WORK FOR ALL:
The Salvation Army and the Job Network

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University of Western Sydney©
A Note of Appreciation

Many people have helped me produce this study. I cannot mention them all. Space and time does not permit. However, it would be remiss of me if I did not thank Commissioner Les Strong, Territorial Commander, Australia Eastern Territory who gave me permission to access Army documents and staff and Lt. Colonel Geanette Seymour, the then Chief Secretary of the Australia Eastern Territory who read the drafts of this study and who was my contact in the Army and a source of encouragement; to you both my profound thanks. I also wish to thank Major John Simmonds CEO of The Salvation Army Employment Plus (TSAEP); to present and past staff of that organisation for their generous access and answers to what must have seemed dangerous, tedious and endless questioning. I owe a profound debt to Wilma Gallet the founding CEO of TSAEP, Wilma’s knowledge and advice has proved invaluable. To so many other Salvationists interested in this study and who gave me their time, I thank you.

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Statement of Authentication

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in full or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.

.................................................................
(Signature)
Frontispiece

The following schematic was included as the Frontispiece in William Booth’s ‘In Darkest England and the Way Out’ (Booth 1890). The Frontispiece presents the title of this study and is discussed in Chapter 4.
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Abstract

WORK FOR ALL - The Salvation Army and the Job Network

This study explores how one highly institutionalised organisation, namely The Salvation Army engages with policy discourses, how it responds and how it is shaped by its engagement with government. The move from a unified public service to the use of third sector organisations such as The Salvation Army to deliver public services represents a major shift in institutional relationships.

This study focuses on the introduction of market discourse throughout the contracting process, in particular how this discourse seeks to reconstruct service users as ‘customers’, and the Salvation Army’s response to this reconstruction. By exploring the ways in which this religiously and socially motivated non-profit organisation sought to mediate neo-liberal discourses of competition and consumerism, this study seeks to reveal the processes and pressures affecting faith-based and other non-profit organisations which increasingly find themselves acting as agents of government policy under the principles of New Public Management (NPM).

The altered relationships brought about by the shift in institutional relationships depend upon new institutional forms to deliver government services, and these new relationships are manifestly displayed in the Job Network. This study focuses on the ways in which The Salvation Army mediates social policy within this new institutional relationship. The changing relationship between government and The Salvation Army, as manifested in the development and implementation of employment policy in Australia between 1998 to 2007 is explored in this study.
Neo-institutional theory provides the theoretical framework of this study. Neo-institutional theory addresses the impact of shifts in the relationships between government and third sector organisations such as The Salvation Army via contracting out of government employment services. This changing relationship between government and The Salvation Army, as played out in the specific institutional field of the employment service through the creation of the Job Network is explored in this study. Within a constructionist approach, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is deployed as the analytical technology. This study uses textual material as its main source of primary data, including extracts from job network contracts, internal and public Salvation Army documents, and utterances by government. The study explores the ways in which The Salvation Army has attempted to mediate social policy and the organisational tensions that arise as the Army seeks to maintain organizational independence.

This study reveals that though government as the creator of the new quasi-market and purchaser of services in that market is perhaps the most powerful actor, the new institutional relationships are not completely a master/servant relationship; third sector organisations such as The Salvation Army do have the capacity to influence government. Additionally, this study calls into question the notions that the third sector and the government sector are differentiated realms and suggests that new paradigms should be developed to explore the institutional relationships that are now developing in the provision of welfare services in Australia.
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Chapter 1

The Thesis and Its Rationale

Introduction

This thesis explores how one highly institutionalised organisation, namely The Salvation Army engages with policy discourses, how it responds and how it is shaped by its engagement with government. This thesis is a case study of how the dialectic between government and the Army influences social practice in the Australian employment services field in Australia. The Army holds one of the largest contracts for the provision of Job Network services in Australia. Since commencing its membership of the Job Network in 1997 The Salvation Army’s employment arm, The Salvation Army Employment Plus (TSAEP) has placed over 400,000 people in work (The Salvation Army Employment Plus 2007). In the course of conducting this service, the Army has entered into contracts with government for the provision of these services and it is at this intersection that this research is sited.

In this Chapter, I present my research question and the title of this thesis, additionally; I outline the major focus of this study, namely The Salvation Army and the Job Network. I outline the themes that contribute to the development of this study and which inform and frame my argument. There is much to be gained from a social constructionist approach to the study of social policy and this thesis is framed within this perspective. This thesis contributes to knowledge through the development of an analytical structure and an Australian body of knowledge in social policy analysis concerned specifically with a third sector organisation engaged in the employment services field in Australia.

1 It will be noted throughout this thesis that whenever the title “The Salvation Army” is used the ‘The’ is a capital. In Australia The Salvation Army is a legal entity established under law in each State. In NSW the title of the Act is ‘The Salvation Army (NSW) Property Trust Act 1929’; in the various States and Territories of Australia, the connotation (NSW) is altered to reflect that State or Territory’s name and jurisdiction. Additionally, for the purposes of this study I frequently refer to The Salvation Army by the much shorter term ‘the Army’; a practice used by the Army itself (see any copy of ‘The War Cry’) and by historians such as Green (1996), Hattersley (1999), Walker (2001) and Winston (1999)
The research problem

Since the 1970s, the welfare state in western economies and in Australia in particular has been volatile. This volatility in the traditional bureaucratic welfare model has come under intense scrutiny from critics in politics, academia, business and from the bureaucracy itself (McNally 2003). In response to criticisms of the previously prevailing bureaucratic model, successive Australian governments under Prime Ministers Hawke, Keating and Howard and the various State governments in Australia moved to uncouple policy development from service provision. Government in Australia has moved to a predominantly purchaser/provider split in the delivery of many public services. Increasingly, Australian governments are now purchasing welfare services on contract and are creating public service delivery models based on business principles and on market competition, combined with outcomes driven service delivery (Carson and Kerr 2003). This has lead to increased participation of for-profit and not-for-profit organisations in the provision of welfare services in Australia (McDonald and Marston 2002; Eardley 1997).

For-profit and not-for-profit organisations have always been a significant if somewhat smaller providers of welfare services in Australia when compared to government (Lyons 2001). However, the move to a purchaser/provider split in the delivery of public services has lead to a greater participation of for-profit and not-for-profit organisations in the provision of welfare services in Australia. This increased participation of both for-profit and not-for-profit organisations is in effect a ‘restructuring’ of the Australian welfare state. This restructuring according to Baines reflects a "pro-market, non-market reconstruction of social caring responsibility" (Baines 2004, p. 6). “Pro-market” in that the new service delivery models do not undermine, threaten or replace private markets and “non-market” in that the new mechanisms do not generate a surplus for the state (Baines 2004). These policies rely for their legitimacy on the discourse of the market and the notion of marketisation has gained increasing currency both in academic literature and in the wider community.
The reconstructed welfare service markets are in effect ‘quasi-markets’ (Considine 1999; 2000; 2003; Le Grand 2003). In using the term quasi-markets, Considine (1999; 2000; 2003) and Le Grand (2003) refer to a set of institutional arrangements designed to extend the principle of markets and competition in the provision of welfare services. Quasi-markets uphold the principle of free and universal access, and are the key institutional innovation used to provide employment service in Australia. Quasi-markets involve government as purchaser and private companies and more often than not, not-for-profit organisations as providers, all competing to win government contracts to provide free welfare services to eligible recipients (Le Grand 1991).

The idea of marketisation of government services brings into relief the object of those services, namely the Australian citizen, and in the case of the Job Network, a particular category of Australian citizen, namely the unemployed citizen. The unemployed citizen has many constructions and these constructions are observable on a continuum that includes structural theorists such as Cowling and Mitchell (2003) who view unemployment as a function of the economy and who recommend demand side strategies that involve job creation and labour market regulation, to what might be termed psychological theorists such as Mead (1986) who focus on the psychological deficits of the unemployed citizen, suggesting that;

“To explain no work, I see no avoiding some appeal to psychology or culture. Seriously poor adults appear to avoid work, not because of their economic situation, but because of what they believe.”

(Mead 1986, p. 12)

The Job Network is a prime example of the current approach to the reconstruction of welfare services in Australia. According to the Federal Government Minister responsible for much of the Job Network implementation, Mr Tony Abbot, the Job Network was “something of a revolution in the delivery of employment services” (Abbott 2003, p. 199). This revolutionary policy created considerable controversy when it was introduced in 1997 (ACOSS 2000). The revolutionary changes to the delivery of welfare services exemplified by the Job Network, and the use of not-for-profit organisations in its delivery has implications for not-for-profit organisations, government, government accountability and the Australian democracy itself. As a policy initiative the Job Network represents a paradigmatic shift in the delivery of
welfare services in Australia (Considine 2003). Throughout its history the Job Network has relied on the services of not-for-profit organisations (Eardley 2003). The government decision to involve not-for-profit organizations to deliver government services confirms the notion that the Job Network should be considered as “a site of radical new policy interventions, an experiment in contractualism and competition” (Eardley 2003, p. 317).

There has been considerable enthusiasm on the part of governments in Australia in pursuing changed institutional arrangements for the provision of welfare based upon market discourses. There are many reasons for such changes, not the least being that under pressures from neo-liberal economic forces, providing welfare services through competitive markets is perceived as a money saving alternative (The Auditor General 2005). Notwithstanding the existence of literature on the theoretical virtues of market-like reforms, Considine (2000) suggests that a number of questions remain unanswered. In particular, we need to know much more about the way different types of contractor perform under quasi-market conditions and constraints. This thesis seeks to add to the knowledge of the ways in which a not-for-profit organisation, namely The Salvation Army, acting as a contractor, performs under quasi-market conditions and constraints. This study explores the ways in which the Army seeks to maintain its organisational independence under the conditions of the market; and in particular how the Army engages with government to enable the organisation to serve its client base within its own values as well as remaining organisationally consistent within the Job Network.

The research question

This study arose from my interest in social policy and in particular the development of social policy by The Salvation Army. This interest was explored in my Masters Thesis (Garland 2004). In this thesis I noted the major implications for the Army in receiving government funding. One of the major implications for the Army is that by receiving government funding they would be forced to implement policies that might not match their Christian ethical positions as well as limit their capacity to publicly advocate for the marginalised in the Australian community.
As the Job Network initiative unfolded I was concerned that it would be hard for the Army to comment on government policy when in effect they did not have ‘clean hands’ since the Army was contractually required to apply the breaching regime\(^2\) and was therefore complicit in it. Additionally, since the Army had invested time, energy and resources in setting up TSAEP, issues such as dependency on the Job Network contract and the responsibility to its employee’s future welfare came into the equation. Commentators such as Milward suggest that third sector organisation such as the Army are always compromised in their implementation of government policy noting that “the Faustian bargain has already been struck and the voluntary sector has lost its soul” (Milward 1994, p. 75). Moreover, Wolch (1994) suggests that all third sector organisations have been compromised in their dealings with government and it has ever been thus. The point is that when there was institutional congruence between the broader state and the not-for-profit sector in general there was no challenge to the internal institutional arrangements; each could live with the other.

It was my concern that the direction of Job Network practices and day to day procedures of the Army’s Job Network arm The Salvation Army Employment Plus (TSAEP) might well be moving out of the complete control of the Army bureaucracy and leadership. I felt that the Job Network was of a different order to other government contracts entered into by the Army and that the government requirements may not be congruent and might well challenge many Army organizational practices and discourses. Historically, the Army always sought to the freedom and independence to implement it religious and ethical practices no matter what the government contract might be (Sandall 1955; Coutts 1978; Moyles 2007). However, the use of technological and very tight bureaucratic control by government and its bureaucracy would seem to leave very little room for the Army to manoeuvre in the Job Network contract. In effect, there appeared to be an incongruence between the aims of the Howard government and those of the Army, and it was this apparent incongruence that prompted this study.

\(^2\) See Chapter 8 for a discussion of the breaching regime
Social policy analysis is typically applied to government rather than to NGO’s or third sector organizations. For example, Kuhnle and Selle note;

“in the historical, sociological and political science literature on the historical and comparative development of …welfare states, voluntary organisations have been given little or no attention”
(Kuhnle & Selle 1995, p. 12.).

Following Kuhnle and Selle’s observation in 1995 there has been an escalating interest in the place of third sector organisations in social policy development. For example Brown, Kenny, et al. (2000) examine the place and function of third sector organisations in Australia. A theme continued by Lyons (2001; 2003) and Laragy (1999). The use and abuse of third sector organisations is an important theme in the literature and this theme is particularly explored by Staples (2006) and perhaps most cogently by Maddison et al (2004). Maddison et al (2004) explored the systematic attempts by the Howard government to reduce public comment by third sector organisations receiving government funding; and it is this concern that drives the exploration of social policy contained in this study.

In a speech to the Sydney Institute on 11 July 2005, the then Prime Minister Howard (2005, accessed 18 January 2005) spoke of the necessity for continued economic reform in Australia. The last decade has been one of rapid and extensive change in economic and social policy in Australia; these changes include the Job Network (McDonald and Marston 2005) and one of the largest agencies in the Job Network is The Salvation Army (Ferguson 2005; Simpson 2005).

The development of the Job Network and indeed the reconstruction of the Australian welfare state arise in part from a discourse of government inefficiency and indifference. This discourse is encapsulated in the words of Prime Minister Howard who stated;
“Can I just finally say that, I’ve long admired the work … the Salvation Army… and … all of those other great organisations who I unapologetically believe know more about helping the underprivileged and the marginalised in our society than anybody else could possible hope to know and … the best way that we can help those underprivileged and marginalised people as a Government is to help those great organisations that fuse practical experience with a sense of mission, a sense of commitment.”

(Howard 2004, accessed 2 July 2005)

This text indicates some of the key features of neo-liberal criticism of the bureaucratic model of the welfare state; namely, government ignorance and inefficiency in the provision of welfare services. The domination of this ideology intersects with an Army organisational discourse produced by the founder of The Salvation Army, William Booth in 1911. Booth said;

“…when these nations find an organisation willing to do the work for them, and able to do it better and more economically than they can do it themselves, they ought to be willing-nay, glad-to pay whatever expenditure may be involved in the task”

(Booth 1912, p.110)

In effect, there is a historical intersection of neo-liberal ideology and Army organisational discourse, and it is at this intersection that I site this thesis. To provide a focus for the research, the following question is addressed;

‘How is social policy mediated by a not-for-profit organisation?’

In this context the word ‘mediate’ indicates a “movement of meaning” (Fairclough 2003, p. 30) within social life and social practice. The term ‘mediate’ encompasses the notion that modern societies interact within and across different domains or fields and meaning is developed through a dialectic conducted by national and trans-national social actors (Fairclough 2003). The research question does not mention the Army nor does it mention the Job Network by name. This was a deliberate choice. The question is wide enough to allow a theoretical exploration of the implications for a not-for-profit organisation, namely the Army, being influenced by and influencing government policy.
The contracting state

The emergence of the ‘contractual state’ influenced by neo-liberal economic pressures is one of the hallmarks in the evolution of the state in the late 20th early 21st centuries. The contractual state has as Carney and Ramia (2002) show, generated the rise of ‘arms length’ government. The Australian welfare state is in flux, however to some extent the shape and contours of the Australian welfare state are now becoming clearer. In Australia, neo-liberal economic forces were exemplified in the National Competition Policy. This policy, framed with its concerns for economic efficiency and the shape of government, animated the policies of privatisation and contracting-out. In April 1995 the Keating Labor Government reached an agreement with mainly conservative State and Territory Governments for the implementation of a comprehensive national competition policy (Althaus 1996; Butler 1996; Carver 1996). This was preceded by the establishment of a Committee of Inquiry and the report of that committee was known as the Hilmer Report (Hilmer 1993).

The Job Network; a revolution in service delivery

As a policy initiative, the Job Network symbolizes a paradigmatic shift in the delivery of welfare services in Australia (Considine 2003). In 2003 not-for-profit organisations comprise 50% of service providers in the Job Network and that relativity has to a large degree stabilised (Eardley 2003). The dependence on not-for-profit organizations to deliver government services confirms the notion that the Job Network should be considered as “a site of radical new policy interventions, an experiment in contractualism and competition” (Eardley 2003, p. 317). In 1997, Prime Minister Howard’s conservative government announced the creation of a new policy initiative, namely the Job Network. The policy initiative led to the abolition of the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES). The genealogy of the Job Network is traceable through the Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS) and the Regional Economic Development (RED) schemes through to the policy changes introduced by the Keating Labor government. The Keating Labor government had taken its first steps to change employment services in Australia in 1994. In 1994, the Keating government established a separate service known as Employment Assistance Australia (EAA). The Keating government established a new service regime where services
previously provided solely by the CES, were shared with over 300 private companies and non-profit organisations (Considine 2003).

These providers were contracted to supply case management services direct to long-term unemployed people who previously received their job search training and counselling from the CES (Eardley 1997; Eardley, Abello, and Macdonald 2000). The EAA competed with the contracted organisations for business through a tender process. The crucial form of competition related to employment outcomes, with an independent regulator, the Employment Services Regulatory Authority (ESRA) established to compare results and to supervise new contracts (Considine 2003). Participating organisations did not receive fees for referring clients to training to organisations such as the Skillshare network, which was defunded and virtually abolished along with the CES, but were rewarded for placements into employment. Additionally, as part of the contract with government, the contracting organisations were required to provide labour exchange services. In the establishment of their Job Network service, government required contracting organisations to individually and independently obtain job vacancies from employers (Considine and Finn 2004).

With the advent of the Job Network, contracts for placing welfare recipients into vacancies became competitive. The government shifted other parts of the service towards competition by the abolition of the CES-EAA and established itself as the sole ‘purchaser’ of services. As part of this reorganisation, the government created ‘Employment National’ out of the residue of the CES. Employment National was no longer a government department but a corporatised government service, managed by an independent board, motivated exclusively by market incentives (Considine 2003; Eardley 1997). Employment National was finally abolished after the implementation of Employment Services Contract 2 (ESC2) and this abolition marked the end of direct government provision of employment services in the employment services field.
In the period between 1996 and 1999, the employment sector underwent systemic change as a result of these two government policy initiatives. From being a traditional public service, government employment services were transformed into a quasi-market. Ordinary services such as assisting people to find jobs, to gain access to training and to resolve issues that were ‘barriers to employment’ were now performed by contracting organisations. Not only were these organisations rewarded on the basis of placements they were required to report and ‘breach’ their clients for any failure to adhere to rules deeply influenced by the discourse of ‘mutual obligation’. The contracting organisations now share state authority to reduce, and in some cases withhold, income support.

**The third sector**

Largely, the new welfare state paradigm depends upon constituents of the third sector for its success. Yet the ‘third sector’, that is that sector outside government and commerce, is itself a social construct and one that is in many ways highly contested. Part of the contestation surrounds the transitional nature of the sector as it moves towards more entrepreneurial and managerial organisational models (Spall and Zetlin 2004). A fundamental discourse in the construction of the third sector is the discourse surrounding the notion of ‘not-for-profit’. As Salamon and Anaheier (1996) and McDonald and Marston (2002) show many constituent organisations do in fact make a surplus. Consequently part of the ‘not-for-profit’ discourse refers to the fact that what surplus there is, is returned not to shareholders as private wealth but used for the recipients of the organisation’s welfare services and to build capital reserves for greater independence from charitable donations and from government. It is not quite clear what organisations could or should be included or excluded from the sector (Lyons 2003; Lyons 2004). The social services arm of The Salvation Army is clearly a constituent of the third sector and part of the way the media and the Army constructs itself contains the notions of its not-for-profit nature.
The Salvation Army in Australia

The Salvation Army is deeply embedded in Australian society and it is highly visible and almost instantly recognizable. This visibility is confirmed by market research conducted by Thoeming (2004) whose organisation found that the Army’s Red Shield (See Figure 1.) and its publicity slogan “Thank God for the Salvos” is recognised by 93% of adult Australians.

Figure 1

The Salvation Army in Australia is a significant provider of welfare services to the Australian community. Two sources rate the Army in the top 10 charitable organisations not-for-profit non-government organisations (NGOs) in Australia by expenditures. The Industry Commission (1995) reported in 1995 that the Army had the largest expenditures of any of the not-for-profit NGOs in Australia, and Ferguson’s (2005) review of Australian NGOs placed the Army at number four by income and at seven by annual expenditures. Ferguson (2005) reported that the Army’s annual income in 2004 as $625M with an annual expenditure at $625M; combined with over 8000 employees (King 2005) the Army in Australia is by any measure a significant organisation in the provision of welfare services.

The Army began inauspiciously as a small Christian Mission with a sermon by William Booth in London’s East End slums on Sunday 2 July 1865 (Green 1996; Sandall 1947). The Army was similar to the other Christian Missions springing up in late Victorian Britain (Moyles 2007). However, the adoption of the military metaphor by William Booth, the charismatic founder of the Army, combined with its provision of social services led to the creation of a unique social organisation (Walker 2001; Moyles 2007). The Army is now established in over 108 countries (King 2005). In Australia, the Army commenced in Adelaide, South Australia, in 1875 and
progressively spread throughout the Australian Colonies (Sandall 1947). By 1890, the provision of social services had become an integral part of the Army’s operations, though as I show in Chapter 4 there was internal debate about the direction the Army should take, particularly in England, which would then flow to the wider Army. This dialectic was played out as a contest between evangelical and social discourses, that is, should the Army be solely an evangelistic movement or an evangelistic movement that provided social services as well (Carpenter 1983; Hattersley 1999; Green 1986; Moyles 2007). Additionally, Irvine (2002) remarks on the tensions caused in the Army between what she describes as secular discourses and sacred discourses, that is, the need to develop strong commercial practices such as proper accounting, work creation schemes whilst developing ecclesiastical social practices.

The Army has been involved in the provision of social services in Australia for over 100 years (Sandall 1947). Its involvement commenced with a service to homeless newly released prisoners in Melbourne on 8 December 1883, significantly at the request of the Victorian Colonial government (Sandall 1955; Green 1986). Amongst the suite of social services developed by the Army leadership in Australia at that time was the development of an employment bureau, again in Melbourne (The War Cry 1890a). What is interesting is that these services were funded by government, the homeless service was funded by the Victorian State Government and the employment bureau was funded by the Melbourne City Council (Booth 1890). The Army in Australia was the first Territory\(^3\) of the international Salvation Army to receive government funding for the provision of welfare services (Sandall 1955). In many ways, the Australian Territories have remained leaders within the international Army in the receipt of government funding for welfare services.

\(^3\) For an explanation of the Army’s organisation, see Appendix 1.
Yet the receipt of this funding is problematic. As I have discussed elsewhere (Garland 2004) governments exact a price for their funding. Part of the price may well result in a clash in ideologies, a tension between the Army’s Christian ideology and the state’s pluralist, universal service obligations based upon an ideology that may well be inimical and counter to the Army’s Christian ideology. This tension is evidenced internally as the organisation grapples with the notions of the secular and the sacred. Moreover, it is particularly evident in the internal tension between current economic discourses such as neo-liberalism and Christian values.

**Work, employment and The Salvation Army**

It is not surprising that the discourse of ‘work’ is deeply embedded within The Salvation Army, since as an institution it falls within the western protestant tradition; a tradition that contains a very strong discourse of work (Winston 1999) and a tradition that has been commented on most cogently by Weber (1978). Early in the Army’s history, the Army founder, William Booth, fused both religious and social notions of work to create an organisational discourse of ‘work’ that forms a dominant discourse in Army social practice and in its discursive strategies. As Hill (2006) shows, the discourse of ‘work’ animated the early leaders of the Army so much that “the activity and employment of an officer was described as ‘the work’” (Hill 2006, p. 98). In relation to the Army’s social work, William Booth said:

> “Some form of employment is absolutely necessary to the successful conduct of every department of our Social effort. Especially will this be the case in connection with that kind of reformation we desire to effect, and among the class of people whom we seek to benefit…without employment you cannot really help them.”
> (Booth 1912, p. 110)

The discourse of work and the notion of full employment is still a strong discourse in the Army. The notion of ‘full employment’ informs the Army’s current employment policy in Australia published in the report ‘A Working Society’(Coventry 1997). Consequently, I have chosen to use this discourse and the fusion of the religious and secular discourses in my thesis title, namely;

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4 An ordained leader/minister/pastor/priest within the Army. See Appendix 1.
‘WORK FOR ALL’, The Salvation Army and the Job Network.

The phrase “WORK FOR ALL” is to be found as the capstone in the Frontispiece of William Booth’s Magnus Opus ‘In Darkest England and the Way Out’ (Booth 1890) and forms the Frontispiece of this thesis.

Social constructionism

The potential connections between “linguistic practices and broader social processes” has been commented on by Hastings (1998, p.191). In this study, I take a discourse analytical approach to policy analysis that analyses linguistic practices. The discourse approach to social policy focuses on how the use of language in the policy process is involved with social practices. These practices include the legitimisation of social relations and the construction of knowledge of social reality (Berger and Luckmann 1975). This interest in the consequences of language use is partly a product of the increasing currency of the social constructionist perspective. Crucially, constructionist perspectives are either explicitly or implicitly underpinned by a broadly Foucauldian notion that language, knowledge and power are essentially interconnected at the level of discourse (Hastings 1998; Burr 2003). Additionally, Penna and O’Brien (1996) show how the Foucauldian notions, in particular the Foucauldian concepts of power-knowledge, can be used to explore developments in social and welfare policy.

In this study, I analyse policy language in order to reveal how it is implicated in constructing and sustaining knowledge about the nature of social reality. Hastings (1998) convincingly observes that in the past the process of policy creation was largely been understood within a broadly positivistic epistemology. According to Hastings (1998) and Burr (1995; 2003), positivism in many ways presupposes an unproblematic relationship between a knowledge of the nature of the world and its actual nature. Social constructionism on the other hand presents a challenge to positivist theories of knowledge. As Hastings shows, social constructionism “challenges the assumption that there is a straightforward relationship between 'knowledge' and 'reality' and that objective, unbiased understanding is possible” (Hastings 1998, p. 191 ). This challenge arises from the proposition that the categories
which we use to divide up, describe and give meaning to the world are socially, culturally and historically contingent (Burr 1995; 2003)

Increasingly, the potential for analysing policy through the lens of social constructionism is being realised. The policy analyses by a wide variety of authors such as Lewi and Wickham (1996), Meckler and Bailey (2003), Darcy (1999), Jacobs (1999), Atkinson (2000), Hastings (1999) and Bhatia (2006) owes much to the social construction perspective and demonstrates the broad nature of the field. These authors explore the connection between linguistic structures and policy. Their work explores the connections between language and social practices, such as the legitimisation of social relations or the construction of ‘knowledge’ and the knowledge of social reality.

The institutional field

The contribution of discourse in the construction of social phenomena such as organisations should not be underestimated. Mumby and Claire point out that:

“Organisations exist only in so far as their members create them through discourse. This is not the claim that organisations are nothing but discourse, but rather that discourse is the principle means by which organisation members create a coherent social reality that frames their sense of who they are.”

(Mumby and Claire 1997, p. 181)

Mumby and Claire’s observations illuminate Meyer and Rowan’s (1977) notion that organisations are social constructions produced through social interaction. Phillips et al argue that organisations are constructed primarily through the production of text; noting that organisations;

“…are constituted by the structured collections of texts that exist in a particular field and that produces the social categories and norms that shape the understandings and behaviours of actors”

(Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy 2004, p. 638)
Phillips’ (2004) position owes much to that proposed by DiMaggio and Powell (1991). Their article is foundational in the construction of neo-institutionalism, sometimes termed ‘new institutional theory’. All organisations, according to DiMaggio and Powell, exist in an organisational field. Noting that:

“By organisational field we mean those organisations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognised area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and the organisations that produce similar services or product.”

(DiMaggio and Powell 1991, p.63)

The Job Network represented Prime Minister Howard government’s response to the social problem of ‘unemployment’. In this study I show that the Job Network is part of a multi-organisational field, constructed by a discursive strategy that links a complex web of discourses, including complex political and regulatory discourses together with a wide sweep of technological issues (Friend 1993). Included in the field are government, its bureaucracy, the quasi-market for employment services, including the Job Network, for-profit, not-for-profit organisations, academic institutions, researchers, commentators, the press, the unemployed and indeed myself as researcher. Since the employment services field is so large I propose to concentrate my analysis on three constituent organisations within the employment services field, namely, government, its bureaucracy and The Salvation Army.

Gaps in the current research

With the bureaucracy’s efforts at constructing the Job Network as a quasi-market, it is not surprising that much of the government documentation is classified ‘commercial in confidence’. The introduction of this aspect of the market discourse and social practice allows the bureaucracy to enhance its own power and to be less accountable through the maintenance of secrecy; and provides the bureaucracy with the capacity to remain opaque to public gaze and scrutiny (Considine 2003). Though to be fair, many tendering organisations would prefer their tenders to be secret to retain what is considered to be a competitive advantage and to maintain and control their intellectual property rights. Another important issue is the construction of citizen as consumer;
this construction has implications for the Australian democracy and the accountability of institutions delivering services in the welfare state.

Prior to and at its inception, there was much academic interest in the Job Network (See for example Eardley, Abello, and Macdonald 2000; Wherrett 1999; Laragy 1999; Dockery 1999a and 1999b; O'Neill 1999; Dean 1995; Finn 1999). However, as Eardley (2003) suggests, much remains to be done. My research confirms Eardley’s (2003) observation that there is a scarcity of more recent research relating to the Job Network. The lack of research into non-profit organisations and the Job Network is puzzling when it is considered that the non-profit sector participation in the Job Network moved from 25% in 1996/1997 to 50% of all providers in 2003 (Eardley 2003). Part of the reason may well be that since the Job Network is ten years old and thoroughly embedded in the Australian welfare system it is now a taken-for-granted institution. The Job Network still represents a major policy shift that is continually evolving and drawing third sector organisations into social processes that they would never have imagined ten years ago. Included in these changes is the notion of competing with each other. Prior to the introduction of the Job Network, many of these organisations would join and support each other in providing welfare services, now they compete. I have been able to locate Journal and newspaper articles, government reports and number of reports from learned and economic organisations regarding the Job Network. Most of these articles were written prior to 2003. At the time of writing only four scholarly articles post 2003 explore the Job Network and its ideological underpinnings; namely, article by McDonald and Marston (2005), Considine and Finn (2004), Rapson (2006-2007) and Gallet (2006).

Additionally, apart from my Masters Thesis (Garland 2004) there is, to date, no academic analysis of the Army’s provision of social services in Australia. Given the fact that the Army employs over 8,000 people in Australia, spends over $600M per year on social work, has reserves of over $700M (Ferguson 2005) and has been part of Australia’s social service landscape for over 120 years this lack of analysis is somewhat surprising. This thesis seeks, in part, to add to the literature relating to not-for-profit organisations and attempts to redress the void in the academic scrutiny of The Salvation Army’s provision of social services in Australia, a position I will return to throughout this study and revisit in my concluding remarks.
Thesis outline

Chapter 2 explores the field in which the Job Network operates and explores the notions of the state and various state formations, neo-liberalism, quasi-markets and the Australian welfare state. I continue this exploration of the third sector and the growing importance of this sector in the contracting state.

Chapter 3 provides an outline of the methodological issues involved in analysing the social policy in this thesis. Chapter 4 continues with an exploration of the Salvation Army, its genealogy and organisational discourses. Chapter 5 contains an analysis of the job network and the influences and genealogy of its creation. Chapter 6 flows from Chapters 4 and 5 and is an exploration of the accountability of government, the accountabilities of the Job Network and of the Army. Chapter 7 is an exploration of the construction of the citizen as consumer and the ways in which this construction influences policy. This chapter will explore the language used in policy texts in both government and the Salvation Army. Chapter 8 focuses on the issue of breaching and the way in which this activity causes organisational tension for the Salvation Army. Chapter 9 will provide a conclusion to this study and draws together the themes explored in this study.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I mapped the terrain covered in my thesis. I explored this terrain in which a highly institutionalised and a very well known organisation, namely The Salvation Army, engages with policy discourses; how it responds and how it is shaped by its engagement with government. I noted that this thesis is a case study of the ways in which the dialect is influenced and how social practice has evolved in the employment services field in Australia.

I remarked that this thesis is framed within a social constructionist perspective. Moreover, this chapter outlined the constructionist position and argued that the constructionist perspective is useful in conceptualising the ways in which contemporary social practice influences social policy development. Additionally, this chapter reviewed the themes that has contributed to the development of this study and informs and frames my argument.
The next chapter will explore the range of issues that influenced the creation of the Job Network. These include the discourse of neo-liberalism and the marketisation of welfare services, the ‘active society’, the hollowed-state, the welfare state, the third sector and the creation of the Job Network.
Chapter 2

Constructing the frame: Influencing the state of welfare

Introduction

This chapter explores the main influences operating on the institutions in the state and the context in which the research is located. It does this by discussing these influences in terms of key constructs. The chapter commences with an exploration of neo-liberal economic forces and notes that these forces possess a political dimension with profound political implications (McDonald 1996). Neo-liberal discourses have placed considerable economic and social pressures on sovereign states and their provision of welfare services. Rhetorically, governments often frame their policy responses in terms of urgency and inevitability within a setting that contains an “immanent solution” (Atkinson 2000, p. 211) embedded within the definition of the problem. Frequently the “immanent solution” is presented as the only legitimate ‘responsible’ option. In response to neo-liberal economic forces, states have adopted a wide variety of policy responses to manage their economies.

The varying responses are evident in the European states and particularly the Anglo countries of Britain, the United States, Canada and New Zealand. The transformation of the state is well advanced in this group of states and it is on these states that I focus (McDonald 1996). In this chapter, I comment on the dominant political responses and policy orientation of Australia in particular. I explore the influential discourse of neo-liberalism and the developments in how the state is discursively constructed and transformed. Additionally, I examine the contemporary transformation of the state and the processes implicated in the transformations that have consequences for governance, social policy, accountability and citizenship within Australia.
The discursive construction of the state

Within the literature, there is no general agreement on a definition of ‘the state’; not surprising since as Foucault convincingly argues, the state is shaped by the discursive struggles of;

“so many authors who know or don’t know one another, criticise one another, invalidate one another, pillage one another, meet without knowing it and obstinately intersect their unique discourses in a web of which they cannot see the whole, and of whose breadth they have a very inadequate idea”

(Foucault 1991b, p 126).

Two competing perspectives, the Marxist and the Weberian perspectives are perhaps the most persuasive, yet both come with a range of epistemological and political baggage. Marxist theorists tend to define the state within a functional and relational framework, whilst the Weberian focus is on the monopoly of the means of coercion (Pierson 1996). Within both the Marxist and the Weberian perspectives, the borders of states are not merely administrative divisions but act as domains of political, legal and military power and a place where conflicts may erupt at any time (Kooiman 1996). As Armstrong (1998) shows the central point about much of the literature theorising the state is that the conception of state borders and the sovereignty exercised within those boarders is primarily a juridical one.

At the individual level, the state within both the Marxist and Weberian perspectives is constructed as an entity exercising sovereign authority within a specified territorial domain, while international society is constructed as a web of sovereign entities possessing and exercising juridical functions such as determining criteria for membership, creating common institutions and elaborating rules appropriate for interaction among sovereign states. Of course, as Armstrong observes, “one obvious criticism of such a formulation of the state is that it reifies the state by attributing to it qualities that in reality can be possessed only by people” (Armstrong 1998, p. 471). However, the a metaphor of the state as social actor is analytically useful, for example, the metaphor is contained in Skocpol’s observation that, ‘States conceived as organisations claiming control over territories and people may formulate and
pursue goals that are not simply reflective of the demands or interests of social
groups, classes, or society' (Skocpol 1985, p. 9).

In late modernity, a new state formation has emerged. The emergent state has become
more globalised and as a result, significant social and economic readjustments are
occurring within and across state borders (Santos 2006). The social practices that
construct the state are not the result of scientific calculations or objective planning;
rather, as Foucault (1991b) shows, the state is constructed through a dialectic
conducted by social actors, each attempting to construct a state that recognises and
promotes their own interests. The power struggles that arise from this dialectic are
mediated using socially charged language. As Fairclough notes, “language is part of
society, and not somehow external to it…language is a social process…and is socially
conditioned” (Fairclough 1989, p. 22). This is not a static process but a dynamic one
where the social construction of the state is a continual dialectic between competing
forces and influences

Those who seek to construct the modern state are, as Fairclough and Thomas (2004)
show, in turn influenced by the dominant discourses that constitute the state.
Therefore, the language used by social actors in discursive events is shaped by
situations and social structures and the dominant language practices of the state and
changed by it (Fairclough 1996). The dominant language practices used in society
shape events. In other words, discursive events and language choices are socially
constitutive as well as socially shaped, just as social events are discursively connected
and discursively shaped. These discursive practices are ideological in that they
support and reproduce power relationships between the constituents of the state by
reproducing the status quo and by transforming it (Fairclough and Wodak 1997).

The power relationships that epitomise the state in late modernity are constructed in
discursive practices and discursive formations that are “regimes of knowledge which
define who does and who does not have the intellectual authority to decide issues”
(Bevir 1999, p 66). Foucault, for example, conceptualised the state “not as a legal
institution, but as a space composed of varied relations of power and the mentalities
they embody” (Bevir 1999, p 353). The “relations of power and mentalities” are sited
within a complex web of institutions including government, the church, universities,
schools, the media, special interest groups such as unions and industry organisations (Blommaert 2005). Increasingly, external institutions are entering into the dialectic that constructs the state. These institutions include global institutions such as research institutes, think tanks and professional networks, transnational corporations, business associations and institutions such as the World Economic Forum, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Gill 1998). The result of the intersection between these authors is the modern state, constructed discursively and constituted at the junction of the power struggles between its authors and constituents.

These power struggles construct a state that is continually evolving and unstable. As Pringle and Watson show;

“… power is not imposed from the top of a social hierarchy nor derived from a fundamental opposition between rulers and ruled. It is relational rather than owned or seized, and it operates in a capillary fashion from below. Power finds a shifting unstable expression in networks and alliances that permeate every aspect of life. The ‘state’ is an overall effect of all of these relations and cannot be assumed to act coherently as the agent of particular group.”


The state constructed through discursive practices initiated by social actors is increasingly becoming international, functioning across national boundaries in a global economy.

**The Neo-liberal discourse**

Up until the last two decades the dominant organising discourse was of a separation between the social practices associated with administrative and of commercial behaviours (Considine 1996). The genealogy of this separation can be traced from Hegel (1953) who assigned to the state’s executive formations a broad general interest in the governance of the state that was distinct from the economic interests of corporations and small communities. Weber (1968) advocated a strict separation between commerce and the government bureaucracy and maintained the position that public servants should be prevented by law from owning any part of the “means of administration” (Weber 1968, p. 219). Lindblom (1977) presented a similar position where he outlined the essential differences between bureaucratic behaviours and
practices within the marketplace. Lindblom’s position was supported by Williamson (1975) who suggested that public servants were professionally bound by normative rules and behaviours that were distinct and of a different discoursal order than market discourses. Another complementary strand in this genealogy is found in the literature that, while supporting rudimentary elements of competitive behaviours in the bureaucracy, tends to dismiss or downplay the significance of these behaviours. This position was taken by Simon (1957) Selznick (1943) and Blau (1955).

The world economy is now more than any other time in history ‘capitalist’ in terms of the dominance and spread of market forces, particularly so since the 1930s, and Bell (1997) suggests that this claim is especially true in Australia. In Australia, the neo-liberal transformation of the last two decades is according to Bell “nothing short of extraordinary” (Bell 1997, p. 345) considering its political economy traditions. To many observers such as Cox (1987), Cately (1996) and Strange (1995) these transformations come at a time of unparalleled power, of the neo-liberal discourse

Neo-liberalism is in fact a mutation of the classical liberal theory. Neo-liberal theory redefines the social-democratic state at an internal level. This internal redefinition seeks to reduce the role of the state to a minimum through the corporatisation and privatisation of government welfare services (Walker 2002). Moreover, as McDonald (1996) shows, as an ideology neo-liberalism varies according to national conditions and social practice. There are however, generic features of neo-liberalism such as economic rationalism (Pusey 1991), neo-conservativism, managerialism and contractualism. These categories point to an intensification, a distillation of earlier trends in liberal welfare states who were committed, in varying degrees, to the freedom of citizens acting as rational actors seeking to advance their own self interest (McDonald 1996).

Neo-liberalism as a discourse is frequently presented in terms of opposing binaries or dichotomies such as universal/particular, global/local, homogeneity/heterogeneity and uniformity/difference. Armstrong (1998) suggests such representations tend to see neo-liberalism essentially as the latest stage in modernity, the process of displacement of traditional per-war and immediate post-war social practices and institutions. This is particularly so in the way the discourse of neo-liberalism orders social relations and
for the way the term is deployed in the dialectic conducted by social actors and authors to construct the state; and in particular, that part of the state primarily concerned for the welfare of its citizens, namely, the welfare state.

**Neo-liberal influences and the transformation of the welfare state**

The manner in which neo-liberal economic forces impact on different welfare regime types varies (Ellison 2006). Certainly for Gilbert (2002) and others such as Jessop (1994; 1993; 2002), welfare states have changed dramatically as part of the broader transformation of the state itself and neo-liberal economic forces are held to play a significant part in this process. Gilbert suggests, for example,

> "that the evidence indicates that a basic shift has occurred in the institutional framework of social protection…most prominently in the United States and in England, with other advanced industrialised nations moving steadily in the same direction".  
> (Gilbert 2002, p. 15)

As a result of the introduction of neo-liberal economic policies, domestic policy choices have narrowed and declined, and modern states are highly vulnerable to the international movement of finance, capital and international trade (Esping-Anderson 1996). Increasingly, modern states offer lower and lower taxes in order to compete for private capital and investment. Consequently, theorists such as Jessup (2002) suggest that this competition leads inevitably to the decline of the ‘welfare state’ through a remixing of welfare and a reorientation of welfare expenditures. Jessop suggests that this reorientation of welfare expenditures is based on redirecting towards more "productivist and cost saving concerns in an open economy"(Jessop 1993, p. 16). According to Jessop (1993) workfare policies, such as the Job Network, are merely a special, neo-liberal example of a more general trend in the reorganisation of the state’s role in promoting social reproduction.

The welfare state in Australia has in the last three decades become dominated by the discourse of neo-liberalism, with their “varied relations of power and … mentalities” (Bevir 1999, p. 353). The dominance of neo-liberal discourses has transformed the Australian welfare state. The welfare state has come under unremitting assault from
both inside and outside its borders and the political debate has shifted toward the question of welfare state retrenchment (Yeatman 2002c). As regimes of social provision come under neo-liberal criticism and are required to confront a range of economic and social forces, the shape of the welfare state and the methods of service provision have been transformed or, in some cases, retrenched. While the welfare state appears to have thus far resisted complete ‘retrenchment’, there is growing preoccupation with the transformation of the welfare state. The main question concerning the welfare state has become its affordability and sustainability (Koslowski and Follesdal 1997; George and Miller 1996). Indeed, the economic and social efficiency of the welfare state has been called into question and it now faces a legitimation crisis (Johnson 2003).

The term ‘welfare state’ itself has attracted a wide range of definitions, meanings and interpretations. For example, theorists such as Offe (1987) Pierson (1998) and Gough (1981) have explored the nature of the modern welfare state. Gough (1981), for example, concentrates on the contradictory nature of the welfare state; he speaks of contradictions of the welfare state in terms of the enhancement of social welfare on the one hand and the exertion of social control on the other. Offe (1987) on the other hand explores the contradictory nature of the state. Offe’s analysis is in terms of a dichotomy of “legitimacy verses efficiency” (Offe 1987, p 130); where “legitimacy” is conceived of as “the essential basis of political authority” (Offe 1987, p 134) and “efficiency” relates to the economic production of outputs such as a efficient mail service or education system (Offe 1987). Feigenbaum et al (1999) show that Marxist and Neo-Marxists such as Gough and Offe argue that the state intervenes to ensure continued capital accumulation, the conditions which enable the reproduction of labour power and for reasons of social and political legitimation. Theorists such as Gough and Offe picture state intervention as a response to market failures which threaten to undermine continued capital accumulation because of a failure on the part of the state to ensure the reproduction of labour.
The birth of the welfare state in the late 19th century was dominated by the discursive struggles over the nature, meaning and importance of poverty. The struggle took place around the discourse of rights. The dominant tension was between the discourses of universal rights and targeted welfare provision, underpinned by the notions of the ‘deserving’ and the ‘undeserving’ poor; notions which were the enduring legacy of the British 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act (Haworth and Manzi 1999; Laybourn 1995). The ‘welfare state’ once dominated by the discourses constructing Keynesian economics immediately post-war is now dominated by the neo-liberal discourses (Rhodes 1994; Bevir, Rhodes, and Weller 2003).

The changes observable in welfare state structures are observable in the political language choices describing the new social order. In short, associated with the discourses of international competitiveness combined with national competitiveness, national welfare discourses in Australia are characterized by a vocabulary that deploys a politicised language that includes ‘joined up government’, ‘privatisation’, ‘competition’, ‘market’, ‘freedom of choice’, ‘customer orientation’, ‘efficiency’, flexibility’ as core concepts within a discourse of ‘market forces’ and the discourse of ‘the market’ (Fougner 2006).

The hollowed-out state

According to Holliday, went a long way to becoming “academic orthodoxy in Britain” (Holliday 2000, p. 167). The erosion of the state is said to be caused by the loss of government powers and reduced welfare service provision in western economies. Rhodes (1994) foregrounds the changing nature of the welfare state, particularly as it applies to Britain. Though his texts primarily refer to Britain, Rhodes suggests that “‘hollowing out is not restricted to … Britain” (Rhodes 1994, p 139) but is a phenomena occurring in all of the OECD economies. Rhodes observes that the state was undergoing “potentially dramatic changes” (Rhodes 1994, p. 151) and that reform, privatisation and agentification were leading to a “diminished central capacity” (Rhodes 1994, p.139) in the British state and argues further that “current trends erode the centre’s capacity for governance” (Rhodes 1994, p. 149). According to Rhodes (1994) the notion of ‘hollowing out’ holds that at least three processes are responsible for the process of hollowing out, namely;
• The privatisation and agentification of government services and limiting the scope and forms public intervention. These limitations include the limitations placed on the discretion of public servants by doctrines such as new public management (NPM) and its emphasis on managerial accountability.

• The loss of functions by central government departments to alternative service delivery systems.

• The loss of function by government to transnational institutions including such institutions as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and in Britain’s case the European Union. (Rhodes 1994)

According to Rhodes (1994) the sovereign power which had been centralised prior to the 1980s now flows through a complex displacement of powers upwards, downwards and outwards from the central state to a myriad of subsidiary bodies, both within and without the formal boundaries of the state. Taken together these processes have contributed to a system in which the hitherto monolithic state is being eroded or eaten away; that is, ‘hollowed out’. The process of hollowing out is said to limit the political sovereign power of a sovereign state. Though some states have transferred their capacity and power to an increasing number of regional national or international bodies with the widening range of powers, others have restructured local or regional levels of governance within the state. And other states have been usurped by emerging horizontal networks of power which bypass central states and connect localities or regions in several nations (Jessop 1994). In many cases these changes are closely linked to the reorientation of methods of accumulation (Jessop 1994).

Ultimately, the power of the state, its sovereignty and formation is a discourse, a socially constructed representation or version of reality that is sustained by linguistic practices. In such cases, sovereignty becomes a taken-for-granted value. However, deconstructing and minimising the power and potential of sovereignty and constructing the state as ‘hollowed out’ is one thing, constructing a new discourse
around some wholly different principle of political community quite another. The
clear cachet of statehood that is revealed by such struggles is, perhaps, the final and
most convincing evidence that neo-liberal economic and social forces are some
distance from rendering the state powerless, irrelevant or invisible (Armstrong 1998).
As both Holliday (2000) and Armstrong (1998) show, a fundamental error of theorists
who write off the state as ‘hollowed out’ and therefore relatively powerless, is to
erroneously construct the discourse as a binary opposite. In this construction, neo-
liberalism is constructed as a massive interconnected, immutable and unstoppable
web of forces, while at the opposite end of the spectrum, states are constructed as
isolated, individual constituents whose vulnerability in the face of such an all-
powerful process is cruelly exposed. As Armstrong shows;

“…economic forces are confronted by an equally
powerful interlinked system of states which, through their
social interaction in accordance with the characteristic
rules and processes of this system, learn from and
confirm to each other what it means to be a state”

The relationship between the discourse of neoliberalism and the state, the resilience of
the state in the face of neo-liberal economic discourses, and the nature of international
change and transformation cannot be adequately understood unless the distinctive
features of the interlinking system of sovereign states, as well as the interaction
between them, are fully appreciated (Armstrong 1998). The same point is made by
Axford, describing sovereignty as a “global social institution which legitimatesthe
idea of territorial integrity” (Axford 1995, p. 140). In this conceptualization
sovereignty is distinguished from economic forces, while the interaction between the
neo-liberal economic processes and socialization within international society is
identified as the principal dynamic of contemporary international relations
(Armstrong 1998).

Holliday (2000) makes the point that while evidence can be presented that the state in
late modernity is fragmenting it can be argued that this is a constant condition. Both
Holliday (2000) and Armstrong (1998) argue that since the state still retains powerful
resource allocatory functions, combined with a strong legislative function, a state
retains considerable control over its sovereignty, fragmented coordination and legal
systems. Indeed, Levitas (1998) makes the point that to support neo-liberal
economies, government is concerned with order rather than freedom and she holds no brief for a minimal or ‘hollowed out’ state. The free economy needs a strong central government to impose and uphold the conditions of the state, especially in the restriction of trade unions. The strong state relies on the market and the ever-present threat of unemployment, a position that Prime Minister Howard government sought to entrenched in Australia in the ‘Workplace Relations Amendment (Work Choices) Act 2005’, which severely limited the capacity of unions in Australia to pursue their economic and social agendas.

**Governance and New Public Management**

Part of the economic restructuring process has resulted in new models of the management of public services in the Anglo democracies of Britain, the US, Canada, New Zealand and Australia. These processes are gathered together under the rubric of New Public Management (NPM). The traditional paradigm of ‘progressive’ public administration that existed for most of the last century in Australia is being replaced under the paradigm of NPM (Barlow and Rober 1996). NPM is the direct result of the restructuring and reshaping of the state within Australia and other OECD member countries. The term NPM refers to a focus on management, not policy, and on performance appraisal and efficiency (Bevir, Rhodes, and Weller 2003b). Under NPM there is a disaggregation of public bureaucracies into agencies that deal with each other and the public on a ‘user pays’ basis. The use of quasi-markets, privatisation and contracting out to foster competition, cost-cutting and a management style that amongst other things, emphasises output targets, limited term contracts, monetary incentives and freedom to manage are all elements of NPM (Bevir, Rhodes, and Weller 2003b). Within the literature, NPM is a somewhat loose term. Bevir et al suggest that it is becoming clear that “if NPM is everything maybe it is nothing” (Bevir, Rhodes, and Weller 2003b, p. 2). They suggest that the label covers all types of public sector reform. Christensen and Laegreid suggest that NPM is not a consistent, integrated theory but rather a loose collection of “diverse doctrines, principals, and measures” (Christensen and Laegreid 1998, pp. 470-471).

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3 With the change in government and the defeat of the Howard Liberal government by the Rudd Labor government in late 2007, this legislation has been repealed and a new set of institutional arrangements is to be introduced governing the Australian industrial field.
However, the usefulness of NPM lies in its suitability as a convenient shorthand for a set of broadly similar administrative doctrines and practices that now dominate the bureaucratic agenda in Australia and other OECD countries. Given that NPM is a shorthand conceptual construct, it nevertheless represents a constellation of social practices within public sector management. Despite major differences in institutional and political patterns affecting NPM regimes there is a universality in the direction of social practice influenced by NPM. NPM contains a series of measures focusing on the public sector designed to make government welfare organisations significantly more like their private sector counterparts by propelling them towards greater responsiveness to market stimuli (Ramia and Carney 2003). While NPM may contain “diverse doctrines, principles, and measures” (Christensen and Laegreid 1998, pp. 470-471). Carney and Ramia (2003) show that NPM has several common characteristics, including:

- a greater focus on quantifiable results or outcomes;
- the reinforcement of objectives such as waste minimisation;
- efficiency enhancement in utilisation of tax funded resources;
- the devolution of management control functions;
- increase in accountability of public servants;
- the separation of commercial from non-commercial public sector functions;
- the detachment of policy advice from delivery and regulatory mechanisms, and;
- increased emphasis on contestability and contracting-out of traditionally publicly-provided services with greater reliance on shorter term outcome focus contracts.

(Ramia and Carney 2003, p. 256)

The primary intention of NPM is to change public sector governance and managerial practices, however as Alexander (2000; 1999) and Ryan (1999) reveal, the not-for-profit sector itself has been profoundly influenced by the change to public sector governance and managerial practices brought about by NPM. This is reinforced by the recognition that NPM has been strongly embedded within a broader, all-encompassing shift of government policy towards fiscal restraint in the provision of
welfare services. This shift is towards a heightened reliance on the market as “the allocator and distributor of resources” (Ramia and Carney 2003, p. 257). NPM, and in particular contracting-out and competitive tendering, merges with the increasing recourse to privatisation of government welfare services.

The concepts of NPM are drawn largely from an interconnecting group of neo-liberal theories applied to the business of government, these include transaction cost theory (Rao, 2003), public-choice theory (Buchanan and Tullock, 2008) and principal agent theory sometimes called Agency Theory (Eisenhardt, 1989). It is public choice theory that is of singular interest here because of the far reaching implications for government/third sector relationships. As Staples (2006) shows public-choice theory is the study of politics based on economic principles.

Economists such as Buchanan (2008) consider that that a rational actor, such as the Army, always seeks to maximise its chances of obtaining its own ends. Public-choice theory was developed by economists such as Buchanan (2008) who were uncomfortable with what they saw as a lack of precision in political theory, which deals with the untidy complexity of human emotions, aspirations and ideas (Staples 2004). Significantly, according to Staples (2004), public-choice theory claims that interest groups are predatory and will try to obtain benefits for their members that stifle economic growth.

Public-choice theorists reject the pluralist concept of many voices in society debating public policy and the processes aimed at developing a public consensus. For example, Staples quotes Olsen in rejecting the idea of the public consensus saying “coherent national policies cannot be expected from a series of ad hoc concessions to diverse interest groups” (Olsen quoted in Staples 2004, p. 6). From a public choice perspective the existence of altruism, religious practice and ethics aimed at the good of the community and its members in the behaviour of NGOs is irrelevant. Irrelevant since if anything public choice theory masks values and ideologies. It also ignores the rich variety of theories in such disciplines as sociology and psychology which seek to explain human motivation and behaviour. Additionally, public-choice theory ignores
the fact that third sector organisations such as the Army with its commitment to social-justice, might well take a long-term perspective long past the lifespan of its clients (Staples 2004).

Public-choice prescriptions for the business of government seek to constrain the power of independent pressure groups and third-sector organisations. Similarly, public-choice prescriptions seek to constrain the power and discretion of the public servants by exposing public functions to competitive tendering. A constituent in the implementation of public-choice theory is the relocation of government functions outside government through the practice of contracting out. By such processes, public choice-inspired reforms have been influenced a redesign of state functions such as the job market and it has inspired the search from more efficient use of money and resources. Furthermore, where once such functions were substantially supported by consolidated revenue, they are now funded increasingly from user-charges, co-payments and from the contracting institutions themselves such as the Army through its annual Red Shield Appeal.

**Privatising the welfare state**

Governments however, continue to recognise the need to provide for citizens unable to provide for themselves, and this is increasingly undertaken through privatised service provision. The shift in the way governments in Australia provide publicly funded services, forced by neo-liberal economic pressures and the imperatives of NPM, has led to a substantial increase in the use of competitive tendering and contracting. This shift in Australia mirrored the developments elsewhere in the industrialised world with a reduction in government production of goods and services, and direct intervention in micro-economic activity. Domberger (1996) shows that the shift evident in Australia was deeply influenced by developments in the United Kingdom and, surprisingly New Zealand. Budgetary pressures coupled with the lowering of trade barriers and increased internationalisation of the Australian economy all played a part in the process. In Australia, the level of efficiency of government services was conceptualised by successive Australian governments as
critical to the general competitiveness of Australian industry. A central feature of the quest for efficiency has been the increased privatisation of welfare services in Australia. According to Feigenbaum et al, quoting Butler, privatisation is broadly defined as “the shifting of a function, either in whole or in part, from the public sector to the private sector” (Feigenbaum, Henig, and Hamnett 1999, p. 1). Despite its relatively late appearance, the notion of ‘privatisation’, particularly in the field of welfare service, has received marked attention by academics including, for example Chi et al (2003) who explore privatisation across the Australian states, Domberger (1996) who explores the experience of privatisation in Australia and New Zealand and Cashore (2002) who explores governance structures.

The exploration of privatisation is as Feigenbaum et al (1999) show almost always discussed as little more than a vehicle for helping governments balance their budgets and improving overall economic performance. There appears to be an assumption that the ‘market’ is an efficient and appropriate allocative mechanism for producing and distributing public sector goods and services (Brown, Ryan and Parker 2000). Through the commercialization of government services private sector management techniques have been utilized to create a more responsive, efficient and effective public sector. While the managerial and fiscal dimensions of privatisation are important the discourse of privatisation contains far deeper implications, privatisation heralds institutional and social change that has wide implications for Australia and the Australian democracy (Feigenbaum, Henig and Hamnett 1999).

The privatisation of government services as a result of neo-liberal economic forces is discussed extensively in the literature including Brown et al (2000). In some parts of the literature there is a discussion on the lack of evidence that privatisation does in fact lead to savings; particularly by Rowland (2002) who goes so far as to say that “perhaps the most striking observation is how, after close inspection, each privatisation case failed to deliver on cost efficiency” (Roland 2002, p. 9). Others, such as Eardley (2003) point to the lack of accountability within the new regime of privatisation; a point that will be explored further in Chapter 6, with particular reference to institutional accountability.
The construction of quasi-markets

Following the major changes to the welfare state that flowed from rapidly changing economic conditions in the 1970s, new institutional arrangements emerged in the 1990s (Bartlett, Roberts and Le Grand 1998b). In a diverse range of welfare services in Australia, new institutional arrangements were introduced designed to extend the discourses of markets and competition to the provision of welfare services. At the same time, the principal of universal access, fundamental to the concept of the welfare state was generally upheld. This combination of free access at the point of delivery, combined with market competition between providers of service, was a key institutional innovation which is referred to as a ‘quasi-market’ (Le Grand 1991; Bartlett, Roberts and Le Grand 1998b). These new institutional arrangements are based upon an ideological commitment to market principles, combined with the belief that only by introducing market principles into what is described as a sluggish, unresponsive, bureaucratic apparatus of the welfare state could efficient services responsive to consumer’s choices be delivered (McMaster 2002).

The introduction of ‘quasi-markets’ within the Australian welfare state in the 1990s introduced a very different set of institutional arrangements compared to the welfare state arrangements post-World War II. Exploration of institutional change leading to quasi-markets can be traced through the work of Bush (1987), Edgren (1996), Troub (1983), Bartlett et al (1998b) and Le Grand (1991). The term ‘quasi-market’ was created by Oliver Williamson (1975). Originally, the term was grounded in Williamson’s Transaction Cost Economics. Economic reforms, particularly over the last decade under the pressures of neo-liberal discourses have led to institutional change leading to the creation of quasi-markets by government (McMaster 2001; 2002).

Because of the broad range of institutional arrangements contained within the notion of ‘quasi-market’ there are few exact definitions of quasi-markets (Kahkonen 2005). Rather, quasi-markets are defined, broadly, by a description of the characteristics that distinguish them from conventional markets (Kahkonen 2005). Le Grand (1991) captures the essence of these institutional reforms noting that;
Quasi-markets differ from conventional markets in a number of key ways. The differences are on both the supply and the demand sides of national economies. On the supply side, as with conventional markets, there is competition between productive enterprises or service suppliers for government funding. Thus, in the Australian employment services field, described in this study, there are independent organisations competing for customers and for government funding. In contrast to conventional markets, organisations that participate in quasi-markets do not necessarily maximise their profits, nor are they necessarily privately owned (Salamon and Anaheier 1997; McDonald and Marston 2002). Precisely what such enterprises will maximise, or can be expected to maximise, depends upon their ownership structure, their ideological, ethical and religious foundations (Le Grand 1991).

On the demand side, consumer purchasing power is not expressed in money terms. Instead, it takes the form of a contracted service confined to a specific benefit, and in some areas, the immediate consumer is not the one who exercises the choices concerning purchasing decisions; instead, those choices may be delegated to a third party, such as a Centrelink officer. In economic terms a quasi-market is a ‘monopsony’, that is, a situation in which demand comes from one source; in effect a monopsony is analogous to a monopoly (http://economics.about.com. accessed 25/2/2008). Welfare quasi-markets thus differ from conventional markets in one or more of three ways; a) not-for-profit organisations compete for public contracts, in competition with for-profit organisations and each other; b) consumers have a choice of service providers; and c) in some cases, the consumers are represented in the market by others (Le Grand 1991).
The unfolding evolution of quasi-market reforms over the past decade represents a significant institutional change (McMaster 2002). A quasi-market is not only a set of institutional arrangements, but is a site of social interaction where the relationship between individuals and organisations is complex, including a mixed history of adaptation, commitment, trust and conflict. Within a quasi-market, the traditional buyer/seller relationship is only one example of a much wider group of relationships in which organisations and individuals operate. Other relationships such as seller/seller relationships, purchaser/provider relationships should be considered alongside buyer/seller relationships within the quasi-market (Ferlie 1992).

Quasi-markets and indeed ordinary markets are social institutions, systems of social control; effectively, markets are embedded in cultural influences and reflect these influences. When organisations and individuals interact in a quasi-market, the quasi-market simultaneously moulds and directs behaviour (McMaster 2001). The point is, that markets are not only socially embedded they are simultaneously institutionally embedded. Granovetter (1985) argues in support of a neo-institutional view of markets. In his view networks of institutional arrangements are shaped by and inturn shape economic institutions such as quasi-markets. Quasi-markets are thus socially constructed by the actions of social actors.

The neo-institutional view of the construction of quasi-markets takes into consideration the top-down role of government in forming and imprinting the institutions that form the employment services institutional field at which the quasi-market is the heart. Within this view, top-down restructuring plays as important a role as bottom-up networking in determining the nature and character of the quasi-market and the institutional field in which it is a part. The welfare state is a particularly important source for restructuring such organisational fields since the constituents are dependent on state finance for the quasi-markets continuation. However, in their creation of quasi-markets, government has the capacity to corrupt the system of service delivery. As Le Grand notes “government can corrupt, not only through its own activities but also through the model of public service delivery that it chooses to adopt” (Le Grand 2003, p. 50) in the creation of the quasi-market. The quasi-market, a relatively recent social arrangement designed to deliver welfare services, is
therefore, highly socially and institutionally embedded, crucially dependent on state funding and the participation of organisations belonging to the ‘Third Sector’.

**The role of competition policy**

Influenced by neo-liberal ideologies, the Keating Labor Government reached an agreement with mainly conservative State and Territory governments in Australia for the implementation of a comprehensive national competition policy in April 1995, (Althaus 1996; Butler 1996; Carver 1996). This was preceded by the establishment of a Committee of Inquiry (Hilmer 1993) established to develop strategies on how to eliminate anti-competitive conduct which might be against the “national interest” (Hilmer 1993, Transmission letter). The Committee envisaged that “uniformly applied rules of market conduct” should apply to “all market participants regardless of the form of business ownership” (Hilmer 1993, p. xvii). The forces of neo-liberalism are deeply implicated in the National Competition Policy (NCP). This policy has as its central concern economic efficiency and control of government costs and these neo-liberal ideologies animated the National Competition Policies of privatisation and contracting-out.

The transformation in language that accompanied these shifts in policy meant that what were previously ‘utilities’ and ‘public services’ became ‘government business enterprises’. These entities were to be transformed from ‘public ownership’ to ‘market participants’ under some form of ‘business ownership’. The end user of these services was no longer ‘the public’ or ‘the citizen’, but ‘the consumer’ (Carver 1996). The sentiments of the time were captured by Prime Minister Keating in his comment that, “the engine which drives efficiency is free and open competition” (cited in Hilmer 1993, p. xvii).

Given the implementation of a NCP, in many cases and for a variety of economic and technical reasons, domestic consumers in most states of Australia, excepting perhaps Victoria, remain captive to monopoly government enterprises in the delivery of energy, water and many transport and communication services, such as postal services for the near future. The implications of this ‘market failure’ are not limited to the denial of choice to consumers of these services (Fairbrother, Svensen, and Teicher
Market failure extends to the risk of unfair price discrimination and service provision by government owned or managed monopolies to what may well be the detriment of the citizen/consumers of these services. In circumstances where a government enterprise operates in a competitive market, it might well adopt uncompetitive pricing practices. This risk is compounded in the essential industries of energy, water, transport and communications where incumbent monopolies are required to fund large infrastructure and fixed costs (Fairbrother, Svensen, and Teicher 1997).

In commenting on the introduction of competition into these markets in the USA Kahn observed:

“A great deal of the competition we are witnessing in the public utility industries, merely represents an evasion of sunk costs --or, in effect, their transfer to captive consumers . . . and there is, in these circumstances, no assurance that it is socially rational or conducive to economic efficiency.”

(Kahn 1995, p. xxxvi)

The longer-term implications for the broad social fabric of Australia in the marketisation of essential services are harder to predict given the geographic and social constraints on many of the services provided by government. The relationship between consumption of essential goods and services and broad social expectations was explored by Weimer and Vining who noted that:

“respect for human dignity seems to justify public policies that ensure some minimum level of consumption to all members of society. Most of us would agree that the minimum level should be high enough to ensure commonly recognised needs for dignified survival.”

(Weimer and Vining 1992, p. 100)

The third sector, competition and NPM

Contemporary discussions of welfare services in Australia focus upon the progressive withdrawal of state-based services and the corresponding privatisation of welfare services. The notions of privatisation and quasi-markets point to the construction of a remixed economy of welfare in Australia, and responsibility for the delivery of
welfare services has shifted from the government to ‘partnerships’ between government and non-government organisations (Corbin 1999). The 1990’s saw Australia following the lead of other OECD member countries, most notably USA and the UK, in implementing the principles of NPM in the organisation and delivery of welfare services (Carson and Kerr 2003). This shift is widely acknowledged in the literature (see Carson and Kerr (2003), Hodge (1996) , Lyons (1990; 2003) for example) to be influenced by the discourses of neo-liberalism. This shift has caused major changes in the public sector in Australia and depends in no small measure for its success on the Third Sector (Hodge 1996; Brown et al. 2000). Additionally, public expectations of government have changed, and as Hodge (1996) shows citizens want more services but reduced taxation. Many improvements to welfare and social services expected of the public sector are modelled on those of the private sector. For example, greater customer focus is expected across government, old methods and procedures are increasingly challenged, service delivery practices and standards are subjected to review. These drivers for change have led to renewed questioning not only the practices of government but it structures, processes and service delivery mechanisms (Brown, Ryan, and Parker 2000).

The changes in the welfare state in Australia brought about by neo-liberal economic pressures have lead to changes in working practices, employment patterns, decentralised operational control and the introduction of ‘marketisation’ in welfare institutions. Changes in Australian social policy priorities - the introduction of internal markets, service contracts, and the encouragement of private sector involvement and increased involvement of third sector organisations in welfare provision are all indications of the trajectory that the Australian welfare state is now taking (Castles 2004; Carson and Kerr 2003). The brunt of these changes to the provision of welfare services in Australia have been born by what is termed the ‘third sector’. The notion of the ‘third sector’ relates to the notion that the state comprises three domains, or sectors – public or government, for-profit or business, and the civil or third sector. The roles and responsibilities of government are being opened up. In providing services, there is now a requirement for welfare service providers to be open and to demonstrate competitiveness and efficiency. There are of course immense benefits for government in using third sector organisations. As Seibel (1989) shows, by using
third sector organisations governments are able to reduce costs while at the same time transferring responsibilities and accountabilities for the direct provision of services.

The notion of the ‘third sector’ is a contested one. Considine shows there is “no agreed definition of the distinctive characteristic of the non-profit organisation, the term itself indicating the absence of profit making, or of profit distribution rather than the presence of something else” (Considine 2003, p. 69). Indeed Lyons suggests that the first task in his work “is to convince readers that there is a distinctive third sector” (Lyons 2003, p. 5). The terminology ‘public’ or ‘government sector’ has a taken for granted suite of meanings, these meanings incorporate institutions such as government departments, the law, police and armed forces, government schools, public transport and hospitals. These institutions include the judiciary, whose members are appointed and funded by government, but who in other respects remain independent through the convention of separation of powers. What each of the institutions in the public or government sector has in common is that they are, in the final analysis, accountable through a Minister to parliament (Cortes 2000). The business or for-profit sector contains a diverse number of organisations. Within the business sector there are both large and small corporations, farms, stock exchanges; corporations that own newspapers, stage musicals, run hospitals, help the search the Internet. The common denominator is the intention to profit from their activities, to provide their owners a return on their investment (Lyons 2003).

In effect, what remains in the state is the third sector. Lyons suggests that the third sector consists of private organisations;

1. that are formed and sustained by groups of people acting voluntarily without seeking personal profit to provide benefits for themselves or others;
2. that are democratically controlled;
3. where any material benefit gained by a member is proportionate to their use of the organisation.
   (Lyons 2003, p. 5)

Yet, even this definition of the sector is problematic and highly contestable. The term ‘voluntary’ is particularly difficult to determine. The organisations contained within this sector are variously referred to as “voluntary organisations, community
organisations, non-government, not-for-profit and non-profit” or “charity organisations” (Brown et al. 2000, p 51). In addition, this is where all definitions have difficulties, particularly when defining The Salvation Army. The Army is a church, it is a provider of welfare services, and it fits into the category devised by Brown et al. (2000) of a pre-welfare state charitable organisation. The Army does not sit easily within Lyons’ typology since it is not “democratically controlled” (Lyons 2003, p. 5). It is a Protestant Church essentially controlled from London with local delegations. It is true to say that its members are voluntary but not in the same way that would volunteer to deliver community service. As Weber (1978) suggests membership of a church such as the Army has wider implication and influences working on its membership than the limited notions of volunteering. However, the Army does have elements of both Lyons’ (2003) and Brown et al’s (2000) typologies, the Army’s social arm is not-for profit, in that members do not share in any financial profit, it is engaged in charitable works as well as providing welfare services contracted by government; and it is a non-government organisation. To provide an analytical category, I propose to use the definition provided by Giner and Sarasa who define third sector groups or voluntary associations as:

“those groups which lie partially or completely in the private sphere (civil society), one of whose chief aims is to work for the benefit of others or for the common good, without profit.”

(Giner and Sarasa 1996, p 140).

Citizens in the market

The corporatisation of government business enterprises (GBEs) under the NCP and the marketisation of their services transform the role of the public from ‘citizen’6 to ‘consumer’. As the Administrative Review Council observed;

“in the case of GBEs providing services on a commercial basis, the relationship between the Government (the GBE) and consumers of its services is multifaceted, incorporating elements of both a traditional ‘government/citizen’ relationship, as well as supplier-for-profit/consumer relationships”.

(Administrative Review Council 1995, p. 9)

6 The exploration of citizenship continues in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8.
The notion of citizenship has come to the fore as way of countering the economic imperatives of neo-liberal ideologies that lead to the constructions of the market and the rise of consumerism. There are several recent reasons for this remarkable burst of interest in citizenship. One, according to Hudson et al (2000), is the collapse of the traditional left that occurred with a fall of the Iron Curtain. Justly or unjustly, socialist rhetoric no longer seems to command the respect and attention, or creates the fears, it once did. In times of waning solidarity, those who still cherish the dream of social justice are looking to a different rhetoric. Citizenship seems to answer because it is ready to hand in our traditions, and as Hudson and Kane (2000) show citizenship is an idea that elicits a positive, if somewhat vague response in the Australian community.

The notion of citizenship is of course a social construction capable of many readings, and whose inflection, whether referring to the individual or the social may vary considerably. At its heart the notion of ‘citizenship’ focuses on the characteristics which are shared between members of society (Levitas 1998). However, models of citizenship differ in their scope, and thus in what respect citizens are said to be equal. Nevertheless, at its heart the social rights of citizenship should ideally;

“range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share in full in social heritage and to live the life of the civilised being according to the standards prevailing in society”.

(Marshall 1992, p. 78)

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the discursive construction of the state. I continued this exploration with an examination of the discoursal order of neo-liberalism and the ways this discoursal order has influenced welfare state formations in the western world and in Australia in particular. Additionally, I explored notions of the welfare state include the hollowed out state, the creation of quasi-markets, the third sector; all key elements in the restructuring of the Australian welfare state that were explored in this chapter. In the final section of the chapter I explored the notion of citizenship, an exploration that continues in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8.
These issues are important because they fundamentally and comprehensibly reconfigure the location and practice of non-government organisations within the welfare state. Not only do they reconfigure the institutions of the welfare state they have profound implications for the accountability and the construction of Australian citizens; their rights and their place in the society. What then are the implications for institutions that are a significant part of the third sector and who now are being the contract of to provide formerly government supplied services? The implications for both a third sector organisation and the citizens of Australia are the substance of chapters 6 to 9. Additionally, there are implications for the construction of new institutional arrangements and the delivery of in employment services in Australia and this forms the substance of Chapters 4 and 5. However, before entering into these discussions, in my next Chapter I set out a methodological schema within which my analysis will be framed.
Chapter 3

Theory and Methodology

Introduction

There is much to be gained from a social constructionist approach to the study of social policy. The social constructionist approach provides a sound ontological and epistemological base for the analysis of social practice and the discourses that influence the development, mediation and delivery of policy. This approach is particularly useful in exploring the way governments influence and in turn are influenced by the charitable not-for-profit organisations providing welfare services contracted out by government in Australia.

In this chapter, I explore social constructionist theory and review the relevant literature relating to social constructionism; arguing that this perspective is useful in conceptualising the ways in which policy is developed and mediated. In particular, I comment on the sensitivity to the use of language in the social constructionist perspective. I then outline the analytical theory that informs this thesis. My analysis will continue by an exploration of the influential theory of ‘neo-institutionalism’. This chapter will outline a naturalistic set of methodological procedures based on the notion of the institutional field and using critical discourse analysis (CDA) as my analytical technology.

Some observations on the participant/observer position

I am a Salvationist\(^7\) and I remain in the Army by choice. In the past, I was associated with the development of Army social policy particularly in relation to the Army’s homelessness and employment services in the Australia Eastern Territory.

\(^7\) Member of The Salvation Army.
This thesis is both a critical and interpretive analysis of Salvation Army social policy in Australia. Given that my analysis is subjective, it could be argued that because of my membership and employment by the Army that this study is biased, and that the intimate association I have with the organisation whose policy I am analysing will compromise the rigour of the analysis. On the contrary, I argue that as a participator/observer in the policy process, I possess profound insights into the Army policy development process. My position of participant/observer as a valuable site for analysis is supported by Lincoln and Cannella (2004) and May (2002) who show that the greater the personal involvement, the more the researcher is able to understand meanings in texts produced by the social group or organisation.

My knowledge of the language and discursive practices used by the Army is particularly relevant and informs the policy analysis contained in this thesis. Donovan (1999), Estroff (1995) and May (2002) comment on the advantage of using participant/observation and textual evidence as complementary methods of research where the participant observation is analysed and checked by the textual evidence. Garrett (1998) observes that ‘participant observation’ renders research more authoritative. In support of subjectivity within social science research, Garret argues that;

“…all knowledge is already ‘biased’ by the knower’s standpoint but that this is more of an advantage than a problem, since stories …can be deconstructed to reveal social influences”

(Garrett 1998, p. 32.).

I take the position that personal perspectives are unavoidable. This position is supported by both Schipper (1997)and Garret (1998). Additionally, May (2002) comments that “untainted data” (May 2002, p. 170) is a myth, noting that numerous realities are always working on any research text. This position is supported by Denzin & Lincoln who observe that “the age of value-free inquiry for the human disciplines is over”; continuing, “There are no objective observations, only observations socially situated in the worlds of-and between-the observer and the observed.” (Denzin and Lincoln 2003, p. 31)
On the other hand, DeLyser (2001) suggests that analysing texts from an observer/participator perspective poses distinct challenges. She notes that many texts relating to qualitative research methods often advise analysts to refrain from conducting research into organisations, communities or situations of which they are already part (DeLyser 2001). This challenge is supported by Bogdan and Biklen (1998) who suggest that qualitative researchers regularly focus on the taken for granted problems, therefore, research conducted from an insider's perspective can make the research harder rather than easier. Additionally, Kitchin and Tate (2000) observe that the analyst "may fail to notice pertinent questions or issues because of the inability to step back from a situation and fully assess the circumstances,” (Kitchin and Tate 2000, p. 29). And Evans (1988) suggests that the participant/observer may be “over-familiar with the community” leading to “too much participation at the expense of observation” (Evans 1988, p. 205). Finally, Strauss (1987) notes that the participant/observer may, in the end, "know too much experientially and descriptively about the phenomena they are studying and so [end up] literally flooded with materials" (Strauss 1987, p. 29). These warnings are based upon what I believe to be a subjective/objective dichotomy. A dichotomy wherein researchers are constructed as either subjective or objective but not both (Fleming 2003). I question this dichotomy and as May suggests, it is impossible “to deny the effect of the social researcher on the social scene” (May 2002, p. 154). And participant observation, in May’s opinion the most difficult and complex method of social research, is “the most rewarding method which yields fascinating insights” (May 2002, p. 154).

My beliefs shape my research and I acknowledge that I am “bound within a net of epistemological and ontological premises which-regardless of ultimate truth or falsity- become partially self validating” (Bateson 1972, p. 314). Moreover, given that I am a Salvationist, it is clear that I have my own set of beliefs that shape how I view the world, act in it and conduct my research. I am no different from any other human being; Denzin and Lincoln (2003) note that all humans are guided by highly abstract principles and beliefs. They argue that all research is interpretive and is guided by the researcher’s beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and
studied. In their opinion “some beliefs may be taken for granted, invisible, only assumed, whereas others are highly problematic and controversial” (Denzin and Lincoln 2003, p.33).

**Social Constructionism: the overarching imperative**

Lewis Carroll wrote;

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‘When I use a word’ Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, ‘it means what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less: and ‘The question is’ said Alice,’ whether you can make words mean so many different things’”
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(Carroll 1965, p. 269).

Here Carroll speaks to the notion of meaning. Notions of meaning and sensitivity to language are fundamentally part of the social constructionist perspective. Increasingly, the potential for analysing policy through the lens of social constructionism is being realised. Hastings notes in particular the “interest within social and policy studies in the potential connections between linguistic practices and broader social processes” (Hastings 1998, p. 191). These authors explore the connection between linguistic structures and policy. Their work explores the connections between language and social practices, such as the legitimisation of social relations or the construction of ‘knowledge’ and the knowledge of social reality.

Constructionism is not a new perspective and it has many constituents (Parker 1999). The numerous constituents are in many ways a result of the genealogy of constructionism. Gergen (1999) shows that this genealogy includes the work of Ludwik Fleck (1979) first published in 1935 and republished in 1979. Fleck proposed that in the scientific laboratory one must know before one can see; and traced such knowing to the scientist’s social perspective. Fleck’s position was supported by Karl Mannheim (1951) who explored knowledge as a social, as opposed to an empirical phenomena. It was Mannheim’s position that what we term scientific knowledge is a by-product of the social process. According to Gergen (1999) Mannheim’s proposition reverberated widely at the time and still does. Peter Winch (1946) explored the ways which theoretical propositions are constitutive of the phenomena in the social sciences. And in France, George Gurvitch (1971) explored scientific knowledge within the framework of social understanding.
Perhaps the most influential works in the development of the concept of social constructionism are Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's ‘The Social Construction of Reality’ (1975) and latterly Searle (1995) contributed from a philosophical position to the notion of social constructionism. Berger and Luckmann (1975) developed one of the most challenging themes found in constructionist epistemology; namely the issue of subjectivity; here the social analyst’s experience of the world, the taken-for-granted; what is seen, heard, or distinguished by touch, is sited in the social sphere. It is in the social sphere that our meanings are mediated through the use of socially charged language, a position supported both by Kress (1989; 1995) and Fairclough (1996).

A wide and varied literature focuses on the nature, uses and field of social constructionism including Burr (2003), Danziger (1997), Maines (2000), Gergen (1999), Gurvitch (1971), Mizruchi et al (1999), Glassner (2000) and Potter (1996). Theses texts show that there exists a wide variety of meanings conveyed by the term ‘social construction’. Moreover, this wide variety of meanings reflects the maturity of this concept, and the various paths taken by people who are interested in and use the concept. Social constructionism is a field populated by psychologists, anthropologists, political scientists, sociologists, linguists, literary theorists, organisational theorists, philosophers, policy analysts and many others (Danziger 1997). A loosely constructed network constitutes the field where “different contributors …use similar terms in ways that diverge fundamentally from each other” (Danziger 1997, p 401).

Constructionism is not a single unified field. Houston (2001) observes that constructionism may be viewed as a genus linked to a wide range of theorists Additionally, there is no single or common approach that can be labelled as ‘constructionist’ (Burr 2003). Rather, constructionism encompasses a broad spectrum of approaches that take a critical stance towards taken-for-granted ways of interpreting the world. Constructionism takes the constructive force of language as a principal assumption and it is therefore the analysis of language and other symbolic forms that is at the heart of constructionism (Gergen 1999). The emphasis of constructionism upon language leads logically to the use of qualitative methods as the research tools of choice as is the case in this thesis.
The theme of language and its centrality to the social constructionist perspective is echoed by Gergen who observes:

“…language must be understood as a form of social action. Language includes not only the words we use to define what is real and good, but includes all our gestures, dress, orderly markings, personal possessions and so on”.

(Gergen 1999, p. 77)

The constructionist perspective is shaped around a number of epistemological and ontological positions. The first position then is that the social world, as we know it, is constructed through language (Burr 1995, 2003; Houston 2001). In other words, society is not a pre-existent domain, but rather, it is the product of people engaging with one another and mediating meaning through social interaction and the use of language. Secondly, our understanding of the social world is historically and culturally specific. Put more simply, our understanding of the world is contingent upon time and setting, and events are dependent on the context in which they occur for their meaning. It follows logically that there are no essential structures within society but that these structures are mediated through communication and discourse. This is not to say that structures do not exist. As Fairclough (2005) clearly shows there is a danger in taking an extreme position that denies structure, doing so in Fairclough’s opinion “collapses ontology into epistemology” (Fairclough 2005, p. 917); put simply to deny structure, that is, more or less stable orders of discourse, is to privilege agency over structure.

**Privileging of agency over structure**

In discussing the claim that social constructionism privileges agency over structure the literature shows that there are two contending strands within the agency verses structure debate, a ‘hermeneutic’ strand and a ‘structuralist’ strand. The hermeneutic strand focuses on social actors producing meaning, constructing new definitions, communicating intentions and the meaning of their actions to others. Within this strand, social life is constituted by the accounts that we mediate in order to maintain the particularly human quality of the world. Additionally, within this strand, inquiry into the life world of social actors requires an empathic involvement in, and an elaboration of meaning. In this view, the formal properties of interaction are no more than interpretations, the constructions of an involved observer (Parker 1988).

In contrast, the structuralist stand seeks to uncover the patterns of interaction, the structures that inform the activities of social actors. Accounts are gathered, negotiated and studied. Accounts are then used to reconstruct a social world of which each individual actor has an imperfect, fragmented knowledge. In this way the research takes note of the explanations of action given by people and arrives at a deeper understanding, following the methods of a positivist science, of the formal properties of the observed world (Parker 1988).

The debate between the two strands encapsulates the conflicting claims involving agency and structure. The criticism here is that, to use Fairclough’s words “extreme versions” (Fairclough 2005, p. 915) of constructionism reduces complex phenomena to simplistic categories. It privileges individual agency over wider social structures so that too much attention is placed upon actor subjectivity and utterances at the expense of more concrete issues. However, I propose that the argument should not be viewed as a dichotomy; that is, agency verses structure. One of the more important implications of both the hermeneutic and structuralist strands is that we are not entirely in control of meaning. The mitigating element is power; the issue of power opens up a place for agency, as people struggle to make sense of and create a knowledge of social practices and the meaning of these practices (Parker 1999).
In this study, I use constructionism as the overarching conceptual frame. My thesis will contribute to the creation of an epistemology that will broaden the understanding of social relationships and the exercise of power. I take the position that policy decisions constitute a setting where different groups compete to establish a particular version of social reality in order to pursue their social objectives. My theoretical assumption is that these conflicts are revealed in discourse, and are mediated by social practice and language choices typified in texts as well as in the actions of individuals, interest groups and government agencies; a position supported by Fairclough (2003; 2005) and Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999).

My position is that social constructionism is valid, cogent and powerful epistemological system; a position supported by Glassner (2000) who suggests that:

“Even severest critics of constructionism, who contend that the task of research and theory is to describe objective conditions, not practices or perceptions, acknowledge that the ways in which those conditions are understood involves the social construction of meaning”

(Glassner 2000, p 590)

The institutional field

Social constructionism is a broad church, one containing many strands and theoretical concepts. One of these theoretical concepts is the influential theory of ‘neo-institutionalism’ which is embedded within organisational sociology (McDonald and Marston 2002). As Mizruchi and Fein (1999) show neo-institutionalism has its roots both in the earlier, old institutional theory through the work of Selznick (1943), Gouldner (1954), and Zald (1966; 1978; 1977) as well as the social constructionist literature such as Berger and Luckmann (1966). According to Mizruchi and Fein (1999) neo-institutionalisms two foundational works are the articles by Meyer and Rowan (1977) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983). Neo-institutionalism is based upon a phenomenological view of organisations which “focuses attention on meaning systems and the ways in which they are constructed and reconstructed in social action” (Scott 1995, p. 29). A major construct within neo-institutionalism is the concept of the ‘organisational field’. Institutional theorists have used the term ‘field’ to denote formations of organisations that are similar, contain similar practices, or
share a certain focus of attention such as service or market (Anand and Peterson 2000). DiMaggio and Powell (1991) define the organisational field as follows:

“By organisational field we mean those organisations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognised area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and the organisations that produce similar services or product.”
(Powell and DiMaggio 1991, p. 63)

DiMaggio and Powell’s influential work is a synthesis of the work of a number of theorists. Two in particular stand out, Weber (1947; 1968) who developed the notion of the ‘iron cage’ and Bourdieu (1975) who developed a general conception of social ‘field’. In Bourdieu's schema, all societies contain an assemblage of fields governed by distinctive values and logics. According to Bourdieu (1975) ‘fields’ are in part structured by habitus, positional orientations shared by agents within a field. Bourdieu views a field as “a relational configuration” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 17) containing a patterned system of forces. For Bourdieu “a field is simultaneously a space of conflict and competition” in which “participants vie to establish monopoly over the species of capital effective in it” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 17).

Later theorists such as Phillips et al (2004) and Anand (2000) take a somewhat different perspective on the nature and formation of institutional fields than does the traditional institutional approach developed by DiMaggio and Powell (1983). Phillips et al (2004) for example, take a discourse approach and suggest that for an institutional field to come into being, a wide number of organisations must produce and publish sufficient texts to constitute an array of discourses that then produce the institutions characterising a field. For an institutional field to be constructed, complex patterns of textual production and dissemination are required and any analysis of the social construction of an institutional field requires a discourse approach (Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy 2004).
Phillips et al’s (2004) position builds on that of DiMaggio and Powell. Phillips et al show that organisations are constructed primarily through the production of text. And they argue that organisations;

“...are constituted by the structured collections of texts that exist in a particular field and that produces the social categories and norms that shape the understandings and behaviours of actors”
(Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy 2004, p. 638)

Theorists such as Scott (1991; 1994a; 1994b) and Meyer and Rowan (1977;1991) developed parallel notions to that of the organisational field. Scott (1991) for example suggests the generic term “functional organisational fields” (Scott 1991, p. 174) to identify these models. Other terms include “industry system” employed by Hirsch (1997), “societal sector” by Scott and Meyer (1991). All of these models are similar. In these models, boundaries are defined in functional rather than geographic terms. All identify a group of organisations producing similar products or services, and include their critical exchange partners, sources of funding, regulatory groups, professional trade associations, and other sources of influence such as the church and government. The ‘field’ in these models includes non-local connections, vertical as well as horizontal ties, and cultural political influences as well as technical exchanges (Scott 1991). The degree of coherence, structuration and institutionalisation within fields varies over time and across societies. Like individual organisations, organisational fields develop governance mechanisms ranging from market-like competitive controls, to self-regulating mechanisms, to the development of hierarchical and centralised control centres; in short, institutional elements at the field level may be carried by cultural beliefs, regimes, or formal organisations (Scott 1994b).

In these models, the notions of ‘field’ encompasses a complex web of communities or organisations participating in the same meaning systems, defined by similar symbolic processes and are subject to common regulatory processes. The rationalizing framework of fields, that is “key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and the organisations that produce similar services or product” (DiMaggio and Powell 1991, p. 63) give rise to and shape organisational fields. And Scott (1994b) notes that fields are often strongly influenced by the professions and
agents of the state. Since all of these constructs are so similar, indeed Scott (1994b) subscribes to DiMaggio and Powell’s definition, I propose to use the term ‘organisational field’ in this thesis.

DiMaggio and Powell (1991) describe the isomorphic pressures on organisations, namely coercive, mimetic and normative pressures within an organisational field. Coercive isomorphism results from both formal and informal pressures exerted on an organisation by other organisations particularly those upon which they depend and through the social expectations in a society within which organisations function (DiMaggio and Powell 1991). Coercive pressures are compounded by the existence of a common legal environment. This environment affects many aspects of an organisation's behaviour and structure including legal and technical requirements of the state and financial reporting requirements that ensure an organisation’s eligibility for the receipt of funding or taxation relief (DiMaggio and Powell 1991).

There are significant advantages accruing to members of organisations through the adoption of imitative or mimetic behaviour. When an organisational problem is ambiguous or the solution is unclear, mimetic pressures often influence the organisation to copy other successful organisational solutions and structures (DiMaggio and Powell 1991). The final source of organisational pressure in DiMaggio and Powell’s schema is normative pressure. Normative pressures come primarily from professionalization. Normative pressures are more inclined to promote stability rather than change. DiMaggio and Powell interpret professionalization to be:

“the collective struggle of members of an occupation to define the conditions and methods of their work, to control “the production of producers”, and to establish a cognitive base and legitimation for their occupational autonomy”

(DiMaggio and Powell 1991, p. 70).

The isomorphic pressures variously labelled as coercive, mimetic and normative pressures, revealed in discourse practice, are utilized in my analysis. Neo-institutional theory sites organisations such as the Australian government, the bureaucracy, and the Army within the employment services field in Australia. This location is used to analyse the power relations that are constructed and mediated through discourse and
social practice within and between government, the bureaucracy and the Army. Additionally, in their development of neo-organisational theory Meyer and Rowan (1977; 1991) stress the importance of legitimacy as part of an organisations discursive strategy. Legitimacy focuses on the different means used by government to ensure compliance and or social acceptance of its decisions. I take legitimacy to mean an organisation having its actions endorsed by powerful external collective actors resulting in the development of strong relationships with these external constituencies. Singh et al (1991) demonstrate that legitimacy is a conferred status and, as such, is usually controlled by those outside the organisation. Legitimacy results from congruence between societal values and organizational actions. A central feature of neo-institutional theory is that as a result of the application and adoption of the isomorphic pressures identified by DiMaggio and Powell (1991) in the institutional environment increases the legitimacy of the organisation. And as Singh et al (1991) suggest, this increased legitimacy provides greater access to resources, thereby enhancing organizational survival.

**Social practice, text and discourse.**

As a theory, neo-institutionalism fits well under the overarching rubric of social constructionism. The contribution of discourse, mediated through text, language and genre in the construction of social phenomena such as organisations is fundamental to this study. Fairclough (2003) distinguishes between social events, social structures, and social practice. This distinction is beneficial since it is helpful in removing ambiguity and focuses on the dialectical process.

**A) Social Practice**

According to Fairclough (2003) social structures are abstract entities, they possess defining potential that frame sets of possibilities. Yet the relationship between what is structurally possible and what actually happens between structures and events is complex. Events are not simple, direct systems that effect social structures. Rather, the relationship is mediated. The immediate organisational entities that connect structures and events are what Fairclough defines as ‘social practices’ (Fairclough 2003, p. 23).
Examples of social practice in this case are the creation of texts, what is included, what is excluded from the text and the political choices evident in the production of the text. Examples of social practice by government is to be found in the production of texts such as ‘Request for Tenders’ and ‘Contractual Texts’ issued by the Department of Employment and Workplace Relations (DEWR) to establish and maintain the Job Network.

Social practice includes the retention and maintenance of decisions over time in particular areas or fields of social life. To be meaningful, social practices must be linked and networked. This is not to say that fields created by social practice are permanent and immutable; fields shift and reform, for example, the shift away from government provision of services in the provision of employment services to the marketisation of employment services. Social practices are the manifestations of different types of social elements associated with particular areas of social life, for example, the social practice of employment services (Fairclough 2003). The relationship between these different elements of social practices is dialectical; social events are causally shaped by networks of social practices and by particular ways of acting. Actual events may diverge and cut across different social practices. The important point is that social practice articulates and is articulated in discourse and is manifested in text (Fairclough 2003).

B) Text

There are many definitions of texts. Fairclough at one point defined text as “any actual instance of the usage of language” (Fairclough 2003, p.3). Fairclough (2003) later expanded upon this observation and shows the wide nature of ‘text’. According to Fairclough (2003) text may include such diverse elements as a television programme that involves the combination of language, visual images, music and sound effects to provide meaning. According to Burr, the term ‘text’ should include objects that manifest in;
“speech, say in conversation or interview, in written material such as novels, newspaper articles or letters, in visual images like magazine advertisements or films, or even in the ‘meanings’ embodied in the clothes people wear”

(Burr 1995, p. 50)

Burr’s observation that “clothes and uniforms may suggest class, position, status, gender, age or subculture and as such can be called texts” (Burr 1995, p. 50) is particularly relevant in any textual analysis of The Salvation Army. Particularly so considering the Army’s appropriation of the military metaphor and its application to its members and organisational structure requiring the use of uniforms, flags, bands and formalised architecture.

Texts are not simple verbal or non-verbal productions of statements. The statement, no matter how complex or simple it appears is the result of specific politically charged language and the choices made by their authors. These statements are themselves the result of a complex amalgam of a variety discourses from various sources, all of which are influenced by the social and cultural usages of language and symbols (Hastings 1998; Maines 1993). Texts do not operate in a void. Textual production and readings are social practices possessing causal effects, texts can change or add to knowledge, alter beliefs, attitudes and values (Fairclough 2003). On the other hand, a text can confirm all of these things. By containing meaning, texts act on events and in the process are also acted on by social events, structures and practices, for example, the tender documents submitted by the Army in response to a Department of Employment and Workplace Relations (DEWR) request for tender (Kress 1995). For the purposes of this study, a text is “anything that can be read for meaning” (Burr 1995, p185)

C) Intertextuality and voice

Social and cultural forces influence language selection. The influence of these forces is revealed in text through the presence of other texts within the specific statement, that is, the level of intertextuality in the subject text. As I have noted texts are not produced in isolation. They are produced within the social and literary practices of
society and rely for their value, power and validity on the hegemonic or socially
dominant discourse practices of that discursive community. Texts are socially
constructed statements and are an amalgam of related texts, this amalgam of other
texts and the use of other texts is termed ‘intertextuality’. Fairclough (Fairclough
1996) defines intertextuality as the relationship between various texts or in other
words, intertextuality is the manner in which one text plays upon other texts (Fox
1995; Fairclough 1996). Intertextuality is a characteristic of all textual production and
texts should be

“understood against the background of other concrete
utterances on the same theme, a background made up of
contradictory opinion, points of view and value
judgements”
(Bakhtin 1981, p. 281. Also quoted in Lemke 1995,
p. 23)

Texts are neither independent, neutral or value free, the concept of intertextuality
points to the interconnectedness of texts, or to use an equivalent term used above,
statements. Statements are therefore part of a series, part of a network of other
statements from which the statement derives support, validity and meaning. In
speaking of the interdependence of statements or texts, that is intertextuality; Foucault
(1991) observes that;

“There is no statement that does not presuppose others;
there is no statement that is not surrounded by a field of
coexistence as, effects of series and succession, a
distribution of functions and roles”
(Foucault 1991b, p. 99)

Intertextuality can be more or less explicit. To explain the presence of other texts
Fairclough (Fairclough 1996) established the concept of “manifest intertextuality” by
which he means “the explicit presence of other texts in a text” (Fairclough 1996,
p.10). Examples of manifest intertextuality include the use of the word ‘Army’ in the
Army’s name and the Army’s use of military uniform. These symbols rely on
understood meanings created by the military metaphor and their use by the Army not
only creates meaning but also alters and reconstitutes this meaning and as such is an
example of intertextuality (Fairclough 1996).
Finally, the notion of ‘voice’ is important in intertextuality. By voice, I mean not only the speech of an individual but also the pattern of a text. A newspaper, for example, will tend to report the voice of an individual or a group, except in the case of an editorial when it uses its own voice. Doctors for example, when examining a patient will manifest the voice of medicine, patients a mixture of medicine and their own life world and a scientist the voice of their scientific speciality (Fairclough 1996; Fairclough 2003).

D) Genres

Language always happens as text and not as isolated words or sentences; consequently, a text is a significant unit of language. Texts arise out of specific social interactions; constructed with specific purposes and meanings in mind by its author or authors. Since texts are so significant it is also clear that the social occasions in which text operates has a fundamentally important effect on a text (Kress 1995). These occasions and the associated social relations range in formality, convention and structure. The occasions may range, for example, from weddings to church services, and include committee meetings. The formality, convention and structure may be characterised as the intention to make decisions in certain ways, ways that involve specific people and groups all with the intention to make politically sustainable decisions. These conventionalised social occasions have an effect on texts. Texts within this context lead to forms of texts designated as ‘genres’ (Kress 1995).

Fairclough notes that;

“Discourse figures in three main ways in social practice. It figures as;
Genres (ways of acting)
Discourses (ways of representing)
Styles (ways of being)”

(Fairclough 2003, p. 11)

The concept of genre is important since genre and its usage is a recognisable way of presenting discourses in a familiar frame. Genres may also include diverse types or forms of texts such as interviews, academic reports, essays, newspaper articles, addresses, meetings, memos, orders and regulations, uniforms, conversation and consultations. As an analytical category, genre is valuable precisely because it adds another dimension to the analysis of the discourses incorporated into texts (Fairclough
Genre, as an analytical category, is also important because of the meaning making qualities of specific genres. Texts not only derive their meaning from the language and discourses that may appear in a specific text, they also derive meanings from information contained in the frame, forms, constraints and understood meanings inherent in the particular genre (Kress 1995). Genre may be ‘local’ in scale, referring to relatively limited networks of social practice say within an organisation, such as a specific report into a well defined social activity, or can be ‘global’, referring to interactions across networks of social activity (Fairclough 2003). Genres do not stand alone they contribute, as ways of acting, to events and may form part of a ‘chain’ of genres forming part of a network of interconnected genres. Since genres are interconnected, another way of describing this interconnectedness in an organisational sense is the notion of genre repertoire (Orlikowski and Yates 1994).

Genre performs an important role in maintaining organisations. Organisations, such as the Army, develop relatively stable ways of acting represented in memos, meetings, reports and monographs. By the continued production of a stable genre repertoire the Army is able to maintain its internal discourses and present a specific image to the public (Fairclough 2003). This involves continually reworking the military and welfare service discourses for its own purposes. As Orlikowski & Yates (1994) note;

“a genre established within a particular community serves as an institutional template for social action – an organizing structure- that shapes the ongoing communication actions of community members through their ongoing use of it”

(Orlikowski and Yates 1994, p. 542)

The genre repertoire and genre templates were, at the Army’s formation, generated by the Booths and their supporters and commenced with, amongst other texts, William Booth’s ‘In Darkest England and the Way Out’ (Booth 1890) and Catherine Booth’s ‘The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State’ (Booth 1883). The analysis of genre in this thesis will follow the analytical method recommended by Fairclough,
that is, the analysis in this thesis proceeded “from the ‘genre chain’, to the genre mixtures in a particular text, to the properties of individual genres” (Fairclough 2003, p. 48).

E) Metaphor

Metaphor is more than just a figure of speech. Heracleous (2004) shows that in distinguishing A in terms of B, metaphor is the archetype of related tropes such as simile and analogy. By trope I mean a figure of thought in which language is used strategically and rhetorically to set up types of relationship (Oswick, Putnam, and Keenoy 2004). Or as Heracleous (2004) suggests in constructing social reality, metaphor induces ontological and epistemological correspondences between otherwise distinct domains. A metaphor is not merely a statement of similarity or analogy that is potentially expendable, since what is stated metaphorically could also be stated literally. The constructionist view of metaphor holds that metaphor is involved in fundamental thought processes through the projection of associated implications of the secondary subject to a primary subject, where individuals select, emphasise, suppress and organise features of the primary subject by applying to its statements the secondary subjects (Heracleous 2004).

The use of tropes such as metaphor describes, prescribes and circumscribes social reality. In the process metaphors constitute and theorise particular constructions of those realities (Oswick, Putnam, and Keenoy 2004). Metaphor is a figure of speech in which words are used in non-literal ways. That is, metaphor uses words and phrases symbolically to evoke meanings and ideas. Tropes such as metaphor are an inevitable and unavoidable aspect of social life. They pervade the everyday interaction and inform and underpinned social interaction. A metaphor is a figure of thought in which language is used strategically and rhetorically to set up types of relationship favoured by the author (Oswick, Putnam, and Keenoy 2004). Metaphors are extremely useful in providing short, simple, quotable political points in practical, understandable ways. And, metaphors often state truths, both acceptable and unpalatable, and for all their failures are effective carriers of meaning that add depth to the vocabulary of public political life (Patterson 1998).
Metaphors are structured to merge two unrelated terms to form new images, concepts, and meanings. Used in this way metaphors differentiate discourse, where language usually used in one part of the world is extended to another (Fairclough 2003). A metaphor is more than just a matter of language choice. They organise our thoughts and actions (Fairclough 2003). Metaphors provide the power to see new relationships and implications and they facilitate argument by means of intensified analogy and comparison; and they allow us to have simple and persuasive aphorisms at hand (Patterson 1998).

Metaphor has traditionally been thought of as a feature of literary language, especially poetry, with little relevance to other usages in language, however metaphor serves a wide range of political purposes and are sometimes used unconsciously to press a political point (Fairclough 2003). Fairclough, for example, shows how the discourse of war has militarised our thought for example “your claims are indefensible”, “he attacked every weak point in my argument”, “his criticisms were right on target”, and “I demolished his argument” (Fairclough 2003, p. 195). In the same way, the discourse of the market influences the provision of government services.

Metaphors are pervasive in organisational language and in all manner of discourse. Tropes such as metaphor are not just superficial stylistic adornments of discourse. When we signify things through one metaphor rather than another, we are constructing a reality in one way rather than another. Metaphors are important linguistic devises that amongst other things contribute to the way we think and the way we act socially (Fairclough 2003).

**Discourse and discourse analysis**

Contributing to the social constructionist approach is the notion of ‘discourse’. The notion of ‘discourse’ has been profoundly influenced by Foucault’s analyses of society and social practice (May 2002). Foucault developed the concept of ‘discourse’ by which he meant the “different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice” (Fairclough 1996, p.39). The concept of ‘discourse’ has been refined over time and according to Shapiro ‘discourse’ can be “any systematic or disciplined way of constituting subjects, objects, and relationships” (Shapiro 1987, p. 365); and
Parker, for example, defines discourse as “a system of statements which construct an object” (Parker 1992, p.5. Quoted in Burr 1995, p. 48). For Fairclough (2003), discourse actively constitutes or is involved in constructing society in its various dimensions. Fairclough maintains that discourse “constitutes the object of knowledge, social subjects and forms of ‘self’, social relationships, and conceptual frameworks”(Fairclough 1996, p. 39).

In addition to the notion of discourse, the notion of ‘discursive practices’ developed by Foucault describes the linguistic practices and the use of socially charged language to produce dominant fields of knowledge. Foucault’s analysis highlights the struggle between dominant social, cultural and political power groups within society. Foucault noted that as a result of this struggle, a discourse is not either true or false; rather, truth is simply the effect of power relations that create and constitute a prevailing form of truth and meaning (Richardson and Fowers 1998; Fairclough 1996). Fairclough (1996) on the other hand takes a somewhat different view than Foucault. Fairclough (1996) remarks that ‘discursive practices’ contribute to reproducing society, that is, to the construction of social identities, social relationships, systems of knowledge and to belief systems.

To provide a sound epistemological base for the analysis contained in this study my analysis is sited within a social constructionist perspective and Discourse Analysis (DA) is the prime analytical tool. DA provides the capacity to observe and analyse policy language from a different perspective, to make the familiar strange; as Cooper and Burrell suggest;

“In order to see the ordinary with a fresh vision, we have to make it 'extraordinary', i.e., to break the habits of organized routine and see the world 'as though for the first time'; it is necessary to free ourselves of normalized ways of thinking which blind us to the strangeness of the familiar.”

(Cooper and Burrell 1988, p. 101)
Discourse Analysis (DA), that is, “the analysis of a …text in order to reveal either the discourses operating within it or the linguistic and rhetorical devices that are used in its construction” (Burr 1995, p 184) was selected as the analytical tool to be used in this thesis because, as Cooper and Burrell show, discourse analysis renders the ‘familiar strange’. Additionally, Jacobs (1999) suggests that the analysis of discourse offers the prospect of developing new insights into the social policy process (Jacobs 1999).

Yet, it is precisely here that the criticism of relativism is levelled at DA. The criticism of relativism relies on the position that there must be recourse to some form of objective truth to allow the analyst to make judgements between competing versions of reality. In rebuttal I argue that DA is not a method through which the ‘truth’ is revealed, rather DA is a technology that provides a consistent and rational explanation of social policy positions (Jacobs 1999). The question of bias is probably one of the harder criticisms to counter. DA involves an active choice whereby I have selected individual texts for analysis and presented my own analysis and opinions on how Army policy shapes and is shaped by discourse. I have already stated that I am a participant/observer. My observations are biased by my attitudes and socialisation, however I return to the remarks made by Garrett (1998) defending subjectivity in research; she argues “that all knowledge is already ‘biased’ by the knower’s standpoint” (Garrett 1998, p. 33) and by reference to other texts and actors I have been able to evaluate and critique my own biases.

**Critical discourse analysis (CDA)**

I propose to take a discourse analytical approach to the analysis of the employment services institutional field analysing the texts that are constituents of this field by using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is characterised by sensitivity to language and has a number of definitions and takes a number of forms (Grant et al. 2004; Parker 1999; Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy 2004; and Parker 1999). Moreover, this sensitivity has driven my selection of CDA as the appropriate analytical technique in this study. As Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) note CDA has;
“established itself internationally over the past twenty years or so as a field of cross-disciplinary teaching and research which has been widely drawn upon in the social sciences and the humanities (for example, in sociology, geography, history and media studies), and has inspired critical language teaching at various levels and in various domains”

(Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, p. 1)

The genealogy of CDA can be traced through the work of Fairclough (1989;1996; 1997; 2002; 2003) and van Dijk (1993). I do not rely on Fairclough alone, but refer to and incorporate the work of other theorists such as Kress (Kress 1995), Lemke (1995) and Grant (2001) in my methodology. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) suggest that the theoretical framework of CDA is eclectic, and indeed note that “there is no such thing as a uniform, common theory formation determining CDA; in fact, there are several approaches.” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, p 6), there is in fact a plurality of theory and methodology that characterises CDA. This plurality of theory and methodology is a specific strength of CDA. As Chouliaraki and Fairclough note:

“We see CDA as bringing a variety of theories into dialogue, especially social theories on the one hand and linguistic theories on the other, so that its theory is a shifting synthesis of other theories, though what it itself theorises in particular is the mediation between the social and the linguistic - the ‘order of discourse’, the social structuring of semiotic hybridity (interdiscursivity). The theoretical constructions of discourse which CDA tries to operationalise can come from various disciplines, and the concept of ‘operationalisation’ entails working in a discipline the way with the logic of one discipline (for example, sociology) can be put to work in the development of another (for example, linguistics).”

(Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, p. 16)

The “mediation between the social and the linguistic” referred to by Chouliaraki and Fairclough, is particularly relevant for the theory formation process in CDA. There is in fact a complex web of interrelationships between discourse and social practice. CDA contains the interpretive concern of exploring the social construction of reality, together with the role of exploring discourse in social processes. It emphasises the
fact that these processes are never neutral or unbiased (Heracleous 2004). CDA exposes the role of language in the social construction of meaning, analysing the ideological, “complex, blurred and interpenetrating nature” (Grant et al. 2004, p. 11) of discourse. CDA is based on a three-dimensional framework concentrating on an analysis of discourse practice, social practice and text. Within CDA any discursive event is analysed on the basis of it being simultaneously an instance of discourse practice, an instance of social practice, and a piece of text (Fairclough 2003; Fairclough and Wodak 1997).

Specifically, I will (a) examine the form of discourse practice used to construct social meaning, (b) examine the actual content, structure and meaning of the text, and (c) consider the social context in which the discourse practice or discursive event is taking place. In particular, I will analyse the socially constructed nature of the employment services field using CDA to illuminate the nature of power relations evident in the discourses used in its construction (Grant et al. 2004; Broadfoot, Deetz, and Anderson 2004).

In summary, CDA is a technology that is interpretive, context sensitive, and often historical. The CDA methodology deployed in my thesis will analyse discourses empirically to discover how ideology permeates and is manifested in discourses and I use CDA to highlight discourse’s organisational and societal effects. In using CDA, as my analytical technology I de-mystify and challenge the status quo and, ideally, contribute to social change. My use of CDA has not been merely a scholarly endeavour but is a committed form of social intervention (Heracleous 2004). I argue that CDA provides a robust theoretical technology for exploring the social construction of institutions because it explicitly focuses on the process of social construction through which institutions are constituted. To provide a more focused analysis I propose to analyse textual material taking an integrated approach based upon the work of Fairclough (1989), Kress (1989; 1995) and Blommaert (2005). In approaching the notions of social practice, language, text and discourse Edwards (1997) suggests that “the primary and defining thing about language is how it works as a kind of activity, as discourse” (Edwards 1997, p. 1). In analysing policy and the ways in which policy is mediated, I am interested in the use of language; the political
choices, the social practices manifested in text and the dialectical interconnections evident in text and manifested in discourse (Fairclough 2003).

**Research design**

My research is a qualitative CDA of text. Initially my research was planned to focus on texts created in three areas, namely government and Departmental texts, Salvation Army texts and interview transcripts obtained from TSAEP staff. Tender texts from government are relatively easy to obtain and were obtained under a Freedom of Information Request. As part of the development of my application to enrol in the PhD programme, I contacted the Army to obtain permission to access their papers. I was granted that permission and subsequently enrolled into the programme and the TSAEP contract papers were made available to me.

To illuminate my study I conducted private interviews with a number of senior staff from peak industry organizations such as Jobs Australia and the National Employment Services Association (NESA) and other Job Network organisations. Additionally, I was present at the Jobs Australia’s ‘State of Play’ Forum held in Sydney on 14 May 2007 in Sydney attended by Job Network agencies from across NSW. The work of all of these agencies is informed both by government contractual requirements. These interviews provided additional background to enable me to draw informed conclusions from the widest possible number of sources.

My research is qualitative and did not rely on statistical sampling; what was required was a sufficiently large enough textual corpus from which to draw and analyse discoursal themes. Another consideration was the size of the textual corpus. Theses texts, taken together with government and Army tender texts provide a very large textual corpus; a larger textual corpus would be unmanageable.

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8 Jobs Australia is the “national peak body for nonprofit organisations that assist unemployed people to get and keep jobs.” (Dutertre 2007, p.1)
A gap in this study

Inevitably, there are limitations to this research; much has happened to the Job Network since its inception in 1997 and the Job Network and the employment services field has been constantly evolving. Of particular interest were the changes brought about in 2006 when the Australian government under Prime Minister Howard introduced new welfare measures under the Welfare-to-Work initiative. The introduction of this social policy initiative in 2006 marked the beginning of a new set of controls on Job Network agencies. I particularly wanted to assess these changes at the street-level and examine the manner in which these changes impinged on the practice of street level staff.

Accordingly, my research design included interviews with TSAEP street-level staff. The aim of the interviews was to enrich the research with the personal observations of staff. Interviews with street-level staff were planned based on the theoretical notion, first described by Lipsky (1980) that street-level staff or to use Lipsky’s term ‘street-level bureaucrats’ play an important role in implementing and shaping social policy. Lipsky (1980) explored the ways in which street-level bureaucrats implement policy. This implementation represents a mediation of policy. Lipsky’s work has been extended by Brodkin (2000a) and Maynard-Moodey et al (1990; 2000; 2003) all of whom show the importance of street-level bureaucrats in the mediation of policy. Lipsky (1980), for example, shows that the actions of street-level workers actually constitute the services delivered by an agency. “Moreover, when taken together the individual decisions of these workers become, or add up to, agency policy” (Lipsky 1980, p. 3).

Furthermore, Lipsky and others describe another version of rationality at the street level that often thwarts hierarchical control efforts. Street-level bureaucrats bring their own ideas, perceptions, expectations, values, agendas, and abilities into an agency. In particular I wanted to explore the relevance of Maupin’s claim that “In dealing with the concerns and pressures at the point of the service delivery, street-level bureaucrats often frustrate the rational
achievement of formal program goals” (Maupin 1993, p. 336). Since there was a real possibility that TSAEP consultants could “frustrate the rational achievement of formal program goals” required by the Howard government and perhaps the Army’s polices as well, I wanted to observe if this was the case. To explore the mediation of policy by street-level staff in TSAEP I set out to interview TSAEP street-level staff. The street-level workers in Employment Plus are its ‘consultants’ and they are responsible to assist the unemployed to find work. They are also required to locate vacancies; and one of their more onerous tasks is to ‘breach’ people, that is recommend to Centrelink the reduction or indeed the cessation of a persons welfare allowance for a failure to properly meet their Activity Agreements, a matter more fully explored in Chapter 8. The consultants, as a group, are therefore a key site to explore the mediation of policy discourse within TSAEP.

I received the necessary approvals from senior Army management and mid-range Army management. I also received approval by the University of Western Sydney’s Human Ethics Committee. The interviews were to be semi-structured and each interviewee was to be provided with a list of questions together with a copy of the Consent Form one week prior to the interview. Interviews were to be conducted at a time and place of the interviewee’s choosing. The interviews were to be taped and the transcripts were to be sent to the interviewee for correction, alteration and expansion. The selected portions of the interviews in this study were only to be used after the interviewee’s approval was received.

As part of the Ethics approval and research design, the interviewees were free to withdraw from the study without penalty and TSAEP management would not be aware of the identity of the individual interviewee nor of the totality of their individual comments. As required by the Ethics approval, I did not approach any prospective interviewee but asked TSAEP to advertise my interest. After initial agreement, I obtained the necessary approval from senior Army management and proceeded to obtain UWS Ethics Committee approval. The necessary approvals were granted and I requested TSAEP management to advertise my research. My initial request was refused. I then spoke to the Army’s senior management and my request was finally
This lack of willingness to be interviewed was perplexing. There are many reasons for the reluctance of staff to be interviewed, and many readings are possible. There could have been reluctance due to the uncertainty of anonymity and privacy, the staff may have been too busy, and that was most certainly a factor; but more importantly, the staff may have been uncertain of my motives as researcher. This was particularly so because as I show in Chapter 6 the issue of a refund to the Department for large amounts over-claimed by TSAEP through a clash of ideologies was still fresh and reverberating at all levels within TSAEP at the time of my research. In all probability, and even though I was a member of The Salvation Army, this explained the difficulties with mid-level management as well as the lack of interviewees. Given the Army’s organizational discourses regarding accountability, a matter explored in Chapter 6, and the fact that staff members at all levels were still very sensitive, the reticence to be interviewed and to have the interview recorded is perhaps understandable though frustrating and disappointing for me as a researcher.

The textual corpus

The term ‘corpus’ used by Fairclough (Fairclough 1996) refers to the discourse samples that are to be analysed. The size and nature of the textual corpus is dependent upon “knowing what is available, and how to get access to it” (Fairclough 1996, p. 227). There are three major problems in assembling a textual corpus; one is the time-frame represented in the corpus; time represents access to the process of change. Secondly, social practice, the corpus needs to be typical and representative of the social practices under analysis; and finally, the practical matter of size, too large a corpus will diffuse the analysis and a corpus that is too small will compromise the integrity of the project. I have taken these issues into account and here describe the textual data collected and analysed in this study. From such a large range of available textual material I chose the most relevant texts. The textual samples have been selected as the most representative of the available texts. These texts show the range and scope of the discourses influencing government and Army policy. These sample texts are here arranged in Chapter order for ease of reference.
Chapter 4

I approached senior Army management and received their written approval to use their tender texts. Additionally, part of the textual corpus includes two Army reports that are freely available to the public. The first ‘A Working Society’ (Coventry 1997) represents, amongst other things, the Army’s initial attempt at influencing the debates surrounding the abolition of the CES-EAA’ the introduction of the Job Network and the issue of full employment. This text spells out the Army’s ethical and social position relating to employment, particularly of the marginalised and long-term unemployed and provides a number of recommendations to influence government, the bureaucracy and the public. **Text Samples 1-7** (Coventry 1997, p 4) outline the Army’s social policy in relation to full employment. As I show in Chapter 4 Army leadership in Australia is committed economic policies that promote full employment. The texts selected for analysis demonstrate this policy position.

**Text Sample 2** is a cartoon representation of the Army’s policy position. As Burr explains a text may be “anything that can be read for meaning” (Burr 1995, p185). A cartoon is able to represent visually a narrative, enabling the consumer of the text to read into the text their own meanings to enhance the meanings that Coventry develops by use of the As Singh et al (1991) show, one of the legitimate means of coercion available to government is the use of symbolism. How a particular policy is presented and the meaning ascribed to it aides governments attempt to evoke and reinforce particular behaviours in policy constituents.

As I show throughout this study, William Booth’s texts are of prime importance in the Army’s discursive strategies both internally and externally. **Text Samples 3-5** are quotations from William Booth. As I show in Chapter 4 such an inclusion legitimises the report within the Army in Australia. These **Text Samples** are included in the Analysis in Chapter 4 as crucial examples of this Army practice. Finally, **Text Samples 6 - 7** are perhaps the most cogent **Text Samples** speaking to the Army’s policy position supporting full employment.
Chapter 5

The Job Network was created and is sustained by a vast number of texts. Many of these texts demonstrate the bureaucratic nature of the network and reveal the nature of the quasi-market. Chapter 5 is an explication of the Job Network and in this chapter I explore the creation and the discourses at work in the creation, development and maintenance of the Job Network. In constructing the Job Network much of the government documentation is treated as ‘commercial in confidence’. And as I show in Chapter 4 this discourse allows the bureaucracy to enhance its own power and to be less accountable (Considine 2003). This secrecy relates particularly to tender documents submitted by tenderers such as the Army, however I was able to obtain Text Samples that are representative of the texts creating and sustaining the Job Network and they found at Text Samples 8-11.

Text Sample 8 is representative of the first government texts creating the Job Network. As an initial text, it performs an educative function for both the Department and the prospective Job Network members. Consequently, it performs an important role in the genealogy of all of the Departmental texts that follow. Text Samples 9-11 are important in that they reveal a major discourse within the Job Network, namely the market discourse and Text Sample 9 notes the establishment of a “competitive market” (Department of Employment 1997, p. 5).

Text Sample 12 is representative of perhaps the most important text within the Job Network, namely the contract text. Text Sample 12 presents the coercive influences in the Job Network and displays the power imbalances within the Job Network between the Department on one hand and the Job Network agencies on the other.

Chapter 6

In Chapter 6 I explore issues of accountability and governance. One of the fundamental discourses developed by William Booth for the Army was one of organisational independence. This discourse is explored at Text Sample 13 and this Text Sample is one of the major elements guiding the Army. Its inclusion in Chapter 6 is important not only for the analysis contained in this chapter but for the analysis
and conclusions that follow. I show that within the Army a corollary to organizational independence is the matter of accountability. Chapter 6 explores the issue of accountability and analyses the issues surrounding a large refund to the Department required of the Army. **Text Sample 14** is the Army’s public response to this issue and is therefore an important text for two reasons; it forms part of the Army’s discursive strategy to maintain legitimacy with the public and it outlines the Army’s position on public accountability.

**Chapter 7**

**Chapter 7** explores the discursive construction of the citizen as consumer of employment services. **Text Samples 15-17** are important in that they contribute to the construct of the citizen as consumer. This construction is aided by a major text within the Job Network, namely the Job Seeker Classification Instrument (JSCI). At **Text Samples 18-19** are typical texts samples from the JSCI. These texts exemplify the processes that work on the construction of the consumer in the Job Network.

**Text Samples 20-23** are taken from what the Army terms its Position Statements. These Statements form part of the Army’s discursive strategies to influence Australian society and indicate the Army’s stand on various social issues in the Australian community. They are key texts indicating the importance that the Army places on individual responsibilities of citizenship. **Text Samples 24-26** are important since they come from the Army’s tender documents. These **Text Samples** demonstrate the way the Army engages government in seeking to gain contracts to supply government services. **Text Samples 26-33** come from various Army sources and are important because they demonstrate the development of the notion of citizenship by the Army in Australia and these texts demonstrate the fusion of Army discourses with the notion of citizenship.
Chapter 8

This chapter explores the notions of the market and of citizenship in the context of the practice of ‘breaching’. A fundamental discourse underpinning the Job Network and contributing to the social practice of breaching is the discourse of mutual obligation. This discourse was outlined by Prime Minister Howard in a number of speeches and a representative portion of these speeches is at Text Sample 34; the themes outlined by Howard are then taken up by the Department and are included at Text Samples 35-36. The Army’s position regarding contact with the state is at Text Sample 37. This Sample Text is the basis of an exploration of Catherine Booth’s development of discourses relating the Army and the state and the treatment of citizens. The Army’s opposition to the discourse of mutual obligation is presented in Text Sample 38, 40 and 41. The practice of breaching causes organizational tension in the Army and these tensions are explored in a report by Jones (2001) at Text Sample 39.

In the analysis of discourse Fairclough (Fairclough 1996) noted the ways in which the corpus is enhanced by the use of supplementary data. This supplementary data includes interviews, public utterances and a series texts provided by Wilma Gallet, the founding CEO of TSAEP. To enhance the data I interviewed a number of senior Army bureaucrats both within the wider Army and in TSAEP. To check and illuminate the observations of Army management I interviewed senior industry leaders, as well as attending an industry forum ‘State of Play’ held in Sydney on 14 May 2007 developed by Jobs Australia. At that forum, a number of Job Network agencies were present and their public remarks together with the remarks of agency bureaucrats are included in the analysis in this thesis. Their remarks enriched this study and enabled me to test and verify my analysis.

Textual analysis

Based upon the foregoing I used my own variant of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyse the mediation of social policy. In my analysis I

(a) examined of the form of discourse practice used to construct social meaning,

(b) examined of the actual content, structure and meaning of the text, and
(c) considered the social context in which the discourse practice or discursive event took place.

In particular, I analyse the socially constructed nature of the employment services field using CDA to illuminate the nature of power relations evident in the discourses used in its construction (Grant et al. 2004; Broadfoot, Deetz, and Anderson 2004).

The Text Samples were interrogated to explore the intertextuality evident in the texts. As Fairclough (1996; 2003) shows, intertextuality can be more or less explicit. To explain the presence of other texts Fairclough (1996) the concept of “manifest intertextuality” by which he means “the explicit presence of other texts in a text” (Fairclough 1996, p.10). Finally, the texts were interrogated in terms of genre. Genre, as an analytical category, is valuable since it adds another dimension to the analysis of the discourses incorporated into texts (Fairclough 2003). In addition, in analysing a text in terms of genre, the text was interrogated to ascertain how it figured within and contributed to social action and interaction in social events (Fairclough 2003). The analysis of genre followed the pattern recommended by Fairclough, that is, the analysis contained in this thesis proceed from the “genre chain, to the genre mixtures in a particular text, to the properties of individual genres” (Fairclough 2003, p. 48)

Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, I remarked that there is much to be gained from a social constructionist approach to the study of social policy. I further noted that the social constructionist approach provides a sound ontological and epistemological base for the analysis of social practice, and the discourses that influence the development, mediation and delivery of policy.

In this chapter, social constructionist theory was explored together with the relevant literature relating to social constructionism. I argued that this perspective is useful in conceptualising the ways in which policy is developed and mediated. In particular, I commented on the sensitivity to the use of language in the social constructionist perspective. I then outlined the analytical theory that informs this thesis. My analysis continued with an exploration of the important theory of ‘neo-institutionalism’.
In this chapter, I discussed the methodological frame for my research. This frame included the epistemological, ontological and methodological aspects that inform my interpretive method of analysis. The social construction of meaning combined with a sensitivity to language are fundamentally part of the social construction perspective. Flowing from this discussion, I devised an analytical technology that was in effect my own variation of CDA. I remarked that my approach is particularly useful in exploring the way governments influence and in turn are influenced by the charitable not-for-profit organisations providing welfare services contracted out by government in Australia.

The next Chapter will commence my analysis with an exploration of the construction of the Army with particular reference to the Army in Australia. The Chapter will explore the genealogy of the Army and will explore its discursive construction and the colonising effect of the metaphor of an army. Additionally, the Chapter will explore the bureaucratic nature of the Army. The organizational imprinting by the founders of the Army William and his wife Catherine Booth is remarked on and their textual legacy is explored. Included in the next chapter will be an analysis of the genre templates and formative discourses that have influenced and continue to influence the Army and its leadership today. Finally, my exploration will conclude with an analysis of the Army’s policy position on full employment.
Chapter 4

Constructing an Army

Introduction

In the last chapter, I developed a methodology to analyse texts related to social policy, the Army and the Job Network. This methodology included the epistemological and methodological aspects that inform my analytical approach. I take the position that the creation of meaning and political use of language is fundamentally part of the social construction perspective. Within this perspective, I explored the theoretical construction of the organisational field and its importance particularly in categorising the isomorphic pressures evident in organisational fields. Flowing from this discussion, I devised an analytical technology that was in effect my own variation of critical discourse analysis (CDA).

In this chapter, I commence the analysis in this study with an analysis of The Salvation Army. The adoption of the military metaphor profoundly influenced and moulded the Army. The effects on the Army of the adoption of this metaphor are explored in the chapter. Included in the analysis will be an examination of the Army’s patterns of governance, the organisational structures and the place of social services within the organisation and the discourses supporting the Army’s entrance into the Job Network.

This chapter explores the powerful effect that William Booth had in imprinting the Army as an organisation. This analysis will include an exploration of the textual legacy and genre templates created by both William and Catherine Booth that regulate the life of the Army. Included in this analysis will be an exploration of the organisational discourse of work. The Booths and the early Army leadership laid down very strong organisational discourses and the discourse of work was one of the most pervasive of these discourses. These discourses colonised both the Army’s
social, organisational and in many regards its Army’s religious life. This chapter further explores the development of the Army\(^9\), including an examination of the isomorphic pressures acting externally and the internal meaning systems that sustain the Army and its use of the military metaphor.

**The literature describing an Army**

The Salvation Army commenced in Australia in Adelaide in 1876 (Sandall 1955). Brown et al (Brown et al. 2000) describe the Army as a ‘*pre-welfare state*’ welfare organisation. As an organisation, The Salvation Army is deeply embedded in Australian society and it is highly visible and instantly recognizable (Thoeming 2004). The Army is both a church and a social welfare organisation. The Salvation Army has been involved in the provision of social services in Australia for over 120 years (Green 1986; Sandall 1947). Its involvement commenced with a service to homeless prisoners in Melbourne in 1886 (Booth 1912).

Yet research into the Army’s social policy and history as it relates to Australia is almost nonexistent. My MA (Hons) thesis (Garland 2004) is the only scholarly work that critically analyses Army social policy in Australia that is currently available. There have been three doctoral theses written in Australia analysing various aspects of Army beliefs and practice. Firstly, Irvine’s doctoral thesis (Irvine 2002), relating to Army financial accounting practices with particular reference to the Army in England and Australia, secondly, Pentecost’s (1997) doctoral thesis exploring the Army’s Doctrine of Holiness and, finally, Hazell’s (1999) thesis relating to William and Catherine Booth’s educational theories applied to the education of children in Sunday schools in the Army. Additionally, Irvine (1999) authored a journal article relating to the financial and accounting practices of the Army. The only major

\[9\] In this thesis I have followed the Army convention of naming the Army as a ‘Movement’. There is some debate within the Army as to weather the Army is a ‘Church’ or a ‘Movement’. Commissioner Les Strong (Strong 2006a) for example, noted that the Army is a ‘Movement’. I take a position based upon the observations of Niebuhr (1929), which I believe to be persuasive, that the Army, as an organisation, is evolving and contains both Sect-like and Church-like elements. This issue is also pursued by Hill (2006) in his examination of Army leadership structures and by Moyle (2007). Like all organisational processes the dialogue continues
history of the Australian Army is that by Major Barbra Bolton (1980) and this history forms part of the Army’s discursive strategy in Australia. This is not to say that Bolton’s text is invalid, however as Pentecost (1997) observed in his thesis, anything written by Officers and published by the Army usually forms part of the Army’s discursive strategies.

A number of histories and articles have been written either completely about the Army or containing significant sections relating to the Army, including Hattersley (1999), Green (1996; 2005), Walker (1991), Ervine (1932), Winston (1999), Valverde (1991a; 1991b), Inglis (1963), Eason (2003), Bailey (1984) and Murdoch (1994). The majority of these texts were written by professional academics. They provide a critical analysis of the Army and its internal organisational discourses and discursive strategies. However, apart from Winston (1999), dealing with the Army in the US and Valverde (1991b) dealing with Canada, the remaining texts deal primarily with the Army in England.

Two recent texts exploring the influences working on William Booth, the Army and its leadership are by Woodall10 (2005) and Hill11 (2006). Woodall’s text explores the social influences acting upon two seemingly disparate people, William Booth and Karl Marx. Woodall notes that Booth and Marx arrived in London in the same year, 1849 and compares and contrasts the approach of these two remarkable men to the question of poverty. Woodall shows that Booth sought micro-change whereas Marx sought systemic change. Hill’s (2006) work explores the construction of leadership within the Army and is perhaps more inwardly focused. Hill (2006) explores the profound impact of the William Booth and the foundational imprinting by him on Army leadership patterns. The influence of the Booth on the construction of the Army is immense and Hill (2006) shows how the pattern of leadership influences the discursive strategies adopted to maintain the institutional structures of the Army.

10 Woodall is currently a Lt Colonel in the Army serving in the Army’s International Headquarters in London.

11 Currently a Major serving in New Zealand
Some publications relating to the Army’s involvement in social welfare have been located. All are valuable, nevertheless as with Woodall’s work, they relate to the Army’s welfare work principally in England; they include, Walkowitz (1988), Coutts\(^\text{12}\) (1978), Fairbank (1983), Gauntlett (1946) and more lately his son Gauntlett (1990). As part of the discursive strategy developed by the Army’s founders namely, the Booth family and their contemporaries, the Army published a number of official histories. This practice continues; these histories include Sandall (1947; 1950; 1955), Coutts (1968) and Gariepy (1999). These histories, though forming part of the Army’s discursive strategy to influence public debates and perceptions about the Army are, nevertheless, highly informative.

Some histories have been written and privately published, such as that by Sampson (1988), a short work relating to Salvation Army Bands in Australia and Carpenter’s (1993) biography of her father, General George Carpenter\(^\text{13}\), their work was primarily written for consumption by members of the Army. The texts serve an internal purpose, supporting and affirming organisational discourses. These texts provide excellent background information and insights into the thinking of many authors within the Army. A number of ephemeral papers were passed to me by Salvationists interested in this study, these include Scotney’s (1970a) examination of the Army’s social services in Australia up to 1970. Scotney (1970b) delivered another paper at the same seminar and the second paper examined the place of the Army’s social services in Australia. A paper by Nauta (1998), a US Officer, is interesting for its support of the Army entering into commercial competition. A paper by Iliffe (1921) was passed to me and is historically valuable containing as it does many of the Army organisational discourses current in the 1920’s. Illife’s paper was released closer to the foundation of the Army and as a result still echoes some of early Army discourses, weighing as it does against the “tendency towards the improvement of things rather than men” (Iliffe 1921, p. 48); important because the paper contributes to the Army’s discursive construction of the citizen within the Army\(^\text{14}\).

\(^{12}\) The Army’s 8\(^{\text{th}}\) General

\(^{13}\) An Australian and the Army’s 5\(^{\text{th}}\) General.

\(^{14}\) See Chapters 7 and 8 for a more detailed exploration of the Army’s construction of the citizen.
Perhaps the most universally recognised text in the Army’s discursive strategy is ‘The War Cry’, the Army’s newspaper published around the world and in Australia. Copies of the Australian ‘The War Cry’ are available on hard copy and on microfiche at the Army’s Heritage centre at Bexley in Sydney. ‘The War Cry’ is an excellent source of information relating to Army history and as a source of Army organisational discourses. Following the publication by the Army of Booth’s ‘In Darkest England and The Way Out’ (Booth 1890), the principle Army social policy text, the Army in England published ‘The Darkest England Gazette’. Since the Army was growing internationally, this journal had a somewhat parochial title and the title was changed to ‘The Social Gazette’ in 1894. This publication was discontinued in the 1910 but remains an excellent historical resource to examine the development of organisational discourses surrounding the Army’s social work. In ‘The Social Gazette’ many of the early social services are reported, including those in Australia. Copies of ‘The Social Gazette’ are available at the English Salvation Army Heritage centre in London and in the British Library on microfiche. Copies of this publication are not available at any centre in Australia.

‘The War Cry’ not only forms part of the Army’s discursive strategy, it contains a large amount of internal Army information. Seeing a need for a more direct communication with Salvationists the then Commissioner Gowans15, the Officer in charge of the Australia Eastern Territory, introduced the journal ‘Pipeline’ to meet this need. This journal reveals the organisational discourses embedded in the Army and reveals the internal strategies adopted to strengthen and mediate these discourses. Articles from ‘Pipeline’ such as ‘Catching the vision of a Salvation Army’ (Strong 2006a) and ‘The heart of our mission’ (Strong 2006c) demonstrate the strength of internal discourses and the continuing effects of the imprinting by Booth of the Army’s. This imprinting is still strongly evident the modern Army, for example, pictures of William Booth are found in Army halls and citadels (churches)16 today. Not available publicly is the Army publication ‘The Officer’, a journal published by the Army’s International Headquarters in London, for and by Officers. The Journal is not confidential, but has a restricted distribution to Officers of the Army. I was able,

15 Subsequently General Gowans the Army’s 15th General.

16 See Appendix 1 for an explanation of the current usage of the word citadel.
through internal contacts, to gain access to this publication. ‘The Officer’ contains
discussion on a wide range of theological, organisational and social issues, for
example ‘An Approach to a Theology of Christian Social Service’ (Carpenter
1978). As a road map to Army organisational discourses ‘The Officer’ is most
valuable.

As part of the Army’s internal discursive structures, the Army has its ‘Orders and
Regulations’. The ‘Orders and Regulations’ mediate, maintain and strengthen the
Army’s institutional boundaries and internal structures and copies of the early Army
‘Orders and Regulations’ are available at the Army’s Heritage Centre in Sydney. The
‘Orders and Regulations for 1898’ (1898) and the subsequent ‘Orders and Regulations
for Officers for Men’s Social Work’ (1915) and ‘Orders and Regulations for Officers
for Women’s Social Work’ (1916) and the various revisions that follow provide a
useful source to identify the organisational discourses, discursive strategies and
internal pressures maintaining the Army.

There are a number of other useful texts publicly available. These include the Army’s
annual ‘Year Book’17 published by the Army’s International Headquarters in London.
Each ‘Year Book’ includes a summary and short history of all of the Army’s current
activities on a worldwide basis. The Army’s Web Site in Australia at
http://www.salvos.org.au (Accessed 1 December 2007) is a useful source of
information, particularly as the site contains the Army’s ‘Annual Financial Reports’
for both Australian Territories18, namely the Australian Southern Territory comprising
Victoria, Tasmania, South and Western Australia and The Australia Eastern Territory
comprising the rest of Australia.

17 See the ‘2006 Year Book’ (King 2005) for example.

18 For an explanation of the Army organisational structure see Appendix 1
In the beginning

The historical context into which the Army was born is important. As Irvine notes;

“Historical contexts are highly significant, since at the founding of an organisation; there will be structures and norms to which the new organisation must align if it is to be successfully established. New organisations must be seen as legitimate subunits of the larger social system”
(Irvine 2002, p. 5.)

Murdoch (1994) shows that, initially, the Army differed little from many evangelical organisations struggling for recognition and membership in the later half of the 19th century in London. The organisation known today as The Salvation Army, evolved through a number of organisational identities. In 1865, the organisation that was to become ‘The Salvation Army’ was named The Christian Revival Association; it then became The East London Christian Mission, then The Christian Mission. The name The Salvation Army was adopted in May 1878 (Hattersley 1999; Newman et al. 1995; Begbie 1925; 1926)

In the Chapter 3, I explored the creation of the institutional field and the isomorphic pressures acting on organisations within that field. I noted the significant advantages of imitative or mimetic behaviour in an organisation. DiMaggio and Powell (1991) show that when an organisation faces a problem with ambiguous causes or unclear solutions, mimetic pressures influence the organisation to copy other successful organisational structures. The creation of the Army and the associated mimetic pressures evident in its creation came at a pivotal time in British History. The birth of The Salvation Army came at a time when the British Empire was rapidly expanding and Britain and was developing into a mature urban-industrial society. Britain was becoming economically powerful and prosperous (Roberts 1999). Against this background of wealth and privilege there existed substantial inequalities in wealth. Britain still experienced high levels of social dislocation, poverty, homelessness, crime, drunkenness, hunger and prostitution (Woodall 2005). The established denomination, the Church of England proved ineffective in alleviating poverty and the effects of social upheavals caused by the industrial revolution. Emerson wrote of the Church of England in 1856 that, “it is the church of the gentry, but it is not the church
of the poor” (Emerson 1966, p. 147). Consequently, there was a niche in British society that could be filled by an alternative and The Salvation Army filled that niche.

The military influence on British life within Queen Victoria’s reign was particularly strong. Militarism was a dominant discourse at the time the Army was established, a discourse that became fashionable in the Jubilee year of 1897, but as Briggs (2001) and Roberts (1999) confirm, one that had its genesis in the British culture prior to the Jubilee beginning with Queen Victoria’s reign. As Fairclough (1996; 2005) shows, organisations do not exist in a vacuum, they are deeply influenced by the social structures in which they exist; and the Army was influenced by this dominant social metaphor. The Army was not alone in being influenced by the military metaphor. This discourse became a dominant metaphor for British and Empire Christianity. For example, in 1865 Sabine Baring-Gould, an Anglican Priest composed the hymn ‘Onward Christian Soldiers’ (Sandall 1947). This Anglican hymn is still used occasionally in the Army today.

The last organisational identity prior to the creation of the Army was the Christian Mission and its pastors/priests were known as Missioners. Through the social influence of militarism, a number of Missioners were giving themselves the title of ‘Captain’, most notably Elijah Cadman an early leader who eventually became the Commissioner19 in charge of the Social Wing of the early Army in Britain (Sandall 1947). Begbie (1925; 1926), amongst others, notes that William Booth coined the name The Salvation Army in a discussion between his son Bramwell and George Scott Railton, a senior figure in the establishment of the Army and a close friend to the Booths, in May 1878.

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19 The rank of Commissioner equates to that of Cardinal in the Catholic Church. The construction of this rank is interesting. The rank has overtones of the ‘great commission’ given by Christ to his church to evangelise the world. Additionally, the rank draws on the British colonial designation of Commissioner or governor of a British colony in the Victorian era.
The mimetic pressures acting on the creation of the Army are clear. The adoption of the military metaphor introduced mimetic pressures that influenced the Army’s founders to adopt the military model that imitated military structures and style. The pressure to which the early Army leaders submitted were clearly voluntary in nature, the leaders did not have to choose, nor were they required to choose the military metaphor as their primary way of being in the world. However, as W. T. Stead, a friend of the Army and one time editor of the Pall Mall Gazette wrote of The Salvation Army;

“From the moment that the Army had received its title its destiny was fixed. The whole organisation was dominated by its name”.

(Quoted in Sandall 1950, p. 1.)

Booth and the early Army leaders not only adopted the military metaphor; they appropriated the genres of uniform, rank system\(^{20}\), brass bands, military paraphernalia and military organisational structures and reworked them to their own organisational needs. This appropriation of genres also had the advantage of creating a church that was and remains distinct and easily identifiable.

The social environment influencing the resources available for organisational development have been commented on by Stinchcombe (1965), Korsmann et al (1994), Reitan and Waago (1994) and Staudsonmair (1985). Within the Army, these influences included the influence of government, other churches and the prevailing militaristic discourses of Empire. Another major influence was the financial contributors to the Army. Financial contributors were and still are required by the Army in order to acquire the resources needed for the commencement and continued operation. Falsenstein and Schwartz (1993) point to the negative influences working against the establishment of new organisations and one of the prime influences is the lack of financial resources. To reduce the effects of this limitation Booth sought to develop external linkages and network relations both with the society and with the State, notably with government (Booth 1912).

\(^{20}\) Booth included some ranks of his own such as ‘Adjutant’ which is a military function and not a rank. This rank is no longer in use in the Army today.
The discursive foundations of an Army

William Booth is, quite rightly, credited as the foundational figure overshadowing the Army even today, for example, General John Larsson (2005) commented;

“*But more especially, General William Booth, though 77 years old in 1906, was still very much in charge of his Army—indeed, so much so that commentators speculated as to whether the Movement could long outlive the awaited demise of its Founder.*”

(Larsson 2005, p. 1).

However, to claim that William Booth was the sole founder is to ignore the profound effect that William’s wife, Catherine had on the Army and its discursive strategies and textual repertoire. Commentators such as Green (1996), Bennett (2003) and Hattersley (1999) point to Catherine as a co-founder of the Army. Catherine’s texts are equally important in developing organisational genres and Army discursive strategies. For example, her text ‘The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State’ (Booth 1883), still published by the Army in the USA, forms an important part of the foundational texts in the Army’s textual and genre repertoire. The discourses found in Catherine’s text together with William’s ‘Social Addresses’ (Booth 1912), another foundational text, legitimise the receipt of state funding and engagement with the state.

The founders of the Army sought to create a different social relationship with government and other institutions within the state than that created by the military. In constructing a military identity, the Army’s founders appropriated a state sanctioned social formation and widened the Army’s sphere of influence by the provision of welfare services. The Army’s policy development was a direct attempt to use the state’s own language to redefine, expose and highlight the state’s perceived deficiencies. These deficiencies are outlined in Catherine’s Address ‘The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State’ (Booth 1883) and in William’s ‘In Darkest England and the Way Out’ (Booth 1890), hereafter truncated to ‘Darkest England’, a practice common in the Army. Part of the government response in Britain and Australia was to codify the Army’s existence in Legislation culminating with what finally became the British Salvation Army Act of 1980 and the various Acts and
Ordinances in each of the Australian states and territories such as ‘The Salvation Army (New South Wales) Property Trust Act. 1929’.

The use of the military metaphor and particularly the appropriation and use of the word ‘Army’ by William Booth and his associates contains a particular discursive advantage. As Weber (1947) clearly shows, an army is one of the chief coercive institutions within a state. By adopting the military metaphor and using militarily charged dress, organisation and bureaucracy the Army’s founders created an intertextual order (Fairclough 1996). That order drew on the language and socially understood meanings of the military to create another social formation in the state that was immediately recognisable and whose discursive practices contained a readily understood language. The Salvation Army imitated the forces that worked to preserve and protect the state. In effect, the founders of the Army appropriated the language and discursive structures of the military for their own purposes. However, the founders of the Army sought to create different institutional relationships with government and other institutions within the state than that created by the military. The Army was in fact a Protestant Church, but one that increasingly became involved in the provision of social services, thus filling the niche vacated by the established denomination, namely, the Church of England (Irvine 2002). In constructing a military identity, the Army’s founders appropriated a state sanctioned social formation and widened the Army’s sphere of influence by the provision of social services.

Booth’s discursive strategies were not without critics, Hattersley (1999) comments on Queen Victoria’s dislike of an army outside her control. Ashley (1891) a contemporary critic, supported the notion of the ‘deserving and undeserving poor’ and was deeply critical of Booth. Both Sandall (Sandall 1955) and Ausubel (1951) point to other critics of Booth, most notably C S Loch, the then Secretary to the London Charity Organisation Society. No less a person than Professor T. H. Huxley was antagonistic to the Army as an organisation and William Booth in particular. Huxley’s criticism included claims that the social regeneration scheme outlined in ‘Darkest England’ was “socialism in disguise” and the Army was lead by a man (Booth) notable for his “corybantic Christianity” and his “militant missionaries” (quoted in Sandall 1955 p. 82). Ashley (1891) in particular criticised the Army on ideological
grounds, namely Booth’s clear opposition to the discourse of the ‘undeserving poor’, whereas Huxley’s opposition was, strangely, both personal and idiosyncratic, he did not like Booth or his Army. Booth and his supporters countered this opposition by the practical application of the social principles outlined in ‘Darkest England’, principally through the creation of the ‘Darkest England Scheme’ that formed the foundation of Army social work.

**Imprinting an Army**

Hattersley (1999) persuasively observes that both Catherine and William Booth were, by any standards, remarkable people. They possessed drive, motivation and ambition combined with a deeply held spiritual conviction and a deep concern for the poor and the marginalised. Hattersley (1999) remarks on the strength of their belief structures and the intensity of their drive and charismatic personalities. Catherine and William imprinted the putative organisation with their deeply held beliefs. William Booth’s personal characteristics are of profound importance to the Army as an organisation both at its founding and in the late 20th century Army in Australia. Combined with the isomorphic pressures acting on organisations, identified by DiMaggio and Powell (1991), the notion of imprinting at an organisation’s founding is important for the future of the organisation. Foundational influences on organisations have been commented upon by Scott who remarks that “organisational forms acquire characteristics at a time of their founding which they tend to retain into the future” (Scott 1991, p. 179). In supporting Scott’s observations Ronstadt (1994), Rosa and Scott (1994) and Capaldo (1997) point to the complexity of creating a new movement such as the Army.

The literature relating to organisational imprinting is growing and Capaldo (1997), Dacin (1997), Irvine (1999), Rondstat (1994), Scott (1991;1994a) and Dobrev (2005) all comment on the importance of the charismatic individual in the formation of organisations. Commenting on the effect of founders upon organisations Irvine, for example, observes;
“Founders have a huge influence on the structure of the organisations they set up. Their own particular characteristics and practices often become institutionalised in the organisation’s culture. This was certainly the case with William Booth, the strong, charismatic founder of The Salvation Army. His vision, together with his own poor background…had a profound affect on The Salvation Army…”
(Irvine 99, p. 5)

The process by which new organisational forms acquire characteristics at the time of their founding and which they tend to retain into the future, is a phenomenon comment on by Stinchcombe (1965) in his influential essay. Stinchcombe (1965) offered illustrative evidence concerning the imprinting process and noted how the basic features associated with various industries; the characteristics of the labour force, establishment size, capital intensity, relative size of the administrative bureaucracy, ratio of line to staff workers, proportion of professionals within the administration are fundamental influences that continue long after an organization is founded (Scott 1991).

In later studies, both Capaldo (1997) and Colomy (1998) show that the type of program, staffing, and structures employed in a population of organisations vary according to what and when the organisations were established. The mechanism that accounts for these variations embodies DiMaggio and Powell’s (1991) typology that organisations acquire certain structural features not by rational decision or design but through the action of social isomorphic pressures. The persistence of these pressures over time translates into organisational forces that take on a taken-for-granted character. These internal structures developed at an organisations creation form an important basis for the organisation’s persistence over time, an important issue in the Army’s ability to maintain its character and organisational structures (Scott 1991).

Understanding the imprinting, the organisational structures and the social norms to which the Booths aligned the Army and the discursive traditions and conventions created by the Booths in establishing the Army is crucial in developing an understanding of the influences on Army social policy at its birth and in today’s context. Amongst other things, neo-institutional theory emphasises the cultural/cognitive models of organising and meaning making within organisations. As Scott
(2001) shows an institution exits at a higher level of analysis than the organisation and he notes that:

“institutions are composed of cultured-cognitive, normative and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources provide stability, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources provide stability and meaning to social life”

(Scott 2001; p. 48)

Scott (1991) describes how this web of cognitive, normative and regulative elements or ‘pillars’ contribute to the maintenance and stability of institutions such as the Army. Booth was able create an institution infused with his values that reached far beyond the technical and instrumental aspects of the Army in its day to day operations (Selznick 1996). Booth developed an organisation whose normative pillar included an institutional environment that not only consisted of his values and beliefs but also included both a formal rule system combined with an informal and diffuse rule system that structured expectations and enforced internal obligations. In many ways his values became normative for the Army and as such were “prescriptive, evaluative and obligatory” (Scott 2001; p. 54). Booth developed for the Army a common, shared meaning system based upon both the military metaphor and a Methodist theology (Bailey 1984). He developed a shared set of conceptions, frames and models of organising and an internal institutional logic. Booth’s model of organizing created a continuing set of expectations guiding the Army’s members in the provision of functions and services based on a set of material practices and symbolic constructions.

Booth’s drive, motivation, ambition and personal convictions combined with deeply held spiritual beliefs continue to influence the Army today. An example is text written by Commissioner Les Strong, Territorial Commander, Australia Eastern Territory in September 2006. This text aimed at strengthening and affirming organisational values used the Frontispiece of Booth’s ‘Darkest England’\(^{21}\) and quoted William Booth directly;

\(^{21}\) Reproduced as the Frontispiece to this thesis.
“...I have found my destiny. This well known statement by Salvation Army Founder William Booth to his wife Catherine marked their and their families commitment to ministry among the poor and marginalised in the east end of London 140 years ago”
(Strong 2006a, p 10-11).

On the Booths and their textual legacy

Texts are important since they are one of the principle ways in which organisation members’ contribute to the development of shared meaning. Philips et al (2004) show that organisations are primarily constructed through the production of text. They argue that organisation “are constituted by the structured collections of texts” (Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy 2004, p. 638). The importance of William Booth to the Army can never be underestimated and part of the importance of William Booth lays in his textual legacy. Additionally, his textual output is important because of the genre repertoire and genre templates they created for the Army. His texts led to the creation of Army genres such as reports, Orders and Regulations, addresses, letters, religious meetings and articles (Orlikowski and Yates 1994).

Booth was an incessant author and the Army became the chief vehicle for the publication of his and his family’s texts. The Army, amongst other things, published Booth’s ‘General Booth’s Journal’, ‘Servants All’, ‘Talks With Officers’, ‘The General’s Letters’, ‘Salvation Soldiery’, ‘The Training of Children’ as well as ‘Darkest England’ (Sandall 1950). Many articles by Booth such as ‘Socialism’ (Booth 1886) were published in the ‘War Cry’ and journals such as ‘The Darkest England Gazette’. In all of his texts, Booth consistently argued for a Christian view opposed to a humanist view of social problems and their solution. These texts only represent a small amount of the written body of work by William Booth, but they, together with Catherine’s textual output, form the foundation for the Army’s textual repertoire and discursive strategy as well as supporting and developing the institutional structures of the Army.
Perhaps one of the more important texts, especially for the later Army, was the Army’s ‘Orders and Regulations’, texts that mediate, regulate and support the institutional life of the Army. Following the adoption of the military metaphor, Booth developed a system of command and control for his new movement turning to the military genre of ‘Orders and Regulations’. Booth’s (1878) initial ‘Orders and Regulations’ form the first part of a genre chain that continues in the Army today. This chain includes the Army’s Official Minutes, a sub-set of the Orders and Regulations, which rely on the military genre for their power and legitimacy. The genre chain also includes memos, meetings and policy announcements that flow from the origin Orders and Regulations (Orlikowski and Yates 1994).

The first ‘Orders and Regulations’ were issued in 1878. Initially, there were to be four parts but only one was ever published. Since the Army, as an institution, was at a formative stage, Booth had neither textual templates nor internal genres to use as guides in the development of Orders and Regulations. Consequently, William Booth drew on external texts as the guide for the Army’s internal texts. In the Introduction of the ‘Orders and Regulations’ of 1878 Booth stated;

“It is a remarkable fact that our system corresponds so closely to that of the Army and Navy of this country that we have been able to use even the very words of many of their regulations, and of Sir Garnet Wolseley’s Soldier’s Pocket-book”.

(Booth 1920, p. 9)

Here Booth acknowledges what Fairclough (1996) terms a manifest intertextuality, that is “the explicit presence of other texts in a text” (Fairclough 1996, p. 10). Additionally, Booth relied on the military metaphor and expressly relied on the power of external texts to legitimise the powers and privileges of the office of General of The Salvation Army and the leadership structures of the Army. The military genre of Orders and Regulations was appropriated by Booth and reworked to validate and strengthen the putative institutional structures of the Army. By reworking the discoursal genre of military Orders and Regulations Booth created a new genre template for the Army. The Army’s genre repertoire still contains Orders and

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22 Mentioned by Catherine Booth (Booth 1883) and in the Preface of the 1878 Orders and Regulations themselves.
Regulations and though modified somewhat over the years the genre is still clearly identifiable in the Army.

Of Army symbols, language and metaphors.

In adopting the military metaphor so completely the founders, and subsequent members of the Army, have continued to embellish the discursal order through the creation of unique symbols relying on the military metaphor for meaning. The name of The Salvation Army is represented in two of its symbols\(^\text{23}\); namely,

![Figure 1](http://salvos.org.au)

![Figure 2](http://salvos.org.au)

Though somewhat muted the use of symbols and the military metaphor is strongly evident in the Army in Australia today. The traditional Army crest is at Figure 2 and the newer more publicly known crest is at Figure 1. Figure 2 is now used more often internally and was designed by Captain William Ebdon in 1878 and the only major addition and alteration to his original design was the addition of the crown some time later that year (The Salvation Army 2007b).

The original Army symbol at Figure 2 draws upon both religious and social discourses for meaning. A full explanation of the meanings incorporated in the symbol at Figure 2 by the Army can be found on the Army’s web site (http://salvos.org.au).(Accessed 22 August 2007). On the other hand, the military metaphor is evident in the use of the swords; secondly, the use of the crown draws on the imperial discourse of the British monarchy as well as the possessing a Christian

\(^{23}\) Both Figure 1 and Figure 2 have been taken from http://www.salvos.org.au (The Salvation Army 2003b) and used with the kind permission of the Commissioner in charge of the Australia Eastern Territory, The Salvation Army. Please note that these symbols may not be used without that permission.
eschatological meaning. However, though the Army has invested its own meanings in this crest\textsuperscript{24}, to the public the military and the monarchic discourses are self-evident.

A Canadian Salvation Army Officer, Walter Peacock, designed the Crest at Figure 1. Peacock designed and introduced the Red Shield into the Canadian-held trenches in France in 1915. The Army soon after adopted the Red Shield on a worldwide basis (The Salvation Army 2007). This Army symbol draws directly on the military metaphor in its use of the shield. Militarily the shield is used as a heraldic device by armies throughout the world. By adopting this far simpler symbol, the leaders of the Army were able to draw on a readily identifiable military symbol for meaning and invest the newly designed symbol with its own meanings.

Figures 1 and 2 indicate how completely Booth and his supporters adopted the military metaphor. In doing so Booth created the organisational conditions allowing the military metaphor to invade, inhabit and change the putative institution. This invasion took various forms and was manifested in the use of dress, such as uniforms; religious symbols, including the use of flags, military style brass bands, religious worship, organisational pattern, governance and command structures and by the use of military titles and ranks, specialised language\textsuperscript{25}, textual production and discursive strategies. All of these elements, based upon the military metaphor, use military terms invested with religious and organisational meaning.

The Army is not unique in its adaptation of language. In 1926, Gramsci noted that;

\begin{quote}
In reality, every political movement creates a language of its own, that is, it participates in the general development of a distinct language, introducing new terms, enriching existing terms with new content, creating metaphors, using historical names to facilitate … comprehension."
\end{quote}

(Gramsci 1992, p. 126.)

\textsuperscript{24} See also the 2006 ‘Year Book’ (King 2005) for a commentary on the meanings incorporated by the Army in its crest and shield.

\textsuperscript{25} The modern Salvation Army is now concerned to alleviate any public misunderstanding of its language and its internal usage consequently each official ‘Year Book’ has a glossary of Army terms. See the 2006 ‘Year Book’ Pages 35-36 (King 2005) and also the Australia Southern Territory Web Site (The Salvation Army 2007b).
With the growth and development of the Army by 1878, the movement needed to speak to its own people as well as the general population in Great Britain and then worldwide as the Army spread across the globe. The use of its own language based upon the military metaphor, together with the uniform, made the Army recognisable both in Britain at the time, in the British colonies and around the world. As a consequence of the deliberate choice to adopt the military metaphor members of the Army used military language, uniform, symbols and architecture as the means to propagate its message. Both Walker (2001) and Bailey (1984) show joining the early Army required a convert adopt the military metaphor entirely. It required adopting military discipline and dedication as indicators of organisational membership. Within the Army in Australia, in concert with most of the Army world, the uniform is evolving to meet climatic and social expectations.

In Chapter 3, I indicated that discourse figures in three main ways in social practice; namely, in genres (as ways of acting), discourses (as ways of representing) and styles (ways of being) (Fairclough 2003). The military metaphor created an understandable and easily recognisable style or way of being for Salvationists. As a style, the military metaphor enabled members to change their identity and become soldiers, musicians, slum sisters, hallelujah lasses, officers and local officers (Winston 1999)(Moyles 2007). The Army’s way of being required its members to wear military uniform, in effect, the discourse regulated the clothes that the Salvationists wore, the language they spoke and the organisational pattern that governed their lives (Walker 2001; Fairclough 2003).

The adoption of the military metaphor as the modus operandi of the Army provided its members with a system of shared understandings and a method of meaning making. The adoption of a uniform for all members of the Army is a major social action within that metaphor. Davis wrote in relation to dress, “I would hold that clothing styles…constitute something approximating a code” (Davis 1992, p. 5.). The code embodied in the Salvation Army uniform made the Army immediately

26 The name for enrolled members ‘sworn in’ to the Army on a formal basis.

27 A local officer equates with Elders in other churches, though in the Army they hold military titles such as Sergeant Major, Band Master and Quatermaster etc. See the Army web site at (The Salvation Army 2007b) and also Appendix I
recognisable but also conveyed a specific suite of meanings both to its own members
and to the public. These meanings included the fact that wearer belonged to an
organisation that provided social services.

**Organizing an Army**

The early leadership group Army surrounding the Booths was a disparate group.
Booth himself had had a chequered career in the Methodist Church, flirting for a time
with the Congregationalists (Ervine 1932). Consequently, the adoption of the military
metaphor enabled this group to develop and control a swiftly growing organisation.
Mimetic isomorphism, described by DiMaggio and Powell (1991) is observable in the
creation of the Army. Additionally, in Chapter 3 I noted that discourse figures,
amongst other things in styles, or ways of being (Fairclough 2003). Part of the
Army’s style or way of being in the welfare state and the clear creation of mimetic
forces is the Army’s bureaucracy. The British government and its institutions were
the bureaucratic model adopted by the Booths for the administration of the Army. As
the Army grew, its bureaucracy continually mirrored the structures of the British
government. Additionally, since Australia inherited British governmental institutions
the Army’s bureaucratic style was easily adapted to Australian conditions. Examples
of this adoption of the organisational structure of the British government are to be
found in the early Army’s creation of a bureaucratic structure controlling the Army’s
work overseas named the ‘Foreign Office’ 28, and in the ‘Immigration Office’ set up
as part of the Darkest England scheme (Sandall 1947; 1950; 1955).

The Army’s bureaucratic model has continually evolved but retains the centralised
character developed by the Booths. The organisational pattern of the Army is
important in understanding how the Army develops policy. Like all armies, the
organisation of the Army is hierarchical, focused on the General and International
Headquarters in London. However, as the Army has evolved a deal of local authority
has been delegated from London, particularly in the development of policy.

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28 The controlling department for all of the Army’s work overseas.
A Chief of Staff with the rank of Commissioner assists the General, there being only one General in charge of the Army at any one time. Under the Chief of Staff, the world is divided into geographic regions under the oversight of International Secretaries with the rank of Commissioner. This group is the single most powerful group in the Army and together with the General and Chief of Staff they develop the overarching policy for the Army. This includes matters of theology, social policy, personnel, and policies relating to promotion and discipline, the rank structure, development of new Territories, finance, relationships with the wider Christian church, international aid and relief, amongst other issues. Each Territory is under the control of a Territorial Commander, and the International Headquarters model is replicated at the Territorial level with the Territorial Commander being supported by a Chief Secretary and a Cabinet comprised of senior Officers. Social policy is developed and approved within this structure at the Territorial level (King 2005).

It is true that social policy can be developed and interpreted at the lowest level by employees, as pointed out by Lipsky (1980) and Brodkin (2000a). Moreover, depending on the character of the service and its manager, social policy developed at the service level of the Army can sometimes be very different from the actual policy developed by the International and Territorial management of the Army. Nevertheless, at the top, overarching social policy is developed by and through the Cabinet with the assistance of various Boards such as the local Finance Council a body established by Orders and Regulations to oversee the Army’s financial management in each Territory.

**Social service and the Army**

Social services have been an essential part of the Army from 1870, some five years after the beginning of the Army. From 1870 to 1874 in London, the Army provided a feeding service called ‘Food for the Millions’ designed to provide inexpensive, nourishing meals for the poor (Sandall 1953). However, this service closed due to a lack of funds in 1874 (Fairbank 1983). Initially at least there was a tension amongst the early Army leaders about the place of social services in the Army and indeed whether or not the Army’s efforts should be directed solely towards Christian

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29 See also Appendix 1
evangelism. Moyles (2007) remarks on the tension that arose within Army ranks with the implementation of William Booth’s Darkest England scheme, noting that George Scott Railton, one of Booth’s earliest supporters and one of the Army’s first Commissioners, publicly opposed Booth’s creation of an Army Bank and an Insurance Company to provide financial services to the poor and needy. Moreover, Moyle (2007) and Carpenter (1978; 1983) acknowledge that William Booth was occasionally ambivalent towards social work. Carpenter (1983) observes, “after many years of incredible labour in the social work of the Army, he [William Booth] came to wonder whether he ought to have diverted any of the energies of the Army from strictly evangelical responsibilities” (Carpenter 1983, p. 3). Historically there has been a tension in the Army between social service provision and the evangelical activities of the Army. In remarking on the place of social services in the Army, Bramwell Booth, William Booth’s eldest son and the Army’s second General noted;

“Every Officer, whether Social or otherwise, ’ said the General, ’should recognise that the social work is an expression of the essential life, of the very soul of the Army. It is not just an appendage; it is not something which is being stitched onto the garment as an afterthought. It is more even than a limb of the organisation. It could not be cut off, as could a man's arm or leg, without permanently affecting the life of the whole body. The Army's social work could not be got rid off (if one could conceive of such a thing) without a grave loss to the Army's virility as a whole; a serious reduction in its vital powers”.

(Booth 1920, p. 58)

This statement by Bramwell Booth indicates the extent of the organisational tension in the Army at that time. Though muted in some respects by the Army’s command and control structures the statement reveals that the continued provision of social work was clearly a cause of tension in the Army. By publicly stating his position, Bramwell successfully challenged and rebutted the internal pressures that sought to cease the Army’s social work. However, Moyles notes that;

“it is debatable whether or not full-scale social work effectively segmented The Salvation Army’s congregation” providing a “disincentive to traditional forms of Army evangelism” causing a drop in membership”

(Moyles 2007 p. 128)
And again;

“Once the two-part mission was established, Salvationists knew that they now belonged to a very different religious organization. The uniforms they wore, instead of denoting membership of an army of salvation, now more often meant a dispenser of free meals, a helping hand in time of trouble, a friendly face waiting in jail, or the possibility of shelter for the night”

(Moyles 2007 p. 128)

Nevertheless, with the publishing of ‘Darkest England’ (Booth 1890) Booth and the Army’s course was fixed and though still questioned by some in the Army, institutionally the provision of social work is now a taken-for-granted social practice and not seriously challenged in any way.

Internationally, the Army’s first formally established welfare service began in Melbourne in 1883 at the request of the Victorian government (Booth 1912). This service housed homeless former prisoners and was popular with the colonial government of Victoria who finally funded the service (Sandall 1955). From this distant view the funding, accountability and outcomes required by the Victorian Colonial government are lost. However, Sandall (1955) does remark that the Victorian Commissioner of Police of the time stated that, “members of the brigade are more successful as reclaiming agents than any other society however well intentioned” (Sandall 1955, p. 6.). Note the use of the military metaphor in the noun ‘Brigade’. The military metaphor was particularly dominant in the Army in Australia no less than in Britain. In addition to the “Prison Gate Brigade” (Sandall 1955, p. 3) conducted by the Army in Victoria and of relevance to this thesis; one of the world’s first employment bureau was developed by the Army in Victoria in 1889 at the request of and funded by the Melbourne City Council (The War Cry 1890a).

30 That is through the Finance Council and bureaucratic systems and with the approval of senior officers of the day notably Colonel Barker a foundation officer of the Army in Australia (Sandall 1947)
The organisation developed by the Booths was, initially, a militaristic organisation with autocratic control vested in the General. Booth sought to control the creation of Army social services to prevent the creation of services that might clash with the developing Army ethos, style and organisational imperatives. To facilitate the ‘Darkest England Scheme’ Booth created a bureaucratic structure to control social services within the Army. The purpose of these structures was to control and regulate the development of social services and social policy in the Army. Bureaucratic control formalised the development of social policy and controlled the service types and regulated Army-government and Army-donor contacts. By the development of this bureaucracy, the General and the various Territorial Commanders are able to regulate social services together with the range and cost of social services. Bureaucratic control also means that a brake is placed on developing inappropriate services that may not meet the Army’s prime objective to serve the poor and marginalised. Initially, the service range was outlined in ‘Darkest England’. However, this range has changed over time to adapt to the needs of each country in which the Army operates but it is still under firm bureaucratic control

As society changes so do social needs and through the Army’s bureaucratic structures, combined with its organisational experience and expertise, built up over of 140 years the Army is able to enter new areas of service with comparative efficiency, particularly in Australia. Conversely, the Army is able to move out of service areas with the same efficiency. Army social services are so organised that various services may be abolished without affecting the wider Army. For example, in the past the Army has had immigration services which were associated with the Darkest England Scheme (Sandall 1950); conducted large manufacturing businesses such as importing and selling tea in Australia (The War Cry 1897) and even for a time conducted a matrimonial agency (Booth 1890). Generally, the expressions of social work such as TSAEP are created as semi-independent sub-units of the whole. Each sub-unit operates within the boundaries articulated by the Army’s Orders and Regulations, Official Minutes, cabinet instruction and the requirements of the several Army Property Trust Acts as well as the legal structures of the Australian States. TSAEP is

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31 See the latest Army 2006 ‘Year Book’ for a list of welfare services provided by the Army (King 2005).
unusual in that it is one of the few Army services centrally managed from one office in Melbourne. TSAEP has a controlling Board comprising the senior officers of each Australian Army Territory and includes lay personnel as well. This Board sets local policy for TSAEP within the overarching policy structures of the Army in Australia, and the policies and procedures of TSAEP must conform to Army policy. Since it is a sub-unit, should the Army decide at some time in the future to dispense with TSAEP it can do so without real harm to the total Salvation Army organization in Australia.

Since the Army has limited financial resources, it concentrates on its core services. This has meant that the Army has historically moved into and out of various social services, particularly when other sectors of the economy are able to provide these services effectively and efficiently. This flexibility enables the Army to concentrate on areas of what it perceives to be the greatest need. The Army’s membership of the Job Network conforms to this pattern. When the Army created TSAEP, unemployment in Australia was high, with a national average unemployment rate of 8.4% (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1997) and the Army sought to address this need. Along with all Army social services in Australia, the senior policy group in the Australian Territories, namely the Cabinet reviews the need for the service on an annual basis and existing services may be discontinued and new ones established according to evident need and in line with Army policy.

The Army’s social services allow the Army to engage in the debates that form and inform the Australian welfare state. Army membership in Australia in 2005 was approximately 26,000 (King 2005). With such a small membership it would have little political power but for its social operations. The social operations are supported by a wide variety of funding sources including Army commercial activities such as Salvo Stores, investments, by government, combined with philanthropic donations and the annual Red Shield Appeal in Australia. This Appeal is part of the discursive strategy that projects the Army’s organisational persona to the Australian public, reinforces the Army’s legitimacy and allows the Army a voice in the development of social policy in Australia.
Here I introduce a word of caution, the Army in its early history was a flexible organization, as I have shown above, it moved into and out of social services and work creation schemes very quickly. As the Army has grown and aged it has become conservative. William Booth was always a social conservative and this is observable in the Frontispiece. At the top of this diagrammatic presentation of Army policy is displayed the colonies overseas. Booth depended upon the British Empire for some of the Army’s Immigration services. Stead the editor of ‘Darkest England’ wrote;

“You will recognize my fine Roman hand in most chapters. You will be delighted to see that we have got the Salvation Army… for Imperial unity. I have written to [Cecil] Rhodes about it and we stand on the eve of great things”


The Army’s conservatism has been remarked on by Hogan (1987) who suggested that though the Army was read as a radical organization in the Australian community with its bands, uniforms, women in leadership, strange language and indeed its “corybantic Christianity”, as an organization it was socially conservative. Latterly, Mitchell observed,

“The idea that the Salvos should be involved in Australia’s policy making on employment and drugs is enough to make you laugh or cry, depending on your mood. The Salvation Army is a 19th century organisation trapped in the concepts of that far off time.”

(Mitchell 1999, p. 33.)

This conservatism is remarked on by Roberts and Strickland (2008) quoting Dr Eileen Baldry speaking at a Salvation Army community conference in Melbourne in 2007;

“It’s certainly my observation that The Salvation Army is very committed to social justice in one-to-one or family intervention (even community work). But how social justice translates to systemic change, to the way in which we understand the country we live in and the way in which we understand our (organisation) perspective has been lacking and in decline. Another aspect to that is all of us (as Australians) have bought into the ‘fear campaign’ in speaking out (and not being conservative) over the last ten years… this has been reflected in the way the Salvation Army operates both publicly in its statements and its public
dealing with the government (I’m not sure about privately). The Salvation Army is viewed by most of the people in the social justice field I’m associated with as a generous, warm hearted but very conservative organisation.”

(Quoted in Roberts and Strickland 2008, p. 133)

Roberts and Strickland (2008) note further that over the past ten years Salvation Army officers who have made statements and challenged the inaction of government or of a political party have often been criticised within the Army. The involvement in “politics, particularly when it means siding with one side of the political divide, is seen to be messy and risky” (Roberts and Strickland 2008, p. 134). These two Officers comment on a prevailing fear within the Army in Australia to criticise government. They suggest that in doing so there will be a threat to the receipt of funding or that the Army as an organization will lose the respect of government and so threaten its legitimacy. These Officers remark that “The reality is that governments, although they may be angry or annoyed at the criticism, are unlikely to respond by withdrawing funding if the criticism is well founded and robust” (Roberts and Strickland 2008, p. 134). Regardless of whether this threat is real, the Army in Australia is now regarded internally and externally as an organization that is conservative and one that moves slowly into, and in particular, out of social service provision, in other words its ability as an organisation to move quickly has noticeably attenuated.

The Army and the world of work

The discourse of work is one of the pre-eminent discourses within the Army. This is confirmed through a number of sources and by a number of observers, for example Bailey suggests that;

“Many factors served to reinforce commitment to the Salvation Army: a distinctive uniform and the military paraphernalia; the reality and memory of persecution; and as an authoritarian organisation which insisted that cadres rely on the locality for subsistence, requiring young Salvationists to "live very hardly and work hard"

(Bailey 1984, p. 142).

32 Major Campbell Roberts is an Officer of the New Zealand Territory and Captain Danielle Strickland is an Officer serving in the Australia Southern Territory.
Moreover, Bailey is not the only observer who has identified this discourse. Hill, for example notes how the discourse of work in the Army is elevated to such a degree that the calling to lead the Army as an Officer is described as “the work” (Hill 2006, p. 92). The discourse of work still permeates the Army and as Hill shows, this discourse is still current in the Army and may be found in phrases such as “enter the work”, “still in the work” and “leave the work” (Hill 2006, p. 92). Perhaps the most original text demonstrating the importance of the discourse of work is found in the Frontispiece of ‘Darkest England’, reproduced as the Frontispiece to this thesis.

The Frontispiece is a diagrammatic representation of the major discourses to be found in ‘Darkest England’, many of which are evident in the Army today. The Frontispiece shows the discourse of work framing the evils evident to Booth in England. The evils of marginalisation were to be addressed by the provision of shelter, work, education and training and where possible immigration to the British Colonies. The notions of immigration and the British Colonies is an echo of Empire, a construct that Booth never questioned. However, it is clear from the Frontispiece that work was a major solution to the poverty evident in Britain at that time. The Capstone of Booth’s ‘Darkest England Scheme’ was work and this is to be found in the phrase “WORK FOR ALL”. The provision of employment for marginalised citizens is a strong organisational discourse created, initially by Booth, and sustained in subsequent generations throughout the organisation. At the 1911 at the International Social Officers Councils William Booth said:

“Some form of employment is absolutely necessary to the successful conduct of every department of our Social effort. Especially will this be the case in connection with that kind of reformation we desire to effect, and among the class of people whom we seek to benefit...without employment you cannot really help them.”

(Booth 1912, p. 110)

Booth understood the difficulties in finding employment for the unemployed. In Darkest England Booth noted;
“It is obvious that the moment you begin to find work to the unemployed labour of the community, a matter what you do by way of the registration and bringing together of those who want to work on those who want workers, there will still remain a vast residuum of unemployed, and it will be the duty of those who undertake to deal with the question to devise means of securing them employment.”

(Booth 1890, p. 122)

The question of the “residuum” exercised Booth’s mind considerably, a matter critically assessed by Woodall (Woodall 2005). The residuum was estimated by Booth to be 10% of the British population in 1890, in Booth’s terms they were the “submerged tenth” (Booth 1890, p. 24). The impact of the “submerged tenth” weighed heavily on Booth. What worried Booth was the level of poverty, the number of people in poverty and the durability of that poverty (Woodall 2005). Yet Booth did not approach the problem of poverty using lens of the dominant liberal discourse of the ‘deserving’ verses the ‘undeserving’ poor. Booth took a subversive approach, as Fishman notes; “For William Booth there was no undeserving poor: to be poor was, by definition, to be deserving.”(Fishman 1988, p. 37). And using Booth’s own words “their miseries are to be their passport to our assistance” (Booth 1912, p 93.).

Booth was familiar with the “miseries” of the poor. Booth was by profession a Pawn Broker (Green 2005). In that profession he undoubtedly saw the effects of poverty and exploitation. His manifest disgust of the exploitation of the poor was to be translated into many discourses that influence and resonate in the international Army today. One such area of exploitation was in the production of matches. The most popular matches of the day were produced using phosphorus. Phosphorus is a dangerous chemical and inhalation of this chemical causes necrosis of the bones in the face and jaw; the disease was commonly called ‘phossy jaw’ because of the disfigurement and fearful suffering and eventual premature death of match workers. Workers suffering from this disease would because of the phosphorus, glow green in the dark. On 11 May 1891 William Booth opened a match factory at Old Ford, London (Sandall 1955). The matches produced in the Army match factory were safety matches and no phosphorus was used in the manufacture. What is of interest is the matchbox itself. A copy of the labels on the matchbox is at Figure 3; of interest here is the phrase “Fair Wages for Fair Work” across the face of the matchbox. In this phrase William Booth was
publicly stating his and the Army’s opposition to exploitation of workers and of poverty.

Salvation Army Matchbox c1902

Booth sought to ameliorate unemployment either through other commercial activities, such as the creation of a Tea Company in Australia (The War Cry 1897) or through the creation of training schemes and the creation of labour bureaux. Employment services and the development of commercial activities has been a fundamental internal social practice for the Army since the publication of Booth’s ‘Darkest England’ in 1890. In the Appendix of ‘Darkest England’ Booth said “our object being to place in communication with each other, for mutual, advantage, those who want workers and those who want work” (Booth 1890, p. XXIV).
The Army joins the Job Network

Historically, The Salvation Army has been involved in finding employment for the unemployed since the publication of ‘Darkest England’. Additionally, since the Army published Catherine Booth’s text ‘The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State’ (Booth 1883) the Army has had an internal discourse expressed in the discursive strategy of engaging the state and being part of social debates taking place. In 1982, an Officer in the Australian Southern Territory prepared a report entitled ‘The Salvation Army’s Response to Unemployment’. This report was prepared at the direction of the then Commissioner Burrows. Resulting from this report The Salvation Army, in the Australia Southern Territory became involved in training services for the long term unemployed.

The Salvation Army’s re-involvement with employment services began with the development of services under the ‘Skillshare’ model introduced by Prime Minister Hawke’s Labor government on 1 July 1989. Employment and Training services were first introduced in the Eastern Territory in Queensland under The Salvation Army generic title of ‘Employment 2000’, or ‘E2000’ in Fortitude Valley. Subsequently, a further service was established in Brisbane, at Moorooka under the same name. A third service was developed at Prospect in western Sydney under the name ‘Joblink’. The Joblink service had a wide range of programmes funded in part by the Commonwealth Department of Education Employment and Youth Affairs (DEETYA) and services funded by the New South Wales state government Department of Training and Education Co-ordination (DTEC).

These employment services were extended in 1995 by the introduction of Contracted Case Management (CCM) for the long term unemployed. Contracts for these services were issued by the Employment Services Regulatory Authority (ESRA), for and on behalf of the Commonwealth government. ESRA was established by the Prime Minister Keating’s Labor government as part of its White Paper initiative ‘Working Nation’. The Australia Eastern Territory had Contracted Management services in Brisbane, managed by E2000 at Fortitude Valley, in Newcastle, managed by the

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33 Later General Eva Burrows, the Army’s 13th General.
Newcastle Youth Services, in Blacktown, under the direction of Joblink and in Surrey Hills, at Foster House, a high volume homeless men’s hostel. When the Job Network was introduced in 1998, the Army possessed a long-standing organisational commitment to assisting marginalised, unemployed citizens. In speaking of the Army’s commitment to employment and the decision contract for Job Network contracts Jones (2001) noted that in light of its internal discourses the Army possessed a;

“… commitment to enabling disadvantaged people to gain employment and has entered the contracted-out job network system … believing in the need for community providers whose motive is not profit-driven but rather the provision of genuine outcomes.”

(Jones 2001, p. 7)

The development of the Job Network and indeed the reconstruction of the Australian welfare state has at its heart a hegemonic discourse of government inefficiency and indifference\(^{34}\). This discourse is encapsulated in the words of Prime Minister John Howard who stated;

“\textit{The second principle on which it is based, this policy, is my very strong belief, often repeated, and I repeat it again today, that the organisations that are best able to deliver these services are in fact organisations like the Wesley Mission, they know the problem, they’ve had coalface experience, they know even better than the sternest bureaucrat in the Department of Finance and Administration how hard it is to raise money and therefore how prudent you have to be in the spending of your donors’ dollars.}

\textit{Can I just finally say that, I’ve long admired the work of Wesley Mission, as I do the work of great organisations as the Society of St Vincent de Paul and Anglicare, and the Salvation Army, and the Smith Family – all of those other great organisations who I unapologetically believe know more about helping the underprivileged and the marginalised in our society than anybody else could possible hope to know and I therefore believe very strongly, that the best way that we can help those underprivileged and marginalised people as a Government is to help those great organisations that fuse practical experience with a sense of mission, a sense of commitment born in the main, but not exclusively of course, by the great Judeao-Christian ethics that instruct and continue to influence our community.”}

(Howard 2004, accessed 2/7/2005)

\(^{34}\) See Chapter 5 for an analysis of the Job Network.
Howard’s statement indicates the trajectory of neo-liberal criticism of the bureaucratic model of the welfare state. The hegemony of this ideology intersects with an Army organisational discourse produced by William Booth in 1911. Booth said,

“…when these nations find an organisation willing to do
the work for them, and able to do it better and more
economically than they can do it themselves, they ought
to be willing-nay, glad-to pay whatever expenditure may
be involved in the task”

(Booth 1912, p. 110)

In effect, there is a historical conjunction of neo-liberal ideology and Army organisational discourse. The move to develop a quasi-market to provide welfare services to the unemployed coincides with Booth’s discourse. But it does not necessarily coincide with the Australian Army’s policy positions relating to unemployment outlined in the text ‘A Working Society’ (Coventry 1997).

‘A Working Society’; the frame

The Army’s policy positions relating to unemployment are found in the text ‘A Working Society’ (Coventry 1997). The genealogy of ‘A Working Society’ can be traced within the Army’s textual repertoire and genre templates back to the foundational policy text ‘Darkest England’ (Booth 1890). In writing ‘Darkest England’ Booth drew on two literary genres current in Victorian England the travel literature of late Victorian Britain and the social discovery literary genre. Booth drew on Henry M. Stanley’s 1890 publication ‘In Darkest Africa’. Stanley’s exploration and his work ‘In Darkest Africa’ lead to the use of the metaphor of the city as jungle in such other titles as ‘Darkest Russia’ and ‘Darkest New York’ (Driver 2001). As Valverde (1996) shows, Booth drew on the dialectic of the familiar and the unfamiliar; namely, the jungle in early slum travel writing in the choice of a title for his Magnus Opus ‘Darkest England’.

The intertextuality in the name ‘A Working Society’ is just as interesting as Booth’s language choices to provide a title for ‘Darkest England’. The title ‘A Working Society’ draws on and combines two elements, the name of the White Paper – ‘Working Nation’ (Parliament of Australia 1994) and upon the discourse of a ‘civil society’ presented by Eva Cox (1995) in her ABC Boyer Lectures. By choosing to incorporate the White Paper in the name of their own text, the authors draw not only on the title but draw on the debates surrounding ‘Working Nation’. Though not endorsing the White Paper explicitly the use of the title makes it clear that the authors and Army management posses some sympathy for the aims of the White Paper. The notion of a ‘civil society’ developed by Cox is explicitly incorporated in the text and there is an instance of manifest intertextuality. In her Boyer Lectures Cox said, amongst other things;

“Social capital refers to the processes between people which establish networks, norms, social trust and facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit. These processes are also known as social fabric, or glue, done deliberately using the term ‘capital’ because it invests the concept with the reflected status from other forms of capital. Social capital is also appropriate because it can be measured and quantified. So we can distribute its benefits and avoid its losses. We increase social capital by working together, voluntarily, in egalitarian organisations.”

(Cox 1995, accessed 4 January 2007)

The highlighted text appears at Page 28 of the Report. By expressly constructing a title incorporating Cox’ ideas on a ‘Civil Society’ and quoting her in the text Coventry on behalf of the Army have appropriated the discourse as their own.

As a text ‘A Working Society’ is difficult to classify. The text looks like a report and has a number of the elements of a report, yet the text clearly draws on both academic and advertising genres for meaning. The academic genre is not surprising ‘A Working Society’ though written by Louise Coventry, was edited by David McKenzie, a senior academic at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology. Included in the text are academic references such as ‘A Truly Civil Society’ by Cox (1995) and ‘Counting for Nothing: What Men Value and What Women are Worth’ by Waring (1988) amongst others. The extensive use of statistics and quotes from business leaders adds academic
weight and legitimacy to the report. The advertising genre is apparent with the use of stylised cartoon characters, stylised grouping of text and pictures combined with modern colours and layout. The use of the Army symbol on the front cover makes it clear who has published the report. The use of a stylised “?” on the front page suggests that perhaps Australia is not a working society. Within the report there is the use of and reference to William Booth. As I show elsewhere in this thesis William Booth as co-founder of the Army left a strong influence on the Army he founded. References to him and his wife and to Darkest England are still found throughout Army texts today; for example:

“The strategic plan developed by William Booth, not only served his time, but has remained the basis upon which we continue to express our Christian faith. His motivation is clearly articulated in this quote from In Darkest England and the Way Out: ‘to attempt to save the lost we must accept no limitations to human brotherhood. If the scheme which I set forth in these pages is not applicable to the thief, the harlot, the drunkard, and the sluggard, it may well be dismissed without ceremony.’” (Strong 2006c, p. 11).

‘A Working’ Society follows this textual precedent.

**How ‘A Working Society’ works**

As discussed in Chapter 2 the dominant characteristics of neo-liberalism include the spread and implementation of market discourses, globalised sets of social relationships, freer flows of commodities, capital, technology, ideas and forms of culture across national boundaries (Bell 1997). As a social process, Jessop (2002) suggests that neo-liberal economic policies are enhanced when national governments transfer power to uncontrolled and uncontrollable market forces and to new economic actors such as transnational corporations, international banks and financial institutions such as the World Bank (Jessop 2002; Cerny 1999). Jessop (2002) further suggests that neo-liberalism undermines government economic power at the expense of social expenditures.

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36 Booth named the scheme outlined in Darkest England as the ‘Darkest England Scheme’.
‘A Working Society’ actively contests the dominant economic ideology. On page 4 is the statement;

Text Sample 1
1 Social Policy has become subservient to economic policy
2 rather than economic policy being harnessed to fulfil our social
3 objectives.
(Coventry 1997, p 4)

It is clear from this statement that the Army leadership believes that the discourse of neo-liberalism has become dominant and dangerous. This position is emphasised by the use of the cartoon below at Text Sample 2;

Text Sample 2
(Coventry 1997, p 4)

To support the strength of the Army’s objection to the primacy of economic policy over social policy the author of the report quotes William Booth. Internally, the use of Booth in this report serves two functions; it reduces and marginalises internal dissent and secondly, quotations from William Booth legitimize the report within the Army. Externally, quotations from Booth provide a historic reference, displaying the Army’s historic engagement in social policy.
It is of value to provide the quotes here since they encapsulate both the frame and the overall ideological position adopted in ‘A Working Society’;

**Text Sample 3**

1. the laws of supply and demand, and all the rest of the excuses
2. by which those who stand on firm ground salve their
3. conscience when they let their brother sink … often enough
4. are responsible for his disaster. Coffin ships are a direct result
5. of the wretched policy of non-interference with the legitimate
6. operations of commerce.

(Booth 1890, p. 51)(Quoted in Coventry 1997, p. 44)

And again;

**Text Sample 4**

1. It is better to keep a man out of the mire than to let him
2. fall in first and then risk the chance of plucking him out”

(Booth 1890, p. 51)(Quoted in (Coventry 1997, p. 43)

Moreover ‘A Working Society’ draws upon William Booth’s ‘Darkest England’ stating;
Text Sample 1 together with the cartoon at Text Sample 2 clearly spells out the Army’s objection to the primacy of economic policy over social policy. This position is supported by Booth’s statement, “the laws of supply and demand” and “Coffin ships are a direct result of the wretched policy of non-interference with the legitimate operations of commerce” from Text Sample 3 (1) and (4). In Text Samples 3 and 4 Booth is condemning uncaring and dangerous economic policy. By quoting Booth Coventry combines internal discourses on economics and social policy with the wider debates in society such as the discussions found in the ACOSS (ACOSS 1999a) policy paper to contest the prevailing neo-liberal discourse.

Text Sample 4 relates to the personal. A prominent internal Army discourse relates to the importance of individuals. The then Captain Shaw Clifton noted that the Army “concentrates on saving men one at a time” (Clifton 1986, p. 217). The practice of caring for individuals has been a social practice conducted by the Army since its foundation. William Booth’s quote at Text Samples 3 and 4 are used to introduce this organisational discourse and support the contestation of what the Army leaders perceived to be the dominant economic regime in Australia.

37 Currently General Shaw Clifton.
William Booth in ‘Darkest England’ had the statement “Work For All” (Booth 1890, Frontispiece) as the capstone for the Army’s social services. A major ideological underpinning of ‘Darkest England’ is the discourse of work. The Army’s support for the notion of ‘full employment’ is to be found in the statement;

Text Sample 6

1  Full employment does not feature in  
2  much of public debate about unemployment to the  
3  extent that targets for reducing unemployment are no  
4  longer being set. We would still regard full  
5  employment as a KEY [emphasis in text] social policy  
6  objective in Australia, notwithstanding current  
7  economic policies.”  
(Coventry 1997, p. 4)

By emphasising a commitment to the notion of full employment, the Army’s support for notion of full employment is in contradistinction to the current government policy in Australia. For as Cowling and Mitchell note in Australia “government policy has seen the abandonment of a commitment to full employment” (Cowling and Mitchell 2003, p. 207). Text Sample 6 (4, 5) is a summation of the Army’s ideological position regarding employment; it formed the basis of Army ideology under Booth and continues to do so. A search of the literature indicates that the notion has begun to lack currency as an economic goal. However, from the Army’s view each person matters and employment matters to the individual and society. The constructed nature of the notion of ‘work’ is acknowledged in the Report at Text Sample 7 (1, 2)

Text Sample 7

1  the attainment of full employment is constrained by  
2  the way in which we value forms of work… Some  
3  peoples work is socially sanctioned and some is not”  
(Coventry 1997, p. 28)
The report had many aims. Firstly, the report is part of the Army’s discursive strategy aimed at influencing public debate; secondly, the Army wished to “re-ignite community debate about the worth of work” (Coventry 1997, p. 29) and finally the Report was aimed directly at influencing the debates surrounding the introduction of the Job Network, issues that will be discussed in the next chapter.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter, I explored the powerful effect that William Booth together with his wife Catherine had in imprinting the Army as an organisation. My analysis included an exploration of the textual legacy and genre templates created by both William and Catherine Booth that normalize the life of the Army. Included in my analysis was an exploration of the organisational discourse of work. I remarked that the Booths and the early Army leadership were foundational in developing very strong organisational discourses and the discourse of work was one of the most pervasive of these discourses. This chapter noted that the discourse of work colonised both the Army’s social, organisational and in many regards its religious life. The chapter further explored the development of the Army, including an examination of the isomorphic pressures acting externally and the internal meaning systems that sustain the Army and its use of the military metaphor.

In this chapter, I noted that The Army owes a debt to the publishing legacy of William and Catherine Booth. They established the Army genre repertoire by developing genre templates and providing the textual precedents for the Army. After adopting the name, The Salvation Army, I showed that the Army became completely colonised by the military metaphor. Because of this colonisation, the Army is now a highly bureaucratic institution whose language and internal discourses provide a complete way of being for Salvationists in the world. The Army is now over 120 years old and the bureaucratic structures supporting and guiding the Army are still strong, however as I remarked, the Army has become conservative and the ability of the organization to quickly move into and out of service provision is attenuating.
William and Catherine Booth set many precedents for the Army. The discursive practices that led to the Army’s construction of social policy were one of their major legacies. This chapter explored the social policy process within the Army. Included in the analysis was an examination of the Army’s patterns of governance, the organisational structures and the place of social services within the organisation; and the discourses supporting the Army’s entrance into the Job Network.

In the next chapter, I explore the creation of the Job Network. The genealogy of the Job Network commenced in the efforts to reduce and share the service provision role of the state. Eventually, policy development and the service provision role were entirely uncoupled and the Job Network created. I explore the discourses that influence the creation of the Job Network and the discourses that are evident in its continued operation including the dominant discourse of mutual obligation. My exploration continues with an examination of the complex structure of the Job Network, its bureaucratic nature and explores the nature of the isomorphic pressures at work in the Job Network.
Chapter 5

Creating a Job Network

Introduction

A fundamental hypothesis undergirding this thesis is that in order to situate and analyse policy, it is first necessary to understand the social problem (or problems) to which the policy is responding. This involves asking why, and how, a particular social issue comes to be defined as a problem. As Atkinson (2000) shows the definition and construction of a ‘problem’ most often contains within it its “immanent solution” (Atkinson 2000 p. 211). Moreover, the construction of a ‘problem’ most generally involves the development of a particular discursive account describing the evolution and causes of the problem. In this Chapter the ‘problem’ of unemployment and the unemployed in Australia and the immanent solution, namely the Job Network is explored.

In this chapter, I highlight and explore the genealogy of the Job Network together with many of the institutional pressures evident in the creation of the Job Network. The analysis highlights the institutional environment and discourses incorporated within the texts. The texts that create and maintain the Job Network, and the employment services field, are extensive and highly complex. I explore a number of these texts, highlighting the isomorphic pressures operation on the field in general and on Job Network member organisations in particular.

The social forces and discourses that lead to the creation and maintenance of the Job Network are extensive. In particular, I remark on the discourse of the active society and of mutual obligation. I explore on the pervasive nature of the discourse mutual obligation and of its importance in the Job Network. Additionally, the place of the Department in the Job Network is explored and in particular, I remark on the micro-management by the Department of the Job Network.
Constructing the social problem of unemployment

Unemployment has been for some time a pernicious problem in Australia. Loundes (1997) for example notes that of all the economic ills in Australia over the past two centuries, unemployment has been the most persistent and devastating social problem. Richardson (2007) observes that in Australia it causes poverty, despair and social exclusion; and unemployment does its greatest damage when it is persists over the long term. Moreover, Borland and Kennedy in their survey of the Australian labour market note that;

“unemployed persons are concentrated disproportionately at the bottom of the distribution of income. There is also some evidence to suggest that there is a causal relationship between unemployment and poor health outcomes, and a little evidence of a relation between criminal activity and unemployment. Unemployed persons appear to have significantly lower levels of life satisfaction than other persons.”

(Borland and Kennedy 1998, p. 96)

However, in Australia the term ‘unemployment’ is an imprecise, socially constructed concept. Loundes notes that in the 1890’s the term ‘unemployment’ usually meant “want of work” (Loundes 1997, p. 1), now the term more usually means “want of paid employment” (Loundes 1997, p. 1). The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) adopted the standard international definition of unemployment, namely, “people are considered employed if they do work for at least one hour or more for pay, profit, commission or payment of any kind, in a job or business or farm” (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001). And according to Gittens (2003) the definition has changed little over the past 20 years. The definition makes it clear where the imprecision lies. People are asked in a telephone survey whether they worked in the past week and those who worked in the black economy are unlikely to respond truthfully to this question. People who really do want to work but have given up actively looking for a job are excluded from the measure of unemployment. This gives the government the opportunity to reduce the measured level of unemployment by providing a small welfare payment that takes people out of the workforce. The point is, that a person is counted as being unemployed if they have not worked for an hour or more in the previous week. And as Richardson makes clear, “there is a world of difference between working 1 hour and 40 hours per week, both in terms of effort and income”
The importance of framing a policy solution cannot be overstated. Just how a policy problem is framed is important because the act of framing assigns responsibilities and creates rationales that authorise favoured solutions whilst at the same time excluding others (Atkinson 2000). As Coburn notes “policy problems do not exist as social fact awaiting discovery” (Coburn 2006, p. 343). Rather, policy problems are constructed through a dialect between policymakers and constituents seeking to identify and interpret some aspect of the social world as problematic (Atkinson 2000; Carson and Kerr 2003; Coburn 2006). Additionally, Darcy and Manzi note “a decision to label something a social problem is inevitably ideologically loaded … Once accepted it can become incorporated into an institutional custom” (Darcy and Manzi 2004, p. 157).

So too the problem of unemployment in Australia, within the Australian context it is clear that the construction of the social problem of unemployment, and the unemployed, has shifted from being almost exclusively a problem for government to being a mainly personal responsibility (McDonald and Marston 2005).

Historically, the social problem of ‘unemployment’ forms a key policy concern for governments in Australia and unemployment as a social problem and the unemployed were constructed as part of the legitimate responsibility of the welfare state acting on behalf of society as a whole (Harris 2001). However, with the advance of neo-liberal ideologies in western liberal democracies in the late 20th century – early 21st century, unemployment and the unemployed are now constructed in a markedly different manner. In this new policy regime, individuals are constructed as having to accept responsibility for their own welfare. Within this construction, the citizen not only has a personal responsibility for their own welfare, their responsibility is combined with obligations to the welfare state and to the community (McDonald and Marston 2005). As McDonald and Marston (2002) and Rapson (2006-2007) show, government in Australia has shifted from managing demand through job-creation, to a supply-side focus that concentrates on the behavioural aspects and perceived psychological deficiencies of the unemployed.
The Job Network: an overview

This various policy solutions to the problem of unemployment in Australia possess a clear, observable genealogy. From 1983 to 1996 successive labour governments restructured the fundamentals of the Australian political economy (Jose and Burgess 2005). A key feature of the restructuring was the White Paper, ‘Working Nation’ (Parliament of Australia 1994). The social model embedded in ‘Working Nation’ marked a pivotal shift in the public policy agenda. While it is true that some, Jose and Quirk (2002) for example, have suggested that ‘Working Nation’ marked the adoption of a particular model for the restructuring of the way in which the CES delivered its services to the unemployed, it is clear that ‘Working Nation’ heralded much more. ‘Working Nation’ articulated Prime Minister Keating’s shift to the discourse of competition. From the late 1980’s the Keating Labor government continually expanded and adopted policy measures that increasingly placed the onus on the unemployed to actively search for work and become involved in compulsory education and training programmes designed to enhance their employability, through greater personal responsibility (Ramia and Carney 2000). Moreover, ‘Working Nation’ indicated how far the OECD policy discourse of active employment strategies had colonised Australian policy development under Prime Minister Keating’s government.

‘Working Nation’ provided the framework and changed the social and policy climate. When the Howard government came to office, his government signalled an even greater shift to competition policies in general and the employment services field in particular. Using the conditions set by the Labor reforms, the Howard government reforms contained some strong elements of discontinuity with the previous Labour government strategies. The Howard government took the reforms significantly further than the previous Labor government, taking a more contractualist and managerialist path by completely abolishing government service provision in the employment services field and contracting employment services to for-profit and not-for-profit organisations (Ramia and Carney 2000).
Tony Abbott the then Minister for Employment Workplace Relations and Small Business in 1988, pointed to the radical nature of the shift to competition by saying; “replacing a 50 year old bureaucratic monolith with a performance driven network of community organisations is one of the Howard government’s biggest institutional reforms so far” he continued “using private charitable and community-based organisations to achieve social goals could even be described as an example of the third way in action” (Abbott 1998, accessed 31 October 2006). The introduction of the Job Network was marked by strong community debate (ACOSS 1999b; ACOSS 2000). Since the changes were so radical, the management of The Salvation Army in Australia were clearly concerned to ensure that their views were heard in the debates over such a radical social policy initiative created. Their views are encapsulated in the quotation by Coventry, a consultant employed by the Army to produce ‘A Working Society’ the Australian Army’s employment policy text, “we believe that the current debate about unemployment is incomplete. It is time to stop, reflect and consider again our responsibilities to the unemployed” (Coventry 1997, p. 3). However, the focus on the policy problem of unemployment and the unemployed has shifted from one of state responsibility to one of personal responsibility (McDonald and Marston 2002).

Prior to the introduction of the Job Network Australian governments had for some years been examining employment services within the context of competition policy. Resulting from and responding to the international pressures of neo-liberal discourses the Australian government set up an Independent Committee of Inquiry into Competition Policy in Australia in 1993. The Committee’s findings were published in what is sometime referred to as ‘the Hilmer’ Report (Hilmer 1993). Flowing from the Hilmer Report a National Competition Policy (NCP) was developed and implemented in Australia. Cousins (1997) notes that NCP is based upon a number of principles agreed to by government leaders in 1991. In summary these principles were, among other things;

1. as far as possible, universal and universally applied rules of market conduct should apply to all market participants regardless of the form of business ownership;
2. to develop an open integrated domestic market for goods and services by removing unnecessary barriers to trade and competition, and,
3. *in recognition of the increasingly national operation of markets, to reduce complexity and eliminate administrative duplication.*”
(Cousins 1997, p. 55)

The Hilmer reforms point to the market orientation and the supremacy of market discourses. The phrase “*apply to all market participants regardless of the form of business ownership*” is particularly important since it aimed squarely at government business. Consistent with the aims of the NCP, steps were taken by Prime Minister Howard’s conservative government to create the Job Network.

The history of the Job Network can be traced through the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) and such schemes as Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS) and the Regional Economic Development (RED) schemes. At the time of the Hilmer Report employment services were provided by the Commonwealth government through the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES). The CES was established under various pieces of legislation including the ‘Commonwealth Employment Service Act 1978’ and was staffed by public or civil servants. The CES provided labour bureau services on behalf of government to unemployed Australian citizens. As was customary at the time of its establishment and until the creation of the Job Network the CES was a service monopoly. The CYSS scheme is particularly interesting. In the August 1981 Budget the then Australian Treasurer John Howard sought to disband the scheme since it was, in his opinion, “*no more than tokenism*” (Quoted in Freeland 1985, p. 164). The scheme was saved, for a time, through community agitation (Freeland 1985). The CYSS was introduced in November 1976 as a community-based response to the problems of youth unemployment. The initial guidelines were extremely broad and flexible, with an emphasis on facilitating local responses to the needs of unemployed youth (Freeland 1985). The CYSS scheme developed a diversity of programs for the young unemployed. Participants in the scheme suffered from a broad range of barriers to employment including inadequate qualifications and/or lack of work experience often combined with hostility to formalised learning situations. The response of the CYSS was to develop a number of short job skills training programs in areas of local labour shortage. The scheme was subsequently folded into the Skillshare Network under Prime Minister Hawke’s Labor government on 1 July 1989.
Prime Minister Keating’s Labor government had taken its first major steps to change employment services in Australia in 1994 with the *Working Nation* White paper (Cowling and Mitchell 2003). The Keating government argued that a competitive model would improve the quality and flexibility of services provided to the most disadvantaged job seekers (Cowling and Mitchell 2003). Additionally, the Keating government established a new service regime where services previously provided by the CES were shared with over 300 private companies and non-profit organisations; this new service arm of the CES was named Employment Assistance Australia (EAA). These providers were contracted to supply case management services direct to long-term unemployed people. Once unemployed clients had been assessed by the CES as eligible for assistance they were, in theory at least, offered a choice of contracted agencies for case management services, however the EAA remained the agency of last resort (Eardley 1997a; Eardley, Abello, and Macdonald 2000).

The EAA competed with other the contracted organisations within the EAA system for business through a tender process. The crucial form of competition related to employment outcomes, with an independent regulator, the Employment Services Regulatory Authority (ESRA) established to compare results and to supervise new contracts (Considine 2003). A Board of Directors selected by government managed ESRA and one of those selected was an Officer from the Australian Southern Territory of The Salvation Army. Membership of government bodies is part of the Army’s discursive strategy to influence and mediate social policy. Organisations participating in the Keating EAA initiative were rewarded for placements into employment. Additionally, as part of the contract with government, the contracting organisations were required to provide labour exchange services.

In May 1998 Australia’s public employment system managed by the CES was replaced by an Australia wide network of public, for-profit and not-for-profit agencies delivering employment services to unemployed Australians (O’Neill 1999). The creation of the Job Network in May 1998 by Prime Minister Howard’s government led to the final abolition of the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES). The radical changes enacted were aimed at strengthening the market elements of employment services in Australia. These changes replaced the case management
service with a new Job Network. Contracts for placing welfare recipients into vacancies became competitive. In the establishment of their Job Network service, government required contracting organisations to individually and independently obtain job vacancies from employers (Considine and Finn 2004). Goodman (1997), commenting on this newly created competitive system noted that the changes could be viewed as the commodification or privatisation of employment services, where the unemployed are sold to the lowest bidder. The government shifted other parts of the service towards competition by the abolition of the CES-EAA and established itself as the sole ‘purchaser’ of services. With the abolition of the CES the Commonwealth Service Agency known as Centrelink was established to not only act as a point of referral for Job Network agency clients but also provide the full range of Social Security functions such as age pension. Centrelink continues to provide information on job vacancies through the use of touch screens but its primary employment services role is that of referring unemployed people to Job Network agencies.

As part of this reorganisation, the government created ‘Employment National’ out of the residue of the CES. Employment National was no longer a government department but a corporatised government service managed by an independent board, motivated exclusively by market incentives and required under Employment Services Contract 1 (ESC1) to tender for contract provision of services along with non-government organisations. In ESC2 this capacity to apply for a contract was severely limited and the end of the ESC2 tender round Employment National was abolished (Considine 2003; Eardley 1997). In effect, Employment National served a transitional role enabling the Howard government to move the employment services market from a government monopoly to a fully privatised employment quasi-market. Ordinary services such as assisting people to find jobs, to gain access to training and to resolve issues that were ‘barriers to employment’ were now performed by contracting organisations. Not only were these organisations rewarded on the basis of placements, they were required to report and ‘breach’ their clients for any failure to adhere to rules established under a discourse of ‘mutual obligation’. The contracting

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38 See Chapter 8 for a discussion on the matter of ‘breaching’. Breaching is shorthand for describing an administrative action to reduce or withhold completely a citizen’s benefit as a punitive measure if the citizen fails to meet the bureaucratic rules related to that benefit.
organisations now share state power to reduce, and in some cases withhold, income support.

These reforms were justified by the Prime Minister Howard’s government in terms of improving efficiency and overall employment outcomes through the active encouragement of competition between service providers. According to the Minister at the time, David Kemp, the old employment services system managed by the CES was an inefficient, programme driven system, that did not deliver acceptable employment outcomes (Kemp 1998). Prime Minister Howard described his government’s changes to the employment services field as the biggest single reform undertaken in Australia in the past 50 years. He suggested that the changes were innovative and much more humane than the former public system (Howard 1997).

In addition to the abolition of the CES, these changes were accompanied by a subsequent ‘cashing out’ of the previous labour government’s labour market programs such as Skillshare. Commonwealth funding to the job network agencies, initially $1.7B, was later supplemented by a further $160M and other cash injections and subsidies. About a further $3B was allocated to the Job Network in the second contract period, between 2000 and 2003 (Stromback, Dockery, and Wiwi 1999).

**Exploring the literature**

The Job Network is a major policy initiative and the Productivity Commission noted in its review of the Job Network that “It [the Job Network] represents one of the first comprehensive attempts internationally to apply market mechanisms to the provision of subsidised employment services” (Productivity Commission 2002, p. XXII). When the Job Network was introduced in 1998 it was described as a radical revision of the welfare state provided employment services in Australia, by government, theoreticians and observers (Eardley 1997). Tony Abbott, the Minister for a time responsible for the Job Network, considered the Job Network as “something of a revolution in the delivery of employment services” (Abbott 2003, p. 199). The Minister continued, “Like all dynamic systems, the Job Network is a work in progress which is being constantly fine tuned, re-evaluated and re-interpreted” (Abbott 2003,
p. 199); that re-evaluation and re-interpretation has continued both by government and by academic analysts. Minister Abbott’s remarks were supported by academic and social observers; for example, Abello and MacDonald comment that the Job Network was “a bold policy reform” (Abello and MacDonald 2002, p. 51), Wherrett “a bold step” and “an exciting and innovative method” (Wherrett 1999, p. 1), Dockery as “radical” (Dockery 1999, p.131), Eardley, “a radical policy intervention” (Eardley 2003, p. 317) and Burgess as “a radical development in the marketization of employment services” (Burgess 2003, p. 227).

Initially, upon the creation Job Network in 1997 there was a large amount of literature exploring this “revolutionary” policy initiative. Following the initial interest there was a steady stream of literature addressing a number of issues contained in this policy initiative, however, latterly, this stream has largely ceased. Eardley noted that “it is perhaps surprising how little thoroughgoing research and analysis has been produced about the new employment services” (Eardley 2003, p. 318). A major factor for this reduced research in the Job Network is the notable reluctance of the government bureaucracy to supply relevant economic and social data relating to the Network. Considine (2000) remarks on the extensive use of the ‘commercial in confidence’ discourse and the specific discursive practices associated with this discourse which enables the bureaucracy to hide behind the commercial nature of the Job Network. These social practices followed by the Department restrict the free flow of information regarding the network and thus render opaque to public view the institutional and discursive strategies adopted by both government and Job Network agencies.

Though the research has gradually reduced, there is still a significant body of research relating to the Job Network. A number of themes are evident in the literature, for analytical purposes, I have positioned the literature into six categories. This is not to say that the categories provided here are mutually exclusive and that there is no crossover within the literature. However, by arranging the literature into categories it

39 The government Department responsible for the Job Network has had a number of titles ranging from Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DEETYA), Department of Employment, Workplace Relations and Small Business (DEWRSB) to Department of Employment and Workplace Relations (DEWR). To reduce any confusion I shall wherever possible refer to ‘the Department’ throughout this essay. The usage will always refer to the governmental body currently responsible for the operations of the Job Network.
is possible to reflect the wide nature of the academic and government exploration of this significant policy initiative.

A) Some legal aspects of the Job Network

With the advent of the Job Network there have been striking changes to the context within which decision-making occurs for unemployed people in Australia. From the outset, the legal framework supporting and maintaining the Job Network differs from traditional government initiatives. According to Bacon (Bacon 2002) the Job Network “does not have a legislative basis. Rather, the scheme is based upon a complex web of administrative and contractual arrangements” (Bacon 2002, p. 43). The legal and regulatory framework is explored explicitly by Carney and Ramia (1999; 2002), Bacon (2002) and Owens (2001). They highlight the problematic legal structures that work against the unemployed yet support the whole structure of the Job Network. Their conclusions point to the problematical nature of the Job Network when compared to the previous unified public service approach.

They explore the unified approach to the provision of public services in Australia noting that it contains built in safeguards of the Social Security Appeals Tribunal (SSAT) and Administrative Appeals Tribunal (AAT). These tribunals in the past provided the unemployed with an avenue of redress when faced with bad or uninformed decision-making. Prior to the creation of the Job Network, these Tribunals ensured not only the rights of the unemployed, they ensured that those making the decisions affecting the rights and interests of unemployed people were held accountable. Carney and Ramia (1999; 2002), Bacon (2002) and Owen (2001) show that decisions affecting the unemployed are now far more difficult to review. Both Bacon and Owens analyse the barriers in assessing the accountability of the various constituents of the Job Network, and the ability of citizens to check any excesses of power both by government and the contracting organisations comprising the Job Network. They point to decision-making that occurs within a “bureaucratised, rule-based climate of decision-making” (Bacon 2002; p 41).
The practical outcome of this rule-based climate of decision-making is exemplified in the ways in which access to appeal has become more limited. The SSAT cannot, in this rule-based regime, comment on the terms of an individual ‘Activity Agreement’ unless a special request is made specifically to review these terms. The SSAT has limited powers to confirm, set aside or abate the terms of the agreement, other than, as in the case of any other appeal, to remark on and remake the terms on their merits. Under the Job Network, Centrelink retains the power to implement sanctions for non-compliance through benefit reductions. Monitoring and reporting any breaches of agreements, however, are the responsibility of the Job Network organisation. Thus, the disciplinary elements of employment assistance, which are arguably the proper responsibility of the State, are recommended by individual placement consultants employed by Job Network organisations (Carney and Ramia 2002).

B) The influences of ‘Contractualism’ and ‘New Public Management’

A second major theme explored in the literature relates to the influences of ‘contractualism’ and ‘new public management’. I noted in Chapter 2 that these notions are created and maintained through a dialectic where contending neo-liberal ideologies and economic, cultural, social and political discourses intersect and compete for supremacy. The creation of the Job Network is part of this dialectical process and as McDonald et al (2003) demonstrate, the Job Network represents “the paradigmatic example of the mode of government promoted by neo-liberalism” (McDonald, Marston, and Buckley 2003, p. 499).

The discourse of the market, contractualisation, privatisation of services, NPM and managerialism are all major influences within the Job Network. The dialectic attracted perhaps the greatest scrutiny in the literature including that by Carney and Ramia (1999) Ramia and Carney (2000) and Ramia (2002). The discoursal order of neo-liberalism deeply influence notions of ‘contractualism’ and ‘new public management’.

40 A contract that a Job Seeker enters into with Centrelink and linking them to a job network provider and to unemployment benefits.

41 The terminology of Breaching has been changed to ‘Activity Reporting’, matters that will be explored in Chapter 8. For the purposes of this thesis I propose to contest the Department’s construction, namely ‘Activity Reporting’ and will use the original term ‘breaching’ since this term, in my opinion, more accurately describes the punitive bureaucratic processes and was in any case the original term.
Carney and Ramia (1999) show that the current notions of ‘contractualism’ and ‘new public management’ represent a rebirth and an adaptation of 17th and 18th century notions of social contract. These notions have been reworked to include the significant upsurge in individualistic economic activity of the 19th century. Yeatman (1998; 2002b) argues, at its heart contractualism represents a new ethos and shows that contractualism refers not merely to a set of isolated examples in various social arenas, but to a contractual policy regime in its own right.

C) ‘Mutual obligation’ and breaching

The neo-liberal ideologies embedded in ‘mutual obligation’ and the ‘Welfare to Work’ programmes combined with issue of ‘breaching’ has produced perhaps the most concentrated critique of the Job Network. Observers such as McDonald et al (2003) show that the Job Network is a radical version of the individualised approach to social policy. This approach is promoted and sustained by the dominant discoursal order of neo-liberalism in which public choice theory and agency theory, prominent theories within the neo-liberal discourse, are responsible for the devolution of public services to for-profit and not-for-profit organisations. I have situated the discourse of mutual obligation with the social practice of breaching precisely because it is this intersection that the construction of the citizen as consumer is brought into relief. Mutual obligation is heavily influenced by the ‘new paternalism’ described by Mead (1986; 1997) and Wilson (1997). As Wilson shows paternalism “requires that people conform to an agreed value. Paternalists think norms should be obligatory, and they take steps to improve enforcement” (Wilson 1997, p. 3). It is this paternalism so evident in the practice breaching that brings the notions of citizenship, citizens rights, together with the notions of mutual obligation.

Mutual obligation is a discourse influencing the construction of the employment services field in Australia. In a speech to the Australia Unlimited Roundtable, the Australian Prime Minister Howard outlined his government’s policy of mutual obligation. In part, Prime Minister Howard argued that;
“Another defining aspect of our modern conservatism in social policy lies in our strong support for the principle of Mutual Obligation. ... Just as it is an ongoing responsibility of government to support those in genuine need, so also it is the case that - to the extent that it is within their capacity to do so - those in receipt of such assistance should give something back to society in return, and in the process improve their own prospects for self-reliance.”

(Howard 1999, accessed 3 September 2007)

The Job Network exists in an institutional field in which the discourse of mutual obligation combined with the discourse of contractualism constructs a noticeably different relationship between the welfare state and the citizen, in particular, the unemployed Australian citizens receiving benefits. Eardley et al (2000) show that mutual obligation is a major discourse through which the Australian government has created fundamental changes to the provision of welfare in Australia. Although mutual obligation is a discourse shaping the employment services field, the Job Network is not fundamental to this discourse. The discourse has wider implications for all of the Howard government welfare initiatives most notably in Aboriginal services; on the other hand, the discourse of mutual obligation is fundamental to the Job Network. Yeatman (2000a; 2000c) argues that mutual obligation is a complex concept which taps into a new consensus in social policy. These concepts contrast such varied approaches as the 'Third Way' social democracy of UK Labour, commented on by Giddens (2000b) and in the US ‘new paternalists’ such as Mead (1986; 1997). Mutual obligation is symptomatic of a new paradigm that emerged in social policy in Australia under the Howard government, which sought to replace past concepts of entitlement with active principles of personal responsibility (Eardley, Saunders and Evans 2000). Mutual obligation is a dominant discourse that the challenges notions of individualised citizenship.

As Yeatman (2000a) shows, mutual obligation is a discourse that opens up an inclusive conception of individuality while retaining the traditional patrimonial model of individuality; and as Brennan observes these changes in the construction of the citizen;
“…are about re-constituting citizens as consumers whose primary interests are personal and private…By means of such thinking government is reinvented but citizenship, together with the policies that bind us together in common cause with one another, is circumvented”

(Brennan 1996, p.15)

The discourse of mutual obligation is linked to the way in which the Job Network constructs citizens. This construction has two facets, the relationship of government with its citizens and the relationship of government with a new group of service providers. In this view citizens are now constructed as ‘consumers’ who must honour the obligations of ‘mutual obligation’, a modern reconstruction of the nineteenth century liberal distinction between ‘the deserving’ and ‘the undeserving’ poor. The construction of the citizen influenced by the discourse of mutual obligation is another fundamental constituent of the employment services field; accordingly, I have devoted Chapter 7 to this important matter. Flowing from the construction of the citizen as consumer is what I term the vexed issue of breaching, that is, the social practice that leads to the reduction of part or the whole of an unemployed citizen’s welfare benefit. The matter of mutual obligation and breaching is fundamental to the Job Network and accordingly I have devoted Chapter 8 to this topic.

D) The importance of the third sector

The importance of third sector organisations in the delivery of Job Network services is an extensive element of the literature. In its current form the continuation of the Job Network depends, to a large extent, on third sector organisations for the delivery of Job Network services (Eardley 2003). For the most part, third sector organisations have values which as Lyons (2003) shows, are based on a range of religious, ethical, moral and social positions that may well clash with government’s pluralist service obligations and ideological underpinnings. The term third sector is highly contested by some third-sector analysts (Lyons 2001), however these organisations are characterised by their not-for-profit nature (Lyons 2003) and these organisations have, in the past assumed a major role in influencing policy as part of Australia’s pluralist governance structures (Phillips 2007). However as both Phillips (2007) and Staples (2006) show, the Howard government did much to reduce the role of not-for-profit
organisations under the rubric of public choice theory. Public choice theory particularly supports neo-liberal ideology since its primary argument is that all individuals act in their own self-interest and as Phillips shows public choice theory supports the view of “scarce civic virtue, where everyone becomes vulnerable to others’ pursuits of their own direct goals” (Phillips 2007, p. 29). This theory disconnects neo-liberal governments from many third sector organisations who are in the main, primarily driven by the ideals of social justice. This particular point is stressed by Considine who notes who said in 2003;

“While there is a growing literature on the value this contracting regime has for governments, we know almost nothing about its impact upon the service delivery styles and mission of non-profit agencies”.

(Considine 2003, p 68)

E) Evaluating the Job Network

The evaluation of systemic change and the effectiveness of the Job Network as a policy initiative is a major theme in the exploration of this social policy initiative. Both academic and government sources are available. There is however a difference in perspective. Academic sources critically explore the initiative whereas the government sources tend to take a sympathetic bureaucratic approach. Not all academic writers take an oppositional stance to the Job Network; Nevile (Nevile and Nevile 2003) for example takes a supportive approach to the initiative suggesting that;

“To write off Intensive Assistance as a complete failure is premature. It is better to examine ways in which Intensive Assistance could be improved… a lack of a significant work experience component is an important reason why Intensive Assistance does not perform better”

(Nevile and Nevile 2003, p. 241)

Government reviews into the Job Network include The Productivity Commission report (2002). In 2005 the Australian National Audit Office (2005) conducted their own review and published their findings. Independently of these reviews, the Australian Parliamentary Library conducted their own evaluation of the Job Network

42 A component of contracted employment services.
published in the extensive and analytical reports prepared by O’Neill (1999; 2003). The Australian Parliament Select Committee on Education (1999) published a report. And finally, the Commonwealth Department responsible for the oversight of the Job Network published a number of reports into the Job Network including reports by the Evaluation and Review Branch of the Department (2000; 2001a; 2001b). Of this wide range of texts O’Neill’s (1999; 2003) texts are valuable since they are composed from an outsider’s point of view. The other Department and government-sponsored texts are valuable for the information they contain regarding the establishment and continued operation of the Job Network.

F) International implications

The Job Network is not only important in the Australian context, Ramia and Carney (2000) note that the Job Network constitutes “an internationally important social experiment” (Ramia and Carney 2000, p 64). Indeed, Burgess noted that with the Job Network “Australia has carried out one of the most dramatic supply side experiments across the OECD economies with respect to unemployment services and placement” (Burgess 2003, p. 227). Commentators such as Considine (2004), Finn (1999) and Struyven (2004) all comment on the international implications, particularly the influence on OECD countries. Struyven and Steurs (2002), for example, examine the influence of the Australian experience upon the Netherlands. As a policy initiative, the Job Network was influenced by the neo-liberalism and by local factors. The nature of these influences is discussed in OECD reports by Struyven and Steurs (2002).

Third sector organisations and a discourse of ‘partnership’

The dialectic that produced a shift in the construction of unemployment in Australia lead to the creation of the Job Network within the employment services field. The employment services field in Australia, in its present configuration, is widely populated by third sector organisations. As Carson and Kerr (2003) suggest, there is considerable dispute about an appropriate role for the third sector in providing employment services. As played out in the Job Network, the role contains tensions and difficulties as third sector organisations, such as the Army, attempt to reconcile the potentially competing demands of their organisational values as they engage with the imperatives of contractualism. At the introduction of the Job Network there were
clear suggestions that the legitimate concerns held by organisations, such as the Army, relating to issues of equity, mutuality and shared rights were to be ignored and eroded by government; or put another way, third sector organisations were concerned about the diffusion of rights of participating organisations, combined with the discourse of ‘partnership’ (Carson and Kerr 2003). Since the Job Network was such a radical social experiment Eardley et al (2000) observed that the new contractual arrangements potentially limited the autonomy of third sector agencies; particularly in their capacity to act in accordance with their core organisational values and in the best interests of disadvantaged jobseekers.

The discourse of partnership has faded in the employment services field over time. In conversations with mid-level managers in TSAEP, one manager stated, “in the beginning it was a partnership- now it’s a contract” 43. The change in language was commented on in discussions with industry representatives at the Jobs Australia ‘State of Play’ Forum held in Sydney on 14 May 2007. During the Forum, a senior member of Jobs Australia, urged the members; “with all of the pressures on you - make sure you do not become your contract”. Another senior manager within the industry noted in subsequent discussions, “in the beginning the language was all about partnerships; now it is a command and control situation. The Department commands and controls every aspect of the Job Network” 44. This shift in language from ‘partnership’ to ‘contract’ signals what many managers in the Job Network observe to be a marked change in the relationship between government and the members of the Job Network. A discourse of ‘partnership’ implies that there is equality between the partners, whereas a discourse of ‘contract’ implies that there is now, under the present institutional arrangements, an unbalanced relationship, one more akin to a ‘master/servant’ relationship between the Department and the Job Network agencies

43 Private conversation recorded with permission.

44 Private discussions recorded with permission.
There are many reasons for this change in language or a perceived change. Third sector organizations are familiar with the notion of partnerships and indeed, enter into partnership arrangements with each other and with government. Consequently, the meaning attached to the term by government may well be different to that attached by third sector agencies. Additionally, government rhetoric may well have been about partnerships but at its heart the Job Network includes a contract and this contract binds Job Network agencies to specific social practices. Another reason for the interpretation by third sector agency management may be the effect of staff of the Department gaining, over time, the intellectual capital that was absent at the beginning of the Job Network. In the beginning, it was obvious that the Department needed the assistance of outside organisations to provide employment services. As the Job Network has matured, it is clear that there are now a large number of organisations who wish to take part in the Job Network and in a sense, the Department does not need individual organisations any further. Another reading is that the market discourse of contract has gained ascendancy within the Department and the employment services field.

The Job Network as a quasi-market

At the core of the employment services field in Australia is a quasi-market. This quasi-market was created by “government, involving an administrative structure, service delivery agencies and a range of material and discursive technologies” (McDonald, Marston, and Buckley 2003, p. 502). The Job Network as a quasi-market has a number of spheres including government, participant organisations and the unemployed. The quasi-market was developed to allow for profit and not-for-profit organisations to compete, on an open basis, for tenders to provide employment services to the unemployed. As Eardley (1997) shows, the Australian employment services quasi-market is based on an ideological commitment to market principles (Bartlett, Roberts, and Le Grand 1998; Roberts, Le Grand, and Bartlett 1998). Eardley (2003) suggests that there are two ways to view the Job Network. Firstly, the Job Network may be viewed as just another bundle of labour market programmes and labour exchange services. In this view the main emphasis is placed on outcomes derived from the various activities into which the client is steered. The second view relates to the creation of the quasi-market itself. In this view the Job Network is a site
of radical policy intervention, the Job Network is an example of the introduction and implementation of ‘new public management’ values that have dominated much of the policy landscape in Australia since the early 1990’s.

In creating the employment services quasi-market the government issued three key texts in 1997. These were the Exposure Draft, The Draft Contract and the Request for tender (Department of Employment 1997c). All of these Departmental texts conform to the genre of government tenders and reports and use bureaucratic language. In the Exposure Draft Tendering Conditions and Draft Contract for Employment Services 1997 (Department of Employment 1997c) the Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DEETYA) noted,
The description at Text Sample 8 (2) relating to the creation of a “competitive market” does not appear in the subsequent Employment Services Contract 1 Tender Document. There are a number of possible interpretations available for this notable omission. The first being that since Text Sample 8 formed part of the first document released by the Department, the text performed an educative role, both for the Department and for prospective entrants into the Job Network. Another possible
reading is that since these texts formed the basis of consultation it was an efficient and
effective way to create the necessary knowledge and produce a suite of market
oriented meanings and knowledge amongst the public and organisations likely to be
interested in tendering for the service. Additionally, since there was a large Skillshare
Network that was being dismantled, it was an efficient and effective way of signalling
to this group that the employment and training field was to undergo fundamental
change. It is clear that a dialectic was taking place and as the notion of a market
discourse was being understood by prospective entrants into the market then Text
Sample 8 in its original form was no longer required.

Text Sample 8 (2) describes the creation of “a competitive market” emphasising
the creation of the employment services quasi-market and creating a new way of
understanding the employment services field in Australia. The phrase “a competitive
market” employs the market discourse, a key component of the new neo-liberal
discourse informing the creation of the Job Network. The market discourse is
reinforced by the phrase “open competition, diversity, innovation and flexibility” at
Text Sample 8 (19 & 20). “Open competition” is a direct reference to the market
discourse and a key component of the National Competition Policy (NCP) enunciated

The phrase “value for money” in Text Sample 8 (21) continues to reinforce the
market discourse and falls within the principles of the NCP outlined by Cousins
namely;

“conduct with the anti-competitive potential said to be in
the public interest should be assessed by an appropriate
transparent assessment process with provisions for
review, to demonstrate the nature and incidence of the
public costs and benefits plan”;
(Cousins 1997, p. 55)

To reinforce the market discourse the Exposure Draft Tender text notes;
This statement at Text Sample 9 performs in two major functions; it reinforces the information regarding the creation of a quasi-market and it reinforces the market discourse by repeating the word “competitive” at Text Sample 9 (2). Again, in the Exposure Draft, ‘Overview of the Employment Services Request for Tender’ is found;

The reiteration of the descriptor “competitive market” at Text Sample 10 (1) represents a reinforcement of the market discourse. However, what is of interest in Text Sample 10 (2 & 3) is the use of the phrase “the purchaser will be separated from providers”. This phrase echoes precisely the ideological position advocated by Osborne and Gaebler (1992) namely;

“entrepreneurial governments have begun to shift to systems that separate policy decision (steering) from service delivery (rowing)... Steering requires people who see the entire universe of issues and possibilities and can balance competing demands for resources. Rowing requires people who focus intensely on one mission and perform it well... Entrepreneurial governments
increasingly separate rowing from steering. This leaves
government operating basically as a skilful buyer,
leveraging the various producers in ways that will
accomplish its policy objectives.”
(Osborne and Gaebler 1992, p. 35)

Text Sample 10 specifically uses the language of Osborne and Gaebler to reinforce
the distinct role that it wishes the quasi-market and the contacted Agencies in the Job
Network to perform. The market discourse adopted in the creation of the Job Network
is reinforced continually in the initial draft texts. Again;

<table>
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<th>Text Sample 11</th>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>11</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Department of Employment 1997, P. 8)

The notion of the “market” at is again emphasised in Text Sample 11 (2) and
reinforced by the phrase “beneficial business relationships” at Text Sample 11 (4).
This phrase may be read to imply that there are distinct “business” (Text Sample 11
(8 & 9) benefits, that is profits, to intending organisations. The use of the noun
“business” at Text Sample 11 (4) is informative; many not-for-profit organisations
do not see themselves as business, but rather as distinct support agencies assisting the
marginalised. For example, Wilma Gallet the founding CEO of TSAEP remarked45

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45 Presented in full at page 221.
that she was very careful not to adopt the market discourse in the development of foundational discourses with the TSAEP organisation. The Job Network in reality is not a network; it is an aggregation of separate organisations all competing against each other for business. However when Text Samples 8, 9, 10 and 11 were created the prospective entrants into the Job Network were, in the main, the Skillshare organisations, the majority of whom were not-for-profit and church organisations who acted co-operatively and who for the most part were eager to network and share information. The Departmental texts drew on these social practices, added to and modified them with the addition of market discourses.

The market discourse is observable in the language created especially for Employment Services Contract 1 (ESC 1), namely PEPE, EPE and FLEX (Department of Employment 1997a; Department of Employment 1997b). The first two acronyms, PEPE or Public Employment Enterprise relates to the rump of the CES namely Employment National, EPE or Employment Placement Enterprise relates to private and not-for-profit organisations contracted to provide employment services. The use of the word “Enterprise” draws very heavily on the market discourse. Even though Employment National had not yet been fully created at the time, it and the other organisations in the employment services market were constructed in the contract texts as “businesses” as demonstrated in Text Sample 11 (4). This construction completely ignores that fact that the majority of tenderers were not and never intended to become businesses, they were, under the various state and Commonwealth legislation and regulations, charities and by law as well as inclination and conviction, especially in the case of The Salvation Army, intended to stay so. Nevertheless, the construction of these organisations as “businesses” indicates the trajectory of government thinking.

The Acronym FLEX or Flexible Labour Exchange relates to the Labour Exchange function and was also applied to clients as well who were classified as FLEX 1, FLEX 2 and FLEX 3. FLEX 1 referred Job Matching FLEX 2 to Job Search Training and Support (JST) and FLEX 3 to Intensive Assistance. The use of the word “flexible” here reinforces the phrase “open competition, diversity, innovation and flexibility” found in Text Sample 8 (19). The notion of innovation and flexibility combined
with the language of “partnership” implies that in the new market “businesses” will have a free hand and will be able, and indeed be encouraged to develop new ways of assisting “job seekers” into “sustainable” employment unfettered by the previous bureaucratic structures. Indeed the whole tenor and voice of the initial Draft texts though bureaucratic, tended to imply a freedom from bureaucratic, micro-control.

However, unlike commercial or free markets where organisations and individuals may enter or leave at will the employment services market is highly regulated. Organisations are not free to compete openly in the market. The number of agencies in a specific geographic area are set by the Department and each organisation allocated what was termed “an expected volume of business” (Department of Employment 1997d, p. 9). The volume of business is highly controlled and if thought necessary by the Department limited or increased. This tight control is in direct contravention of the notions of a free market and point to the constructed nature of the quasi-market for employment services in Australia.

The bureaucratic structure of the Job Network

The focus on the “personal and psychological deficits of the unemployed people as the source of the problem” (McDonald, Marston and Buckley 2003a, p 500) is highlighted by the bureaucratic nature of the Job Network. The job seeker must follow complex, punitive bureaucratic rules in order to receive government benefits. To receive a benefit a job seeker, must first present to Centrelink, the frontline government welfare agency. The Job Seeker is then referred to a number of Job Network members in their area. Theoretically, a job seeker may select any Job Network agency of choice. Centrelink staff are not supposed to direct clients in their choice of provider. However, unemployed people have in the past, reported difficulties in obtaining information about the performance of Job Network agencies (Bacon 2002; McDonald, Marston, and Buckley 2003a). This difficulty is compounded in country and remote regions where few Job Network organisations operate. This difficulty may be overcome if a person has access to the internet where, if the job seeker is capable of negotiating their way through a complex Job Network Web Page, find the performance comparisons, based on stars, not real figures (see the DEWR Web Site, Department of Employment and Workplace Relations 2007b) of
the various Job Network agency in their area. A web-based system assumes computer literacy, access to a computer on-line and a measure of literacy, all problematic areas for the unemployed, particularly the long-term and marginalised unemployed Australian citizen. Figure 4 is a diagrammatic representation of the system envisaged in ESC1.

**Job Seeker Flows in ESC1 and ESC2 1**

![Job Seeker Flows in ESC1 and ESC2 1 Diagram](image)

**Figure 4.**

The commercial nature of the Job Network

The Job Network is an explicitly market-based, contractual model. As the name ‘Job Network’ suggests, there is an implication that the agencies will act as a network. The use of the term “Network” suggests that individual agencies will collaborate with other agencies in service delivery and secondly, in linking with local labour markets and undertaking community level skills assessment, agencies “will tap into community networks and social capital in the process of contributing to the capacity building of local communities” (Carson and Kerr 2003, p. 85).
Text Sample 11 notes, amongst other things that the Department intended to encourage the “development of beneficial business relationships with all service providers.” and sought “To encourage collaboration”. The reality does not match the rhetoric, the majority of vacancies posted to the national jobs database are now ‘owned’ by specific providers; job seekers must be registered with that provider in order to apply for their vacancies. Moreover, Job Network agencies actively compete against each other for vacancies. The Job Network is a network in name only, not one based on networking and collaboration in practice (Bacon 2002). As a former employee of the TSAEP organisation noted “the Job Network is a business”.

This statement was confirmed by a number of discussions with organisational representatives at the Jobs Australia ‘State of Play’ Forum. The dominance of the market discourse has entrenched a bureaucratic structure and member organisations are now forced to compete for each vacancy just to ensure their economic survival and their continued membership of the Job Network.

There has been a shift in the language and foundational welfare policies of the Job Network over time. This shift in terminology reflects the dialectic that has taken place. The original Employment Services Contract or ESC1 included five major functions:

- **Job Matching** (or ‘Job Placement’ in later contracts). Providers match and refer eligible jobseekers to suitable vacancies, notified by employers.

- **Job Search Training and Support (JST)**. Job Network providers offer a job search training program to job seekers unemployed for at least three months.

- **Intensive assistance** Under Employment Services Contracts 1&2 (ESC1 and ESC2), job seekers unemployed for 12 months (or those at very high risk of enduring unemployment) received more extensive assistance for a period of 12 months. This can include job matching, training, job search assistance, work experience and post-placement support. Under ESC1

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46 Private discussions, reported with permission.

47 Job Matching (Job Placement in Tender 3 (ESC3)). The job placement function was no longer part of the Job Network in ESC3. General recruitment agencies and others outside the existing Job Network were invited to fulfil this role. All Job Network providers in ESC3 were required to offer job placement services.
ESC2 job seekers could change providers after 12 months if they were unsuccessful in obtaining employment. Where job seekers were referred to complementary programs, such as Work for the Dole, Job Network providers must retain contact with them and ensure continuing job search activities.

- **Entry Level Training Support Service (ELTSS).** The objective of ELTSS was to provide services to employers, apprentices and trainees

- **New Enterprise Incentive Scheme (NEIS).** The objective of NEIS was to help eligible unemployed people to establish and run viable new small businesses.

- **Project Contracting (Harvest Labour Services)** which organises vacancies for seasonal farm work. These minor programs continue (Productivity Commission 2002, pp 4.2 - 4.4).

The system that flowed from the creation of the Job Network and ESC1 was complex. Just how complex can be gauged by the following diagram, the “Job Seeker”[^48] is required to negotiate a complex system with influences and pressures that are unknown to them or at the very best are opaque their and the public’s scrutiny as noted in Figure 5 below.

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[^48]: The term “Job Seeker” is the government term and used in government texts. I explore the construction of this term in Chapter 7
Figure 5.

With the ESC3 announced in May 2002 the category FLEX 3 was divided into two categories that is Level A and Level B. This category was renamed ‘Customised Assistance’ and the category system was collapsed into two categories rather than the

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Note that in ESC1 and ESC2 the Department of Social Security (DSS) was the major social security policy agency the Department nomenclature is, at the time of writing, the Department of Families and Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaCSIA)
three that had been the case in ESC1 and 2. Under ESC1 & 2, Job seekers unemployed for 12 months (or those at very high risk of enduring unemployment) received more extensive assistance for a period of 12 months. In ESC3, this period was reduced to 6 months. This category still included job matching, training, job search assistance, work experience and post-placement support services. The revised nomenclature coincided with a revised philosophical underpinning of the Job Network known as “The Active Participation Model” (O'Neill 2003, p. 2). Under this new system, fees were paid to a Job Network agency when a client presented for an interview. ESC3 also sought to bring in labour placement and hire agencies into the Job Network (under licence) with the intention of having them add their vacancies to the national vacancy database called the Australian Jobsearch database. ‘Intensive Assistance’ that existed under ESC1 and split in ESC 2 into Level A and Level B clients, was replaced under ESC3 by two streams, Job Search Support Services and Intensive Support Services. Intensive supports customised systems increases the level of intensive support, where the client is assessed as requiring a higher degree of assistance.

Additionally, direct fees to the Job Network organisations were divided and part of the fee went into what was termed the Job Seeker Account. This was clearly introduced to reduce the monetary amount being passed directly to the Job Network agencies to ensure a minimum amount was spent on Job Seekers. However, another effect of the Job Seeker Account is to allow the Department to engage in micro-management of service provision. It does this by specifying exactly what can and can not be spent on Job Seekers. This is notified to the Job Network organisations through texts known as ‘Fact Sheets’. These texts detail the step by step instructions for assessing and developing service provision; and by issuing ‘Guidelines’ such as “Participation Reporting Guidelines”. The language of ‘breaching’ has been replaced by such euphemisms as “Participation Reporting”, “Serious Failures” and “Participation Failures” all terms introduced to hide and reduce the punitive nature of the verb ‘breaching’.

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50 See also Chapter 8 which explores the matter of breaching
How the Job Network works

The Employment Placement Enterprises (EPEs) were able to tender for, and some indeed did provide the full range of services. The Public Placement Enterprise (PEPE) was limited to Job Matching services. However, this was extended to locations where no suitable organisation was available to provide the full range of contracted services. Of the various functions, the intensive phase of assistance, FLEX 3 or Intensive Assistance is by far the most important since it targets at the most disadvantaged job seekers. NEIS, ELTSS and Project Contracting were not part of the Army tender but are still valuable components of the employment services field.

In the initial contract under ESC1 the payment regime was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Client (FLEX)</th>
<th>Up-front services fee</th>
<th>Primary outcome payment after 13 weeks</th>
<th>Secondary outcome payment after 13 week</th>
<th>Primary outcome payment after 26 weeks</th>
<th>Secondary outcome payment after 26 weeks</th>
<th>Total payment (primary outcome)</th>
<th>Total payment (secondary outcome)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$1,500</td>
<td>$2,000</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>$1500</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>$7500</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>$4000</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>$3000</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$4000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to paying commencement fees when job seekers started in the intensive phase of assistance\(^{51}\), the Government also rewarded providers for outcomes. Each provider received $10,000 for each intensive assistance client who was unemployed for 3 years or more\(^{52}\) who obtains and successfully holds a job that lasts at least 26 weeks. Educational participation is recognised as a successful outcome, usually by lower payments. The performance of providers is monitored and performance rated by the Department; the ratings are translated into a ‘star rating’ model, to be found on the net at http://jobsearch.gov.au/ (Accessed 6 October 2006). The gross outcomes

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\(^{51}\) Changed to fee-for service payments in ESC3

\(^{52}\) In ESC3 this was modified to $6600 for clients who were employed for at least 26 weeks who has been unemployed for 3 years or more. This was supplemented by a fee-for-service and Job Seeker Account payment for individual job seekers of approximately $4500 over the three years.
achieved by different providers are corrected for variations in local labour market conditions and the mix of job seekers who use their programs. According to the Productivity Commission (2002) stars are awarded on the basis of ‘value added’. Those providers with high star ratings\(^{53}\) are generally assured of future contracts; but not necessarily. The employment needs of the area are also taken into account by the Department.

In 1998, a Job Network contract was lucrative, especially if the contractor was able to obtain a large contract. However, with inflation and restrictions on the amounts available for Job seekers the amounts available for Job Network has reduced proportionately. Providers tendered to provide Job Network services on the basis of price and quality in ESC1 and 2. This changed in ESC3, where the contract was, according to the Department, awarded on the basis of quality alone (Productivity Commission 2002). Usually there were a number of providers in any one area; however in rural areas the number of providers was limited. Job Seekers choose their provider from the available service providers. If they did not, they were randomly assigned a provider that had spare capacity using an auto-referral system managed by Centrelink. Eligibility for job placement services is open to almost all job seekers at all times, but other programs depend on meeting certain eligibility criteria. Typically, job seekers using job placement services approach different service providers to access the vacancies for which the agencies hold the details. All job seekers who have been on unemployment benefit for 3 months (or more) are eligible for Job Search Training\(^{54}\).


\(^{54}\) And other Intensive support services in ESC3 and ESC4
In ESC1, a Job Seeker was returned to Centrelink after 12 months if they had not obtained work, or a successful outcome. In the current contract a Job Seeker remains with the same Job Network organisation until they have obtained a satisfactory outcome. In ESC1 and the following contracts all unemployment benefit recipients were assessed by Centrelink using a profiling instrument; the Job Seeker Classification Instrument (JSCI), to assess their risk of prolonged unemployment. The JSCI was, according to a report by the Evaluation and Program Performance Branch (Evaluation and Program Performance Branch 2000), deeply influenced by the profiling instruments used by the United States in their Unemployment Insurance system as a tool for “identifying job seekers who are most likely to remain unemployed” (Evaluation and Program Performance Branch 2000, p. 16). If the risk was assessed as high by Centrelink the job seeker was referred to an intensive level of assistance immediately. Currently either Centrelink or individual Job Network members may complete the JSCI. If job seekers have special needs, such as mental health problems that cannot be met by the Job Network, under the ESC1 the Job Seekers were referred to the Community Support Program. The language shifted in ESC3 and the Community Support Program was redesignated as the Personal Support Program, both programmes operate outside the Job Network.

In ESC1 particularly and to a lesser degree in ESC2, Job Network providers were allowed considerable flexibility in the services they provided, particularly in the intensive phase of assistance, and in how much of the government placement fees were expended on behalf of the individual Job Seeker. The Department now exerts micro as well as macro-control over the organisations in the Job Network. Two examples of these shifts are evidenced by the way in which Job Seekers were introduced to a network organisation. Initially, a Job Network provider was advised by Centrelink of a Job Seeker’s selection and a letter was sent to the Job Seeker advising a time for the first interview. Now Centrelink has an electronic connection to the Job Network provider via a common electronic diary and an interview time and location is set by Centrelink. In the earlier contracts, organisational performance and

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55 See Chapter 7 for a deeper exploration of the construction of citizens as consumers by the JSCI.

56 This practice has caused the Army in particular and other Job Network organisations great stress; particularly so when audits reveal large amounts to be repaid to the Department. This matter is explored in Chapter 6.
benchmarks were monitored on a macro-scale. With the improvement and enhancement of the Departmental computer system Departmental officers can now monitor the performance of individual agencies and monitor their work loads. To increase its micro-control the Department introduced the Participation Report Quality Assurance Committee. This committee comprises senior officials from the Department of Employment and Workplace Relations (DEWR), the Department of Department of Families and Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaCSIA) and Centrelink. At the Jobs Australia Forum, one member indicated that the Committee had contacted one of their consultants to ascertain the performance goals for an individual client who was to be interviewed the following week. This contact and many like it is considered by many organisations in the Job Network to be gross interference in their operations and an abrogation of the language found in Text Sample 8 (19& 20), namely, that of “diversity, innovation and flexibility”. The revised employment services system at the time of writing is as follows;
Job Seeker

Job Network Organisations

Service Delivery Agency (Centrelink)
- Income support service
- Registration and assessment
- Appointment booking with selected JN Agency
- Self-help, job search facilities
- Activity testing
- Assistance for students
- Other specialist services

Board of Directors
- FaCSIA Secretary
- DEWR Secretary
+3 others

Participation Report Quality Assurance Committee

Policy

Service Agreement

FaCSIA

Policy

Service Agreement

DEWR

Minister for Employment and Workplace Relations

Minister for Family and Community Services and Indigenous Affairs

Contracted to provide Labour exchange
- Job search support services
- Intensive support services
- Other

Figure 6
The coercive pressures within the employment services field

An immense number of texts constitute the employment services field and of great importance are the texts generated by the Department. These include the Draft Tender texts, the tender texts and importantly the contract texts. Research amongst organisational members of the Job Network indicates that the contract is problematic for many organisations. At the Jobs Australia ‘State of Play’ Forum one major complaint was that the Department was the sole arbiter of just how the contract was interpreted. The “Employment Service Contract” (Department of Work Place Relations 2006) is the carrier that allows Departmental officials to mount coercive pressure on Job Network members. A signed contract is an essential prerequisite for any organisation to be a part of the Job Network.

Here I provide four examples of the coercive pressures contained within the contract text. My aim is to show just how Departmental officials have the power to exert coercive pressures within the employment services field. Various sections of the Employment Services Contract stipulate;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text Sample 12</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 It is a condition precedent to this Contract that the Provider enters into a contract with the Commonwealth for the provision of Job Placement Services for the Contract Period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 DEWR may terminate this Contract at any time and for any reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 The Provider must comply with any reasonable request or demand made by DEWR.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 The Provider must give DEWR full and free accesses to documents and records</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Department of Work Place Relations 2006, accessed 24 April 2006)
In signing this contract, each Job Network member is bound to reproduce a specified set of behaviours with little room for deviation. Embedded within the contract is a power imbalance. The sentence at Text Sample 12 (1-4) “DEWR may terminate this Contract at any time and for any reason” indicates the strength of the bureaucracy and the weak position of the Job Network provider. This clause does not allow the Job Network member room to manoeuvre; the Job Network member organisation must reproduce the social behaviours outlined in the Contract. If the Job Network member deviates from normative behaviour, they can lose their contract; no reason need be given by the Department for the termination of the contract. The Job Network member does not have any legislated rights as the basis for the contract other than company law.

The termination provision is reinforced by another coercive mechanism; namely the compliance mechanism. At Text Sample 12 (7, 8) the Contract states that Job Network agencies “must comply with any reasonable request or demand” this phrase does not allow for deviation and requires a specific set of behaviours on the part of member organisations. What is not specified anywhere in the contract is the meaning of the word “reasonable” nor is the meaning of the words “request or demand”. Consequently, the Department has the power not only to terminate the contract on their own terms, they have the power to make “reasonable” “request or demand (s)” upon Job Network organisations without specifying the range of these requests or demands might be.

Finally, another coercive pressure is the level of access that Job Network organisations must provide to the Department. The Employment Services Contract at Text Sample 12 (9, 10) requires that “The Provider must give DEWR full and free accesses to [agency] documents and records” By having access to a Job Network organisation’s records departmental officials are able to monitor the internal actions of a constituent organisation. This aspect adds to the coercive power of government. It prevents organisations from taking independent action that might conflict with the goals of government and the Department; and the phrase at Text Sample 12 (5, 6) ensures that each constituent organisation in the Job Network is under constant surveillance.
The coercive nature of the contract was confirmed in discussions with the management of a number of not-for-profit members of the Job Network. One statement was “the contract is interpreted by DWER” to their requirements and “its now a master servant relationship – not a partnership”. These comments indicate the shift in the power and the strength of the isomorphic pressures exerted by the Department on Job Network agencies. This was confirmed by a statement from a senior industry leader who noted, “all of the organisations in the Job Network are tending to look like each other”.

**Conclusion**

At the beginning of this chapter, I remarked that in order to situate and analyse policy, it is first necessary to understand the social problem (or problems) to which the policy is responding. This involves asking why, and how, a particular social issue comes to be defined as a problem. As Atkinson (2000) shows, the definition and construction of a ‘problem’ most often contains within it its “immanent solution” (Atkinson 2000 p. 211). Moreover, the construction of a ‘problem’ most generally involves the development of a particular discursive account describing the evolution and causes of the problem. In this Chapter the ‘problem’ of unemployment and the unemployed in Australia and the immanent solution, namely the Job Network is explored.

I examined the literature that analyses and describes the Job Network and the chapter explored the genealogy of the Job Network and the contractualist, managerialist and neo-liberal discourses that influenced its creation. I then move to an exploration of the discourses evident in the creation of the quasi-market in which the Job Network operates. I noted that the Job Network is and remains a supply side solution to the problem of unemployment, more concerned with the personal characteristics of the unemployed rather than a demand side solution that required fundamental systemic change in the Australian economy.

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57 Current name for the Department of Employment and Workplace Relations.  
58 Private conversation reported with permission  
59 Private conversation reported with permission
I highlighted the genealogy of the Job Network together with many of the institutional pressures evident in the creation of the Job Network. My analysis explored the institutional environment and discourses incorporated within the texts developed by the Department. I remarked that the texts that create and maintain the Job Network, and the employment services field, are extensive and highly complex. My exploration included an examination of the isomorphic pressures operating on the field in general and on Job Network agencies in particular.

The social forces and discourses that lead to the creation and maintenance of the Job Network are extensive. In particular, I remarked on the discourse of the active society and of mutual obligation. I explored on the pervasive nature of the discourse mutual obligation and of its importance in the Job Network. Additionally, the place of the Department in the Job Network was explored in this chapter and in particular, I remark on the micro-management by the Department of the Job Network.

The next Chapter will be an exploration of governance and accountability. The issues of ‘governance’ and ‘accountability’ are central tenets in many of the neo-liberal texts and in neo-liberal rhetoric in Australia. The next Chapter provides a case study in the mediation of policy. In particular, I explore the major problems for the Army in the way the Job Seeker Classification Instrument (JSCI) was completed.
Chapter 6

Governance and Accountabilities

Introduction

In the last chapter, amongst other things, I explored the genealogy of the Job Network together with many of the discourses and institutional pressures at work within the Job Network. The analysis highlighted the institutional environment and discourses incorporated within the texts. I remarked that the texts that contribute to the maintenance of the Job Network and the employment services field are extensive and highly complex. Additionally, in Chapter 4 I explored the social policy process within The Salvation Army. Included in the analysis was an examination of the Army’s patterns of governance, the organisational structures and the place of social services within the organisation; and the discourses supporting the Army’s entrance into the Job Network.

Since employment services have been privatised, it is important to understand how policy in the Job Network is created and mediated both by government and Job Network agencies. Unfortunately, policy development in the Job Network has been largely obscured from public gaze a position remarked on by Maddison et al (2004). In this chapter, I present a case study exploring the matter of breaching, how it became public and how it was mediated. The case study brings into relief the issues of accountability and governance in the Job Network. In this chapter, I explore the notions of governance and accountability more broadly. As governments increasingly turn to privatisation as a response to identified social policy problems the notions of governance and accountability come to the fore.
Accountability lies at the heart of modern Australian democratic processes. One interesting aspect of the recent surge toward privatisation of government services has been the tendency for privatisation advocates to claim that accountability is improved (Hodge 2007). Privatisation activities include a variety of different techniques with the most common being the contracting-out of government services, and the provision of public sector infrastructure through privately funded mechanisms.

The notions of ‘governance’ and ‘accountability’ are central tenets of the managerialist doctrine known as New Public Management (NPM). In this chapter, I examine these notions and I show that both notions contain political force. As Considine notes there are a considerable number of “dilemmas concerning the nature of accountability” (Considine 2002, p. 21). The nature and many of the dilemmas of accountability are in relief in the employment services field. In particular, this chapter will explore the accountability dilemmas The Salvation Army faces in the employment services field. Prime amongst these dilemmas is the problem of remaining accountable to government for the expenditure of government funds and the delivery of government services while remaining true to its own ethos and discourses of independence.

**Issues of governance**

The wave of a public sector reform that began in the 1980s was conducted under the rubric of what has come to be termed the NPM. The issue of NPM was discussed in Chapter 2 however, it is appropriate to reiterate some of that discussion here. The suite of social practices encompassed by NPM refers to a focus on management, and not policy. This focus on management emphasises performance appraisal and efficiency. It divides the public bureaucracy into agencies which deal with each other on a user pays basis as well as contracting for-profit and not-for-profit organisations to provide government services. The aim of these revised institutional arrangements is to foster competition and to cut the cost of government. Such arrangements require a management style emphasising, among other things, benchmarks, output targets, limited term contracts, key performance indicators, monetary incentives and the freedom to manage (Bevir, Rhodes, and Weller 2003a).
This shift in the balance away from the public sector provision of welfare services in particular is expressed in a focus on process to promote policy (Bevir, Rhodes, and Weller 2003a). In effect, as Henman and Adler show, NPM has “problematized forms of administration and its governance in order to find new and improved mechanisms to enhance organisational efficiency and policy outcomes” (Henman and Adler 2003, p. 139). The phrase “administration and its governance” on the surface appears to be a concrete, taken-for-granted phrase where governance as a notion has a stable meaning linked firmly to administration. However, developing a stable meaning for the term governance is difficult. Prakash and Hart provide one of the most widely used definitions of governance as “the organisation of collective action” (Prakash and Hart 1999, p. 2). According to the Oxford on line Dictionary (2007b)’governance’ means “the action or manner of governing”; both are somewhat opaque definitions. Moreover, it is this obscurity in definition that allows any number of meanings to be attached to the notion of governance. Daly, for example, identifies a number of definitions and usages, including:

“good governance, global governance, corporate governance, governance without government, governance through new public management, new practices of coordination through networks, partnerships and deliberative for a, governance as international interdependence, governance as a socio-cybernetic system, governance as the new political economy, governance as networks.

(Daly 2003, p. 127)

As Bevir, Rhodes et al observe “governance is [continually] constructed differently and continuously reconstructed” (Bevir, Rhodes, and Weller 2003a, p. 203). And they show that the term ‘governance’ in Britain will mean something quite different to the term ‘governance’ in France (Bevir, Rhodes, and Weller 2003b). Yet the term ‘governance’ is as Daly suggests, a ‘contemporary term’ (Daly 2003, p. 114), one that resonates in modern Australian social practice and one that has captured considerable momentum in government, corporate and the not-for profit sector texts.
Technologies and forms of administration are also crucially important social practices. They are important not only for the forms of governance they make possible, but also for their effects on the emerging relationships between government as the purchaser of services and the providers of those services. The changing forms of governing welfare state administration often reflect wider developments in public administration (Henman and Adler 2003). At its heart, governance refers to a process. This process involves governing through either contract or collaboration with other public, profit and not-for-profit actors. This engagement includes the planning, design and achievement of government objectives in a manner that shares policy formation and delivery. This engagement includes risk minimisation and operational planning that, in many cases, replaces program delivery by the state sector, transferring this provision to actors within the second and third sectors (Phillips 2001). In fact governance is perpetual social practice since it is about modulating conduct through inculcating a command structure and thereby “normalising” (Daly 2003, p. 117) society and recreating social solidarity.

The normalisation of society is a key function of the ‘steering’ state envisaged by Osborne and Gaebler (1992). Osborne and Gaebler (1992) suggest that steering problems are not simply a function of state and bureaucratic failure, but are the result of the inherent complexity and interdependencies of modern societies. To cope with the dilemma caused by increasing interdependencies in the complex state in late modernity, new links between state and society were invented, enabling new modes of societal self-regulation, rooted in negotiated public-private coordination. These links are reinforced through increasingly stringent administrative processes introduced under the rubric of governance. This reinforcement of governance structures has allowed the state to remain an important actor for developing public welfare while at the same time sharing and in some cases devolving the role problem solving social problems (Bevir, Rhodes, and Weller 2003b). As Leftwich remarks, governance encompasses;

“an efficient public service, an independent judicial system and legal framework to enforce contracts; the accountable administration of public funds; an independent public auditor, responsible to a representative legislature; respect for the law and human rights of all levels of government; a pluralistic institutional structure, and a free press.”

(Leftwich 1993, p.610)
At the national level, governance is “the exercise of political power to manage a nation’s affairs” (Rhodes 1996, p. 656). In this context the political use of the term governance refers to the political condition where a state enjoys both legitimacy and authority, which is in turn derived from a democratic mandate (Rhodes 1996). In effect, governance is dependent upon government making decisions that define expectations, grant power and verify performance. However as Prakash and Hart (1999) show, governance is not limited to governments and government institutions. As our society has become more complex, there is a need to command and control the institutions that constitute society. Governance as a controlling social practice applies to institutions such as the Army. And, according to Prakash and Hart “one can witness governance within private organisations, such as business enterprises, as well as within less formally organized communities” (Prakash and Hart 1999, p. 2).

In defining governance the Australian Public Service Commissioner (2005) published the report ‘Foundations of Governance in the Australian Public Service’. This report outlined the principles of governance as they relate to the Australian Public Service (APS). These principles included the following:

- accountability—being answerable for decisions and having meaningful mechanisms in place to ensure adherence to all applicable standards.
- transparency—clear roles and responsibilities and clear procedures for decision making and the exercise of power.
- integrity—acting impartially, ethically and in the interests of the agency, and not misusing information acquired through a position of trust.
- stewardship—using every opportunity to enhance the value of the public assets and institutions that have been entrusted to care.
- efficiency—the best use of resources to further the aims of the organisations with a commitment to evidence-based strategies for improvement.
- leadership—leadership from the top is critical to achieving an agency-wide commitment to good governance.

(Australian Public Service Commissioner 2005, p. 3)
What is of interest here is that the notion of ‘accountability’ forms part of an overall approach to governance as defined in the APS. Whilst the definition provided by the APS is wide, it still depends upon the political elements identified by Leftwich (1993) above; namely “an efficient public service, an independent judicial system and legal framework to enforce contracts”. As Bevir, Rhodes et al (2003a) show, the notion of governance is continually being reconstructed and the reconstruction depends upon the lens through which the term is being constructed. The APS has a particular need to define governance in a broad sense since so many of the formerly government provided services are being devolved to second and third sector actors.

Often within the literature there the notions of governance and accountability are tightly linked, for example Koh, et al (2007)

“good corporate governance structures are aimed at encouraging companies to create value and provide accountability and control systems commensurate with the risks involved. This view suggests that the governance mechanisms used to carry out the various roles of corporate governance, including safeguarding financial reporting, contribute to accountability and value enhancement”

(Koh, Laplante and Tong 2007, p. 306).

Additionally, Rees and Gourdie (2007) show that governance is closely aligned to the notion of accountability. From an accounting point of view the literature displays a marked congruence between governance and audit structures, including audit committees, independent boards and financial reporting (Daly 2003). Accountability is an important notion forms but one constituent of the notion of governance. Given that ‘governance’ is a fluid notion I propose that governance implies a form of control that refers primarily to process; a process that has a range of diverse actors engaged in the exercise of power and control within society.

**Just what do we mean by accountability?**

In a speech Gov. John Engler, the former governor of Michigan, said, amongst other things
“It's my belief that the private sector is often better at getting the job done than government. First, the competition promotes operating cost effectively, and the greater accountability helps ensure quality products and services. The private sector also excels at using innovative technology to solve problems, while government agencies do not always have the same latitude to innovate or take risks. Finally, the private sector has vast resources in computer technology, high volume proceeding equipment, and specialized personnel, plus the flexibility to assign them wherever they are needed most.”

(Quoted in Chi, Arnold, and Perkins 2003, p. 12)

This speech encapsulates the neo-liberal criticisms of government bureaucracy; namely inflexibility, inefficiency and costly service provision. Additionally, Engler is suggesting that, privatizing government services or contracting out improves accountability since government cannot be accountable to itself. The perceived failures of government services provision are pored over with almost religious zeal and the notion of ‘accountability’ is frequently used to legitimize changes to government welfare services, yet the concept often remains ill defined. The problem is just what is meant by ‘accountability’ and to what political purposes the term is applied. Governor Engler focuses, largely, on financial accountability, the ability to account for finances. However, the notion of accountability clearly has broader implications. The Compact Oxford Dictionary defines accountability as;

“Accountability: the quality of being accountable; liable to give an account of, and answer for, discharge of duties or conduct; responsibility, amenableness”

(Oxford University Press 2007a, accessed 6 August 2007)

Within the discourse of governance, accountability is a prime constituent, a vital operating principal. According to Phillips (2001), accountability is a social practice where individuals, organisations and institutions act with consideration and respect for public trust; answering for the ways in which responsibilities have been carried out in light of this trust. McMillan (2007) proposes that accountability is a necessary adjunct to the power exercised by any agency over citizens receiving services such as those provided by the Job Network. In the case of the Job Network, accountability is an indispensable check on how that power is exercised. According to Creyke, McMillan et al (2005) many definitions of ‘accountability’ are drawn from economic,
Accountability describes the relationship between those entrusted with … power and the people who entrusted power to them.

A purpose of accountability is to uphold underlying on fundamental principles, such as public interest, public trust, rule of law and good governance.

Accountability defines the expectations of the public concerning the responsible exercise of power, on matters such as financial probity, behavioural integrity [of frontline service providers], and the protection of the vulnerable members of the community.

An important dimension of accountability is the sanctions that can be applied in remedies to be granted where there is an accountability breach

The essence of accountability is that those exercising power must be answerable, responsive and transparent.


As Considine shows, “in the standard works, accountability is defined as the legal obligation to respect the legitimate interests of others affected by decisions, programs, and interventions” (Considine 2002, p. 21). Considine continues “the issue of accountability forms a central part of a wider issue of public agency: the authority of state actors to compel compliance and to exercise power” (Considine 2002, p. 22).

Given the constructed nature of the notion of ‘accountability’, what is important, from a constructionist view, is how the discourse of accountability is used politically. In the end, how ‘accountability’ is defined is dependent upon the strategic choices of language and the way in which the term is embedded in text and the meanings that the use of the term accountability engenders. The definition is dependent on the lens through which the producer and the consumer of the text view the use of language to construct and interpret meaning.
The notion of ‘accountability’ is often embedded within a structure that is capable of a wide variety of meanings and understandings. For example, Walker, quoting Briar et al (1992) shows that in the New Zealand context ‘accountability’ has been “subject to Treasury capture…and plundered” (Walker 2002, p. 63). Most of the calls for accountability in this context are financial in nature, a context in which government, for example, requires both of itself and more importantly of contracting organisations that accounts to be in order, and expenditure be within approved budgets, properly audited and that all monies must be properly ‘accounted for’. Other writers such as Considine (2002) bring a systemic value to the concept of accountability. Considine notes that “we … need to approach the accountability issue as a problem with multiple levels and more than one possible meaning” (Considine 2002, p. 23).

In a transformed welfare state where welfare services are often provided on behalf of government by organisations within the not-for-profit sector these organisations are increasingly being obliged to demonstrate heightened levels of accountability. As Morrison and Salipante (2007) show, this means that the definition of accountability should be broadened to include measures of how well agencies such as the Army, uphold their mission as well as be responsive to the various stakeholders in the employment services field. It is made clear by writers such as Mulgan (1997; 2006) and Considine (2002; 1999) that organisations such as the Army need to develop bureaucratic strategies that blend formal accounting strategies with the broader strategies incorporated in modern governance techniques suggested, for example, by the Australian Public Service Commissioner above.

However defined, ‘accountability’ remains a fundamental operating principle both for government and for not-for-profit agencies such as the Army. As Phillips notes; “Accountability…refers to acting in consideration and respect for the public trust and accepting the consequences of problems created, not avoided or not corrected” (Phillips 2001, p. 191). In other words, accountability involves transparency, answerability, external control, self-control and the ready acceptance of responsibility for bureaucratic and administrative decisions (Phillips 2001). The fundamental principles embodied in the discourses of governance and accountability have all raised deep issues for Job Network agencies and particularly for the Army.
The Salvation Army’s discourse of organisational independence

Irvine (2002) remarks on the early Army’s leadership attempts to develop organisational discourses supporting openness, honesty and accountability. Institutionally these discourses are mediated and strengthened by the promulgation, from time to time, of Official Minutes and Orders and Regulations, which guide social practice in the Army. These texts reinforce social practice and with the aim of ensuring that Army management and staff reproduce behaviours that are accountable. Additionally, governance structures and practices are reinforced through these texts and through the application of strong internal discourses reinforced by the rank structure and the Army’s command and control system of local, regional and international auditing. The Army for example publishes Annual Reports available to the general public and on the Web (The Salvation Army 2007b). However, it is in the area of the receipt of external funding that strong organisational discourses have been developed. Yet the receipt of government funding is not without tension. In Chapter 8, I explore one of these tensions relating to the matter of ‘breaching’. However, other tensions are caused by government expectations and restraints related to contracting. In a Report written by The House of Representative Standing Committee on Family and Community Affairs wrote

“In welfare delivery, the international trend has been for governments to pass these responsibilities to the not-for-profit community sector by contracting or privatising former State-run welfare institutions. In Australia, similar changes are taking place, with major implications for governments in terms of their future role in welfare and their relationship with non-government service providers.”

(Parliament of Australia 1998, p xi.).

The implications of this observation have now become clearer. Governments in Australia and in particular the Commonwealth government have indeed passed the responsibility for welfare delivery to the not-for-profit sector but they have done so at a price to agencies in that sector. Carson and Kerr (2003) for example, highlight both conceptual and practical shortcomings inherent in the ways state and third sector ‘partnerships’ are understood, articulated and operationalised to the detriment of the third sector agencies. In relation to the Job Network they note the;
“tensions and difficulties being experienced as organisations attempt to reconcile what a potentially competing demands when they engage with the imperatives of contractualism. The new contractual arrangements potentially limit the autonomy of some community sector agencies and their capacity to act in accordance with the core values and in the best interests of disadvantaged jobseekers.”

(Carson and Kerr 2003, p. 88)

Part of the tension caused to Job Network agencies such as the Army is the need to remain internally accountable and consistent to their own ethos and organisational discourses. At a fundamental organisational level there are tensions related to governance, accountability and organisational independence. The Army has had experience over a century of dealing with these tensions. However, the Army’s membership of the Job Network has brought these tensions into stark relief.

The Army has since William Booth wrote ‘Darkest England’ (Booth 1890) sought to obtain funding from government. However, within the Army, a dominant discourse of organisational independence was constructed by Booth and maintained by his followers. As in many things Booth, who always wanted to preserve the organisational independence of the Army, constructed this discourse very early in the Army’s history. The discourse was articulated in a series of speeches delivered by Booth at the Army’s first International Social Council in London in 1911 and published as ‘International Social Council Addresses’ (Booth 1912). At this Council Booth addressed Officers from across the world and laid down a series of policy positions that formed the foundation of the Army’s organisational approach to the development, management and maintenance of the Army’s social work and in particular, the receipt of government funding for these services. To provide institutional power to Booth’s statements, the Army’s senior management issued two major policy texts, ‘Orders and Regulations for Officers of the Men’s Social Work of The Salvation Army’ (The Salvation Army 1915) and ‘Orders and Regulations for Officers of the Women’s Social Work of The Salvation Army’ (The Salvation Army 1916). These texts laid the foundation for subsequent texts that normalize the Army’s provision of social work and regulate its interaction with governments.
Included in William Booth’s Social Addresses are phrases such as “preserving your separation” (Booth 1912, p 80.) and “perfect freedom” (Booth 1912, p 85.). Given the shifts in language use over 100 years, what Booth was developing was a strong organisational discourse of independence. These phrases form a major operating principle for the Army in the receipt of government funding, and indeed the receipt of all donations to the Army’s work. Booth said that it was in order for the Army to receive government funding however the Army must “recognize them [governments] and acknowledge their authority… while preserving your separation” (Booth 1912, p 80.). He laid down the initial policy within which the Army sought to obtain government funding. Booth said;
In all cases where financial assistance can be obtained, you must carefully remember that it may only be received on the following conditions:

(a) Firstly, there must be no control on the part those assisting us, either has to the character of the work done by the Army, or the means employed for effecting it.

Inspection may be allowed – indeed, welcomed – so far as it refers to the fact of the money being expended on the object for which that money has been contributed, and so far as such inspection refers to the results that have been secured by it, but no further.

Anything further than this in the way of inspection would be unreasonable, if only on the ground that it would afford opportunities for officials who are prejudiced against their work seriously to misrepresent us: and that it might also involve the disclosure of information communicated to us confidentially by those we are seeking to assist, and thus destroy the confidence in us.

(b) A second condition, controlling the receipt of money from governmental and other authorities, is that no governmental, religious, or social influence must also be allowed to affect our action in either the receipt or expenditure of the moneys contributed by them.

No influence of any kind – religious, national, municipal, commercial, or political – must determine the character of the humanitarian efforts which we are making to the benefit of the people.

(c) Again, nothing must be allowed to come into our arrangements with Governments and other organisations like impositions or conditions, on the part of those making the grants or gifts, that would be calculated to interfere with our perfect freedom to carry out the work as we think best.

(f) Finally, no Social Work must be undertaken (except under very extraordinary circumstance, and then only with the consent of International Headquarters) which has to be sustained by any government grant, the continuance of which is uncertain.” (Booth 1912, pp. 82-85).
Within this text are the major elements of the Army’s organisational discourse of independence. Phrases such as that at Text Sample 13 (4) “no control on the part those assisting us” and Text Sample 13 (19, 20, 21) “no governmental, religious, or social influence must also be allowed to affect our action” combined with the sentence at Text Sample 13 (23, 24, 25, 26) “No influence of any kind – religious, national, municipal, commercial, or political – must determine the character of the humanitarian efforts which we are making to the benefit of the people” indicate the strength of William Booth’s determination that his Army was to remain independent. The rigid controls imposed by government by the construction of demanding contracts combined with the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) bring this major organisational discourse of independence into question.

Booth required of the Army a high standard of accountability. Officers managing social services are required in the ‘The Orders and Regulations for Officers of the Men’s Social Work’ to provide;

“Full, careful, and correct accounts must be kept of money transactions of every kind. No exceptions under any circumstances, will be permitted to this rule. Every fact that touches finance in any shape or form must be so recorded in the books that it will be possible to obtain a clear and intelligent idea of what was actually done, even when those who were personally acquainted with the circumstances have passed away.”
(The Salvation Army 1915, p. 78)

Booth and his followers developed very strong governance structures, matters previously explored in Chapter 4. However, in Text Sample 13 Booth was referring to a narrow compliance form of accountability. Nevertheless, the foundations of the Army’s accountability are easily discernable in Booth’s text and in subsequent Army Orders and Regulations. The paragraph beginning with at Text Sample 13 (7-10) “Inspection may be allowed – indeed, welcomed” encapsulates the development of these discourses; whilst the phrase Text 13 (10) “but no further” reinforces the organisational discourse of independence.
This discourse of independence at Text 13 (30-31), or “perfect freedom” to use Booth’s words, was imprinted by Booth on the early Army and has remained today in the Army in Australia. The discourses imprinted on the organisation are clear; the Army must maintain its organisational independence and the continuation of government funding must be guaranteed. These policy restrictions have never been rescinded in the Army in Australia. Yet, by their very nature, government grants are both prescriptive and limited in time. The discourse of “perfect freedom” outlined at Text Sample 13 (30-31) has now been constricted and eroded by government grant conditions and grants tend to be time limited. The House of Representatives Committee noted that;

“Performance monitoring is a central element of service delivery. It is a process by which government agencies supervise a service provider’s performance so as to ensure the provider meets predetermined performance standards.”

(Parliament of Australia 1998, p. 49)

In addition, under the prevailing economic order in the late 20th century the continuation of funding and the levels of funding are often uncertain and unclear. The House of Representatives Committee wrote;

“This Inquiry found that current service agreements frequently fail to include key information in service agreements.”

(Parliament of Australia 1998, p. 72)

The Army, still influenced by the discourse of “perfect freedom”, has misgivings about the notion of privatisation. The Army wrote, in its submission to the Inquiry,

“The matter of outcome standards is also an issue. If the government does not provide a fully funded tender, what percentage of what outcome does it have a legal right to expect, and who determines this. Is it a court of law? This raises the issue of what the Government “owns”. It also goes to data provision if the government does not pay for this. Who picks up the cost?”

(The Salvation Army 1997, p. 4)
And again;

“The Salvation Army has serious concerns about the concept and the results of going down the competitive tendering track. Human services are the shared responsibility of all in the community. We are not sure competitive tendering will result in this sharing.”

(The Salvation Army 1997, p. 6)

To obtain grants to continue its welfare services in Australia the Army has had to agree to standards of governance, accountability and direction that vary from its organisational norms. In other words, the Army has had to modify the organisational discourse of independence by contracting to provide government specified outcomes and to meet government service demands. To be fair, the Army only wants to reproduce the highest service quality; however in matters such as ‘breaching’ the Army is required by government to comply with government-imposed standards.

The dominant organisational discourse of “perfect freedom” or independence is linked to another discourse, namely, that of Christianity. The Army is, primarily, a Christian Church within the Protestant tradition and the Christian discourse is its central ideological driving force (King 2005). Booth rightly feared that institutions within the state, such as government, might enforce restrictions on funding that would dilute and more importantly pollute this central ideology. Consequently, Booth took great pains in his 1911 Address (Booth 1912) and his son Bramwell in the first Orders and Regulations for Social Officers (The Salvation Army 1898) to construct what I term an idealised discourse of Army organisational independence. Not that Booth saw the Army as being removed or in some way divorced from the organs of the state. Indeed his 1911 Address indicated that the Army needed to engage with government and other institutions of the state; what Booth was at pains to construct was an organisational discourse of independence that would inform, control and regulate the Army’s contact with other institutions.

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60 See Chapter 8.
A case study in policy mediation

In the employment services field policy dialogue under Prime Minister Howard’s government remained opaque and free from public scrutiny. This obscurity was enhanced partly through the use of commercial-in-confidence classification of texts and partly because discussions and policy development under Prime Minister Howard’s government were conducted behind closed doors a position cogently remarked on by Maddison et al (2004). This secrecy was demonstrated by the way in which a policy initiative by government on breaching, that is, the process whereby a person’s unemployment benefit is partly or wholly withdrawn for a failure to follow tight bureaucratic rules was mediated. The incident illustrates the difficulty in making government accountable but at the same time demonstrates the negotiated nature of institutional relationships within the employment services field.

On 7 May 2005, Tingle and Morris (2005) in the Financial Review and Grattan (2005) in The Age reported on a leaked government proposal to increase the ‘breaching’ penalties. As part of this proposal, it was suggested that the breaching procedure would be shared by Centrelink and Job Network agencies. This issue was taken up by Cleary (2005) in a broadcast from the Australian Broadcasting Corporation on 8 May 2005 where he interviewed representatives of four church organisations, including a representative of The Salvation Army.

Cleary put three propositions:

A. “It raises a prospect for the churches of a return to the Dickensian workhouse vision of the church as an instrument of the cruelties of the state rather than the defender of the poor. How can the agency you appeal to as your last hope against the state be at the same time an agent of the state?

B. The question now arises, are the ethical and in-principle objections that many of the churches express towards the proposed changes, capable of withstanding the threat of loss of revenue that sustained opposition to a determined government will necessarily entail.
C. The question for our consideration is, if the churches oppose such policies what should be their response.

(Quoted from the broadcast Cleary 2005 accessed 9 May 2005)

Cleary, in these propositions, articulated many of the questions raised by this thesis. Each representative acknowledged the correctness of Cleary’s observations and outlined a strategy aimed at mediating the publicly announced policy. The Salvation Army representative, John Dalziel, said, “breaching should be the very, very last thing that should happen. You should look at it from the clients’ point of view” (Quoted from broadcast; Cleary 2005 accessed 9 May 2005). Opposition to the government’s policy was best encapsulated by Sheridan Dudley, the chief executive of Job Futures, another major not-for-profit Job Network contractor, who in a letter to the Prime Minister noted that the proposed changes

“...represent some fundamental policy shifts which have not been made explicit and which are undesirable, counter-productive and costly financially, legally and administratively.

Income-support policy and its administration has always been a primary function of the federal government. The government determines who is eligible for benefits and the conditions on which those benefits are to be paid. To hand not-for-profit and private sectors the role of suspending those benefits would be to disconnect decisions about continued access to income support (a ‘public good’ and fundamental citizen right’ from the government whose responsibility it is to provide that support.”

(Quoted by Tingle and Morris 2005 accessed 7 May 2005)

The mediation of policy was conducted privately between government, the Job Network agencies and welfare groups such as ACOSS. However, Murphy reported in the Financial Review that “Treasurer Peter Costello has intervened in a deal negotiated between the federal government and church groups about how to punish welfare cheats, leaving the welfare-to-work package in limbo” (Murphy 2005). Apart from reporting the policy discussions, the language use in this sentence is revealing. The unemployed are constructed as “welfare cheats” who must be “punished”. This construction implicates the churches as part of the “punishment” regime. Precisely the
point that Cleary raised with the representatives of the churches, despite the fact that Dalziel in the previous paragraph does not label the unemployed, nor does Dudley.

What is interesting from a policy view is that “church groups” had struck a “deal”. The language here implies that only “church groups” were involved and no other Job Network members nor other welfare agencies or other groups in the employment services field; there appears, on the surface at least, to be exclusivity at work here. The idea of “striking a deal” implies that only the church groups and the government were involved and not the wider polity.

On 24 September 2005 Karvelas reported in The Australian that;

“the Howard government has softened its stance on dole changes,… For months the churches and the welfare lobby have been trying to persuade the Howard government to soften its welfare to work package by playing a clever game of good cop, bad cop. Earlier this week, without much noise or fuss, they quietly won. Many of the key aims of weakening one of the most significant policies announced since the government’s re-election have become government policy.

Although they have not secured all their demands, the victory they have pulled off is one that few of those who have lobbied Howard government ministers to water down the hard-line approach to social policy have experienced.”

These series of articles and radio programmes indicate that the third sector and particularly the church agencies had under Prime Minister Howard’s government some power to mediate social policy. Yet the process was secret and conducted in the manner of commercial negotiations. No policy documents were made available to the public and those that came to light were ‘leaked’ and remain off the record. Additionally, the negotiations are referred to in the plural ‘church groups’ indicating that no single ‘church’ or agency was involved. The use of the plural “churches” indicates that no individual ‘church’ or organisation had the power to bring about policy change. What was required was collective action. What is primarily at question here is the matter of accountability. Since the discussions were held secretly, there is no measure of transparency, answerability or external control. It is clear that the churches exercised a good
measure of self-control and exercised power responsibly since the policy mooted by government was resisted and never implemented, however the whole process was dense and obscure; consequently, the various accountabilities involved in this case study remain opaque to public view.

Some problems in the system

On 13 February 2006 ‘The Age’ reported, amongst other things that;

“Australia’s biggest employment agency has had to pay back millions of dollars in taxpayer-funded grants designed to help the unemployed.

The Salvation Army’s employment plus has been forced to repay $9 million after an investigation into allegations of financial mismanagement and claims that agencies were inflating the number of clients with special needs who required extra government assistance, the Australian newspaper reports.

If an unemployed person is classed as needing special assistance, the job network secures more generous government grants to help them find work or retrain to find work

The repayments, which the Salvation Army confirmed without specifying the amount, are the latest scandal to hit the Federal government privatised job network.

At least two other unnamed agencies were recently ordered to repay between $1m and $2.4m, the newspaper said.

Workplace Participation Minister Sharman Stone refused to confirm or deny details of the investigation into overpaid grants to Job Network agencies.”


Later, in ‘The Sydney Morning Herald’ of 17 February 2006 Damien Murphy reported amongst other things;

“The operator of the privatised job network scheme has refused to identify employment agencies that are under investigation for misusing taxpayer fund grants for fear of jeopardising possible court cases.
The secretary of the Department of employment and workplace relations, Peter Boxall, also refused to tell a Senate estimates committee yesterday how much money was involved in total, but under pressure he said $13,000 had been repaid so far.

Dr Boxall said “less than five” of the 107 job network providers are under investigation. The Salvation Army has admitted it had to pay back $9 million because of overpayments in its employment agency. It has been reported that the Uniting Church’s job service has been asked to refund $2.4 million.”

(Murphy 2006, accessed 17 February 2006)

At its founding the Army relied on external funding to survive and its accounting practices contributed to that survival. Irvine (Irvine 2002) shows that there is strong evidence to suggest that in the Army’s early formative years, financial statements and evidence of the Army’s probity played a powerful legitimising role. In the early years the Army was a small, steadily growing organisation with little money, no established power base and no property. Irvine suggests that the Army’s paucity of resources during its formation had a profound impact on the “young organisation’s policies in regards to finances and financial accountability” (Irvine 2002, p. 6). The Army has had to face questions over its governance and accountability in the past. This was no more so than in 1892 when William Booth was forced to defend his and the Army’s financial practices related to the ‘Darkest England’ scheme and the funding that Booth and the Army received for the publication of ‘Darkest England’ (Booth 1890).

After the publication of ‘Darkest England’ Booth was publicly criticised for lax accounting practices in relation to the funds raised by the sale of his book and for the donations that flowed from this publication. Hattersley notes that ‘The Times’ of 14 April 1892 reported that; “it is impossible to open Mr Booth’s books anywhere without coming upon evidence of an extreme laxity in all financial concepts which proves him unworthy of blind confidence in any matter where money is concerned” (Quoted in Hattersley 1999, p. 398). To counter such criticism Booth set up an independent inquiry known as the ‘Commission of Inquiry Upon the Darkest England Scheme’ (Hattersley 1999). This independent Commission included a number of eminent public figures including the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry James QC MP as Chair and included, amongst others, Edwin Waterhouse the then President of the Institute of
Chartered Accountants. This Commission held eighteen meetings and examined not only Salvation Army accounts, but audited William Booth’s personal finances as well. The Commission found that all monies donated to the scheme were used appropriately and the management of the funds was “businesslike, economical and prudent” and the accounts were “kept in a proper and clear manner”. In relation to Booth and his family, the Commission examined “whether Mr Booth or any member of his family have drawn any sum for their personal use therefrom” and reported that “No such expenditure appears to have been incurred” (quoted in Hattersley 1999, pp. 403-404). The Commission completely exonerated Booth, his family and the Army and indicated that no major institutional changes were required in the governance of the Army.

The criticism that Booth faced over the governance of the ‘Darkest England Scheme’ and the challenges to its accountability has now passed into organisation lore. Nevertheless, the Commission of Inquiry established by Booth and its results formed a very strong organisational discourse supporting transparent accountability. This discourse influences every person that seeks to become a soldier (member) of the Army. The following excerpt from the preamble to The Salvation Army’s articles of war, a document soldiers sign before being sworn in, illustrates the commitment of individual Salvationists to live honourably and be accountable;

“I do here declare that I will not allow myself to be involved in any deceit or dishonesty: nor will I practise any fraudulent conduct in my business, my home or in any other relation in which I may stand to my fellow men; but that I will deal truthfully, honourably and kindly with all those who may employ me or whom I may myself employ.”

(Watson 1965, p. 26)

The Army replied to the criticisms contained in stories in The Age, The Sydney Morning Herald and other Australian newspapers by issuing a statement on 13 February 2007. The text said in part;

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61 For a full list of the members of the Inquiry Committee see Sandall (Sandall 1955, page 930) and the Terms of Reference are outlined in full by Hattersley (Hattersley 1999, p.399).
Text Sample 14 contains the elements of accountability described by Phillips, and I repeat the quotation “Accountability…refers to acting in consideration and respect for the public trust and accepting the consequences of problems created, not avoided or not corrected” (Phillips 2001, p. 191). On behalf of the Army, Major Halse noted that TSAEP “respected public trust” (Phillips 2001, p. 191) and did not avoid the issue noting at Text Sample 14 (13) that TSAEP “regrets that the overpayments
happened”. The full text of the Press Release appeared on the Army’s Web Site and was thus available to all Australian and not just government. The text conforms to internal Army discourses requiring a high standard of accountability. It is clear from **Text Sample 14** that the Army in taking responsibility, acted and took corrective action. To improve its accountability TSAEP undertook at **Text Sample 14** (18, 19, 20) to “rewrite of the training manual, retraining of all staff in use of the jobseeker classification instrument, increased supervision,” and in **Text Sample 14** (20, 21, 22) put “greater emphasis on risk management” and “a progressive management restructure to improve operational accountability”. All of these elements conform to notion of accountability described by Phillips (2001). Yet it is clear that part of the retraining noted at **Text Sample 14** (18, 19) is to bring Army practice into alignment with government requirements, not its own organisational discourses.

At **Text Sample 14** (8, 9) part of the problem is acknowledged as the “application of DEWR’s job seeker classification instrument” (JSCI). In Chapter 4, I noted that in ESC1 and ESC2 the JSCI was completed by Centrelink. This procedure changed in ESC3 where the Job Network agencies were able to complete a JSCI for job candidate as well as Centrelink. This revised practice appears, on the surface at least, to be a conflation of the certifying and authorising function. The Job Network agencies not only certify a Job Seekers classification, their certification authorises payment from government. This problem of overpayment indicates that individual consultants were far more sympathetic to their clients than government, and there existed real differences at the street-level than at the bureaucratic level of the Department in Canberra. In effect, what we have here is a clash in ideology. Individual employment consultants have as their primary focus the requirement to obtain work or at least help individual clients obtain and hold work. To do so street-level staff need resources to conduct their employment activities. The government of the period on the other hand, sought to restrain expenditure of government funds. By allowing agency staff to complete the JSCI, it was inevitable that individual staff would favour clients over government financial restrictions.
At the Jobs Australia State of Play Forum held in Sydney on 14 May 2007 a broad spectrum of agencies indicated that they now have to invest additional resources to satisfy government accountability as well as their own organisational accountability requirements as a result of the accountability requirements enforced by the Department in completing JSCIs. Frequently, this included the employment of additional staff and investment in storage, maintenance, retrieval and double auditing of a large amount of records going back to the changed procedure.

Adele Horin observed the increasing administrative load in the Job Network and suggested that the;

“Job Network had ‘extraordinarily high’ administrative costs with the Department of Employment and Workplace Relations, spending $252 million a year – or 15 per cent of the Job Network appropriation – and employing 1200 public servants to monitor 1100 agencies”

(Horin 2006, p.3)

The Departmental Web Site (Accessed 2 November 2007b) indicates that there are in fact 99 Job Network agencies in ESC3. Perhaps Horin meant the number of service provision sites. The exact number of agencies and service provision sites varies from time to time as agencies leave the market and as new sites are added and old sites are closed. Nevertheless, Horin’s observations are apt and confirm the general impression provided by other Job Network agencies at the Jobs Australia State of Play Forum of the high administrative load carried in the Job Network.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I remarked that since employment services have been privatised it is important to understand how policy in the Job Network is created and mediated. Unfortunately, policy development in the Job Network has been largely obscured from public gaze, and the case study presented in this chapter confirms this position. I presented a case study exploring the matter of breaching. The case study brings into relief the issues of accountability and governance in the Job Network. As governments increasingly turn to privatisation the notions of governance and accountability come to the fore. I explored these notions and noted that both notions

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contain political force. I remarked that privatisation and the contracting-out of government services, and the provision of public sector infrastructure through privately funded mechanisms has led to situations where there is a conflict of values leading to a misalignment between accountability and the aim of government to reduce spending.

In this chapter, I remarked that the Army had developed internal discourses that inform and guide organizational behaviour and that the discourse of organisational independence is of prime importance to the Army. Additionally, I noted that the Army’s governance structures and practices are reinforced through the Army’s command and control system of local, regional and international auditing. In addition, I noted that the Army’s discourse of organisational independence influences all of the Army’s dealings with external bodies.

Additionally, I suggested that the Army has strong organisational discourses requiring private as well as public accountability. These discourses guided the Army’s actions when a major discrepancy in funding was found by Army and government auditors. I explored problems caused for both government and The Salvation Army when there is a clash of ideologies and noted that this clash required the Army to refund significant amounts of money to government. I observed that this clash forced the Army to revise its training and its audit procedures to bring these into line with government systems. This incident highlights the real problems individual agencies have in their dealings with government. Government philosophies may well clash with private institutional philosophies and belief structures. The individual consultants claiming funding for the unemployed could see the individual need and they belonged to an organisation that seeks to address individual need; on the other hand, one of the government’s aims in introducing the Job Network was to save money (Productivity Commission 2002), on these two points alone a clash of ideologies was inevitable.
In the next chapter, I explore the issues surrounding the construction of the individual Australian citizen as consumer. The Chapter will explore the notion of citizenship and the ways in which citizenship is constructed and deployed as a discursive strategy in Australia. Additionally, the Chapter will explore the ways in which increased neo-liberal pressures have led to new ways of conceptualizing and deploying notions of citizenship as strategic ways of influencing policy.
Chapter 7

The Construction of Citizen as Consumer

Introduction

In the last Chapter, I explored Salvation Army social policy relating to governance and accountabilities. In this Chapter, I explore the discursive construction of the citizen as consumer, and in particular the construction of the citizens as consumers of employment services. Rather than thinking of citizenship simply as a ground for making claims on states, Gordon and Stack (2007) argue that citizenship can be conceived more broadly as a kind of freedom in the sense of room for manoeuvre, in other words, the fullness of citizenship implies choice.

This chapter explores how the notion of citizenship is constructed and deployed as a discursive strategy in Australia. Further, I explore the how the choices open to citizens are limited within the Job Network. Additionally, this Chapter explores how increased neo-liberal pressures have led to new ways of conceptualizing and deploying notions of citizenship as strategic ways of influencing current policy debates. I show that current debates have moved the notion of citizenship away from older conceptions of citizenship developed by Marshall (1992) post World War II, to a new plurality.

The controversies that have arisen in the literature about whether citizenship is the creation of modern states or derived from civil society, and about whether citizenship can be derived from a theory of human rights and should be understood as specific to particular legal regimes and discursive technologies. In the process, I note that citizenship has become a highly contested notion. The analysis in this chapter links to Chapter 2 and the issues of neo-liberalism and consumerism. This analysis includes an exploration of the historic construction of citizenship, its relevancy today and the presence of this discourse in government and Army texts. The discursive forms of citizenship are explored together with the place of citizenship in the debates.
surrounding the neo-liberal influences on the transformation of the state. These issues will then be linked to the ways in which the citizen is constructed in the Job Network, both by government in Australia and by The Salvation Army.

**Why citizenship; why now?**

The notion of citizenship in western democracies has not been inevitable or uniform in its implementation. In ancient Greece and Rome, the cradles of the western civilization, citizenship was the privilege of, initially at least, a very small minority (Hindess 2000). In fact, the bestowing of Roman citizenship on wider numbers of people in the Italian and Roman provinces was a significant strategy for incorporating them into the Roman state; it was a highly risky strategy and an issue that lead at least to one civil war in Rome. Now, most adults are more usually citizens of the state in which they were born and in which they live (Hudson and Kane 2000). Nevertheless, it is how the notion of citizenship has been constructed and contextualised that is of interest here. Over the past decade the notion of citizenship has received renewed academic and public scrutiny by authors such as Patterson (1998), Alford (2002) and Hudson and Kane (2000). As Saul (1997) suggests, the notion of citizenship is being taken up as a way of rethinking questions of political and social justice. Critics of neo-liberalism have turned to the notion of citizenship in order to present ethical and social concerns to governments. Additionally, conservatives are increasingly turning to the rhetoric of citizenship to insist on duties and community service (Hudson and Kane 2000).

In Australia, the notion of citizenship is often defined in a minimalist way, for example, the Australian Parliament defines citizenship as “the legal bond between the individual and the State” (Parliament of Australia 1994, p. 11). Internationally, there has been increasing interest in the notion of citizenship. In the United States there has been a revival of republican and communitarian approaches to citizenship (Goodwin 1995; Weiner 2004; McGovern 2006). In Canada debates about citizenship have expanded to include the rights of First Nations (Kymlicka 1995; Waters 2003). Mamdani (1996) and Weiner (2004) show that citizenship is a contested concept in Africa; and in Europe, European citizenship has been constructed as a form which is
increasingly exhibiting trans-European tendencies (Hyland 1995; Brubaker 1992; Hoffman 2005). Concurrently, citizenship is becoming more difficult to acquire as xenophobic nationalism, particularly in Australia, revives in response to immigration and what is constructed as ‘queue-jumping’ by refugees and others (Ozolins 2004).

There are several reasons for this recent surge of interest in the notion of citizenship. One reason, according to Hudson et al (2000), is the collapse of the traditional left that occurred with a fall of the Iron Curtain. Justly or unjustly, socialist rhetoric no longer seems to command the respect and attention, nor creates the fear, it once did. In times of waning solidarity, those who still cherish the dream of social justice are looking to a different rhetoric. Citizenship seems to answer since it is an immediately available social category in Australian social practice; and it is an idea that elicits a positive, if somewhat vague response in the Australian community (Hudson and Kane 2000).

In much recent work, for example Marston and Watts (2004), the citizenship discourse is clearly a new and appropriate vehicle for pressing the demands for egalitarian social and economic goals combined with the notion of respect for the individual. The construction of the notion of citizenship is less immediately divisive than the older socialist discourse (Hudson and Kane 2000). The developmental possibilities of citizenship in the Australian context may not yet be exhausted since in many ways it is a neutral concept that allows a multitude of readings and strategic uses. The neutrality of the notion of citizenship means that it can be discursively deployed for quite disparate and contradictory political purposes (Zald 1977). This may be another reason for its appeal, it all depends on which citizenship values are emphasised in the discursive construction of the notion – “equal rights or equal responsibilities, citizen capacities and empowerment or citizen loyalty and obedience” (Hudson and Kane 2000, p. 2).

A further reason for the current focus on citizenship is simply that the world is changing. Some reconceptualisation of citizenship needs to be developed to fit the altered circumstances forced by the introduction of neo-liberal ideologies (Kenny 2004). Additionally, under the increasing neo-liberal pressures, Australia’s relationships between other nation-states are shifting and citizenship is mutating as a
result of these pressures. It is in the context of these changes, both in the world itself and in the theoretical perspectives upon it, that Australians are reconsidering their own citizenship traditions (Hudson and Kane 2000).

**Contextualizing citizenship**

Historically, citizenship is a political condition accomplished in political activities and institutions. Citizenship is primarily about membership in a political community. The rights and duties of citizens must ultimately be guaranteed by political systems (Salvaris 2000). Aristotle assumed active political participation in government by ordinary citizens to be a public good, although whether this is possible in complex modern nation-states is contested, see for example Kenny (2004), Hudson (2000) and Yeatman (2002c). However, since the 18th century, the notion of citizenship has been fundamentally linked to the political principles of democracy, equality and self-government and most fully realisable in a civic democratic nation-state. Within this construction the citizen is the basic political unit of democracy (Davidson 1997)

The emergence of the welfare state in western democracies represents a change in the relationship between the state and the citizens. Obligations and rights that were once rooted in feudal, familial, community or religious institutions expanded so that notions of national citizenship and of citizenship rights and obligations to the state continually evolved (Marshall 1992). The concept of citizenship encompasses an evolving and continuing struggle for status in Western countries. Since the decline of feudalism and the rise of the modern era, citizens have come into direct relation to the national political regime and the economy. During the last 250 years, civil and political and social rights have been extended (Marshall 1992). Citizen rights have increasingly taken precedence over property rights and hereditary status. The conferring of civil, political and social rights and duties has been a slow and uneven process that is still being contested (Marshall 1992). In Britain, the 18th century brought civil rights, the 19th century saw the advent of political rights and the 20th century has brought the development of social rights (Zald 1977).
In his influential 1950 essay on citizenship, Marshall (1992) presented a rich and varied analysis of the development of the concept of citizenship. His social and political examples are from British history, however, the concepts and general thrust of his argument may be generalised to the Australian society as well, since Australia is, in the main, the inheritor of many British social practices. Marshall defines citizenship as:

“a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community.”

(Marshall 1992, p. 18)

Continuing:

“All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed. There is no universal principle that determines what those rights and duties shall be, but societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of an ideal citizenship against which achievement can be measured and towards which aspiration can be directed. The urge forward along the path thus plotted is an urge towards a full a measure of equality, an enrichment of the stuff of which the status is made and an increase in the number of those on whom the status is bestowed.”

(Marshall 1992, p. 18)

The three central elements of citizenship identified by Marshall are the “civil” the “political” and the “social” elements (Marshall 1992, p. 17). According to Marshall (1992) the civil element is composed of the rights necessary for the individual freedom – liberty of the person, freedom of speech, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice. Marshall (1992) suggests that the right of a citizen to justice is of a different order from the others, principally because it is the right to defend and assert all of one’s rights on terms of equality with others and by due process of law. Consequently, the institutions most directly associated with civil rights are the courts of justice.
By the political element, Marshall (1992) refers to the right to participate in the exercise of political power as a member of the body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body including the institutions of Parliament and councils of local government. The political element includes freedom of speech, the right to choose an occupation, and freedom to travel freely. By the social element Marshall (1992) means the whole range of rights, from a minimum share of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society. According to Marshall (1992), the institutions most closely connected with the social element are the educational system and the social services. The scope of social rights includes protection from the free market and support to obtain and maintain housing, employment, health and particularly education.

The notion of citizenship has evolved slowly and as Marshall (1992) recognised, the underlying philosophies and the elements of citizenship are often antithetical to one another, especially where there were potential or real conflicts between civil or social rights. Civil-rights stress the freedoms of the individual in relation to the state, where social rights emphasised the state’s responsibility to provide for the citizen when the market system is inadequate (Zald 1977). Marshall (1992) noted in relation to the social element, that:

“the assertion of [social] rights which had been rooted in membership of the village community, the town and the guild, were gradually dissolved by economic change until nothing remained but the Poor Law... when the institutions on which the three elements of citizenship and had parted company it became possible for each to go separate ways... Before long they were spread out far along the course, and it is only in the present century, ... that the three runners have come abreast of one another.”

(Marshall 1992, p. 9)

It is important to note that Marshall’s influential paper stresses only part of the notion of citizenship. The notion of citizenship expressed by Marshall deals largely with the extension of rights and ignores the transformation of obligations (Zald 1977). It is possible that the obligations seem transparent and taken-for-granted by Marshall.
Marshall published his theories in 1950, just five years after World War II when the claims of the British nation-state on its citizens were all too apparent. Indeed some writers, such as Janowitz (1976) argue that the obligations and social solidarity created during World War II combined with the nation’s need for a productive labour force lead to the large-scale introduction of welfare state programmes during and immediately after the war.

Marshall’s typology of citizenship has profoundly influenced the contemporary debates in Australia surrounding the issue of citizenship. However, Marshall’s work is dated and has modern critics such as Mann (1987) who attacks the ethnocentric distinctives and evolutionary aspects of Marshall’s theories on citizenship. Bulmer and Rees (1996), for example, agree with Mann and they suggest that Marshall’s work is biased towards a British construction. Bulmer and Rees (1996) take the position that Marshall’s work is too strongly tied to notions of society and class and that his typology constructs citizens as passive recipients of citizenship rather than actors in their own cause. Another critical theme developed by Salvaris (2000) is that Marshall interpreted citizenship as a process through which citizens obtain civil, political and social rights, rather than as a discursive construction with many facets. Citizenship, in Marshall’s typology was a status whose possession allowed members of the nation-state equal access to rights and powers that could be used, amongst other things, to modify economic political and social inequalities (Hudson and Kane 2000).

Marshall wrote;

“societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of an ideal citizenship against which achievement can be measured and towards which aspiration can be directed”.

(Marshall 1992, p. 18)

This statement suggests that citizenship is an evolutionary, progressive and inevitable. I take a contrary position, in concert with Mann (1987) I do not believe that citizenship is inevitable. I take the position that citizenship is constituted at the intersection of the discursive practices deployed within society. These practices include the linguistic practices and the strategic use of socially charged language to produce the notion of citizenship. The notion of citizenship accepted in Australia today is the result of the struggle between the dominant social, cultural and political power groups within the Australian society, consequently citizenship is not inevitable.
The meanings attached to the term citizenship and indeed, what the term includes and excludes is heavily contested in Australia. The construction of the notion of citizenship is under constant challenge in all political communities and in various guises. As the Civics Expert Group, appointed by the then Australian Prime Minister, Paul Keating argued in 1994:

“Without active, knowledgeable citizens, the forms of democratic representation remain empty; without vigilant, informed citizens there is no check on potential tyranny”

(Civics Expert Group 1994, p. 16)

These criticisms do not reduce the importance of Marshall’s insight and the ways in which changes of economic and social organisation, as well as the particular institutional regimes may virtually make possible new forms of civic competence. They do, however, place Marshall in context and show the value of his concept of citizenship as a normative ideal by which contemporary arrangements can be measured and towards which Australians can aspire (Hudson and Kane 2000).

With the declining influence of Keynesian Economics and the emergence of the contractual state, other conceptions of citizenship are becoming more relevant, including some that emphasise the constructed nature of the concept. Currently there are many forms and classifications of citizenship, such as being a citizen of a particular state in Australia, say a Queenslander, an Aboriginal citizen and economic citizen and indeed a global citizen (Hudson 2000). In modern Australian society, the notion of citizenship is becoming strategically and politically important (Kymlicka and Norman 1994). For some organisations, groups and individuals it is necessary to reassert the fundamental political legitimacy of citizenship to counteract the worldwide trend towards monetarism and markets and the rapidly growing power of global corporations which gravely threatens citizenship and democracy (Roche 1992). To many political theorists, such as Kymlicka and Norman (1995; 1994) the concept of citizenship was recharged in the 1990s. Not just because of the new political contexts, but as a natural progression in political discourse that integrates the demands of justice and community membership, all central concepts of political philosophy of the 1970s and 1980s. These approaches theorise citizens as equal, reflexive, active beings rather than passive subjects.
Of metaphors and markets

In Chapter 3, I explored the trope of metaphor. I showed that though far removed from the realms of poetry and literature, public discourse relies heavily on the use of metaphor. Miranda Devine, the Australian Journalist and commentator suggested that there exists an “epidemic” of juvenile crime (Devine 2007, accessed 8 March 2007) and the Australian Prime Minister at the time, John Howard observed that “the country does not run on autopilot” (Howard 2007, accessed 8 March 2007). Patterson (1998), then Assistant Professor Florida Atlantic University noted that an economist once remarked that “successful taxation is the art of plucking the goose without making it hiss” (Patterson 1998, p. 220). Moreover, metaphors of ‘dries’ and ‘wets’ have figured prominently in Australian political conversation.

Simon (1946) cautions that administrative proverbs and metaphors, besides being potentially contradictory, provide little guidance about the circumstances under which they do and do not apply. Nevertheless, metaphors are extremely useful in providing short, simple, quotable political points in practical, understandable ways. Metaphors often state truths, both acceptable and unpalatable, and for all their failures are effective carriers of meaning that add depth and spice to the vocabulary of public political life (Patterson 1998).

In Chapter 3, I noted that metaphors are structured to merge two unrelated terms to form new images, concepts, and meanings; for example, “taxpayers are being plucked”, “the country does not run on autopilot” and “war is like surgery”. Metaphors used in this way differentiate discourse, where language usually used in one part of the world is extended to another (Fairclough 2003). As Patterson (1998) shows, in policy terms, by saying that two problems are alike, it is inferred that their solutions are similar. “Pluck pockets as painlessly you might a live goose”, “guide government” not allow the “plane to fly itself”, “cure a society diseased by crime” are all combinations of language that differentiate discourse. And what is thought to work in one situation is prescribed for the analogous condition (Stone 1997).
The issue of language is a crucial. Language choice is always political and establishes the terms on which the dialogic process, central to political management, is understood (Fairclough 2003). Metaphor is more than just a matter of language choice. As Fairclough (2003) shows, metaphors organise our thoughts and actions. Metaphors provide the power to see new relationships and implications. Metaphors facilitate argument by means of intensified analogy and comparison, and they allow us to have simple and persuasive aphorisms at hand (Patterson 1998). Moreover, they can be used to capture the spirit of entire organisations, such as the military metaphor adopted by the Salvation Army, and to generate insights about their management (Alvesson 2004).

Through the vehicle of metaphor, political actors, public administrators and those who advise them, make comparisons, draw parallels between policy problems and by implication promote particular solutions (Alvesson 2004). Once created, metaphors and the linguistic and political associations they reinforce are difficult to dislodge, they are far easier to accept or to embellish (Fairclough 2003). The market metaphor is now taken for granted by all but the most obstinate (Patterson 1998). Repetition has made it a taken-for-granted truth, a description of the way things are, or at least a description of the way things ought to be. Government problems, like business problems, are thought to be solvable by the wholesale importation into governments of market discourses, consumer metaphors and commercial conventions; a proposition advocated by Osborne and Gaebler (1992).

The Australian public services, in concert with the other OECD member countries, are reforming and adjusting in response to neo-liberal economic pressures. Every service, from health to meals on wheels, from the courts to public housing management is being subjected to major reorganisation based on the application of market principles (Walsh 1994). The language and metaphors of business planning, commercialism and competition are now commonplace and easily recognizable in Australian political texts. An example is found in Prime Minister Howard’s speech to the Institute of Public Administration Australia where he praised his governments creation of “two complementary and high quality systems - one provided by government, the other by the private sector” (Howard 2001, accessed 6 July 2007). It is not surprising in this atmosphere that the concept and metaphor of the market has attracted increasing
attention from public sector managers and politicians. Consumerism has been at the centre of the changing management of the public service and the adoption of market metaphors in recent years (Walsh 1994). The neo-liberal right in Australia developed a critique of public service unresponsiveness and bureaucratic inefficiency (Walsh 1994). Within this critique, government bureaucracy is constructed as unaccountable to those whom it is meant to serve and is dominated by those who produce services. To counter this unresponsiveness and bureaucratic inefficiency the neo-liberal right suggests that the users of public services are in fact its ‘customers’, and should be treated as such (Walsh 1994).

However, sound analogies rest on sturdy first premises. The market metaphor founders first on the faulty premise that the market customers are necessarily more satisfied, its employees more productive, and its practices less wasteful than governments (Schachter 1995). Although market discourses and market metaphors flow logically from neoclassical theory, they are not necessarily interchangeable in both the public, that is government and the private or business realms (see for example, Frederickson 1996) and so form an unsound basis of policy prescriptions. Moreover, ample research in public administration, such as that by Short (2001), Considine and Lewis (1999) and Fligstein (1996), has shown that the public and private sectors are differentiated realms, however, the use of metaphor as a strategic discursive strategy is intended by its users to at least blur the distinction and if possible destroy it entirely.

Market metaphors are not new, nevertheless in the 1990s their rhetorical embellishments and the extensive use of the market metaphor by government and commentators such as Osborne and Gaebler (1992) were taken to new heights, and their embedded prescriptions have become official policy, exemplified in the creation of the Job Network. High profile appeals to customer service, bureaucratic entrepreneurship and government reinvention, invite examination not only from the outcomes they deliver but also in what they render invisible or opaque. Using market metaphors and the language of the marketplace is, in my opinion, a particularly dangerous use of language for the public service to speak, since as both Fairclough (2003) and Walsh (1994) show, the way we think and the policy solutions we favour is influenced by the language we use.
The market - an inappropriate metaphor

The power of the market metaphor lies in its continual usage and reinforcement by political leaders and the media. And the question of the relationship between citizens and bureaucratic power seems to be in the hands of those who are ready to ‘bash’ public services (Patterson 1998; Zald 1977). No amount of evidence or change seems to dislodge or qualify the ordinary taken-for-granted ‘folk wisdom’ that citizens are routinely and invariably victimised by wilful bureaucrats; and that the demolition of many public services and their replacement by commercialised service provision is the only way to limit unsatisfactory bureaucratic encounters and repair uneconomic public services (Patterson 1998).

The metaphor of citizen as consumer forms part of the reinvention of public services in Australia. The metaphor of the consumer was one of the fundamental elements in Prime Minister Howard’s (2004) approach to public service reforms. Of course, the approach was apparent in the rhetoric of the previous Hawke/Keating Labor governments in Australia. Nevertheless, in the Howard government reforms, public services have been constructed as in need of reform and modernisation to bring them into line with the defining characteristics of late modernity. Another tributary to this debate, namely consumerism, has influenced and added to the metaphor of citizen as consumer (Walsh 1994). The advance of an individualistic and consumerist culture may not be even, but as Walsh (1994) and Needham (2003) show, it is most formative for the middle classes in Australia. The modern world differs from the old post-World War II society in which many of the modern public services were created in a number of critical ways. For example, neo-liberal pressures have led to changes in the Australian economy and in work patterns and combined with the rise of consumerism a different construction of the citizen is emerging, in the present economic climate the citizen is increasingly being constructed as a consuming unit (Clarke 2004).
Most importantly, Australia has become a consumer society or a consumer culture in which a proliferation of goods and services enable a wide variety of wants and needs to be satisfied. Such a wide array of choices highlights, in comparison, the monotony of public services whose philosophy of service based upon a universality of service provision leads, in many cases, to a ‘one-size-fits-all’ model of provision (Clarke 2006). The diversity of individual needs and aspirations in Australia is the central touchstone against which public services have been reconstructed. In Prime Minister Howard’s (2005) judgment, public services have been found wanting. According to Howard (2005; 2007), it is the responsibility of government to make services suitable to the modern age and to meet public expectations of choice, responsiveness, accessibility, flexibility and accountability. The consumerist metaphor was critical to the relationship that exists between the public and public services that emerged as a central thread in Prime Minister Howard’s agenda for public service reform.

This process of constructing citizens as consumers has profound implications for the relationship between government and citizen. The citizen constructed by the consumer metaphor is restricted to a passive consumption of politics. Constructed and treated as consumers, increasingly citizens are excluded from playing a creative and productive role in civic life. In Australia, an individualised and modified form of citizenship is taking hold in which communal and discursive elements are lost (Needham 2003). The Job Network is the epitome of this discursive change, relying as it does on the influences of consumer choice and ideologically influenced by the dominant doctrines of NPM exemplified in the ‘reinvention of government’ position developed by Osborne and Gaebler (1992).

The construction of citizen as consumer possesses deep implications for the citizen and civil life, the construction of citizen as consumer privileges the private realm over the public realm, the market over the state, and the individual over the collective (Clarke 2006). The transformation of citizen into consumer diminishes the collective ethos and practices in the public domain embodied in the figure of the citizen and privatises individualised choices. This corrosive diminution of citizenship rights identified so cogently by Marshall (1992) tips solidarity and political choice into a consumerist space dominated by economic, not civil discourses (Clarke 2006). Frederickson (1994) argues convincingly that the customer centred model uses the
wrong metaphor. Frederickson (1994) argues that citizens are not the customers of government; if anything they are its owners. Citizens elect leaders to represent their interests. A customer centred metaphor places citizens in a reactive role limited to liking or disliking services and hoping that public servants will change modes of delivery if enough customers object (Schachter 1995). Owners, on the other hand, are able to play a proactive role, they have the capacity to decide what the government agenda will be (Schachter 1995).

The problem of course is that Australian citizens do not necessarily engage in the affairs of government and may act as disenfranchised owners, or even as subjects of the public bureaucracy (Smith and Huntsman 1997). Indeed many citizens are so disinterested or disillusioned with the political process that they cast ‘Donkey Votes’62 (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2004) in Australian elections. The most fundamental difference between business and citizen ownership relates to economic rights. When ownership is used as a political metaphor, no attention is paid to the pecuniary implications to the metaphor; ownership is clearly intended to relate only to the aspect of ultimate control (Schachter 1995).

I acknowledge that there are some logical inconsistencies in the ownership metaphor. The assumptions that private sector ownership translates into control founders on the difficulties owners have in directing their businesses. As Schachter (1995) shows, the owners that invest maximum energy in and make ultimate decision for private companies tend to be sole proprietors. Most company shareholders have little interest in controlling the companies in which they invest money, they have inadequate time, information and expertise to get involved in decision-making. Nevertheless, citizen owners have much more in common with corporate shareholders than the sole proprietors. Both citizens and shareholders form large, variegated bodies of people who are often ignorant of the identity of their fellow owners and have difficulties coordinating any attempt at control. Because the mass of shareholders and citizens lack time, information, and interest to control and direct the enterprise over which they have ultimate rights, the ownership metaphor is actually more useful in

62 In Australia a ‘Donkey Vote’ is a valid vote numbered consecutively either up the Ballot Paper or down the Ballot Paper see the Australian Broadcasting Corporation Website (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2004) for an expanded explanation of this particularly Australian voting phenomenon.
explaining why so few citizens get involved in politics rather than giving them a rationale to do so (Schachter 1995).

Of metaphors and consumers

If the ultimate criteria against which the private sector is measured are efficiency and profitability, the dominating ideas in the public service are justice and democratic control (Walsh 1994). Consumer sovereignty does not express the fullness of citizenship, with its basis in community as well as individual rights. Along with Frederickson (Frederickson 1994) I suggest that the customer metaphor as a prescription and as a description of government service is flawed. In the private market, customers are free to choose among a variety of products and services (Schachter 1995). In the market, consumers may choose enter or exit the market voluntarily; in the Job Network they may not, unless they wish to lose part or all of their unemployment benefit.

We cannot neatly encapsulate government service obligations in the consumer or customer metaphors. Each attempt betrays logical inconsistencies. The contractual exchange between the consumer and producer, or buyer and seller, lies at the heart of the market process. Yet this language has become the dominant language in the provision of government services, particularly in the Job Network (Walsh 1994). Commercial practice and metaphors cannot replace the political dialogue between state and citizens. There must be a separation of the two realms. When the private and public realms are collapsed through the use of politically charged language, and particularly in the use of politically charged metaphors, the public realm is undermined (Walsh 1994). The translation of the language of politics into that of the market as a social practice carries the danger that such practices render coherent public debate difficult and opaque; and in doing so separates citizens from responsibilities to each other.
The real danger is that the construction of the citizen as consumer in the Job Network is to infer that the citizen has choice. In fact, the citizen has very little choice. Under Employment Services Contract 3 (ESC3)\(^{63}\) the citizen must remain with a provider until they have a job\(^{64}\). This negates two prime prerogatives of the consumer, namely the prerogatives of what Hirschman (1970), a noted commentator on consumerism, terms ‘exit’ and ‘voice’. ‘Exit’ is defined by Hirschman (1970) as the ability of consumers to choose to stop buying or consuming the firm’s products when a performance deteriorates or when a consumer for any other reason so chooses to exit. An organisation’s customers always retain the right to express their dissatisfaction by exercising their capacity to complain directly to management or to some other authority through a general protest addressed to anyone who cares to listen. This is termed the ‘voice’ by Hirschman, who notes,

“voice is here defined as any attempt at all to change, rather than to escape from, an objectionable state of affairs, whether through individual or collective petition to the management directly in charge, through appeal to a higher authority with the intention of forcing a change in management, and through various types of actions and protests, including those that are meant to mobilise public opinion.”

(Hirschman 1970, p. 30)

In Chapter 5, I explored the legal basis of the Job Network and I noted that the avenues for judicial complaint were severely limited in the Job Network. In fact, this is a limitation of ‘voice’. There are avenues for complaint within the Job Network but these are highly bureaucratised and generally free from judicial oversight. Thus, the consumer’s capacity to exercise ‘voice’ is severely limited; particularly limited in the sense that consumers must in fact stay with a less than optimal organisation. Hirschman suggests that many of these “loyalists” (Hirschman 1970, p. 38) will actively participate in actions designed to change those policies and practices, but some may simply refuse to accept and suffer in silence, confident that things will soon get better. Within the Job Network, there is no real avenue for ‘consumers’ to change the range of government designed policies and service options that affect their lives. The Productivity Commission found that;

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\(^{63}\) See Chapter 4.

\(^{64}\) See Chapter 4.
“Eligible job seekers...are not permitted to choose other mutual obligation options”

(Productivity Commission 2002, p. xxxi)

And again;

“Jobseekers are given the freedom to choose the job network provider, but most do not do so. This partly reflects lack of information and low incentives for Job Network providers to market themselves. Instead, most jobseekers are assigned a provider through an automated referral system. Under ESC2, once a job seeker has chosen or been assigned to a Job Network provider, they are not generally allowed to move to another one, until referred by Centrelink to the next stage of assistance. Under the proposed arrangements for ESC3, there will be even less scope for choice, since the initially selected provider will provide all stages of assistance to the jobseeker. As one participant quipped, the relationship of the jobseeker with the selected provider is for the ‘term of their natural life’.”

(Productivity Commission 2002, p. xxxii)

Moreover, since under the current arrangements Job Network providers have fixed quotas for placement, some of the more successful Job Network providers are not able to take more clients, even if the clients wished to choose that Job Network provider. To the extent that citizens are bound to a Job Network provider, their ‘voice’ options are extinguished in the Job Network. Consequently, the construction of consumer in the Job Network is one that is highly restricted and tightly controlled; in fact, the metaphor of consumer is misleading. What we find in the Job Network is a tightly constructed notion of ‘dependent’ citizen. This is evidenced by a shift in language found in the tender texts and the range of activities an unemployed citizen is required to undertake. Instead of granting a claimant their rightful benefit, government provides an allowance and services on the condition that the client engages in job-search activities. Instead of a system of benefits for the unemployed, we have a complex of services and allowances for the job seeker (Dean 1995).

**How the Job Network constructs consumers**

From the creation of the Job Network Australian citizens were constructed as consumers who possessed the capacity to choose providers and to consume their services. This construction is manifested in many labels such as ‘client’, ‘people’ and
‘Job Seeker’. The term ‘Job Seeker’ itself appears in many government publications such as the statistical papers issued by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1997) and was appropriated by the designers of the Job Network as their preferred construction.

In the Employment Services Contract texts citizens were initially labelled as ‘clients’; For example;

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<th>Text Sample 15</th>
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<td>(Department of Employment 1997, p. 2)</td>
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Sample Text 15 appears at the beginning of the Departmental Request for Tenders texts and provides an illustration of the prevailing system prior to the creation of the Job Network. Additionally, as I demonstrated in Chapter 5, Text Sample 8 contains the obvious intention to mark a clear break with the old system under the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) and Employment Assistances Australia (EAA). Importantly, Text Sample 15 found at the very beginning of Employment Services Contract 1 (ESC1) sets the tone for all of the following texts. The use of the words “client focused” at Text Sample 15 (1, 2) carries the implication that the old system was not client focused; whilst at the same time commences the construction of the citizen as consumer. Being found at the beginning of the Tender texts the notion of “client focus” (Text Sample 15 (1, 2) as opposed to “programme driven” (Text Sample 15 (1) sets the trajectory of these policy texts to follow.

By constructing the citizen as “client” at Text Sample 15 (1) the authors of the government Request for Tender text are able then to move to a second disembodying and anonymous construction, namely that of ‘people’. For example:
At **Text Sample 16** (1) the construction has moves from “client” to “people”. The movement is then complete with the predominant construction of the citizen as “job seeker” in **Text 17** (1). Throughout all of the Departmental texts the citizen is constructed as a “Job Seeker” for example:

**Text Sample 16**

1. “To get people into jobs, successful service providers will be required to deliver labour exchange services.”

   (Department of Employment 1997, p. 2)

**Text Sample 17**

1. “There will be situations in which a job seeker may have the skills, but may be uncertain about how to demonstrate them to an employer… FLEX also provides services to help job seekers who may lack confidence or self-esteem, have poor job-related skills, or even have fundamental problems with their preparedness for employment”

   (Department of Employment 1997, p. 2)

**Text Sample 17** is a particularly important and influential text on a number of levels. Firstly, it introduces the major construction of the citizen in the Departmental texts. In all of the texts relating to the Job Network the Department rarely departs from this construction; it is found in all of the subsequent tender texts including departmental publicity texts and in supporting texts such as Departmental Fact Sheets. Fact Sheets’ are vitally important texts, and they indicate the level of micro-management that the Department exercises. Additionally, they act on Job Network Agencies as coercive texts, deeply influencing social practice. The term “job seeker” in **Text Sample 17** (1) is profoundly important; one reading of this construction implies that there are
people seeking work and there are people, by implication, who do not. The Australian
governing conservative coalition at the time of the creation of the Job Network, led by
Prime Minister Howard, increasingly aligned itself with the active society discourse
enunciated by the OECD (OECD 1990; Struyven 2004). The noun “seeker” at Text
Sample 17 (1) implies an active participation; and the adjective ‘active’ contains
special significance. In ESC2 the Department moved to an ‘Active Participation
Model’. The adjective ‘active’ implies the willingness to work and a willingness to
‘actively’ participate in ‘activities’ leading to work, the fact that work may well be
unavailable or unsuitable is not the issue. The Job Network model, as McDonald and
Marston (McDonald, Marston, and Buckley 2003a) show is a supply side solution that
does not, nor was it ever designed to address the structural issues of unemployment,
but rather one that concentrates on solely on the moral deficiencies of the citizen.

The phrases “may lack confidence or self-esteem, have poor job-related skills, or
even have fundamental problems with their preparedness for employment” at
Text Sample 17 (4-6) are fundamentally important in producing a suite of meanings
that form foundational construction for later texts. These phrases contain the genesis
of the notion of the ‘deficient’ consumer. These deficiencies form part of the
foundation of the JSCI. A concentrating on the deficiencies of the citizen enables and
reinforces the re-construction of the citizen as a ‘deficient’ consumer and in doing so
disables the citizen. The labels Text Sample 17 (4-6) “lack confidence”, “self-
esteem”, “poor job-related skills”, “fundamental problems” and implied lack of
“preparedness” are all pejorative labels discursively constructing the citizen as a
‘deficient other’ or as a ‘deficient consumer’. By foregrounding these labels early in
the ‘Request for Tender’ texts, the Department at the direction of government, is
developing a climate where texts such as the JSCI, which concentrates solely on the
perceived deficiencies of the ‘job seeker’, are acceptable.
How the JSCI constructs the citizen

There is a range of discursive technologies within the Job Network. These include the contractual material binding each of the Job Network providers and one of the central technologies employed in the Job Network is the Job Seeker Classification Instrument (JSCI). The JSCI is used to assess the job readiness of the individual seeking employment. The Department noted that the JSCI;

<table>
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<td>1 “is an objective measure of a job seeker’s relative labour market disadvantage. The JSCI is designed to immediately identify job seekers who, because of their individual circumstances, are likely to become long-term unemployed. (Department of Employment 1998, accessed 9 August 2007)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The adjective “objective” at Text Sample 18 (1) suggests a dispassionate representation of the facts without reference to opinions or ideologies. The fact that the JSCI is a social construction seeking to create a specific meaning that classifies socially identifiable characteristics appears to be ignored by the authors of the JSCI. The JSCI is an assessment tool designed to evaluate and classify unemployed people in terms of the relative disadvantage accruing from their past and present life experiences, their habits, their dispositions and their desires (Dean 1999). The JSCI began operating on 16 February 1998 however, initial development of the JSCI began in 1996 (Jordan 1994). The JSCI has not been a static text but has evolved through a number of iterations. A refined version of the JSCI or “re-estimated” (Department of Employment and Workplace Relations 2007a) version of the JSCI commenced operation in July 2006 to reflect the ‘Welfare to Work’ changes announced in the Commonwealth Government’s Budget of 2005/2006. The ‘Welfare to Work’ initiatives announced by the government linked to what is termed the ‘Active Participation Model’ of service delivery. Since the establishment of the Job Network in 1998 the JSCI has been used as the streaming and classification tool

65 See Chapter 4
66 The Departmental Website at http://www.workplace.gov.au provides the outline of the ‘Active Participation Model”.

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between Centrelink and Job Network agencies. The JSCI not only streams “job seekers” (Text Sample 18 (2&3), it determines a job seeker’s funding level for Intensive Support and thus the funding level for Job Network agencies. Initially, the JSCI was completed by Centrelink staff, however after ESC3 the responsibility for completion of the JSCI has been shared with individual Job Network agencies and Centrelink.

Of particular relevance is just how the JSCI clusters individual dispositions and personal conduct and thus constructs the ‘deficient other’. The first cluster refers to the attribute of ‘job readiness’ or ‘work readiness’ of the unemployed and their ‘active participation’ in job search activities.
The unemployed citizen in Text Sample 19 is constructed as ‘other’. The phrases “relative difficulty” Text Sample 19 (1), “average disadvantage” Text Sample 19 (4, 5), “personal characteristics like poor motivation” Text Sample 19 (14, 15), “the job seeker may have special needs” Text Sample 19 (17), and “at high risk” Text Sample 19 (9) when combined are pejorative, judgemental descriptions of citizens. On the surface, it may be possible to construe these descriptions as positive, dispassionate and objective descriptions of fellow citizens. However, I take a contrary view, taken as a whole they define personal conduct and personal attributes. Take the
label “average disadvantage” at Text Sample 19 (4, 5) combined with the noun “continuum” Text Sample 19 (4) for example, this construction implies a positivist, scientific construction. The exact meaning of the phrase “average disadvantage” in Text Sample 19 (4, 5) is at best ambiguous. The departmental text implies that disadvantage/advantage is a continuum and a midpoint of disadvantage can be scientifically measured and described. The meaning of the label is far from clear and allows the reader to read into the text a variety of meanings, all of them scientifically aligned. The term disadvantaged and the fact of disadvantage is a social construction, for example, Marsh and Kennett argue that;

“All … measures are socially negotiated, but … the fragility of official definitions and measures is particularly stark.”

(Marsh and Kennett 1999, p. 2).

In the Australian context disadvantage not only includes unemployment, but also includes amongst other things homelessness, mental and physical disabilities and economic disadvantage. To find an “average disadvantage” as indicated by Text Sample 19 misses the point completely. The level of disadvantage is both a personal condition and a social construction, but certainly not a condition that can be placed on a bureaucratically defined continuum.

The JSCI purports to measure the potential of a ‘risk of dependence’. It is true that unemployment is capable of description, particularly the different subjective phases of unemployment; though it should be noted, even these phases are social constructions. It is possible to describe the social context into which the unemployed person risks falling into a cycle of long-term dependence on welfare benefits but even here the measures and conditions are socially negotiated (Cass 1988). However, what the JSCI and the Job Network systems seek to govern are all those attitudes, feelings and conducts that decrease the job-readiness of the unemployed and constituting the risk of dependence. Indeed, the very fact of addressing this risk distinguishes an active system of income support from a merely passive system of benefits (Dean 1995). The innovation of the Job Network is that it uses what Dean terms the “governed substance” (Dean 1995, p. 574) to regulate the flow of clients through the system of
employment services. At registration, clients are distinguished into those already ‘job-ready’ and those ‘at a high risk’ of long-term unemployment. The assessment takes into account factors such as skill levels, English language ability, age and whether the client belongs to a disadvantaged group such as aboriginal people, sole parents, people with disability and those absent from the workforce for a long period. At particular points, for example, at a six-month assessment, those formerly designated ‘job-ready’ can be judged to have become ‘at risk’ and their status changed accordingly.

The Salvation Army and citizenship

Christianity has had a profound organizing effect on western culture particularly on “the structuring of private/public spaces” (Turner 1990, p. 197) and in the creation of the notion of citizenship. Turner shows that Christianity contributed to the development of citizenship “by providing a universalistic discourse of political space [namely] the city of God, which challenged ethnicity and kinship as the primordial ties of the societal community” (Turner 1990, p. 197). Christian theology, based upon the Bible, has developed a profound position of equality, membership and citizenship of a universal community. For example

Ephesians Chapter 2 v 12

“Remember that at that time you were separate from Christ, excluded from citizenship in Israel and foreigners to the covenants of the promise but now in Christ Jesus you who once were far away have been brought near.”

And again Ephesians Chapter 2 Verse 19

“Consequently, you are no longer foreigners in aliens, but fellow citizens with God’s people and members of God’s household, built on the foundation of the apostles and the prophets, with Christ Jesus himself as the chief cornerstone.”

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Membership, or more correctly ‘citizenship’ of the ‘city of God’ is to be found in Christian songs and hymns, for example the Christmas Carol ‘Come All Ye Faithful’

“Sing, choirs of Angels,  
Sing in exultation,  
Sing, all ye citizens of Heaven above;  
Glory to God  
In the highest:  
O come let us adored him, Christ  
the Lord” 68

Within this context, Christianity has developed a theology that contains an active view of citizenship as a carrier of rights. Christianity, as a carrier of rights, emerged in the late 20th century as a radical threat to authoritarian regimes such as those in Poland, the Soviet Union, South Africa and in some Latin American states, especially where alternate means of legitimate protest where the rights of citizens have been truncated or destroyed (Robertson 1986). The Salvation Army is part of the universal Christian Church (King 2005) and it too is a carrier of the Christian ideal of citizenship.

The Salvation Army Australia Territory publishes, from time to time, Position Statements69. These texts publicly state the Army’s policy position and form part of the Army’s discursive strategy in Australia to shape Australian institutions and the state. These texts, for example, address issues such as social justice, gambling, euthanasia, environmental issues and domestic violence. Each of the Position Statements forms part the Army’s construction of the citizen as an equal partner/member of the ‘city of God’ and by inference within his or her own society, for example70;

68 Song 85 in the current Salvation Army Song Book.

69 ‘Position Statements’ are published by The Salvation Army in Australia and are available on line at The Salvation Army Web Page at http://www.salvos.org.au (accessed 3 August 2007) or on hard copy from Salvation Army Territorial Headquarters Sydney or Melbourne.

70 In Texts 19-22 the title of the Position Statement follows the Text number.
Text Sample 20

Social justice.

1 The Salvation Army as an international movement and an
2 evangelical branch of the universal Christian church,
3 believes that all people are made in the image of God and
4 that each person, in the eyes of God, has value, worth and
5 dignity.

The Salvation Army; http://www.salvos.org.au (accessed 3
August 2007)

Text Sample 21

Responsibility for the environment.

1 We have a responsibility to use the resources of the earth in a
2 way that ensures that people in this and future generations do
3 not suffer from poverty or injustice.

The Salvation Army; http://www.salvos.org.au (accessed 3
August 2007)

Text Sample 22

Domestic violence.

1 The Bible teaches that all people are equal in value to God
2 and should be treated with respect and dignity.

The Salvation Army; http://www.salvos.org.au (accessed 3
August 2007)
In each of these texts phrases such as Text Sample 20 (2) “universal Christian church”, Text Sample 21 (2, 3), “do not suffer from poverty or injustice”, Text Sample 22 (1) “all people are equal” and Text 23 (1) “expression of love, respect and concern for others” demonstrate the Army’s position of the equality of citizens within all societies. The genealogy of these phrases can be traced to the Army’s Christian theology and forms part of a dominant organisational discourse of equality and the importance of each individual citizen. The discursive precursor of this dominant organisational discourse can be found in William Booth’s foundational text ‘In Darkest England’. In speaking of the powerlessness and marginalisation of the poor and the restrictions to the rights of citizens, combined with the inequalities of Britain’s Victorian social system Booth condemned various social practices including the practice of ‘sweating’. The term sweating has a particularly late 19th early 20th century meaning relating to work practices in which men, women and children were mercilessly and often fatally exploited in the manufacturing industries in Britain and its colonies. See for example the ‘Reason in Revolt’ web page at http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/ (accessed 3 August 2007) for information on the Australian Anti-Sweating League formed in 1895 and also Champion (1895). Of the practice of sweating Booth wrote;

“The blood boils with impotent rage at the sight of these enormities, callously inflicted, and silently borne by those miserable victims. Nor is it only women who are the victims, although their fate is the most tragic. Those firms which reduce sweating to a fine art, who systematically and deliberately defraud the workman of his pay, who grind the faces of the poor, and who rob the widow and the orphan, and who for a pretence make great professions of public spirit of philanthropy, these men nowadays are sent to Parliament to make laws for the people. The old prophets sent them to Hell – but we have changed all of that. They send their victims to Hell
and are rewarded by all that wealth can do to make their lives comfortable.”
(Booth 1890, p. 20)

Booth continues;

“Discipline, and that of the most merciless description, is enforced upon multitudes of these people even now. Nothing that the most authoritative organisation of industry could devise in the excess of absolute power, could for a moment compare with the slavery enforced today in the dens of the sweater. It is not a choice between liberty and discipline that confronts these unfortunates, but between discipline mercilessly enforced by starvation and inspired by futile greed, and discipline accompanied with regular rations and administered solely for their own benefit. What liberty is there for the tailors who have to sew for sixteen to twenty hours a day, in a pest hole in order to earn ten shillings a week?”
(Booth 1890, p. 276)

In this quotation, the use of the noun “slavery” is conjoined with the phrase “not a choice between liberty and discipline”; the phrase emphasises the inequalities evident in Victorian industrial society. These quotations emphasise a social condition that was antithetical to Booth and the Army’s Christian ideal of equality and of citizenship. Booth’s anger at such a perversion of equality and citizenship is evident and found in the first phrase “the blood boils” in the first quote here. This anger was translated into social action through the creation of the Army’s Social Wing in Britain and in the provision of the Army’s social work throughout the world. This social action permeated the Army and is still evident in Army discourses today. For example in ‘A Working Society’ Coventry writes;

“Social Policy has become subservient to economic policy rather than being harnessed to fulfil our social objectives.”
(Coventry 1997, p. 4)

And again;

“We need to introduce an ethical framework for thinking about unemployment.”
(Coventry 1997, p. 5)
Though using the measured policy language of 20th century Australia, the sentiments expressed by Coventry on behalf of the Army are no less cogent than Booth’s observations. The meanings intended by Coventry are exactly the same as those intended by Booth 100 years earlier; namely that Australian society contains economic structurally embedded inequality that is unethical and detrimental to Australian citizens.

The Army constructs a citizen in the Job Network

The Army has a long history of providing services to government, including employment services. The Army set up the first labour Bureau in Victoria in 1890 at the request of government (The War Cry 1890b). Prior to the introduction of the Job Network in 1998 the Army in Australia had been delivering labour exchange services for over 10 years through its Skillshare network. The Skillshare network was government funded and was cashed out as part of the creation of the network.

To obtain grants and contracts to support the Army’s social work in Australia the Army has employed people with appropriate writing skills. A range of analytical and tender writing techniques have been deployed by the Army to continue its receipt of government funding. These techniques have in the past, and continue to be, successful in enabling management and employees of the Army to engage government. One of these techniques is to reflect back to funding bodies their own language. Each funding body uses its own language set and works within their own paradigms. To use any other language outside the funding body’s language has proved unsuccessful. In a Tender submission for Employment Services Contract 1 (ESC1) the Army’s tender writer deployed and reflected back to the Department their own language set writing;
In this text, it is clear that the Army’s tender writer uses the technique of reflecting back to government its own language, a common Army strategy developed over many years and one followed by the author on numerous occasions. The construction ‘job seekers’ at Text 24\(^7\) (1) is in fact found in various points throughout the tender application documents prepared by the Army for example:

**Text Sample 24**

1. Provide job seekers with access to our range of pre-employment programmes which prepare job seekers for the world of work.
2. These courses include sessions on presentation and
3. communication skills and developing positive work place behaviours

(The Salvation Army, Undated)

Moreover, the phrase “developing positive work place behaviours” in **Text Sample 24** (4, 5) mirrors the government RFT text. In composing the Army’s Tender text, the author was able to draw on Army organisational discourses to strengthen and illuminate the tender text. This practice is evident in the following sample text:

**Text Sample 25**

1. Analyse the needs and expectations of the employers and
2. match these to the skills and experience of job seekers.

(The Salvation Army, Undated)

\(^7\) **Text Samples 24, 25 and 26** are samples from Salvation Army tender texts, provided under the permission of Commissioner Les Strong. They are only available at TSAEP head office and Salvation Army Headquarters and are not reproduced or available to the general public.
In the first sentence of **Text Sample 26** (1, 2) the author draws on the long history of the Salvation Army in working with unemployed people. The author uses the discursive practice of ‘reflecting back’ to the funding body their own language set. This does not mean that the Army agrees with the Departmental language set, what it does show is the successful Army practice of using and reflecting back the language sets of funding bodies to obtain funding. The author of the Army tender text chose to use the government construction of the unemployed, namely the “job seeker” at **Text Sample 25** (2) above, and used the noun “people” at **Text Sample 26** (1, 4, 5) reflecting the government use of the noun at **Text Sample 16** (1) above. However this noun is then qualified and changed to “unemployed people” at **Text Sample 26** (8) and finally to a more individualised construction by the use of the noun “person” at **Text Sample 26** (12). Additionally, the author was able to show that the loss of confidence a person experiences is not inherently part of the person or their moral behaviour pattern; rather, it is external to the person and is a result of a systemic failure in the labour market itself. In this construction of the citizen, the author was in fact drawing upon long established Army organisational discourses to support the

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{The Salvation Army , Undated}
case for the Army. The discourse influencing this phrase in the Army tender text draws on one of the Army’s foundational discourses developed by William Booth, namely, systemic failures;

<table>
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<th>Text Sample 27</th>
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<td>1 When the master has the choice of a hundred honest men, is it</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 reasonable to expect that he will select the poor fellow with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tarnished reputation?</td>
</tr>
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(Booth 1890, p. 52)

Here Booth is acknowledging the systemic problems of unemployment in Victorian Britain. Given the shift of language over 100 years, in this sentence Booth uses the rhetorical devise of asking the obvious question in “is it reasonable to expect” at Text Sample 27 (1, 2). Booth is not judging the unemployed but rather the systemic problem inherent in the operation of the free market. The construction of the citizen within TSAEP and in its publicity varies greatly from the construction in the tender texts. In the tender texts, the author was careful to reflect back to government much of its own language; however, the author softened this language by the use of Army organisational discourse of the person and the citizen. This construction is carried through both internally in TSAEP and in its publicity. From the very beginning, TSAEP deliberately sought to construct a positive image of what government texts term the ‘job seeker’.

Within TSAEP, the unemployed citizen was termed a ‘candidate’. Within the Army the term ‘candidate’ has a specific organisational meaning, namely “Candidate: a soldier who has been accepted to enter training as an officer”(The Salvation Army 2007a, accessed 6 August 2007a). Officership, the Army equivalent to priest/pastor/minister is as Hill (2006) shows, a high calling within the Army. The management of TSAEP took this Army term and applied it to every citizen who selected TSAEP as their Job Network provider. The term ‘candidate’ therefore carries both organisational and public meanings. Organisationally the term ‘candidate’ elicits

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72 See also Appendix 1.
admiration within the Army. Externally, the term is used in a wide variety of settings carrying a wide variety of meanings. The Oxford Dictionary defines a ‘candidate’, amongst other things, as “a person…regarded as suitable for a particular fate, treatment, or position” (Oxford University Press 2007a); and it is in this context that the term is used in TSAEP. I asked Wilma Gallet the founding CEO of TSAEP “how and on what basis was the term ‘Candidate’ chosen for TSAEP’s clients?” in reply Gallet noted that she was;

“was very keen from the very beginning to set TSAEP apart and was reluctant to use Departmental language or government terminology e.g. I refused to call it a BUSINESS (emphasis in text) as I believe language very much influences behaviour and therefore we would talk about a services and a sector rather than BUSINESS or INDUSTRY (emphasis in text) .

We developed our own unique service model and a set of language - the term candidate came when we introduced the Worknet Career Development model. This model included the notion that we were setting out to give people tools which would not only help them to find sustainable and meaningful employment in an area which interested them and matched their natural gifting (skills and interests) but also would help them with career progression. There were a number of tools including the Backward career path which set out to help people dream about where they saw themselves in 5 years and then work backwards to develop steps on how to get there.

The whole notion of career development was something new for unemployed people, who had only ever been taught that the best they could hope for was any old job. We wanted to give them a sense of hope and the same respect that is normally given to people within the workforce, so labels such as Candidate, career path planning, career development etc. fitted with the simple philosophy that - we believe that everyone has something that they are good at and everyone has something that they love doing, therefore when helping people to decide on job referral - if you can match their natural abilities with their field of interest, you are much more likely to achieve a sustainable placement.” 73

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73 Private correspondence; used with permission.
From this statement, it is clear that individual citizens were constructed from the inception of TSAEP as more than customers. This is in line with the internal Army discourses that construct each individual as important in their own right. The term ‘candidate’ is used almost universally within TSAEP and in its external publicity texts. For example;

**TSAEP Advertisement**

![TSAEP Advertisement](image)

**Text Sample 28**

Text Sample 28 is an advertising text used extensively by the Army and forms part of its discursive strategies to attract “candidates”, employers and to place TSAEP as a prominent member of the Job Network. The term “candidate” is to be found on the second line of text. Combined in the advertising text is the Red Shield. As Thoeming (2004) shows this symbol has a 97% recognition rate in Australian adults thus the creators of the advertising text are able to fuse the term candidate with the Army’s high recognition rate to create a specific organisationally centred and reinforced meaning for the term ‘candidate’ when used publicly in Army employment texts. The public use of the construction ‘candidate’ flows through the TSAEP website (The Salvation Army Employment Plus 2007, accessed 6 August 2007). On the website are sentences such as;
Combined with these sentences there is a link for “candidates” that takes the candidate to other parts of the website. Individual citizens are constructed as ‘job candidates’ demonstrated at Text Sample 29 (1), throughout the whole of this website. Internally, within The Salvation Army the construction of the citizen as ‘candidate’ permeates the organisational texts, for example;

**Text Sample 29**

1. Our job candidates will fit right in to your business. And so will we.
2. What can The Salvation Army Employment Plus do for job candidates?
   (The Salvation Army Employment Plus, 2007 accessed 6 August 2007)

**Text Sample 30**

1. We ask you to pray for…Our job seeker candidates, the long-term unemployed people – may they find sustainable work, improving their quality of life in all ways.
   (Watkinson 2006, pp 1-4)

**Text Sample 30** (1) contains the religious practices of the Army fused with the use of the term “job seeker candidates”. This particular construction is worthy of note; the phrase is qualified by the use of the words “job seeker”. Since a ‘Candidate’ within the Army is a person offering themselves for Officership there is a clear intension not to cause confusion internally. The construction of the unemployed as “candidates” such as for example, at Text Sample 30 (1) flows through Army texts such as the Army’s in-house Journal ‘Pipeline’. In an article by Simpson (2005) the term ‘candidate’ is fused with the Army’s religious values and organisational discourses. Examples are in the following textual samples;
**Text Sample 31**

1. I have often heard the expression that we [The Salvation Army] are in the people business…Let me say that Employment Plus is in the people business, but we are also in the lives of people in profound ways.  
   (Simpson 2005, p. 22)

**Text Sample 32**

1. At Employment Plus, if we have a will, we can provide a holistic approach to our candidates which cannot be matched…This will require us to work more closely with Salvation Army Corps and centres…  
   (Simpson 2005, p. 23)

**Text Sample 33**

1. Mission Programme partnering will again open doors to a closer working relationship with corps and centres for the benefit of our candidates and kingdom growth.”  
   (Simpson 2005, p. 23)

Within Text Samples 31-33 the term “candidate” is fused with the Army’s organisation religious discourses. This is exemplified with the juxtaposition of the phrase “the people business” at Text Sample 31 (2) with the terms “candidates” and “kingdom growth” at Text Sample 33 (3). Within the Army discourse of the ‘City of God’ (Turner 1990) has a direct equivalent, namely, the ‘Kingdom of God’. Many examples of this usage can be found in Army texts, one example by Commissioner Les Strong, “First and foremost, our role is to plant seeds for the Kingdom of God” (Strong 2006b, p. 11). By fusing the organisational meanings of the terms ‘people’, ‘kingdom’ with ‘candidates’ the term ‘candidate’ is infused with
organisational meaning and organisational ethos embedded in the Army’s driving objective to “Save Souls, Grow Saint and Serve Suffering Humanity” (The Salvation Army 2007b, accessed 27 September 2007).

**Conclusion**

In this chapter, I explored the discursive construction of the citizen as consumer, and in particular the construction of the citizens as a consumer of employment services. I suggested that rather than thinking of citizenship simply as a means of making claims on states, citizenship must be conceived more broadly as a freedom or room to manoeuvre. I observed that current debates have moved the notion of citizenship away from older conceptions of citizenship developed by Marshall (1992). Additionally, I explored the ways in which increased neo-liberal economic pressures have led to new ways of conceptualizing and deploying notions of citizenship as strategic ways of influencing current policy debates. I explored how the notion of citizenship is constructed and deployed as a discursive strategy in Australia. Further, I remarked one how the choices open to citizens are limited within the Job Network.

I observed that citizenship has become a highly contested notion. In exploring this contestation, I remarked that the controversies that have arisen about whether citizenship is the creation of modern states or derived from civil society should be understood as the product of legal regimes and discursive technologies. My analysis included an exploration of the historic construction of citizenship, its relevancy today and the presence of this discourse in government and Army texts. The discursive forms of citizenship were explored together with the place of citizenship in the debates surrounding neo-liberalism and consumerism. I then linked these issues to the ways in which the citizen is constructed in the Job Network, both by government in Australia and by The Salvation Army.

Consumer sovereignty does not express the fullness of citizenship, with its basis in community as well as individual rights. Along with Frederickson (Frederickson 1994) I noted that the customer metaphor as a prescription and as a description of government service is flawed. In the private market, customers are free to choose among a variety of products and services. In the market, consumers may choose enter
or exit the market voluntarily; in the Job Network they may not, unless they wish to lose part or all of their unemployment benefit (Schachter 1995).

Central to my discussion is the use of the metaphor of customer. I remarked that the contractual exchange between the consumer and producer, or buyer and seller, lies at the heart of the market process. I suggested that under the market metaphor, a metaphor influencing the Job Network the language of consumerism had become the dominant language set influencing the Job Network. However, I noted that commercial practice and market metaphors cannot replace the political dialogue between state and citizens. I remarked that there must be a separation of the two realms; when the private and public realms are collapsed through the use of politically charged language, and particularly in the use of politically charged metaphors, the public realm is undermined (Walsh 1994). I remarked that the translation of the language of politics into that of the market as a social practice carries the danger that such practices render coherent public debate difficult and opaque; and in doing so separates citizens from responsibilities to each other.

In the next chapter, I continue this exploration of the construction of the citizen and visit the vexed issue of breaching. I will show that one of the major discourse informing the practice were those developed by Mead (1997) and others under the rubric of a ‘new paternalism’. The practice of breaching places a particular class of accountability on each citizen receiving Job Network services, namely that failure to fulfil a very specific, and in some cases onerous, set of bureaucratic and administrative behaviours results in the loss of part or all of their unemployment benefits. The matter of breaching is explored within the context of the Army’s value system and the tensions the Army experiences in this matter will form the analysis in the next chapter.
Chapter 8

The Problematic Issue of Breaching

Introduction

In the last chapter, I explored the construction of citizen as consumer. This chapter continues that exploration with an emphasis on the matter of ‘breaching’. Breaching, is a shorthand term used within the employment services field referring to the application of a Centrelink Activity Test. Breaching is the bureaucratic action that results in a partial or full loss of welfare benefits for citizens who fail to comply with the rules established to provide social security benefits.

This chapter will explore the ways in which the discourse of mutual obligation has been constructed and ‘elaborated under the rubric of the ’active society’” (Dean 1995, p. 559) to govern the unemployed citizen. The government policies developed under mutual obligation are at the intersection between political, administrative and governmental processes. This chapter will continue the exploration of the ways in which citizens are governed through the Job Network.

Finally, this chapter will explore The Salvation Army’s views on mutual obligation. The exploration is an analysis of Army texts that contest the policy discourse of mutual obligation. The analysis continues with an exploration of the organisational tensions caused by breaching within the Army. The implications of this major policy imperative and its organisation implications for the Army are explored in this chapter. This exploration will include the ways in which the Army’s provision of welfare services in two overlapping fields illustrate the tensions within the Army as part of the Army’s services to the Australian community.
Mutual obligation and the ‘Active Citizen’

In Australia the rights of unemployed citizens, and to a degree particular categories of permanent residents to receive a social security allowance are provided by the Commonwealth Social Security Act 1991 (Carney and Ramia 2002). This Act provides a statutory right to an allowance if the conditions set out in the Act are met; however, maintenance of the entitlement to an allowance is dependant on satisfying an ‘activity test’. The notion of an activity or ‘work test’ has long been an essential part of Australia’s social services legislation (Lackner and Marston 2003). As Carney and Ramia (2002) show, a ‘work test’ was included in the 1944 legislation passed by the Australian government establishing unemployment benefits. These benefits provide a minimal amount to assist an unemployed person during a temporary period of absence from the workforce. The payment was one to which a person became entitled subject to meeting stipulated conditions of qualification, such as being ‘unemployed’ and a ‘resident’ (Carney and Ramia 2002).

In 1991 the Australian government introduced ‘activity test’ requirements and converted the work test to a purely objective inquiry (Carney and Ramia 2002). The requirement to satisfy an ‘activity test’ has its genesis in the ‘active society’ model pursued by the majority of OECD member countries since the early 1990s. Moreover, the ‘active society’ model was proposed by the OECD as the best way of combating poverty and ‘social exclusion’ (OECD 1990). One of the cornerstones of the ‘active society’ model are a number of ‘workfare’ policies, such as the Job Network, which stress the obligations of unemployed citizens to take an ‘active’ role and manage their own economic risks through labour market integration (Lackner and Marston 2003).

The Job Network is a cornerstone initiative in the ‘active society’ model implemented in Australia. Driving and supporting the active society model is the notion of mutual obligation. Prime Minister Howard spoke of the ‘principle of mutual obligation’ when in his ‘First Annual Federation Address’ he referred to the Work for the Dole scheme, an essential constituent of the Howard government’s employment policies and part of this Address follows;
Perhaps most importantly, the principle of mutual obligation, of reciprocal duties, is now established in our Work for the Dole scheme.

The scheme is already demonstrating the strong obligation felt by the community to the young unemployed, and the value that the unemployed feel in being able to give something back.

We knew from the start that the participants would be a mix of voluntary and compulsory. In fact, about 60 per cent of those participating so far are volunteers.

And it is already clear that many of the rest have become positive and willing participants in their scheme once they actually started work. For all of them, the scheme has one considerable additional benefit. They will now be able to go to employers and demonstrate that they have acquired some work habits. And the habits of work—of regular routines, of working with others, of performing as expected—are in some ways even more important than technical or vocational skills.

As more young people begin to see these benefits, we expect to see the number of volunteers increasing.

I believe that we have the full support of the Australian people in this. Australians feel a strong sense of obligation toward their young people, an obligation not just to help, but to try to make sure that those young people have the best possible future.

This sense of obligation is one of the habits which bind our community together. But those who feel it know that obligation is a mutual affair—a two-way street. Every obligation has a corresponding responsibility, and this mutual obligation has to be recognized as a basic principle.

Just as the community expects that every effort will be made to help the young, and to provide them with opportunities, so it also expects the young to use those opportunities. We have a right to expect that they will make the best of the help offered and, as far as they can, to give something back to the community”.

(Howard 1998, accessed 3 September 2007)
On the surface, the notion of mutual obligation seems reasonable, and indeed uncontroversial. The statement at Text Sample 34 (26 – 28) that; “Every obligation has a corresponding responsibility, and this mutual obligation has to be recognized as a basic principle”, appears to be a simple pragmatic maxim, a corresponding binary that, on the surface appears to be simple, compelling and fundamentally fair; that is, in return for financial support the recipient has an obligation to repay that support by volunteering time and labour. Kinnear (Kinnear 2000) shows the concept of mutual obligation in the Howard government’s rhetoric has a ‘motherhood’ quality and was a widely accepted maxim by the Australian population “largely uncritically as a reasonable basis for social security policy” (Kinnear 2000, accessed 27 August 2007). Within Text Sample 34 the surface simplicity of the notion of mutual obligation is reinforced by the statement at Text Sample 34 (31 – 33) “We have a right to expect that they will make the best of the help offered and, as far as they can, to give something back to the community”. The phrase at Text Sample 34 (32, 33) “as far as they can” would seem, when taken at face value, to be a simple acceptance of some individual limitation. However, as I show below the rhetoric does not match the practice. The problem with a maxim, as Fairclough (2003) suggests, is that their taken for granted quality may often hide serious ethical and logical flaws.

Contained within Text Sample 34 are the various constituents of mutual obligation. Firstly, the notion of “obligation” found in the phrase “strong sense of obligation” at Text Sample 34 (4). Secondly the notion of coercion found in the phrase “a mix of voluntary and compulsory” at Text 34 (7, 8) and in the phrases “it also expects” found at Text Sample 34 (30, 31) and “We have a right to expect” at Text Sample 34 (30). A somewhat concealed constituent of mutual obligation is the reference to the moral character of the unemployed citizen. Text Sample 34 (14, 15) contains the phrases “they have acquired some work habits” and “the habits of work”. In particular I draw attention to the noun “habits” at Text Sample 34 (14, 15). The use of the noun in this context has particular connotations; firstly, the rhetoric surrounding and supporting mutual obligation has a particularized property that refers to the personal qualities of welfare recipients and secondly, and perhaps more perniciously,
refers to the moral character of the unemployed citizen. The phrase found at Text Sample 34 (15) “they have acquired some work habits” assumes that the unemployed citizen receiving welfare allowances ‘do not’ possess work habits, a totally unwarranted generalisation. True, some unemployed Australian citizens have not acquired work habits, but their personal condition may well be the result of systemic failures rather than personal pre-dispositions.

The policy of mutual obligation requires a large degree of self-formation in the citizen receiving benefits, that is, the unemployed citizen is required to conform to specific behaviour sets. This self formation concerns the ways in which the government, through the Job Network, seeks to shape the “conduct, aspirations, needs, desires and capacities” of the unemployed and to “enlist these traits in particular strategies and to seek definite goals” (Dean 1995, p. 561). In effect the behavioural aspects of the Job Network informed by the discourse of mutual obligation requires the unemployed to engage in what Dean describes as an “ethical self-formation” (Dean 1995, p. 561) directed towards conduct decided upon by government rather than the individual citizen.

Ethical self-formation is reinforced by fusing the ‘personal’ with notions of ‘obligation’. Such fusion is to be found in the phrases found at Text Sample 34 (21) “Australians feel a strong sense of obligation” and again at Text Sample 34 (24) “This sense of obligation is one of the habits which bind our community”. Text Sample 34 (21) fuses Australian nationalism with the terms ‘obligation’ and ‘habits’; drawing on nationalism legitimates this fusion and implies that personal habits are synonymous with obligation, particularly in Australia. This conflation has a surface plausibility; a simplistic analysis that ignores social processes such as family support, health, housing, educational attainment and financial considerations. Prime Minister Howard’s speech found at Text Sample 34 argues that since government has the obligation to provide income support and employment assistance, to meet their side of the mutual obligation relationship the unemployed are required at Text Sample 34 (33) “to give something back”.

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There was some confusion in the Prime Minister’s speech found at Text Sample 34. The speech included the phrase at Text Sample 34 (2) “reciprocal duties”. Initially at least, until Prime Minister Howard’s government had refined the notion of mutual obligation, there was some confusion between the terms ‘reciprocal’ and ‘mutual’.

The Army leadership in Australia was moved to argue in a submission to the Senate Inquiry into Poverty that;

“Reciprocal obligation and mutual obligation appear to be two different things, with mutual obligation demanding a much higher standard of personal compliance in order to receive support”
(The Salvation Army Australia Southern Territory 2003, Accessed 12 July 2007)

The confusion between these terms has withered as “reciprocal obligation” has been supplanted in government texts almost exclusively by the term ‘mutual obligation’; particularly as a result of the McClure Report (2000) discussed later in this Chapter.

Mutual obligation and the active society

The introduction of the Job Network encourages deeper analysis of the ‘active society’ model and the resultant ‘workfare’ policies and indeed the overarching principles guiding the provision of social welfare in Australia. Fundamentally, this debate revolves around the nature of citizenship and the ways in which this notion is constructed within the discourse of mutual obligation. According to Yeatman ‘citizenship’;

“means a conception of the subject of government that includes all persons, including children, as individuals who are capable of autonomous action and to being so have to be respected and recognised as individual agents in all transactions with them.”
(Yeatman 2000c, accessed 22 May 2007)

Mutual obligation is a policy response to citizen rights. According to Yeatman (2000b) this response opens up an inclusive concept of individuality while at the same time holds on to the traditional patrimonial model of individuality. As a policy discourse, mutual obligation rests upon populist conservative discourses that reinforces widely held prejudices and beliefs about the poor, the reasons for poverty,
and the behavioural and moral predispositions of the poor (Yeatman 2000b). Mutual obligation is a discourse that names the view that people who receive income support from government are reneging on their obligation to society if they can work, but for whatever reason choose not to work, and instead choose welfare dependency. In other words, mutual obligation is a reiteration of the 19th century liberal discourse of the ‘deserving’ versus the ‘undeserving’ poor. In many ways, mutual obligation is a highly prejudicial view that pays scant attention to the experiential realities of the relationship of poor and marginalised citizens to both welfare and work. Further, as a discourse informing social policy in Australia, mutual obligation and the policies developed under the influence of this discourse, lead to a one-size-fits-all policy orientation to Australian citizens receiving welfare payments (Yeatman 2000c). As Kinnear (2000) shows, the discourse of mutual obligation falsely polarised the Australian community. This polarisation reduces taxpayers to ‘givers’ and welfare recipients to ‘receivers’. The fact is taxpayers receive welfare support from government, so called middle class welfare, in the form of taxation subsidies for such things as childcare and medical fund taxation rebates. On the other hand, receivers of welfare benefits pay taxation in the form of Goods and Service Taxation (GST) and through the direct taxation of some benefits.

As a discourse, mutual obligation is a particular ‘political rationality’. By political rationality, I take Gordon’s position that a political rationality is;

“A way of thinking about the nature and practice of government (who can govern; what governing is; what or who is governed) capable of making some form of activity thinkable and practicable both to its practitioners and those on whom it is practiced”

(Gordon 1991, p. 2)

Mutual obligation depends for its political rationality and support on the idea that people who receive welfare payments or public income support are somehow getting away with something, or are getting something for nothing, if they are not required, or more commonly in the Job Network, forced to perform some activity in return for receiving government income support. This view was articulated by the Department of Employment Education and Training (DEET) Annual Report;
Note the use of the phrase at Text Sample 35 (2) “it is only fair”; this appeal to fairness rests upon the “principals of mutual obligation” outlined in Text Sample 35 (1) by Prime Minister Howard. The phrase “it is only fair” is a re-working of Prime Minister Howard’s phrase in found at Text Sample 34 (31-33) “We have a right to expect that they will make the best of the help offered and, as far as they can, to give something back to the community”. The notion of ‘fairness’ reinforces community attitudes towards those receiving benefits as if the receipt of benefits was a privilege rather than the right of an Australian citizen.

**Mutual obligation a Centrelink view**

Centrelink, the Australian government statutory agency responsible for delivering a range of Commonwealth welfare services to the Australian community defines mutual obligation in the following way;
As Fairclough (2003; 1996) shows ‘voice’ is particularly important in creating meaning. In **Text Sample 36**, the ‘helping voice’ is particularly evident. The Centrelink text uses soft, non-threatening language and seeks to develop a ‘helping voice’ by the use of the phrase at **Text Sample 36** (1) “Mutual obligation is about helping you”. The helping voice is continued in the phrase found at **Text Sample 36** (9, 10) “It’s all based on putting something back into the community in return for your payments”. The phrase “it’s all based” at **Text Sample 36** (9) is delivered in conversational terms rather than the usual bureaucratic language of many government texts. The exacting nature of the citizens obligations are initially masked, particularly by the use of “It’s all based on” at **Text Sample 36** (9); a phrase that is couched in a helpful and familiar voice. By addressing the unemployed citizen directly, the **Text Sample 36** positions the citizen as central to the discourse but hides the power imbalance, the fact that unless the citizen conforms to a government approved set of behaviours, the receipt of an unemployment benefit is put at risk.
This Centrelink text clearly contains the constituents of Mead’s (1997) new paternalism. The phrase Text Sample 36 (1) “is about helping you” and Text Sample 36 (2, 3) “job prospects and contact with the community” is separated from “As long as you take part in your activity activities for the required time and keep looking for work” at Text Sample 36 (11, 12). However disguised, the coercive element is revealed in the verb at Text Sample 36 (12) “required”. Overall, the text does not reveal the fullness of the obligations required of the unemployed citizen. The use of the phrase “you are asked” at Text 35 (5) in no way reveals the often stringent requirements of the Activity Agreement and behavioural transformations that the unemployed are required to undergo to receive unemployment benefits. In fact in most cases citizens in receipt of unemployment benefits are not ‘asked’, they are ‘required’ by government regulations to “meet your mutual obligation requirement” (Text Sample 36 (13).

**McClure and mutual obligation**

The ‘principal of mutual obligation’ outline by Prime Minister Howard at Text Sample 34 (1) and by Centrelink at Text Sample 36 remains opaque. Eardley notes that “‘mutual obligation’ is a slippery concept, as ‘thick’ or ‘thin’, shallow or meaningful as any user wishes it to be” (Eardley 2002, p. 302). It has been applied to a range of social policy initiatives by Prime Minister Howard’s government. As Braithwaite et al (2003) show, various government ministers in Prime Minister Howard’s government from Aboriginal Affairs to Employment services invoked the discourse of mutual obligation in ways that appealed to a range of philosophical positions “from Marshall’s social citizenship through to Mead’s new Paternalism” (Braithwaite and Mitchell 2003, p. 225).

To institutionalise the discourse of mutual obligation, Prime Minister Howard created the Welfare Reform Reference Group in 1999 to address the gaps apparent in the “principle of mutual obligation” Text Sample 34 (1). Braithwaite (2003) suggests that there is much to commend in the report of the Reference Group – referred to as the ‘McClure Report’. The Report itself is predicated on a “framework of reciprocity” with the prime aim of the Report being to “help individuals and communities develop their capacities for participation” (McClure 2000, p. 32). The McClure Report
validated the discourse of mutual obligation. In part the Report noted that its aim was to;

“Develop a model for mutual obligations that:

- Emphasises the expectation on recipients to undertake some form of economic or social participation, consistent with their individual capacities and life circumstances.

- Incorporates both a set of broad expectations and a set of minimum requirements (reflected in legislation), which should be developed with consultation to ensure expectations and requirements reflect community norms and values.

- Is implemented in a way that maximises voluntary compliance and provides that alternative approaches to sanctions are considered before financial penalties are imposed.”
(McClure 2000, p. 43)

The use of language in the Report is interesting. The concept of ‘mutuality’ is not questioned but is given a ‘taken-for-granted’ status. The reports notes that

“The concept of social obligations is a useful one, which we see as underpinning the idea of mutual obligations. The word “social” is used to refer to all obligations that everyone has to the rest of society. Further it relates to obligations of the whole of society including government, business, not for profit organisations, communities and individuals.”
(McClure 2000, p 34)

In effect, the McClure Report legitimises and largely circumscribes the principal of mutual obligation. The McClure Report provides a thorough examination of the characteristics of the Australian labour market under the impact of neo-liberal influences. The report advocates mutual obligation as a key policy response to resolving the effects of neo-liberalism, concentrating on measures to improve the individual’s capacity to withstand social and economic risk. As a response to these economic and social pressures and the changed labour market in Australia, the Report offers the discourse of mutual obligation as a solution without a discussion of the punitive and paternalistic elements of the policy.
To be fair, the McClure Report recommended a more liberal variant of mutuality than that of Mead (1997). The report emphasises the positive aspects of mutual obligation rather than the negative, punitive aspects. McClure promoted participation and recommended that participation be tailored to individual needs, and implementation be by a gradual transition grounded in local opportunities. Encouragement was preferred over compulsion, “except for the most resistant group who may need to be compelled to consider and ultimately to undertake a course of activity that might lead to greater self reliance” (McClure 2000, p. 57). However, the Report offered no research on the effects of compulsion on the individual and why such compulsion would be an effective tool in changing undesirable behaviours. As Carney and Ramia show, the basic objection to mutual obligation is that “none of this supposed state reciprocity of obligation finds expression in the mutual obligation contracts entered into between Centrelink and its clients” (Carney and Ramia 2002, p. 91). Under mutual obligation citizens find themselves bound to honour a variety of legally binding terms and conditions. And as Carney and Ramia (2002) remark, governments on the other hand are not bound to honour the bargain to provide income support, much less anything more such as training for example other than in the provisions and regulations of the Social Security Act. What is required is a very specific set of behaviours on the part of welfare recipients.

**Citizens and their behaviour**

The behavioural aspects of mutual obligation were reinforced by the then Minister for Employment Tony Abbott who noted that; “we can’t abolish poverty because poverty is a function of individual behaviour” (Tony Abbott; Reported by in the Age 11 July 2001 by Gordon and Gray). Such a statement reinforces the notion that individual behaviour was at the heart of social policy in Australia under Prime Minister Howard’s government. Notions of behaviour continually arise in discussions of poverty in Australia and are instanced by the pejorative labels applied to the poor. For example the label ‘job snobs’ was used by Abbott in his statement, “The overwhelming majority of young Australians want to work, but I think there is a risk of people getting too fussy, people are becoming job snobs (Abbott 1999, Australian Broadcasting Corporation).
The justification for mutual obligation policy in Australia and overseas drawn heavily on the notions of a ‘new paternalism’ articulated by Mead who suggested that;

“To live effectively, people need personal restraint to achieve their own long-run goals. In this sense, obligation is the precondition of freedom. Those who would be free must first be bound. And if people have not been effectively bound by functioning families and neighbourhoods in their formative years, government must attempt to provide the limits later.”

(Mead 1997, p. 32)

Mead, together with a number of authors supporting a new paternalism, such as Vaillant (1997) and Wilson (1997) have developed a theory of welfare which contrasts with what Mead calls “traditional social policy” (Mead 1997, p. 3). In its place, Mead recommends a ‘new paternalism’. According to Mead (1997), what makes his version of paternalism ‘new’ is firstly, it’s attempt to impart a moral character and conduct to welfare recipients. Conduct that will, supposedly, assist welfare recipients to improve their life chances; secondly according to Mead, new paternalism is not “custodial” (Mead 1997, p. 9) and as a consequence does not segregate targeted individuals in receipt of welfare allowances as does traditional social policy.

Mead (1997) suggests that the traditional social policy more often involves supervision within society and seeks to direct the lives of people who continue to act with other citizens and fellow workers. According to Mead (1997) the traditional welfare programs sought to segregate the deviant, the ‘new paternalism’ seeks integration; traditional welfare sought to “reorganise the lives” of the disadvantaged by “seeking order rather than justice” for individuals (Mead 1997, p. 11). The new paternalism;

“In contrast…emphasize(s) obligations. The idea is that the poor need support, but they also require structure. And behavioural rules are to be enforced through government. The law enforcement side of social policy serves the freedom of others, but it also claims to serve the poor themselves. This is what makes it paternalist, not merely regulatory. To some extent, public programs must provide the boundaries for their clients that healthy families, churches, and
other neighbourhood institutions would provide is more of them existed in poor neighbourhoods.” (Mead 1997, p.22)

Through emphasising the obligations of the clients rather than their rights or needs, welfare policies designed within the ‘new paternalism’ paradigm are calculated to provide the poor with structure without completely withdrawing the needed support. This combination of obligation and structure allowed Prime Minister Howard’s conservative government to use the conditionality of benefits to enforce particular social values through direct government intervention in the lives of individual citizens. In Mead’s view (1997) paternalism claims the authority to judge individual interests. Under the rubric of Mead’s ‘new paternalism’ society claims the right, at least in some respects, to tell its citizens how to live. ‘New paternalism’ assumes that citizens receiving welfare allowances may not follow society’s interests and seeks to prevent their divergence. In Mead’s view an individuals’ decisions about their own self-interest should not be routinely deferred to, rather, a harmony of interests is assumed thus “enforcing society’s interest in good behaviour is deemed to serve the individual’s interest as well” (Mead 1997, p. 4).

Lackner and Marston (2003) argue convincingly that the welfare policies introduced under the rubric of mutual obligation draw on Mead’s ‘new paternalist’ rationale for their power and legitimacy. The rationale reinforces the view that since government provides financial support to people looking for work, in return, those in receipt of welfare benefits are morally required to put something back into their community as a mutual obligation. Yeatman (2000c) questions whether the obligations imposed on unemployed citizens in the Job Network are reasonable and offer real benefits. The new paternalist rationale rests on the claim that unemployed citizens benefit from participating in mutual obligation programs. Such participation is deemed to enhance the unemployed citizen’s job prospects. Under mutual obligation, unemployed citizens and welfare recipients are required to be ‘active’ participants who must ‘actively’ engage in seeking employment, and as consumers of employment services must recompense society and government for their income support by demonstrating appropriate job searching behaviour.
Since under mutual obligation welfare policies, unemployment is constructed resulting from the ‘behavioural problems’ of the unemployed, rather than a function of fluctuations of demand and supply in the labour market, the Job Network is designed to address these behavioural problems. The Job Network uses an intensive case management model to alter the behaviours of unemployed citizens. Case management is at the heart of Mead’s paternalism. In Mead’s judgment;

“Effective work programs do more than impose a requirement to participate and work. They implement it through staff members who monitor clients closely to be sure they fulfill their obligations…Such oversight is at the core of paternalism”

(Mead 1997, p. 61)

In Mead’s (1997) opinion, to be effective, a policy initiative such as the Job Network, needs case managers to resist the tendency of clients to avoid or withdraw from the job seeking process. In Mead’s model case managers need to “help and hassle” (Mead 1997, p. 62) the unemployed so that the unemployed citizen will learn to acquire and exhibit a set of approved behaviours.

**Micro-managing the unemployed – and the Job Network agency**

The political rationalities of NPM have problematized older forms of administration and its governance in order to find new and improved mechanisms to enhance organisational efficiency and policy outcomes, particularly in the management of welfare benefits. Advanced information and communication technologies (ICT), such as online processing and client tracking constitute a new means for government supervision of welfare agencies, the administration, organisation and delivery of welfare in the employment services field (Henman and Adler 2003).

This is obvious in the management of the unemployed citizen in Australia. Mead (1997) suggests that case managers need help to do their tracking of individual citizens receiving welfare benefits. In the Job Network, this task has been almost fully computerised. Additionally, the day-to-day operations of the case managers employed by Job Network Members, such as TSAEP, are increasingly being scrutinised through the Departmental ICT EA3000 computer system. The Department is in effect micro-
managing Job Network members through its ICT systems. The Independent Review of the Job Network noted that the Department had “an increasing interest in trying to guide the actions of providers” which “potentially... undermines the flexibility that underlies an outcomes-focused system.” (Productivity Commission 2002, p. xxx). Notwithstanding this observation, the Department has increased the micro-management of the of the Job Network agencies to the extent that one senior manager in the Job Network industry body, National Employment Services Association (NESA), noted that “our treatment of our candidates is almost completely prescribed by the Department through their IT system”. This statement was confirmed in conversations with senior officials of Jobs Australia. The Department is clearly micro-managing the Job Network to reduce the capacity of Job Network agencies and their case managers to apply local discretion and to ensure that the paternalistic policies of mutual obligation are enforced.

Street-level bureaucrats are the operatives who directly bring policy to those they serve. In the case of the Job Network, they are case managers, termed consultants in the TSAEP, who form the majority of the staff service agencies. Brodkin notes “case managers occupy a distinctive policy position because they directly interact with the subjects of social policy and, in effect, bring policy to them” (Brodkin 2000b, p. 2). It is clear from discussions with TSAEP management, other Job Network agencies and industry bodies that the Department has steadily increased control over the activities of street-level staff from the inception of the Job Network. At the Jobs Australia State of Play Forum in Sydney held on 14 May 2007 in Sydney, one delegate noted “they [the Department] over-audit all we do, including the placements of candidates”. When I questioned Wilma Gallet, the founding CEO of TSAEP about the Department micro-managing through the ICT system Gallet noted that;

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74 Private correspondence used with permission.

75 Private correspondence used with permission.
“The Active Participation Model (APM) came into effect from July 2003 and with it came the automated breaching system... I had serious concerns about the APM and the impact it would have on the client service and job satisfaction for staff, not to mention the potential to compromise an organisation’s mission intent. Basically, the APM brought with it a series of transactions and activities which job seekers had to fulfil. The IT system, which drove the whole process, required consultants to record a specific code and if Job Seekers did not meet their activity requirements an online breach report had to go to Centrelink.”

Many participants at the Jobs Australia Forum in May 2007 indicated that the Department has achieved almost complete micro-management of the Job Network through, amongst other things, the implementation of the Departmental ICT thus confirming Gallet’s observations. This micro-management is exercised through the promulgation of formal rules and regulations, through monitoring of agency placement statistics and through the close monitoring of rewards, penalties, persuasion and through the coercive power of the contract entered into between the Department and individual Job Network agencies. Additionally, this control is exercised through the management of the job-seeking citizen via Centrelink and through very well developed and structured ICT AE3000 system.

The use of ICT is rapidly changing the administrative structures and the nature of the Job Network. Initially the Job Network was a combination of agency and government bureaucracies in which both agency management and street-level case managers exercised ample, and in most cases compassionate administrative discretion in dealing with individual clients. As noted in Chapter 4, the Job Network is now almost completely under the “command and control” of the Department. This notion of command and control is being implemented by the use of the Departmental ICT systems. In many ways, instead of being a street-level bureaucrat, the case managers in the Job Network have become what Bovens and Zouridis term, “system-level bureaucrats” (Bovens and Zouridis 2002, p. 174). Departmental system analysts and software designers have become key, if somewhat anonymous actors in the Job Network. As Fairclough (2003) shows texts are parts of social event, and one way in which people act and interact in the course of social events is “to speak or write” (Fairclough 2003, p. 22). The act of writing the software that drives ICT systems is a
discursive strategy that is expressly aimed at creating specific meanings and social relationships. Additionally, the writing or the construction of the Department ICT programmes specifies what information will count as knowledge, privileging some information over other forms of information and as Iedema and Wodak (1999) show, texts such as ICT programmes organise the reproduction of knowledge and social practice.

Since the discourse of mutual obligation influenced by the discourses of paternalism institutionalises coercion, enforcement and discipline the Job Network requires well-defined rules for its operation. The implementation of automated administrative and bureaucratic systems through the Departmental ICT system has forced Job Network agencies to redefine and formalize their social practices, thereby reducing the discretion of street-level bureaucrats, while increasing the accuracy and consistency of Departmental administrative decision-making. As Departmental policy makers became familiar with information technologies and as the technologies themselves became more sophisticated, policy makers have sought to use the technology to increase the complexity of policy and the pace of change in the Job Network (Henman and Adler 2003; Bovens and Zouridis 2002). As a result, the systems-level TSAEP consultant have an ever reducing scope to act independently and the ability of claimants to comprehend welfare and employment policies and to assess their rights and entitlements has been reduced, with a corresponding reduction in their effective appeal rights and their bureaucratic competence (Bacon 2002). The use of ICT systems to automate bureaucratic decision-making represents a new form of organisational operation, with corresponding shifts in responsibility and the notion of agency. Increasingly the Department is using its ICT systems to extend the automation of policy decisions, such as when to ‘breach’ or to cut a citizen’s eligibility for welfare benefits.

The tight control over bureaucratic systems by the Department means that TSAEP consultants are now more than ever required to follow Departmental directives. The Productivity Commission pointed to anecdotal evidence that tight control was “not always compatible with serious job search efforts” (Productivity Commission 2002, p. 6.18). The Productivity Commission further observed that tight control and breaching regimes “do not necessarily enhance employability and that the
enforcement regimes can have deleterious effects on the job-search potential of job seekers” (Productivity Commission 2002, p. 6.18). In speaking of the deleterious effect of breaching the Productivity Commission found, amongst other things, that the relationship between providers and jobseekers is affected when the ICT system requires providers to notify these breaches.

The breaching regime

The Departmental AE3000 ICT systems are pervasive in guiding and directing Job Network agencies in their treatment of job seeking citizens. The ICT system links the Department, Centrelink and individual agencies in a web that is tightly controlled and monitored, particularly by the Participation Report Quality Assurance Committee. At the Jobs Australia State of Play Forum in Sydney held on 14 May 2007 in Sydney, one attendee reported that a representative of the Participation Report Quality Assurance Committee had contacted him requesting an “employment participation plan even though the agency had not yet interviewed the job seeker”.

Such micro-management is made possible through use of ICT systems. Centrelink officials have access to the electronic diaries of individual case mangers and are able to select and electronically book interview dates for clients with the selected Job Network agency. Thus, the Departmental ICT system enables Centrelink to control the flow of clients to Job Network agencies and enables the Department to monitor the progress of both clients and Job Network agencies. This control extends to the matter of the job seeking and particularly to the failure of citizens to participate ‘actively’ in the process. Any failure on the part of the citizen is noted electronically. It is here that the case managers or street-level bureaucrats are micro-managed by the Department and their capacity to exercise discretion and freely interpret the complex Departmental and Centrelink rules is tightly controlled; thus the individual case manager’s autonomy is truncated. The Department controls the operation of the case managers through the use of a restricted Web Site, the promulgation of Fact Sheets providing detailed and minute instructions to Agency case managers and through constant auditing of case manager performance. The Web Site is only accessible by Job Network Agency management and case managers by a personalised PIN system.

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76 See also Chapter 5
This Web Site carries all of the Fact Sheets together with minutely detailed Departmental instructions governing the behaviour of Job Network agency staff.

From 1 July 2006, the breaching system introduced at the inception of the Job Network of graduated financial payment penalties based on a reduction of income support for a period was replaced. The system was replaced by the imposition of;

- Warnings without financial penalty for a first or second participation failure;
- No impact on the jobseeker’s payment in the payment period in which the PR\textsuperscript{77} is received, but a potential loss of payment for as long as the jobseeker fails to re-engage in the subsequent payment period;
- Them more than one participation poser applied in the first payment period;
- The imposition of a non-payment period of eight weeks for a third participation failure in the previous 12 months, or the first occurrence of a serious failure.

(Department of Employment and Workplace Relations 2006, accessed 24 April 2006)

The first dot point is of particular interest. Under ESC 1 and 2, a single breach was enough for the reduction or cessation of penalties. Because of the pressures brought by industry bodies, Job Network Agencies such as the Army, the churches and bodies such as ACOSS, the single failure was extended by the Department to three participation failures. This was a singular success at mediating social policy on the part of Job Network Agencies and other actors in the employment services field.

“Something must be done” – the Army’s approach

In Chapter 5, I noted the powerful imprinting effect that William Booth exercised on the organisation that he founded. I showed that his personality, personal attributes, drive and motivation were strong elements that flowed into the organisation.

\textsuperscript{77} PR refers to the Participation Report
Additionally, in Chapter 3 I showed that institutional founders develop strong internal discourses that persist over time. One of the most powerful discourses in the Army is the way in which the Army treats those they wished to serve, namely the poor and marginalised, which have their foundations in William Booth’s imprinting of the Army.

Bramwell Booth (Booth 1926) reports that William admonished him for knowing about the plight of the homeless and doing nothing about the problem. The conversation ended, according to Bramwell Booth, with the statement by William Booth;

“Something must be done. Get hold of a warehouse and warm it, and find something to cover them. But mind, Bramwell, no coddling!”
(Booth 1926, p. 2)

This statement was the genesis of homeless services in Britain, though as Green (1986) points out the first homeless service in the Army commenced in Melbourne in 1883. The statement contains the foundations for the treatment of those whom the Army wishes to serve. I have already spoken of the strength of the Army’s internal discourse relating to work. William Booth is here speaking of the need to ensure that work as well as shelter was provided for homeless people. The verb “coddle” is an indication of William Booth’s attitudes to work, and self-improvement. Booth was by profession a Pawn Broker (Hattersley 1999) who saw at first hand the loss of dignity that poverty caused. In Booth’s opinion ‘coddling’ an unemployed person contributed to and maintained the loss of personal dignity. William Booth was unapologetically a Christian; one who believed strongly that;

“This should be the first object of every social reformer, whose work will only last if it is built on the solid foundation of a new birth, to cry, ‘You must be born again”
(Booth 1890, p. 53)

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78 See Chapter 5.
79 See the biblical verse; John Chapter 3, verse 7.
Booth continued;

“But what is the use of preaching the Gospel to men whose whole attention is concentrated upon a mad, desperate struggle to keep themselves alive? He might as well give a tract to a shipwrecked sailor who is battling with the surf which has drowning his comrades and threatens to drown him. He will not listen to you. Nay, he cannot hear you any more than a man whose head is under water can listen to a sermon. The first thing to do is to get him at least a footing on firm ground, and to give him room to live. Then you may have a chance. At present you have none.”

(Booth 1890, p. 53)

William Booth wanted behavioural change, but he wanted it because of a personal change through the provision of work where possible and through accepting Christianity as a person’s driving motivation; providing the choice was made freely by the individual. William Booth did accept that “some men seem to have lost even the very faculty of self-help” (Booth 1890, p. 52). But this was no excuse for the Army not to help the poor and the marginalised; as Booth stated in his 1911 Addresses, the Army was not to be discriminatory, and must act with compassion towards the poor noting that “their miseries are to be their passport to our assistance” (Booth 1912, p. 92). It is clear that there are elements of a paternalistic discourse informing Army welfare services. The foundations for a paternalistic discourse revealed the tensions between the requirements of Christianity as practiced by the Booth’s and their Army and society at large. These tensions are explored by Catherine Booth in her pamphlet ‘The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State’;
The internalisation of values is, as Foucault (1979) shows, a particularly strong way of transforming behaviour. Note then Catherine’s phrase at Text Sample 37 (5-6) “All its teaching is directed to the individual conscience” here Catherine is referring to the Army’s Christian teachings and to the regeneration of the mind through the acceptance of the teachings of Christianity. Note again at Text Sample 37 (8) Catherine’s opposition to “forced submission” and the phrase at Text Sample 37 (12-13) “pressure to obedience comes from without, not from within” as a description of the social conditions and her opposition to external pressure. The organisational discourses opposed to “forced submission” (Text Sample 37 (8) and harsh disciple was reinforced by William Booth when he said:

“Discipline, and that of the most merciless description, is enforced upon multitudes of these people even now. Nothing that the most authoritative organisation of industry could devise in the excess of absolute power, could for a moment compare with the slavery enforced today…”

(Booth 1890, p. 276)
The Army’s paternalism is driven by compassion and care for the marginalised. The Army’s current mission statement, developed by General Gowans based upon the discourses of William Booth, states that the Army’s purpose is to; “save souls, grow saints and serve suffering humanity” (Strong 2007, p.11). Within this context, Commissioner Strong noted that in ‘serving suffering humanity’ it is “significant that we are…emphasising compassion [emphasis in text] as one of our three key values.” (Strong 2007, p. 11). References to care and compassion are observable in Army texts, for example Watkinson (2006) reports a conversation with a Salvationist;

“Shiralee said she sat there thinking how when working with…participants80, it was a blessing to see them from a ‘different angle’ every day. She concluded by encouraging all…to ‘keep looking at people from a different angle, because there is so much good in everyone’.”
(Watkinson 2006, p. 1)

Watkinson’s text is in contrast to Mead’s reading of case management. Mead suggests that;

“Nor is case management usually personal in a more supportive way…Mainly, case management is rule enforcement. Staff members do not have to relate to their clients as individuals, not as numbers, but mainly they check up on them.”
(Mead 1997, pp. 62-63)

Throughout the literature supporting the ‘new paternalism’, and particularly in Mead’s (1997; 2000) work, the words coercion, directive, enforce, force, obligation, penalize, regulation and supervision predominate. The word ‘care’ is used by Vaillant (1997) yet even his use of the word is fused with coercion, that is, “caring and coercion must be integrated” (Vaillant 1997, p. 285). The phrases “a blessing to see them from a ‘different angle’” and “there is so much good in everyone” (Watkinson 2006, p. 1) contrasts to the language used by Mead and Vaillant.

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80 The term ‘participants’ here refers to those citizens engaged in Work for the Dole projects. The Work for the Dole program is an essential constituent in the suite of government employment policies.
In discussing the obligations of the state, William Booth noted that it was;

“The Duty of Society to Provide the Bare Necessities of Life from those who are in Danger of Perishing for want of them. The fact of the individual being wicked, or vicious, being unwilling to work, or too weak to do so, does not for a moment destroy the obligation. Without bread, the wrongdoer, the unfortunate, or whatever he may be, must starve and die, and that, being contrary to the most elementary principles of humanity, cannot be permitted by any well-organised government on that account.”

(Booth 1893, p. 6)

Booth was enunciating the principal that “government” has an “obligation” to its citizens, one that was did not require reciprocation. Booth considered that all citizens should be treated equally. In the same article Booth noted;

“Now, what is obligatory on one individual must be equally binding upon the number of individuals which, taken together, constitutes Society. What ought be done for one ought equally be done for any number...”

(Booth 1893, p. 6)

Booth’s comments predate the development of the welfare state; however, it is obvious that Booth had strong views concerning the obligations of government. Given the strength of internal organisational discourses in the Army, especially those developed by William Booth, it is not surprising that the Army opposed the discourse of mutual obligation. The Army’s position is outlined in the Army’s submission to the Australian Senate Inquiry into poverty in Australia. In part, the Army submission stated;
Text Sample 38

1 The Salvation Army has been concerned for some time
2 that the negative or punitive aspects of Mutual Obligation
3 have been overemphasised. Breaching is predicated on
4 the unexamined and untested assumptions that: People
5 receiving allowances who fail to meet Mutual Obligation
6 requirements have no real desire to work or, worse still,
7 are defrauding the system; and penalties are the best
8 mechanism for achieving or increasing the level of
9 compliance.

10 The Salvation Army firmly believes that given appropriate
11 and genuine opportunities and supports, the majority of
12 unemployed people, including asylum seekers, are eager
13 to join the workforce. Furthermore, financial sanctions
14 frequently only serve to make compliance with
15 participation requirements more difficult. More effective
16 levels of participation can be achieved through measures
17 based fundamentally on support, encouragement,
18 development of relationship, and incentives, rather than
19 on the threat of reduction or withdrawal of basic Social
20 Security support payments.”

(The Salvation Army Australia Southern Territory 2003,
accessed 12 July 2007)

Text Sample 38 includes a number of Army organisational discourses based upon
the Army’s Christian belief structures. Apart from signalling the Army’s opposition to
the principals of mutual obligation in the phrase at Text Sample 38 (1) “has been
concerned for some time” the Army’s submission points to the negativities of
paternalistic coercion in the phrase “negative or punitive aspects of Mutual
Obligation have been overemphasised” at Text Sample 38 (2). The use of the
word “overemphasised” at Text Sample 38 (3) is important. The Army is signalling
its dislike and opposition to the discourse of mutual obligation. Text Sample 38
contests the position that the unemployed do not want to work; a constituent of
Mead’s (1997) paternalism embedded in the discourse of mutual obligation. This is
particularly found in the phrase “untested assumptions” at Text Sample 38 (4); the
submission then outlines the key subjectivities of mutual obligations that unemployed citizens have “no real desire to work” at Text Sample 38 (6) and if these citizens are on welfare benefits they are then “defrauding the system” (Text Sample 38 (7). The Army then moves to counter the paternalism of mutual obligation by offering alternatives to coercion in the sentence at Text Sample 38 (10-13) “The Salvation Army firmly believes that given appropriate and genuine opportunities and supports, the majority of unemployed people, including asylum seekers, are eager to join the workforce”. The position stated in this sentence reiterates Army organisational discourses regarding the worth of the individual. a position reiterated throughout Army organisational texts and discourses and found, for example in Strong’s quote from Booth’s ‘Darkest England’ “we must accept no limitation on the brotherhood of man” (quoted by Strong 2006c, p. 11).

The submission outlines the Army’s position that coercion and penalties are inappropriate social tools to force compliance. This position is reinforced by the phrase at Text Sample 38 (16-20) “participation can be achieved through measures based fundamentally on support, encouragement, development of relationship, and incentives, rather than on the threat”. Organisational discourses opposing coercion have their foundations in Booth’s remarks fully quoted above in this chapter and again by Booth, namely;

“Discipline and that of the most merciless description, is enforced upon multitudes of these people even now.
(Booth 1890, p. 276)

This quotation, taken from Booth’s ‘Darkest England’ is embedded in a narrative describing the virtues of what today would be called positive reinforcement and the personal benefits of positive reinforcement. Indeed Booth goes on to say “there is no slavery so relentless as that from which we seek to deliver the victims” (Booth 1890, p. 276). The leadership of the Army in Australia when voicing their opposition to the coercive elements of the discourse of mutual obligation were reiterating and applying the discoursal legacies of their founder, William Booth.
Mediating the matter of breaching

The social policy problem of ‘breaching’ best illustrates the evolution of the power relationship between government and the Army in the Job Network. Breaching policy and its implementation is an indicator of the capacity for agencies such as TSAEP to mediate policy within the employment services field. The Salvation Army defines breaching in a report entitled ‘Stepping into the Breach’ (Jones 2001) in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text Sample 39</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 To receive unemployment benefits in Australia –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Newstart Allowance and Youth Allowance-a person must</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 satisfy two types of requirements: Activity Tests and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Administrative requirements. Activity test requirements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 are designed to ensure that the unemployed person is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 making reasonable efforts to find suitable work,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 undertake activities to improve their employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 prospects or assist in development of work habits, or is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 making a contribution to the community in exchange for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 their benefit. Administrative test requirements relate to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 such things as replying to correspondence, notifying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Centrelink of changes in personal circumstances,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 attending Centrelink office when required, etc. Failure to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 meet these requirements results in a person being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 “breached”, that is, having their unemployment benefit</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 significantly reduced for up to six months or cut off</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 completely for eight weeks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Jones 2001, p. 4)

This text echoes the Prime Ministers text at Text Sample 34 without mentioning mutual obligation Text Sample 39 contains the constituents of this discourse.

Constituents of the discourse of mutual obligation are found in such phrases at Text Sample 39 (5, 6) “making reasonable efforts”, “assist in the development of work habits” at Text Sample 39 (8, 9) and “making a contribution to the community in exchange for their benefit” at Text Sample 39 (9, 10). Jones (2001) is not here claiming these constituents as Army policy, rather she is reiterating government policies implicated in the breaching regime. The powerful position of the Department exemplified in the contract between the government and the individual Job Network.
Agencies has been commented on in Chapter 5. The contract requires that individual Agencies inform government, through the Centrelink\(^{81}\) office, if a client breaches part of their allowance requirement. Moreover, the Army may not deviate from the contract without penalty; it is how the Army mediates the policy of breaching that is of interest here.

As part of the establishment of the Job Network in May 1998, the Army received a major contract from government. The Army received 13% of the Intensive Assistance market, making the Army at that time the largest provider of services in this segment of the privatised job placement market (Jones 2001). Jones (2001) notes that whilst the Army had 13% of the market the Army was, at that time responsible for only 2%, of all of the ‘breaches’ notified to Centrelink. The Army’s low breaching rate confirmed the strong organisational discourse supporting the marginalised citizen. The low breaching rate demonstrated how the Army worked to reduce the impact of government requirements and restrictions and how it was able, at that time, to exercise a certain freedom to mediate what the Army’s leader saw as a punitive social policy.

I asked Wilma Gallet\(^{82}\) to comment on the reasons for TSAEP’s low breaching rate and she noted that:

“Prior to 2003 - the breaching system was Manual and there were many providers who used breaching as a default option, however I was adamant that we needed to be sure before recommending that payment be stopped.

My catch cry was - WE NEED TO BE SURE THAT THE PERSON IS UNWILLING AND NOT SOMEONE WHO IS UNABLE (emphasis in text).

It was evident that there were many reasons for a person failing to attend an interview and often this related to health issues, dysfunctional relationships, addictions, homelessness, domestic violence situations, etc.

\(^{81}\) Centrelink is the agency charged with, amongst other things, payment of benefits.

\(^{82}\) Private correspondence quoted with permission
So I developed a policy which stated that we needed to be confident of the reasons for the failure to meet the Activity Test. As far as I was concerned, we were in the position to determine what we considered to be a reasonable excuse. So that if the person did not come in because they had been beaten up by their partner we could accept that as a satisfactory reason and therefore not recommend a breach.

Our policy stated that our consultants had to send at least 3 letters and if still no response, ideally try to go and visit the person, with a Salvation Army Officer. If all attempts to contact the person failed then the Consultant could recommend a breach but firstly had to submit it to my office stating the reasons. (This was mainly to impress upon our staff the importance of this issue and so we developed a culture which discouraged breach reporting and that it would only happen as a very last resort.)

I was able to convince the Department that our approach worked because our star ratings were better than anyone else's and our view was that you can help people more through positive engagement and understanding rather than through coercion and punishment.

Our approach was proven to be successful; in 2002 we had 13% of the total JN Business but only did 2% of all breaches and still achieved high stars.

Unfortunately I think the Active Participation Model (APM) changed all that and its focus was very much on people jumping through hoops.

Before 2002 - the main focus on JN was to get people engaged and achieve outcomes - we were doing that better than any other agency.

APM meant that the service model became a one size fits all model, the Department also started to tighten issues around income support and whilst I don't think they had targets per se they certainly looked at agencies performance relative to each other in breaching - if you did too many - they took a closer look at the reasons - if you didn't do enough they took a close look. It would appear that agencies need to keep pretty close to the national average to avoid extra scrutiny”.

From this text, it is clear that Gallet, on behalf of the Army and TSAEP was able to mediate policy and mitigate much of the coercive pressures on job candidates. Further, it is clear from Gallet’s comments that the Department was auditing the breaching practices of Job Network agencies. As part of the Army’s discursive strategy to influence government and wider community debates the Army frequently prepares submissions to government. The Army had a disagreement with government over the practice of breaching and so lodged a submission to the Senate Inquiry into Poverty (The Salvation Army Australia Southern Territory 2003). Part of that submission is to be found in Text Sample 40 below;
The Salvation Army holds a number of fundamental positions in relation to the current penalties regime. People are ‘welfare dependent’ because, as a community, we are unable to provide adequate employment opportunities, appropriate education and training or creative community participation options. They are not welfare dependent because they receive marginally sustainable Social Security support payments.

There are several structural factors impacting on the ability of many unemployed people to participate in labour market activity. In particular, casualisation of the labour market and the loss of low skills employment options, have meant that significant numbers of unemployed people struggle to find secure and appropriate, award level employment...“Compliance regimes have no impact on the demand for labour, or the distribution of jobs, but they do provide a legislative framework to reduce income support paid to the most vulnerable people who find it most difficult to comply”.

Unless provision of genuine skills training and job creation are addressed as part of the Government’s obligation to unemployed people, then there will continue to be an over-reliance on compliance, and breaching will remain, effectively, a punishment for disadvantage. Social security payments need to be valued as the foundational basis of a support system focused on ensuring all Australians (including newly arrived residents) are equipped to participate in the social and economic life of the community. We believe that withdrawal of basic support payments through breaching...is morally unjustifiable and inhumane.

The penalties regime puts these people at serious risk of further marginalisation.

The Salvation Army ... has raised serious questions about the justice and equity of breaching. The application of such penalties cannot, we believe, be justified ethically when they put socially and economically vulnerable people at risk. These penalties continue to fall on the most disadvantaged in the community, those who are homeless or disabled.

(The Salvation Army Australia Southern Territory 2003, accessed 23 November 2007)
Text Sample 40 outlines the Army’s major objection to the breaching regime established under mutual obligation. The text includes the major organisational discourses that inform the Army’s social work and policy development. The sentence at Text Sample 40 (2-4) “People are ‘welfare dependent’ because, as a community, we are unable to provide adequate employment opportunities” refutes the notion that the poor are welfare dependent because of their own behaviour. In the view of Army leadership, poverty is a structural and systemic problem. This construction is reinforced by the sentence at Text Sample 40 (5-7) “They [the unemployed citizen] are not welfare dependent because they receive marginally sustainable Social Security support payments”.

To contest the notions of compliance and coercion espoused by Mead (1997) the sentence at Text Sample 40 (13-17) “Compliance regimes have no impact on the demand for labour, or the distribution of jobs, but they do provide a legislative framework to reduce income support paid to the most vulnerable people who find it most difficult to comply” is particularly apt. The conflation of coercion with employability is a particularly pernicious construction since it places the blame on the victim not on the system or labour market. The Army’s contestation of the compliance regime is continued in the sentence at Text Sample 40 (20-22) “there will continue to be an over-reliance on compliance, and breaching will remain, effectively, a punishment for disadvantage”. The issue of punishment or coercion at the heart of mutual obligation seems to take for granted that coercion is a social good and that the desired suite of social behaviours will be elicited through coercive social policies. Such a stance is entirely at odds with Army organisational discourses, the Army’s opposition to coercive practices such as breaching is found in the sentence at Text Sample 40 (28, 29) “The penalties regime puts these people at serious risk of further marginalisation.”

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83 See also Minister Abbott’s comments above at pages 229, 230.
From the statistics provided by Jones (2001) relating to ESC 1 and ESC2, it is easy to infer that the Army errs on the side of the client rather than on the side of government requirements. However, whatever the Army’s internal discourses or public position may be, the Army in the end is required to fulfil its contractual obligations once it accepts government contracts. The intervention and oversight enabled by the Departments ICT EC3000 system means that whatever the Army’s organisational discourses, its TSAEP employment consultant are required to breach people. And as Jones (2001) shows, this breaching behaviour causes tensions within TSAEP and the Army at large.

**Breaching and internal tensions**

The organisational tension in relation to ‘breaching’ arises not only from its internal discourses but also from the Army’s participation in another field in the privatised welfare market. The Army provides emergency relief (ER) on behalf of government. ER is a welfare programme of the Commonwealth Government and is delivered under contract by approved welfare, religious and community agencies. At the time of Jones’ Report there were some 900 agencies approved under contract and the Army was one of the larger agencies (Jones 2001). The Australian Council of Social Services (ACOSS) describes (ER) in the following way as:

> “the provision of financial assistance to those persons who find themselves in financial crisis. ER can be for a “one off” episode, or an ongoing financial problem. Assistance is given in the following forms; cash/cheque assistance for food, housing costs, utility bills, medical and educational expenses, or vouchers for food and energy. It can also be provided as in-kind material assistance, such as clothing, food and other household items”
>
> (ACOSS 1999a p. 7)

In speaking to these tensions the Army’s leader said in part;

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84 See page 251
Furthermore, breaching entails massive cost shifting. As the Salvation Army’s research found, considerable Commonwealth ER dollars are needed to attempt to undo the enormous hardship that breaching can bring about. Its impact also reverberates beyond the immediate cost of providing ER crisis assistance, to the cost to individuals and the community of homelessness, poor health and crime ...the impacts on individuals who are breached is still of grave concern. These penalties continue to fall on the most disadvantaged in the community, those who are homeless or disabled.

As a major provider of Commonwealth Emergency Relief (ER), The Salvation Army has been seeing the effects ... of breaching in the growing demand being placed on its ER services for assistance in the form of food, clothing, money and accommodation. ER services have had to increasingly “step into the breach” created by periods of reduced or cancelled unemployment benefits either to provide additional support or to attempt to undo the rapidly escalating damage that can be precipitated by these penalties.

(The Salvation Army Australia Southern Territory 2003, accessed 12 July 2007)

In Text Sample 41 (4) the Army leadership is stressing their opposition to breaching in speaking of “the enormous hardship that breaching can bring about”. The Army’s critique of policy developed under the discourse of mutual obligation is contained in the phrase at Text Sample 41 (19-21) “to attempt to undo the rapidly escalating damage that can be precipitated by these penalties”. The Army’s position as a supplier of multiple services enables this critique of breaching. Nevertheless, the Army clearly has the internal dissonance between competing discourses. On the one hand it provides assistance to poverty stricken Australians in line with its discourse of helping the marginalised; and on the other hand the Army is required by government
contract to ‘breach’ many of these same people if they fail to meet government imposed standards of conduct. In acknowledging these tensions Jones states;

“The Salvation Army acknowledges that there is a tension between the “markets” of emergency relief and job network service provision that have been created by the Commonwealth Government. The Salvation Army has a long-standing commitment to enabling disadvantaged people to gain employment and has entered the contracted-out job network system in full knowledge of this tension, believing in the need for community providers whose motive is not profit driven but rather provision of genuine outcomes. Furthermore, this tension should not disempower The Salvation Army or any other non-government community service from providing well-founded critiques of the appropriateness and operation of this system”

(Jones 2001, p. 7)

The requirement to ‘breach’ a person, and thereby reducing already low levels of income is antithetical to Army discourses developed to support and advocate for the marginalised. In ESC1 and ESC2 as Gallet’s observation show, the Army had the latitude to mediate the social policy of breaching in line with its own organisational imperatives. In ESC3 and later contracts the Army has almost no latitude, particularly so since the Department is now micro-managing the Job Network.

**Conclusion**

In the last chapter, I explored the construction of citizen as consumer. This chapter continued that exploration with an emphasis on the discourse of mutual obligation and the social practice of ‘breaching’. This chapter explored how the discourse of mutual obligation has been constructed and ‘elaborated under the rubric of the 'active society”’ (Dean 1995, p. 559) to govern the unemployed. I noted that government policies developed under mutual obligation lay at the intersection between political, administrative and governmental processes.
In this chapter, I highlighted The Salvation Army’s contrary views on mutual obligation. The implications of mutual obligation and the practice of breaching has profound implications for Army management in Australia. In my exploration of the rationality of mutual obligation, I remarked on the organisational tensions caused by breaching within the Army. My exploration included an examination of how the Army’s provision of welfare services in two overlapping fields, namely, the employment services field and the income support field through its provision of Emergency Relief (ER) illustrated the tensions within the Army as part of the Army’s services to the Australian community.

Moreover, it is not only the tension between two competing programmes at work here. Fundamentally, there are two other major discourses in conflict. William Booth developed an idealistic discourse of organizational independence, a matter discussed in Chapter 6 and Catherine Booth developed a discourse of engagement with the state, in her address ‘The Salvation Army and its Relations to the State’ (Booth 1883), part of which is reproduced at Text Sample 37. As I show in Chapter 4, historically these two discourses have been at work within the Army and the question of breaching has only brought the contradictory nature of discourse and the internal tensions into relief. The management of the Army in Australia has been at pains to advertise and publicly state their opposition to the practice of breaching. However, by staying in the Job Network and breaching people the Army has allowed government practices to invade the Army and the Army has found less room to manoeuvre as government surveillance has gradually increased through enhanced ICT systems. This invasion by the government represents an attenuation of the Army’s capacity to mediate policy on a day-to-day basis in the matter of breaching.
Chapter 9

Conclusion - Findings and Future Options

Introduction

In Chapter 1, I noted that this study flows from my Masters Thesis that explored the influences on Army policy. My chief concern was that it would be hard for the Army to comment on government policy when if effect they did not have ‘clean hands’ since the Army was contractually required to apply the breaching regime and was therefore complicit in it. Additionally, I felt that the efforts of government to reduce the capacity of third sector organisations, particularly the Army, to effectively advocate for the marginalised was being aggressively frustrated by the Howard government a position commented on so cogently by Maddison et al (2004) and Staples (2006)

Implications of this study

In Chapter 1 I noted that social policy analysis is typically applied to government rather than to NGO’s or third sector organizations. I quoted Kuhnle and Selle who note that;

“in the historical, sociological and political science literature on the historical and comparative development of…welfare states, voluntary organisations have been given little or no attention”

(Kuhnle & Selle 1995, p. 12.).
This study specifically adds to the literature analysing voluntary or third sector organisations. In particular this study reveals that the nature and whole raison d’être of third sector organisations is called into question by the contractual nature of the Job Network. Indeed the Job Network initiative calls into question the whole nature of the third sector. And as Lyons (2003) notes his first task was to convince people that there was indeed a “distinctive third sector” (Lyons, 2003, p. 5).

In this study I have taken the position that the third sector is discursively constructed. What is at stake here is the independence of the sector as new institutional relationships are developed and as the constituents of this sector increasingly deliver welfare services for and on behalf of government. Throughout this study the processes and strategies of one constituent of the third sector, namely the Army, have been explored, As Carson and Kerr (2003) show, much contemporary social policy is predicated on notions of partnerships between government and third sector organisations, and the constituencies that they represent, combined with assumptions about the relevance how these issues are conceptualised, defined and operationalised. However much remains ambiguous. This ambiguity is well illustrated in this study; the Commonwealth funded Job Network initiative presumes an effective partnership between the Commonwealth government, its bureaucracy and third sector organisations such as the Army. However, this study indicates there is a real lack of clarity about the roles and responsibilities of the government and the Army within the employment services institutional field.

As I have shown this shift in the institutional arrangements is deeply influenced by neo-liberalism and NPM. This influence is demonstrated by the way the Howard government distanced itself from the direct provision of services and the construction of a quasi-market where the government purchased employment services from Job Network members (Osborne and Gaebler 1993; Stillwell 2000). However, the validity, efficacy and sustainability of this partnership has been critiqued by academics such as Kenny (2000) and Finn (2001). I have shown that despite the name, the organising principle of the Job Network is an explicitly market-based contractual model between the Australian government and Job Network agencies such as the Army. I have shown that there is a large element of policy implementation and
to a far lesser extent policy generation such as in respect to the breaching rules (see Chapter 8).

Carson and Kerr (1999: 2003) comment upon the fact that there is considerable dispute about an appropriate role for third sector organisations, with tensions and difficulties being experienced as organisations such as the Army reconcile what are potentially competing demands as they engage with the imperatives of contractualism. As I show, this disputed role potentially limits the autonomy and capacity of agencies such as the Army to act in accordance with their core values and in the best interests of its clients.

A number of academics such as Kenny (2000), Carson and Kerr (2002; 2003), Kerr and Savelberg (2001) and Onyx (2000) argue that there has been a deal of rhetoric about government/third sector partnerships based upon assumptions that have yet to be tested and have to date attracted little critique. Kenny (2000) on the other hand has developed a typology to classify these relationships suggesting that the state is a) a passive player (that is does not directly provide the services), b) the state is the ‘steerer’ rather than the rower, thereby echoing Osborne and Gaebler, c) as devolving responsibility to the third sector and most importantly, d) is the controller of the third sector by ensuring that the sector acts as an agent of the state. Kenny’s classifications are valuable since they are a catalyst for my own observations.

I have found that the Army is for all intents and purposes acting as an agent of the state in the Job Network. Consequently, the old paradigms of separation of state and third sector must be revisited and a new paradigm developed for analysis of policy delivered by third sector organisations. Within this new paradigm there is no real separation of third sector organisations and government, rather, there is a symbiotic connection between the two spheres where each depend upon the other. This is not to say that policy development is unidirectional, rather by contracting third sector organisations government opens itself to policy mediation and development by third sector organisations. As Roberts and Strickland note, “The reality is that governments, although they may be angry or annoyed at the criticism, are unlikely to respond by withdrawing funding if the criticism is well founded and robust” (Roberts and Strickland 2008, p. 134). It is up to third sector organisations such as the Army to ensure that their criticism is “well founded and robust” otherwise they just become
nothing more than an arm of government to the detriment of their organisational discourse and ethics.

**The Army and the Job Network**

This research found that insofar as its membership of the Job Network is concerned, The Salvation Army in Australia is at a crossroad, a decision point. Army management now has to decide just how the Army as an organization will resolve the internal tension caused by encroaching government micro-management of the Job Network and reconcile this encroachment with organization values, discourses and social practice. It is my profound hope that this research will inform that internal dialogue. The internal tension in the Army revealed in this study reflects the historical nature of this tension and revealed the importance of language and the nature of the discursive practices in the Army. Of course, as Wolch (1994) suggests all nonprofits have been compromised in their dealings with government thus the internal tension as the Army grapples with the increasing speed of change in the Australian state and the revision taking place in the institutional arrangements that flow from neo-liberal economic and transnational political forces.

This thesis set out to explore the nature of the social policy process exemplified in the Job Network and explored how The Salvation Army mediates government social policy in its own organisational discourses. The importance of language in this process is highlighted by Atkinson (2000) who observed that rhetorically at least, governments often frame their policy responses in terms of urgency and inevitability within a setting that contains an “immanent solution” (Atkinson 2000, p. 211). Within the employment services field in Australia, the “immanent solution” was shown to be the social practices established under the rubric of mutual obligation within the Job Network.
In Chapter 1, I posed the question “How is social policy mediated by a not-for-profit organisation?” In this context I showed that the word “mediate” indicates a “movement of meaning” (Fairclough 2003, p. 30) within social life and social practice. The term ‘mediate’ encompasses the notion that modern societies interact within and across different domains or fields and meaning is developed through a dialogue conducted by national and trans-national social actors (Fairclough 2003). This study explored the influence of this national and trans-national interaction on organizations comprising the organizational field of employment services in Australia.

I acknowledge that this research is itself a discursive interaction, constituted by the discursive practices that I use to analyse the mediation of policy. In this thesis, I have argued that meaning is a social construction; consequently, there are many possible readings of the textual material presented in this study. The conclusions drawn from this analysis are not, therefore, the truth. However, I argue that the conclusions drawn are valid and sustainable and that this study presents a coherent account of the mediation of policy by members of the Army.

The implications of the Army’s membership of the Job Network

The Salvation Army has delivered welfare services in Australia for over 100 years. In part its ability to do so rests on its capacity to obtain government contracts for the provision of services such as services in the Job Network (Clifton 1999). Indeed as I show in Chapter 4, the Army has received funding from government from its early beginnings in Australia. However, as this study shows, the founder of the Army, William Booth, developed a primary discourse of organizational independence. Booth was aware of the internal tension in the Army between the need for evangelisation and the need to minister to the needs of what he termed the “submerged tenth” (Booth 1890, p. 24) that is, the poor and marginalised in Britain, a tension highlighted by Carpenter (1978) and discussed in Chapter 4. As a means of reducing this tension, Booth developed an organizational discourse of independence very early in the Army’s history. Words such as “preserving your separation” (Booth 1912, p 80.) and “perfect freedom” (Booth 1912, p 85.) formed part of this discourse. Booth said that it was in order for the Army to receive government funding but that the Army must
“recognize them [governments] and acknowledge their authority... while preserving your separation” (Booth 1912, p 80.). He laid down the initial policy within which the Army would accept government philanthropic funding. Booth said;

“He laid down the initial policy within which the Army would accept government philanthropic funding. Booth said;

“Nothing must be allowed to come into our arrangements with Governments and other organisations like impositions or conditions, on the part of those making the grants or gifts, that would be calculated to interfere with our perfect freedom to carry out the work as we think best.”

(Booth 1912, p. 85)

And again;

“Finally, no Social Work must be undertaken (except under very extraordinary circumstance, and then only with the consent of International Headquarters) which has to be sustained by any government grant, the continuance of which is uncertain.”

(Booth 1912, p. 85)

This idealised discourse of independence was imprinted by Booth on the early Army and has remained today, particularly in Australia (Irvine 2002). The conditions formulated and imprinted on the organization are clear and these policy guidelines have never been formally rescinded in the Army. On the other hand, Catherine Booth’s Address ‘The Salvation Army And Its Relation To The State’ (Booth 1883) developed a discourse of engagement with the state. From the very beginning of the Army’s history there has been a tension between the demands of the state and the need to maintain the Army’s organisational independence. As I remarked in Chapter 4 Irvine (2002) describes this tension as a conflict between the sacred and the secular. Historically, the internal tension between the two fundamental discourses of organisational independence and state engagement has included very powerful internal pressures to cease the Army’s social work entirely. This internal tension erupted in July 1894 when Commissioner George Scott Railton publicly opposed William Booth’s creation of a Bank and an Insurance company to provide financial services to the poor ((Moyles 2007). As noted in Chapter 4, Bramwell Booth, the son of the William Booth and the Army’s second General defended the Army’s active engagement in society;
“Every Officer, whether Social or otherwise, ’ said the General, 'should recognise that the social work is an expression of the essential life, of the very soul of the Army. It is not just an appendage; it is not something which is being stitched onto the garment as an afterthought. It is more even than a limb of the organisation. It could not be cut off, as could a man's arm or leg, without permanently affecting the life of the whole body. The Army's social work could not be got rid off (if one could conceive of such a thing) without a grave loss to the Army's virility as a whole; a serious reduction in its vital powers”.

(Booth 1920, p. 58)

In this text, Bramwell Booth was responding to internal tension in the Army some thirty years after Railton’s public denial of aspects of Army social work. Bramwell Booth’s statements and actions combined with his textual output, including formalising Orders and Regulations, solidified the Army’s social services, a position that has not been seriously questioned since that time. However, since the Army in Australia has been receiving government funding from 1886 it is not surprising that there are contradictions between the Army’s idealised organizational discourse of independence and social practice.

As I have mentioned elsewhere (Garland 2004) governments are increasingly placing restrictions, guidelines, outcome standards and key performance indicators on the organisations they fund. Consequently, from very early in its history Army management has had a tension between the discourse of independence and the requirements of government. The contradictory nature of discourse is brought into relief by the Army’s position in relation to the discourse of mutual obligation and the practice of breaching in the Job Network. The Army in its submission to the Senate Inquiry into Poverty the Army noted;

“The Salvation Army has been concerned for some time that the negative or punitive aspects of Mutual Obligation have been overemphasised. Breaching is predicated on the unexamined and untested assumptions that people receiving allowances who fail to meet Mutual Obligation requirements have no real desire to work or, worse still, are defrauding the system; and penalties are the best mechanism for achieving or increasing the level of compliance.”

(The Salvation Army Australia Southern Territory 2003, accessed 12 July 2007)
Yet it is precisely in the matter of breaching that the contradictions between discourse and social practice are revealed. From this quotation, it is evident that The Army is opposed to the discourse of mutual obligation yet the Army’s management in Australia voluntarily took up the contract that required the Army to implement the practices that it opposed. The internal struggle that took place that allowed the Army to join the Job Network continues through the intersection of a number of discourses and social practices these include, as I have shown in Chapter 4, the strong internal discourse supporting the inherent benefits of work for the individual. The discourse of work has historically been a particularly powerful discourse in the Army, especially in relation to the provision of work for the poor and marginalised. In addition, as I remarked in Chapter 4, William Booth created the foundations for the discourse of work. The organizational discourse supporting the provision of work remains a powerful one in the Army in Australia today. The social practice of finding work for marginalized people includes the Army practice of creating work if none was readily available, for example as I noted in Chapter 4 the Army created match factories in England and a tea company in Australia as part of their work creation programmes.

Historically, the Army has always sought to influence social debates. As I remarked in Chapter 4 the foundations of this strategy was laid by Catherine Booth’s text ‘The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State’ (Booth 1883), portion of which is reproduced at Text Sample 37, and William Booths ‘Darkest England’ (Booth 1890). This discourse was developed very early in the Army’s history and still has power in the Army today. For example, in Chapter 4 I noted the Army’s;

“commitment to enabling disadvantaged people to gain employment and has entered the contracted-out job network system … believing in the need for community providers whose motive is not profit-driven but rather the provision of genuine outcomes.”
(Jones 2001, p. 7)

The genealogy of Jones’ comments can be traced back to William Booth’s ‘Darkest England’ but more particularly to Catherine Booth’s text and the internal discourses that lead the Army into engaging the state despite the importance placed on organisational independence. Part of the Army’s mediating strategy is to engage the
state by providing state sponsored services such as homeless services, Emergency Relief, suicide prevention, age care services and in the case with this study employment services. As I show in Chapter 6, by remaining in the Job Network the Army contributed to and was able to influence policy formulation within the employment services field. Additionally, at the commencement of the Job Network in 1997, the social practices associated with the discourse of mutual obligation were unclear and at a formative stage. Moreover, as I show in Chapter 8, over a number of early years in the Job Network’s history the management of TSAEP was able to mediate policies developed by government and expressed in the practice of breaching. I demonstrated that, initially at least, the Army’s breaching regime was limited to very low levels at 2% of all breaches even though the Army had 13% of the total contract.

It is clear from this research that there is tension in the Army in Australia over the matter of breaching. This tension was made public in Jones’ (2001) report explored in Chapter 8. However, the strength of the organizational discourses supporting work and the provision of work to unemployed people, the organizational discourse supporting engagement with the state, the organisational discourses that drive the Army to support the poor and marginalised are factors influencing senior Army management. Additionally, as I show in Chapter 4, the Army is a very conservative organization and has, in the immediate past, been reluctant to criticise governments and slow to remove itself from the provision of social services and in doing so risk the loss of organizational legitimacy. As Singh et al (1991) show, legitimacy is a conferred status and as such is usually controlled by those outside the organisation. As I remarked in Chapter 3, legitimacy results from congruence between societal values and organizational actions. In addition, by having its actions endorsed by a powerful external collective actor such as government, the Army has developed strong relationships with government and its membership of the Job Network performs a powerful legitimising function. Any possible loss of legitimacy clearly influenced Army management in their decision-making processes. Indeed, the Army’s membership of the Job Network performs a legitimising function, both for itself and for government. In addition, the combination of all of these discourses at work within The Salvation Army has, in my opinion, led the Army to stay in the Job Network, and continue to take on successive contracts.
However, as I note in Chapter 6 and Chapter 8, I found that there is some evidence that the position to stay in the Job Network and to stay in dialogue with government as a mediating strategy has had some success. At the commencement of the Job Network, one failure was enough to have a person’s allowances limited or withdrawn entirely. After the Welfare to Work initiatives in the 2006, Budget the number of breaches was increased to three before a person’s benefits were affected. This gave organizations such as the Army more flexibility in working to find candidates appropriate work but it reflects the engagement by TSAEP and other organizations in the Job Network with government in a dialogue that has some successes in mediating policy.

**Summary of Findings**

For ease of reference, I have created a number of categories to explore my findings. The categories are not mutually exclusive but are here provided to frame my findings.

**A) The immanent solution; the creation of the Job Network**

As I noted in Chapter 2 Atkinson observed that governments often frame their policy responses in terms of urgency and inevitability within a setting that contains an “immanent solution” (Atkinson 2000, p. 211). At the introduction of the Job Network unemployment in 1998 was high by Australian standards, the Australian Bureau of Statistics in gave a national average unemployment rate of 8.4% (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1997). However, part of the difficulty in defining a social problem is the fragility and negotiated nature of the definition (Marsh and Kennett 1999). In the Australia context, I remarked on the constructed nature of the term ‘unemployment’. I noted that in the 1890’s the term ‘unemployment’ usually meant “want of work” (Loundes 1997, p. 1), today the term more usually means “want of paid employment” (Loundes 1997, p. 1). The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) adopted the standard international definition of unemployment and according to Gittens (2003) the definition has changed little over the past 20 years; “people are considered employed if they do work for at least one hour or more for pay, profit, commission or payment of any kind, in a job or business or farm” (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001). The definition makes it clear where the imprecision lies. People are asked in a telephone survey whether they worked in the past week and those who worked in the black
economy are unlikely to respond truthfully to this question. Given the fragility of official definitions and the blurring of official definitions between “want of work” and “want of paid employment” (Loundes 1997, p. 1) part of the “immanent solution” was to find work for unemployed people if they could not or would not find work for themselves; and an institution such as the Job Network answered.

The provision of job search services is but one facet of the solution known as the Job Network. The CES had always provided job search services and was very skilled in doing so. According to government (Howard 2001), what the old system lacked was the driving force of market discourses such as competition and a need to develop an incentive system to ensure the compliance of individuals. The previous CES was a government owned organisation not driven by market discourses and in the main required voluntary compliance. Consequently, the CES was abolished and a Quasi-market created that reflected the revised institutional arrangements deemed necessary by government as the immanent solution. The Job Network conforms to the path outlined by Osborne and Gaebler (1992), wherein the government does the steering and private enterprise and not-for-profit sector agencies do the rowing.

Driven by the ideology of neo-liberalism, the Job Network provided a system of incentives namely, if a person failed to honour their mutual obligation they were penalised. In addition, as I remarked in Chapter 5, by engaging the third sector so deeply the government sought to legitimise their new creation. Moreover, as I remarked in Chapter 5, the Job Network was only ever a supply side solution; it could not on its own ever solve the unemployment problem in Australia. The Job Network was directed at addressing the personal failures of the job-seeking citizen. In mitigation of this, the Army has historically considered the provision of work as a major solution to the problem of poverty. As I noted in Chapter 4, the Army developed the discourse of work very early in its organisational history. The provision of employment for marginalised citizens is an internal discourse that has been sustained in subsequent generations throughout the organisation and as Booth remarked:

“Some form of employment is absolutely necessary to the successful conduct of every department of our Social effort. Especially will this be the case in connection with that kind of reformation we desire to effect, and among
B) Influences on the Job Network

The discussions in Chapters 2 and the evidence presented in Chapters 7 and 8 indicate that there are a number of national and transnational influences at work in the employment services field in Australia. The strong emphasis by such figures as Prime Minister Howard who spoke at the Sydney Institute on 11 July 2005, regarding Australia’s economy (Howard 2005) and the necessity for continued economic reform in Australia indicate the trajectory of those influences. The dialectic that constructs the notion of neo-liberalism has led to rapid and extensive changes in economic and social policy in Australia. These changes include changes in process, managerial style and language such as the use of terms such as New Public Management, governance and accountability.

In Chapter 2, I commented on the neo-liberal influence on the Australian government’s approach to the provision of welfare services. I observed that neo-liberalism is in fact a mutation of the classical liberal theory and that neo-liberal theory redefines the social-democratic state at an internal level. Flowing from this analysis I commented that this internal redefinition seeks to reduce the role of the state to a minimum through the corporatisation and privatisation of government welfare services (Walker 2002). The privatization of employment services by the Howard government was revealed to be influenced by a number of discourses in addition to neo-liberalism, privatisation, contractualism and the OECD’s notion of the ‘Active citizen’ (OECD 1990; Struyven 2004).

C) The employment services field

In Chapter 3 I explored the development of the organisational field in the work of DiMaggio and Powell (1991) who indicated that organisations in an organisational field are subjected to three types of isomorphic pressures, namely mimetic, coercive and normative pressures. As I remarked in Chapter 4 TSAEP is a separate sub-
organization within the Army and its continued existence is subject to senior Army management approval and whilst it must operate within the Army’s organizational boundaries and constraints it is in all other respects a stand-alone organization subject to the same social pressures exerted within the employment services field in Australia.

Very early in this study a senior industry figure commented, “all of the organizations in the Job Network are starting to look like each other”85. Further research including my observations at the Jobs Australia ‘State of Play’ Forum held in Sydney on 14 May 2007 in Sydney at in March 2007 and discussions with senior managers of these organizations provided observations of the same tenor. In fact what these industry figures were commenting on were the isomorphic pressures they faced both from the Department in the form of market discourses and neo-liberal ideology, and to use DiMaggio and Powell’s (1991) term, and the mimetic pressures from other agencies in the Job Network. At the centre of the field is government, the Department and the quasi-market created by government. To influence Job Network agencies to reproduce acceptable behaviours the Department has developed a number of texts including the Job Network contract, ICT systems, Departmental Fact Sheets and a restricted Web Site to name but a few. Through the discourses incorporated in these texts, social action is directed, validated, legitimised, knowledge and meanings are created and Job Network Agencies are kept under close surveillance. Consequently the pressures identified by DiMaggio and Powell (1991) are reinforced in individual agencies such as TSAEP as they reproduce the legitimised and legitimising social actions required by the Department, such as breaching for example. By having standardised texts, forms of knowledge and social practices individual agencies are influenced into reproducing standardised social practices.

As I remarked in Chapter 4, the Army was deeply influenced by the British model of bureaucracy. William Booth took the British civil service as his model. I showed that the intertextuality is evident in the use of such term as the establishment of ‘the Foreign Office’ dealing with the Army overseas and the ‘Immigration Office’ designed as part of Booth’s Darkest England Scheme. Consequently, the mimetic pressures at work in Job Network were familiar to the Army. Historically the Army

85 Private discussions reported with permission.
had already adopted a British bureaucratic model and so the pressures at work within
the employment services field at the bureaucratic level were familiar to the Army’s
leaders and since TSAEP is a separate sub-unit it could be abolished, sold off or
continued without real harm to the wider organisation.

D) A shift in the language

In Chapter 4, I indicated that individual managers within TSAEP and the network
commented on a shift in language from “partnership” to “command and control”. This language shift revealed, in their opinion, a change in managerial style that represented a shift in the attitude of Departmental staff towards the management the Job Network. However, what is at work here is an issue of interpretation. The rhetoric from both the Department and the various Ministers responsible for that Department over time may well have been interpreted by managers and staff in Job Network agencies as a ‘partnership’ with all of the meanings associated with that term by charitable not-for-profit organizations. However, as I noted in the analysis of Text Sample 12 there is a coercive element in the Job Network and one that has existed since ESC1, namely the contract text. At the heart of the institutional arrangements for the Job Network is the Departmental contract text.

As I noted in Chapter 5, Job Network agencies such as TSAEP were not forced to sign a Job Network contract. However, once signed the contract text introduced coercive pressures into the institutional relationships within the Job Network. This contract text, part of which is at Text Sample 12, includes a number of discursive constraints that require the Job Network agency to reproduce a set of specific social practices. The contract is a key textual element that contributes to a specific set of meanings and knowledge principally of interest and in the interests of government and the Department.

In the conduct of this study, I was first informed of the shift in government rhetoric by mid-level staff at TSAEP and this alerted me to the micro-management of the Job Network by the Department. In essence TSAEP staff was experienced in dealing with government in the employment field since the creation of the Skillshare network in July 1989. The difference was the coercive nature of the contract and the
interpretations of the contract by Departmental staff. The tension felt by TSAEP is in fact another facet of the internal tension that the Army experiences between organizational independence and engaging the state.

E) The discourse of mutual obligation

In Chapter 4 I noted that discourse contributes to the construction of social identities, subject positions and types of self (Fairclough 1996). Additionally, I remarked that discourses are not somehow isolated structures within society but were influenced by other discourses. In Chapter 4 I noted that the discourse of mutual obligation, a discourse itself deeply influenced by Mead’s (1986; 1997) ‘new paternalism’, is a major influence informing the development and maintenance of the Job Network. As a set of institutional arrangements, I remarked that the Job Network draws deeply on the discourse of mutual obligation for its ideological positioning. In Chapter 8, I noted that mutual obligation is a discourse that names the view that people who receive support, particularly income support, from government are reneging on their obligation to society if they can work, but for whatever reason choose not to work, and instead choose welfare dependency. In other words, I argue that the discourse of mutual obligation is a reinvention of the 19th century liberal discourse of the ‘deserving’ verses the ‘undeserving’ poor. The discourse of mutual obligation is a discourse that pays scant attention to the experiential realities of the relationship of poor and marginalised citizens to both welfare and work. It is a discourse that successfully positions welfare recipients as ‘dependent other’, constructs their social identities and their social positions (Fairclough 1996).

In Chapter 8, I remarked on the Army’s opposition to the discourse of mutual obligation. This opposition is presented in Text Sample 38 is based upon the Army’s Christian belief structures. I noted that apart from signalling the Army’s opposition to the principals of mutual obligation in the phrase at Text Sample 38 (1) “has been concerned for some time” the Army’s submission pointed to the negativities of paternalistic coercion in the phrase “negative or punitive aspects of Mutual Obligation have been overemphasised”. Yet despite this opposition, the Army leadership in Australia still chose to continue to take up Job Network contracts,
leading to the organisational tensions I have already remarked on elsewhere in this chapter.

F) The citizen and the market

In Chapters 7 and 8, I remarked that the notion of citizenship has become an appropriate vehicle for pressing the demands for egalitarian social and economic goals. The notion of citizenship is a social object, constructed in discourse capable of multiple readings, thus making it an ideal vehicle for both the right and the left to press their political demands. In Chapters 7 and 8, I explored the notion of citizenship under the influence of neo-liberal ideologies and suggested that the notion of citizenship has been reconstructed using market metaphors. This has led to the situation where citizens are now constructed as consumers of government services, not their owner. In Chapter 7, I questioned the validity of this transformation and suggested that in the commercial market a consumer had the option to choose whatever products and services they required to satisfy their needs and that they were free to change the provider and the services at will. I then compared this construction to the construction of citizenship in the Job Network and remarked in Chapter 7 that despite the construction of citizen as consumer the citizen has little or no choice in the Job Network. Consequently, I argued that the construction of the citizen as a consumer is fundamentally flawed and inappropriate.

As I noted in Chapter 8 the Army’s construction of the citizen is deeply influenced by its Christian belief structures. Within the Job Network, I remarked that Wilma Gallet, the founding CEO of TSAEP, was86;

“reluctant to use Departmental language or government terminology e.g. I refused to call it a BUSINESS (emphasis in text) as I believe language very much influences behaviour and therefore we would talk about a services and a sector rather than BUSINESS or INDUSTRY (emphasis in text).”

In opposition to the language used by the Department Gallet noted;

86 See page 221 for the full quote by Gallet.
“The whole notion of career development was something new for unemployed people, who had only ever been taught that the best they could hope for was any old job. We wanted to give them a sense of hope and the same respect that is normally given to people within the workforce, so labels such as Candidate, career path planning, career development etc. fitted with the simple philosophy that - we believe that everyone has something that they are good at and everyone has something that they love doing, therefore when helping people to decide on job referral - if you can match their natural abilities with their field of interest, you are much more likely to achieve a sustainable placement.”

I noted that within the Army the term ‘Candidate’ has an organisational meaning of that elicits respect. Consequently its usage by Gallet; a usage subsequently continued by TSAEP signalled the Army’s opposition to market discourses and the construction of the citizen as consumer.

G) The use of ICT to legitimate knowledge in the Job Network

The political practices that establish, maintain and change power relationships within the Job network includes the Departmental ICT systems. The Departmental ICT creates specific social practices in the Job Network agency aimed particularly at the street level consultants. In many ways, instead of being a street-level bureaucrat with the desecration to mediate policy as revealed by Lipsky (1980) and Brodkin (2000a), the case managers in the Job Network have become what Bovens and Zouridis term, “system-level bureaucrats” (Bovens and Zouridis 2002, p. 174).

In Chapter 8, I noted that Departmental system analysts and software designers have become key, if somewhat anonymous, authors constructing highly structured and powerful texts. The act of writing the software that drives ICT systems is a discursive practice that is expressly aimed at creating and validating specific meanings and social relationships and invalidating others. As Iedema and Wodak (1999) show, texts such as ICT programmes organise the reproduction of knowledge and social practice. The Department ICT programmes specify what information will count as appropriate, privileging some knowledge over other forms of knowledge. I found that

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87 Private correspondence; used with permission.
the ICT system is expressly aimed at reducing the discretion of street level bureaucrats by routinising “the decision-making process” (Bovens and Zouridis 2002, p. 179).

By routinising the decision making process the Departmental ICT system has forced organizations within the Job Network and TSAEP in particular to redefine and formalise their practices and policies, thereby reducing the discretion of street-level bureaucrats, while increasing the accuracy and consistency of Departmental administrative surveillance and decision making. My study confirms Foucault (Foucault 1991a) observations that such surveillance becomes internalised and additionally, that TSAEP and many other Job Network agencies allocated additional resources to monitor and audit internal systems as a result of this increased surveillance,

**Further research**

This thesis has used CDA to explore the mediation of policy by a third sector organization, namely TSAEP. The methodology employed was robust, however given the nature of CDA this study does not allow the conclusions to be generalised to other Job Network agencies. The wider implications of this study provide a theoretical foundation for further research into Job Network agencies in particular and into third sector agencies in general.

Such research would focus on the internal organisational discourses as well as national and trans-national discourses. That is on the governance, accountability, and financial structures that bind the organization together with an exploration of the organization’s ethical and social positions as they are influenced by discourse in their provision of social services. Such research would not necessarily employ discourse analysis methods, but would focus on the internal and external political factors influencing third sector organizations.
In terms of The Salvation Army, this research should include the similarities and differences between the Army’s employment arm TSAEP and its other government-funded services. The welfare sector is gearing up for an inquiry into homeless services announced by Prime Minister Rudd on 27 January 2008 (Pearlman 2008), it would be instructive to see what similarities exist and what differences there are in service provision between organizational sub-units and whether organisational knowledge gained in one sub-unit would be of use in another. Additionally, since the Army has sought for over 120 years to alleviate unemployment amongst homeless people it would be important to gauge how these services might well be integrated in the Army in Australia.

**Conclusion**

A compounding problem for this study is that since the data collection phase there has been a change in government. Under Prime Minister Rudd’s new Labor government, there may well be a policy change and new institutional arrangements created for the Job Network. There is evidence that the ‘breaching system’ is under severe strain. Peatling reports that in the last financial year over 525,654 “participation failures” (Peatling 2008) were reported to Centrelink and that Centrelink is currently receiving 12,000 new cases each month as Job Network agencies use breaching or ‘participation failures’ as the default option. It could be the case that the breaching regime may be significantly reshaped if not abolished entirely by the Rudd government. However, the internal tension between organizational discourses and social practice will continue in the Army.

The tensions highlighted in this study have been brought to the surface by the institutional mismatch between the sector and the state formation that now exists in Australia, created by the rapid and continuous changes occurring in the past two decades. As I note in this study, the discoursal order of neo-liberalism is profoundly implicated in these changes in the state formation. Additionally, Lake and Newman (2002) show that state restructuring through decentralisation, privatisation and the related processes explored in this theses has promoted the growth of the third sector as a “shadow state” (Lake& Newman 2002, p. 109) increasingly responsible for social service delivery and community development. Consequently, the third sector is in a
state of rapid change reflecting the changes in the state. The factors at work in the
Army that mediate these changes arise from its organisational rationality, that is, its
powerful organisational discourses of engagement with the state, care for the
marginalised, work, and organizational independence all deeply influenced by the
Army’s overarching and powerful Christian belief systems. As I have noted in this
study, William Booth’s founding organizational discourse of independence has been
continually compromised. How the internal discourses are shaped and the discursive
strategies are formulated in the future to meet future needs will remain a constant
source of tension for The Salvation Army in its mediation of policy and in the
delivery of social services in Australia.
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Appendix 1

Leadership and Organization of The Salvation Army

Organisation structure

The administrative structure of The Salvation Army is strongly hierarchical and based upon a military model. All official positions with the exception of the General are appointed, however many non-Salvationists are also employed in various capacities.

Internationally

The controlling level in the hierarchy is The Salvation Army International Headquarters, located in London (UK). From here the operation of The Salvation Army in the 103 countries in the world, is directed by the General through the administrative departments headed by International Secretaries. The Chief of Staff, a Commissioner appointed by the General to be second-in-command, implements the General's policy decisions and liaises between departments. The main responsibilities of IHQ deal with strategic, long-range planning; acting as resource centre for the worldwide Army; being facilitator of ideas and policies; and allocation of resources.

Territory

The next level in The Salvation Army hierarchy is the Territory and usually corresponds to a country; however, many countries with a numerically strong Salvation Army presence may be divided into a number of territories. The Territorial Headquarters (THQ) is usually located in the country's capital city or, in the case of multiple territories within a single country, a state capital.

88The information in this Appendix is a summary of information from the Army Yearbook (King 2005) and Army’s web site in Australia at http://www.salvos.org.au/
A Territory is headed by the Territorial Commander, usually having the rank of Commissioner or Colonel, who reports to either a National Commander or directly to IHQ. The Territorial Commander is assisted by a Chief Secretary (commonly a Colonel – see below) and other departmental Secretaries who are responsible for overseeing the operation of The Salvation Army’s activities throughout the Territory. Currently there are 53 Territories worldwide.

**Division**

Within each Territory, The Salvation Army is further broken up into smaller administrative regions called Divisions, controlled by a Divisional Headquarters (DHQ).

In the Australia Eastern Territory, since both New South Wales and Queensland have comparatively higher populations than most of the other Australian states, they are broken up into a number of divisions with the DHQ located either in the state capital or a major regional city:

**Ranks in The Salvation Army**

In keeping with the military structure, clergy in the Army are known as ‘officers’ who hold varying ranks, and members are known as ‘soldiers’.

**Soldiers:**
Salvation Army church members, or soldiers, worship at their local Corps (church) and wear a uniform, although unlike officers, they usually only wear it during Sunday worship or whilst attending Salvation Army functions and activities.

**Officers:**
The current officer rank structure is a distillation of a far wider structure than that established by William Booth. The current structure is still evolving and is monitored by the General and IHQ and may be changed as the need arises.

**Cadet:**
A Salvation Army church member, or soldier, who has decided to become an officer and is undertaking training with The Salvation Army Officer Training College

**Lieutenant:**
A non-commissioned officer who works for The Salvation Army in a ministry position for an agreed period of time.

**Captain:**
Following two years at Officer Training College, the Cadet is ordained to the rank of Captain.

**Major:**
After 15 years of service the officer is promoted to Major
Lieutenant Colonel:
Reserved for senior chief secretaries in the larger territories and for senior command leaders in countries where the Army is a ‘command’ and not a territory.

Colonel:
Reserved for territorial and international leaders.

Commissioner:
The leader of a Territory. International Secretaries are also usually given the rank Commissioner.

General:
The world-wide leader of The Salvation Army, elected by the most senior Salvation Army officers in the world at a High Council

Organization:
Lay Personnel:
The Salvation Army employs a number of lay personnel (church members) throughout its territories. In both the Australia Eastern and Southern Territories, lay personnel are engaged in all aspects of the Army's work. They can be and are involved in areas such as managing aged care centres, Salvos Stores, emergency centres and assisting in the administration functions of The Salvation Army's operations.

Officer Personnel:
The Salvation Army's ministers, or officers, are appointed by the Territorial Headquarters. Local congregations of Salvationists are encouraged to support their officers, but have no responsibility or participation in the appointment process.

The Territorial Commander and Chief Secretary are appointed by the international leader of The Salvation Army, the General. Their role is to oversee and administer the work and mission of The Salvation Army within a given Territory. Senior executive officers are, on the recommendation of the Territorial Commander, also appointed by the General.

All other appointments within a Territory are the responsibility of the Territorial Commander.
Levels of leadership:

Like the organisational structure, the levels of leadership within The Salvation Army are hierarchical in structure, set up on a military footing. The Salvation Army's Australian leadership structure is as follows:

Territorial Commander:

Responsible for the Army's operation throughout a Territory.

Chief Secretary:

Responsible for the administration and daily operation of The Salvation Army within a Territory.

Cabinet Secretaries:

Are members of executive cabinet and have responsibility of their specific areas. ie: Personnel, Program, Business Administration.

Divisional Commander / Regional Officer:

The Australia Eastern Territory is divided only into divisions while the Australia Southern Territory is divided into both divisions and the Northern Territory Region. These areas are headed up by a Divisional Commander and a Northern Territory Regional Officer.

Corps and social officers:

Are appointed to manage the operations of The Salvation Army in these types of positions throughout the Territory.

Community Services:

The main areas in which The Salvation Army provides community and welfare services are:

- Addiction Services (*Alcohol, Drug and Gambling*)
- Aged Care Services
- Counselling Services
- Court and Prison Services
- Disability Services
- Emergency Services
- Employment Services (*Employment Plus*)
- Community Support Services (*Emergency Relief*)
- Family Tracing Service (*Missing Persons*)
- Homeless / Domestic Violence Services
- Migrant Services
- Youth Services
Glossary of some Salvation Army terms

Adherent:
A person who regards The Salvation Army as his/her spiritual home but has not chosen to make the commitment of 'soldiership' in The Salvation Army (see Soldier).

Articles of War (Soldier's Covenant):
The statement of beliefs and promises which every intending soldier is required to sign before enrolment

'Blood and Fire':
The Salvation Army's motto, referring to the symbolism of the sacrificial blood of Jesus Christ and the purifying, illuminating fire of the Holy Spirit

Cadet:
A Salvationist undertaking theological and practical training for Officership. The first cadets were trained in 1879.

Candidate:
A soldier who has been accepted for officer training.

Chief of the Staff:
The second-in-command officer of the worldwide Salvation Army

Citadel:
A dated term referring to any property used for Salvation Army worship. Similar in usage to the terms 'fortress' and 'temple'. In a similar vein, 'quarters' (still in common usage) refers to the house provided for Salvation Army officers, their spouses and their families

Command:
A smaller type of Salvation Army 'territory' (see above) directed by a designated 'Officer Commanding'.

Commission:
A document conferring authority (that often, consequently, is presented in a conferring ceremony) upon an officer, or upon a local unpaid officer, i.e. secretary, treasurer, bandmaster etc

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89 See also any Salvation Army Year Book or the Army’s web site in Australia at http://www.salvos.org.au/
Congress:
Central gatherings held in divisions, regions, territories or internationally, attended by officers and their fellow Salvationists

Corps:
A Salvation Army church similar in concept to that of other churches' 'parishes', sometimes comprising several congregations, to share the good news about Jesus Christ and serve the community

Corps Cadet:
A young Salvationist who undertakes a course of Bible study, Salvation Army doctrine and history, and practical training in his/her corps.

Corps Sergeant-Major (CSM):
Similar to the chief 'elder' or lay leader in other Christian denominations, the CSM is the chief local officer for public work who assists the corps officer (CO) with meetings (worship services) and usually takes command and responsibility in the Corps Officer’s (CO's) absence.

Dedication Service:
The Salvation Army's equivalent to a christening service, it consists of a public presentation of infants to God. It differs from christening or infant baptism in that the main emphasis is upon specific vows made by the parent/s concerning the child's/children's upbringing

Division:
A number of corps grouped together, directed by a divisional commander (similar in responsibility and administrative role to bishops in other churches).

General:
The officer elected (by the High Council) to lead the international Salvation Army. All appointments are made, and all regulations issued, under the General's authority

High Council:
A group called together on a needs-basis, the High Council elects the General in accordance with the Salvation Army Act 1980. The High Council comprises the Chief of the Staff, all active (as opposed to retired) commissioners except the spouse of the General, and all territorial commanders. The first High Council was called to determine the Generalship following Bramwell Booth's tenure in that position

International Headquarters (IHQ):
IHQ, based in London, England, is the centre where the business connected with commanding the worldwide Army is transacted.
International Secretary (IS):
An officer appointed by the General to supervise and represent Army work (mostly overseas) at International Headquarters

Junior Soldier:
A boy or girl who, having come to faith in Christ and signed the junior soldier's promise, is enrolled as a Salvationist.

Local Officer:
A soldier appointed to a position of responsibility and authority in the corps; who carries out the duties of the appointment without being separated from his/her regular employment/lifestyle or receiving remuneration from The Salvation Army.

Officer:
A Salvationist who, responding to God's call, is trained and commissioned as a full-time minister of religion of The Salvation Army.

Outpost:
A locality in which Army work is carried on and where it is hoped a society or corps will develop.

Promotion to Glory:
The Army's description of the death of Salvationists, with 'glory' symbolising life after death in God's presence.

Ranks of officers:
Ranks of officers currently in use are as follows: lieutenant, captain, major, lieut-colonel, colonel, commissioner, general. (See above)

Red Shield Appeal:
An annual financial appeal to the general public in many countries, to fund The Salvation Army's social work.

The Order of the Founder (OF):
This order of merit marks meritorious Christian example and witness, and distinguished or memorable service. It was instituted in 1917 (five years after Founder William Booth” was “promoted to glory”) by General Bramwell Booth. In Bramwell’s words, the order was conceived “to recognise Salvationists who had rendered distinguished service, such as would have especially commended itself to the Founder”. This honour is rarely given, as every nomination is carefully scrutinised by
a panel of senior leaders at IHQ. Retired Salvation Army officer Brigadier Victor Pedersen MBE, an Australian Salvationist, was “admitted”, in 1999. The brigadier, among other noteworthy achievements: pioneered the first Outback Flying Padre Service; commenced Salvation Army work in Darwin (capital city of Australia’s Northern Territory) and Bangladesh; commenced Bible studies for prisoners and served in the remote highlands of Papua New Guinea.

**SAGALA (Salvation Army Guards and Legion Association):**
A branch of work with children in and out of The Salvation Army's worshipping community, similar to girl guides/boy scouts. There are various equivalents for both sexes, in several age groups.

**Soldier:**
A person who is 'converted', i.e. came to faith in Jesus Christ. Soldiers must be at least 14 years of age and meet with the approval of the census board. They are sworn-in after signing the articles of war.

**Swearing-In:**
The public enrolment of Salvation Army soldiers.

**Territory:**
A country, part of a country or several countries combined, in which Salvation Army work is organised under a territorial commander (See above).

**War Cry:**
The Salvation Army's official flagship journal, many issues of which are published in many countries. The War Cry was first published in 1879.

**Young People's Sergeant Major (YPSM):**
A local officer responsible for the young people's work, under the commanding officer.