment?

21. Can you think of anything else that ***makes it hard*** *for either* ***you or other refugee women*** *to* ***find employment*** and to ***remain in employment***?

22. Is there ***anyone else*** you think I should be talking to about the challenges of employment for refugee women?

Appendix 17: Ethics Approval Letters of this thesis have been removed as they may contain sensitive/confidential content