University Library



A gateway to Melbourne's research publications

Minerva Access is the Institutional Repository of The University of Melbourne

Author/s:
Suchowerska, Roksolana

Title:
The corporate contribution to social inclusion in Australia: risk, opportunity, responsibility

Date:
2016

Persistent Link:
https://hdl.handle.net/11343/190981

Terms and Conditions:
Terms and Conditions: Copyright in works deposited in Minerva Access is retained by the copyright owner. The work may not be altered without permission from the copyright owner. Readers may only download, print and save electronic copies of whole works for their own personal non-commercial use. Any use that exceeds these limits requires permission from the copyright owner. Attribution is essential when quoting or paraphrasing from these works.

The corporate contribution to social inclusion in Australia: risk, opportunity, responsibility

Roksolana Suchowerska
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-7261-8438

Submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements of
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2016

School of Social and Political Sciences
The University of Melbourne

Abstract

Governments in liberal welfare states are dealing with the rising cost and complexity of social disadvantage by shifting risks of social exclusion onto individuals. In areas such as health and superannuation for example, social policy steers individuals to manage their own social inclusion through the consumption of market-based products. Such policies not only change relationships between governments and citizens but also the relationships between providers and consumers—they position private enterprise at the forefront of the provision of products and services that support individuals' participation in key activities of our society.

In this context, the contemporary phenomenon of strategic corporate social responsibility (CSR) emerges as an interesting mechanism of social inclusion. Through strategic CSR, corporations aim to create tangible changes in their operating contexts, which they perceive to be of benefit to both business and society. Many scholars argue that corporate involvement in CSR is a response to increased public scrutiny and pressure to engage in ethical conduct. Although scholars often interpret CSR as a strategy through which firms strengthen their competitive advantage, this thesis poses the pertinent question: what is the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate?

This thesis draws on two empirical case studies of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs. The first case study is of a 'skills-based' program in which Australia's largest telecommunications corporation partnered with state government to support seniors to develop their digital skills. The second case study is of a 'deliberative' program in which a large property developer hosted social events and decision-making forums in its new property developments. The thesis explores the experiences and perceptions of program participants to better understand how companies help individuals develop particular resources and relationships that strengthen their involvement in society.

The thesis argues that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs help address assumptions in social policy that presuppose individuals in mainstream society to be equally able to draw on non-economic resources to utilise market-based products to mitigate personal risks. And yet, corporate sensitivity to

corporate reputation and government regulation, alongside dynamics of voluntary exclusion, impose subtle but significant limitations on who participates and what barriers to social participation the programs address. These limitations may trigger new divisions between social groups in mainstream society. The thesis argues that the competitive, individualistic and voluntary terms of provider-consumer exchange enable corporations to support inclusion of particular individuals, yet prevent corporations from supporting processes of inclusion that strengthen the moral foundations that underpin social solidarity.

The case studies provide NGOs, governments and industry with insight into the opportunities that strategic, customer-focused CSR presents for social inclusion in Australia. The findings show that the contribution of strategic CSR is enriched by pressure that governments, interest groups and third sector organisations place on corporations to be sensitive to socio-political goals. Public and third sector organisations also play an important role in nurturing the inclusivity of social norms and values that establish the moral basis of social interaction and cohesion. The moral basis of society supports citizens/consumers in appropriating the competitive, individualistic and voluntary paths of social inclusion that characterise strategic, customer-focused CSR.

Declaration

This is to certify that:

(i) The thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD except where indicated in the Preface

(ii) Due acknowledgment has been made in the text to all other material used

(iii) The thesis is fewer than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

Signed  Date 10 July 2017

Roksolana Suchowerska

Acknowledgements

To the many individuals who gave freely of their time, knowledge and opinions to participate in this study—you have made this research possible. While you cannot be named, your contribution is appreciated. I also acknowledge the two corporations that opened their doors to me and took an interest in this study.

I am deeply grateful for my top notch supervisory team—Dr Jens Zinn and Dr Sara Bice. Dr Zinn granted me the opportunity to embark on this project and has supported me by sharing his vision, his intellect and his finesse. Dr Bice has mentored me with clarity of thought and calm level-headedness, to navigate the procedures and politics of the corporate and academic worlds. I have drawn much inspiration from the integrity and astuteness with which both academics pursue their own research and scholarship.

I also thank the scholars who engaged with my work at various international conferences. In particular, I acknowledge Ed Freeman, Harry van Buren, John Holcomb, Bryan Husted, Virginia Gerde and Frank den Hond who have each inspired and challenged me in their own ways. I look back at my participation in IABS conferences as particularly productive times of intellectual engagement and development.

During my PhD, I was lucky to have been part of a comradery among budding scholars. In particular, I thank Bibiana for her friendship, from induction to completion and beyond. I thank Natalya and Katrusha for every recalibratory coffee. And I thank my writing circle—Vicki, Gillian, Billy, Sunni, Alice, Fiona and everyone who has joined in along the way—for our perfect intensity of thinking, writing and conversing.

Finally, I acknowledge and thank my family. Your love, support, encouragement and belief in me are humbling to the core. To my parents—Мама і Тато—thank you for raising me to question, to commit, to learn, to nurture, to remember, to contribute, to create and to let go. To my two sisters and my dear friends—Настуся, Алекса, Liz and Cigdem—thank you for giving me courage as we move through life together. To my husband—Павло—thank you for making me laugh. Thank you for every time you encouraged me to keep going. Thank you for understanding me as I seek to understand the world around me.

Table of contents

Abstract ..... *i*

Table of figures ..... *vii*

Abbreviations ..... *ix*

Introduction: The market for inclusion 1

PART I: Social inclusion in the midst of systemic change

Chapter 1: Social inclusion in scholarly research and public policy 13

Chapter 2: Morals and markets, politics and profits, responsibility and risk .. 41

Chapter 3: Social inclusion and strategic, customer-focused CSR 67

PART II: Designing and positioning the empirical study

Chapter 4: Research design 89

Chapter 5: Positioning strategic voluntarism in regulatory context 121

PART III: A skills-based and deliberative case of strategic CSR

Chapter 6: Same landmarks, different destinations 143

Chapter 7: Agency and connection through skills for participation: *Tech Savvy Seniors* 171

Chapter 8: Agency and connection through deliberation: *local decision-making at Oasis and Glitz Apartments* 191

PART IV: The corporate contribution to social inclusion

Chapter 9: Shaping competitive and voluntary dynamics of inclusion 213

Conclusion: Navigating risk, opportunity and responsibility 237

Reference list *245*

Appendices *274*

Table of figures

Figure 1. Integrative and political approaches to strategic CSR *(Source: author)* 55

Figure 2. Social inclusion through a sense of agency and connection *(Source: author)* 70

Figure 3. Strategic, customer-focused CSR programs as mechanisms for generating individually-held and shared resources, with implications for one's sense of agency and connection *(Source: author)* 77

Figure 4. Arnstein's eight rungs on a ladder of citizen participation *(Source: Arnstein 1969: 217)* 81

Figure 5. Internet users* in Australia in 2012-13, by age group *(Source: ABS 2014)* 95

Figure 6. Research questions to guide two lines of inquiry *(Source: author)*..... 101

Figure 7. Positioning corporations and program participants in context *(Source: author)*..... 102

Figure 8. Time and location of interviews *(Source: author)*..... 105

Figure 9. Sampling tree of seniors who participated in Tech Savvy Seniors *(Source: author)*..... 108

Figure 10. Locations of libraries and community colleges where Tech Savvy Seniors was offered *(Source: author)*..... 110

Figure 11. Sampling tree of local residents at Oasis and Glitz Apartments *(Source: author)*..... 112

Figure 12. Sampling tree for employees of case studies *(Source: author)* 115

Figure 13. List of participant observation activities, by date and location *(Source: author)* 116

Figure 14. Excerpt from study's codebook *(Source: author)* 119

Figure 15. Planning scheme, disaggregated into parts *(Source: adapted from Victoria State Government 2015: 9)*..... 130

Figure 16. Corporate rationale for investing in strategic, customer-focused CSR programs *(Source: author)*..... 146

Figure 17. Citizen/consumer rationale for attending strategic, customer-focused CSR programs *(Source: author)*..... 158

Abbreviations

ALP	Australian Labor Party
BFS	Broadband for Seniors
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CSV	Creating Shared Value
GRI	Global Reporting Initiative
ICT	Information Communication Technology
LBG	London Benchmarking Group
LIMAC	Low Income Measures Assessment Committee
MPC	Masterplanned Community
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NPM	New Public Management
NSW	New South Wales
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OC	Owners' Corporation
PSP	Precinct Structure Plan
SIA	Social Inclusion Agenda
TSS	Tech Savvy Seniors
USO	Universal Service Obligation

Introduction
The market for inclusion

Scholars argue that new dynamics of relatedness and disadvantage are emerging as ongoing modernisation destabilises the social order that characterised industrial societies of the twentieth century (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Esping-Andersen 1996; Taylor-Gooby 2004). Ongoing modernisation is evident in the incremental opening up of national economies and cultures, the increasing precariousness of employment, the growing importance of lifestyle choices in shaping personal identities, and the increased threat of global risks such as climate change and health epidemics that are challenging the ability of societies to determine their own futures (Beck *et al.* 2003). These social changes are creating experiences of disadvantage that can no longer be understood as merely a function of one's access to economic resources (Levitas 1996, 2006; Room 1995; Smyth 2010). Instead, with the introduction of social inclusion and exclusion into social policy and research in the 1980s, scholars increasingly understand social disadvantage as being shaped by relational, multidimensional and longitudinal dynamics (Azpitarte and Bowman 2015; Sealy 2015; Silver 2007).

The introduction of social inclusion and exclusion into social research has enabled scholars to highlight the diversity and complexity of social disadvantage. For example, Jacob Hacker opens his book *The Great Risk Shift* (2006) with a

vignette of a Harvard-educated young woman who lives with her husband and children in a mortgaged home in America, yet who has experienced hardship because of the growing insecurity and volatility of the labour market. Australian anthropologist Tarryn Phillips observes the legal plight of a community in regional Australia to make a multinational company responsible for the serious deterioration of health and lifestyle they experienced after the company installed a chimney stack emitting volatile organic compounds near their hometown (2015: ch. 3). Smyth and Hattam (2004) tell the stories of many young school-leavers in Australia who were unable to finish high school and now look to set up livelihoods in an increasingly professional labour force. The personal histories, resources and life chances of each of these individuals are different. Yet they share the experience of vulnerability in the midst of modernizing processes, as changes in the labour force, family structure, technology, national culture, economy, healthcare and environment make it more difficult for certain groups to sustain their participation in society.

Scholars argue that the erosion of national economies, full and life-long employment and nuclear families are not only bringing about new social risks and inequalities, but are also undermining the capacity of welfare states to provide universal social protection (Esping-Andersen 1999; Taylor-Gooby 2004). Different types of welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen 1990) have different resources and limitations in managing this crisis. Hacker (2006) observes that in the USA—as a liberal welfare state in which state provision is targeted at specific social groups and private market systems are encouraged—governments tend to design new social policies in ways that shift the responsibility for managing risks of social exclusion from government and industry onto individuals. The 'great risk shift', as Hacker puts it, undermines the notion of universal entitlement, in which citizens are entitled to government assistance if they fall out of the labour market, their family, good health, or encounter other barriers to their social involvement. Instead, new social policies encourage citizens to reduce their exposure to personal risks by, for example, investing in themselves through education or setting up insurances. Scholars have observed Hacker's great risk shift in other liberal welfare states as well, including the UK (Connelly and Hayward 2012; Giddens 1998: ch. 4) and Australia (Marston *et al.* 2010; Zinn 2013).

Of interest in this thesis, is that the individualisation of risk in social policy is framing provider-consumer exchanges as significant sites of social inclusion.

This is evident in the Australian context, even though scholars often critique Australia's social policy for its significant focus on inclusion through employment (Long 2010; Marston and Dee 2015). In Australia, the minimum family wage and industrial protection have historically positioned the full employment of male breadwinners to be pivotal for the social participation of families (Castles 1994, 1996; Silver 2010; Stebbing and Spies-Butcher 2010). For much of the twentieth century, employment connected citizens to a stable and enduring social class or milieu (Beck 1997: ch. 1). Increasingly however, political discourse and social policy frame employment as a preliminary step in individual citizens' projects of pursuing how they want to live their lives and putting safeguards in place to protect these life choices. Employment, for example, enables individuals to consume child and aged care to balance familial responsibilities with career choices. Employment also enables individuals to consume financial products to manage financial security in retirement or to consume multiple tertiary degrees over time, in an effort to align skills with the changing needs of the economy.

Although consumers certainly require economic resources to transact with providers, they also require knowledge, skills and other resources to strategically conduct transactions that will enhance personal involvement in society. Citizens need to critically assess personal needs and resources in the present and future, understand the range of products available in the marketplace, and subsequently engage in the transactions they consider appropriate for their personal situations. In effect, the individualisation of risk in social policy increasingly requires good citizens to be critical consumers, and frames consumers as good or bad citizens. The hybrid concept of the 'citizen-consumer' first emerged in relation to ethical consumption—when individuals voluntarily purchase or boycott goods to express support or dissatisfaction with particular products and/or providers (Lang and Gabriel 2005). In both the political consumption and public policy literatures alike, the concept of the citizen-consumer layers the citizen's moral decision-making atop the consumer's economic decision-making. Some scholars critique the conflation of the two roles for ignoring the fundamentally different interests of the citizen and consumer (Johnston 2008; Livingstone *et al.* 2007). Accordingly, to emphasise the intersection rather than the conflation of the two roles, this thesis speaks about citizens/consumers.

Given that citizens/consumers need more than economic resources to engage in consumption as a way of enhancing personal involvement in society,

this thesis investigates how programs that support citizens/consumers to decide on and/or enjoy certain products or services act as mechanisms of social inclusion and exclusion. Interestingly, the rise of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in contemporary research and practice suggests that corporations are becoming more interested in administering or supporting these programs. In a recent survey of 1,400 company leaders in 83 different countries, consultancy firm Price-Waterhouse Coopers found that three quarters of CEOs defined business success by more than financial profit. The same ratio of CEOs said that their company reported on both financial and non-financial matters, with four in five CEOs foreseeing that most successful businesses in their sectors would be doing the same within five years' time. In Australia, there has been a steady rise in the number of businesses who measure and report on their extra-economic activities via the popular Global Reporting Initiative (GRI)—from just one Australian company in 2000, to 20 in 2005, 108 in 2010 and 185 in 2015 (GRI website). Changes in corporate reporting of extra-economic activity indicate changes in corporate awareness of and sensitivity to socio-political issues.

Despite the accessibility of corporate reports, the rapidly changing CSR landscape and questionable transparency of data makes it difficult to profile CSR in Australia. The Australian and New Zealand branch of the London Benchmarking Group (LBG) collates CSR-related data from its members, which are typically large businesses. The organisation's most recent review of members' CSR shows that large businesses are moving towards longer-term community investment rather than one-off charitable donations, with particular interest in addressing issues of health and welfare (LBG 2016). Consultancy firm Australian Centre for Corporate Social Responsibility recently surveyed 1,215 professionals in Australia and New Zealand and similarly found that the two key Sustainability Goals that organisations are aiming to address are gender equality and good health and wellbeing, with climate action and gender equality being perceived as the most difficult goals to address. About half of the ACCSR respondents were from professional services, banking, utilities or transport industries, providing some indication of which industry sectors are most engaged in CSR in Australia. Alongside LBG data that show corporate affairs departments to be most commonly in charge of community investment (rather than marketing or human resources departments), scholars often emphasise that CSR is moving into more strategic areas of organisational decision-making.

Scholars most commonly interpret the increasingly strategic approach to CSR as the corporate response to new social struggles, in which interest groups in civil society jeopardise corporate legitimacy and pressure corporations to demonstrate ethical conduct (Beck 2009: 93-100; Holzer 2013; Johnston 2008; Power 2007). According to Shamir (2008), the rise of CSR can also be interpreted as an effect of neoliberalism which, by aiming to universalise market-based social relations, has forced not only the economisation of the political sphere but also the concurrent moralisation of the economic sphere. While CSR has a long history—with its conceptual roots often being traced back to the mid-twentieth century (Carroll 1999)—these perspectives highlight that contemporary systemic changes are applying new pressure onto corporations to become involved in social issues in ways that addresses *both* social *and* economic priorities (Lee 2008). Corporate social responsibility and adjacent concepts such as corporate citizenship (Crane *et al.* 2004, 2008) thus indicate that the shift towards addressing socio-political issues in the marketplace occurs not only via changing practices of consumption, but also in changing practices of production and provision.

The notion that corporations are becoming more receptive to supporting particular social goals opens new possibilities for the role that they might play in helping citizens/consumers strengthen personal involvement in society. Most notably, the integrative approach to strategic CSR calls on corporations to alleviate social issues that may impinge on their consumers' ability to consume, their employees' ability to work, their suppliers' ability to supply, and so on (e.g. Porter and Kramer 2006, 2011). In this approach, strategic CSR encourages health insurers to help customers adopt healthy lifestyles; superannuation funds to educate members about options for saving for retirement; and telecoms to help customers develop their digital literacy and online safety. Such programs aim to help consumers develop knowledge and skills to mitigate their exposure to personal risks, which are somehow related to the consumption of products. By comparison, the political approach to strategic CSR, which draws on concepts such as corporate reputation risk (Power 2007: ch. 5) and social license (Morrison 2014), promotes the alignment of business values and business conduct with the expectations and standards of interest groups. Rather than changing customer attributes and resources, the political approach to strategic CSR may open pathways of social inclusion based on a negotiation of social values, expectations and ultimately, corporate legitimacy.

Strategic CSR—whether in the integrative or political approaches—therefore revolves around the idea that by addressing particular social issues or political processes, corporations may strengthen their own competitive advantage. Interestingly, scholarship that investigates this causal link is rarely concerned with understanding the social outcomes of strategic CSR (Bice 2015; Bowen *et al.* 2010; Esteves and Barclay 2011). Instead, scholars have tended to research the intersection between mere investment in social programs and corporate financial performance (Orlitzky and Benjamin 2001; Orlitzky *et al.* 2003; Salzmann *et al.* 2005; Carroll and Shabana 2010). Whether and how strategic CSR might alleviate social issues, however, are important questions to ask. Strategic CSR is emerging in the midst of social and economic transformation, which is creating greater diversity in the experience of disadvantage and challenging the capacity of the state to sustain prior levels of social protection. Against this context, strategic CSR emerges as a possible forum in which individuals from diverse areas of society may access resources and decision-making opportunities to shape their participation in society. While the ultimate goal of strategic CSR may be to strengthen the competitive advantage of the firm, it is nonetheless pertinent to ask: what is the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate?

This thesis explores one contextual question and two lines of inquiry to address the overarching research question. The contextual question asks: what contribution are strategic, customer-focused CSR programs positioned to make, relative to processes of social inclusion that corporations already facilitate in response to government regulation? This question considers the role of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs, given the blurring boundary between governments and businesses in supporting the social involvement of citizens/consumers via market mechanisms.

The first line of inquiry—which consists of three research questions—then explores how corporations and citizens/consumers shape the opportunities for social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs present. To do so, the thesis first asks: what rationales guide corporate and citizen/consumer involvement in strategic, customer-focused CSR programs? Next, in what ways do the guiding rationales of corporations and citizens/consumers converge, ignore and/or conflict with each other? And finally, how does the intersection of these interests and perspectives affect who is invited to participate in strategic,

customer-focused CSR programs and what resources the programs help participants develop to strengthen their inclusion in society?

The thesis' second line of inquiry—which also consists of three research questions—aims to develop our understanding of the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate by investigating the experience of participating in these programs. To this end, the thesis adopts a phenomenological approach and asks: what changes do citizens/consumers experience to their sense of agency and sense of connection after attending strategic, customer-focused CSR programs? Second, how do different types of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs—i.e. depending on whether programs aim to develop personal skills or facilitate deliberation—adjust or perpetuate existing power relations? And finally, by drawing on this comparison, what are the similarities and differences between participants' sense of agency and sense of connection, depending on the type of strategic CSR program they attend? By following these two lines of inquiry, the thesis provides insight into the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate.

This thesis makes a unique contribution to scholarship by developing our understanding of whether and how strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate social inclusion in Australia. This contribution is unique because most scholarship that considers the implications of changes in social policy on processes of social inclusion has been state-centric in its view of the future (Considine *et al.* 2015; Long 2010; Marston *et al.* 2010; Smyth 2010). This is too narrow a view, given that social disadvantage will only become more complex whilst liberal welfare states are likely to continue limiting the provision of social welfare to citizens who face the deepest social exclusion. As this thesis contends, scholars and practitioners require a broader view that considers how interactions between corporations and citizens/consumers—interactions that take on a new significance in light of the individualisation of risk in social policy—affect general processes of social inclusion among individuals from diverse walks of life. Greater awareness of the extent to which strategic, customer-focused CSR facilitates social inclusion will enable policy-makers to be more strategic in how they pressure and incentivise corporations to work towards particular social goals.

Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is structured into four sections. The first section—which comprises Chapters 1, 2 and 3—considers social, political and economic shifts in post-industrial societies that are structuring new processes of social inclusion. The first chapter examines how Australian governments have grappled with emergent forms of social disadvantage given that the depletion of public resources undermines the viability of universal protection. This chapter argues that the individualisation of risk in social policy is heightening the importance of provider-consumer exchanges in supporting personal projects of risk management. The second chapter introduces CSR as an emergent mechanism of social inclusion in the economic sphere. The chapter argues that as companies have become more interested in demonstrating that the pursuit of profit occurs alongside the achievement of social goals, they have created opportunities for citizens/consumers to access resources that may help strengthen personal involvement in society. The third chapter deepens this perspective by differentiating between different types of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs. The chapter theorises that skills-based programs aim to provide citizens/consumers with access to knowledge that may strengthen critical engagement in the key activities of society, whereas deliberative programs invite citizens/consumers to create change in their social contexts by influencing local decision-making.

The second section of this thesis—comprising Chapters 4 and 5—presents the empirical approach that guided the study's exploration of strategic, customer-focused CSR and answers this thesis' contextual research question. Chapter 4 introduces two case studies that were developed to provide insight into how different types of strategic, customer-focused support the social inclusion of participants. The first is a skills-based CSR program called Tech Savvy Seniors which was jointly run by Australia's largest telecommunications corporation, Telstra, and state government. By aiming to teach seniors about how to use computers, tablets and smartphones, the program provided opportunities for citizens/consumers to access knowledge that may strengthen critical engagement in the key activities of society. The second case is of a deliberative CSR program in which a large property developer, Wolfers[1], hosted decision-making forums in

[1] Wolfers is a pseudonym for a property developer that participated in this study on the condition that it would not be identifiable in research papers.

its new residential property developments. Wolfers' initiatives aimed to encourage residents to shape their shared identity, networks and governance within their built community. By way of addressing this thesis' contextual research question, Chapter 5 considers the potential significance of the two CSR programs by positioning them alongside existing government regulation of corporate social activity that aims to support the digital inclusion of seniors or social cohesion in new residential developments, respectively.

The third section of this thesis—comprising Chapters 6, 7 and 8—explores the processes of social inclusion that emerged in the context of Tech Savvy Seniors and Wolfers' community engagement. Chapter 6 addresses this thesis' first line of inquiry by investigating the rationales that guided corporate and citizen/consumer involvement in each of the two CSR programs. By considering how these rationales resonate, conflict and/or ignore each other, the approach gives corporations and citizens/consumers the standing to actively shape the structure and meaning of interaction that emerges in the context of strategic CSR. Chapters 7 and 8 address this thesis' second line of inquiry by analysing the outcomes of strategic CSR programs in terms of social inclusion. To do so, the two chapters explore the experiences of citizens/consumers who attended the programs and consider how these experiences impacted participants' sense of agency and connection with others. Accordingly in Chapter 7, seniors share the challenges they experience in keeping up with technological changes, of feeling left out by their lacking understanding of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) and the ways in which attending Tech Savvy Seniors helped and didn't help overcome this barrier to their participation in society. Likewise in Chapter 8, residents of two new residential property developments share their experiences of attending local community events and becoming involved in residents' associations to develop the identity and local governance of the two new residential communities.

The final section—comprising Chapter 9 and Conclusion—draws on the empirical work of this thesis to theorise the contribution that corporations make to processes of social inclusion via their strategic, customer-focused CSR programs. The section discusses that both skills-based and deliberative types of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs were found to address assumptions in social policy that presuppose individuals in mainstream society to be equally able to draw on non-economic resources to utilise market-based products to effectively

mitigate personal risks. This became clear when focusing on the positive experiences of individuals who attend strategic, customer-focused CSR programs. And yet, corporate sensitivity to reputation and government regulation, alongside dynamics of voluntary exclusion, were found to impose subtle but significant limitations on who participated and what barriers to social participation the programs addressed. These limitations may exacerbate or create new divisions between social groups in mainstream society.

This thesis therefore argues that the competitive, individualistic and voluntary terms of provider-consumer exchange, steer and enable corporations to support inclusion of particular individuals, yet seem to prevent them from supporting processes of inclusion through a strengthening of the moral foundations that underpin social solidarity. In other words, the processes of inclusion that emerge in strategic customer-focused CSR programs resonate more clearly with the liberalist paradigm that focuses on supporting people to engage in economic and social exchanges of their choice, rather than the solidarity paradigm that focuses on strengthening the bond between individuals and society via cultural and moral infrastructure such as rights and obligations (Silver 1994; Daly and Silver 2008). The concluding chapter provides an overview of the thesis, notes the limitations of this study and provides insight for policy makers in industry, governments and NGOs regarding the opportunities that strategic, customer-focused CSR presents for social inclusion in Australia.

Part I

Social inclusion in the midst of systemic change

1

Social inclusion in scholarly research and public policy

Over the past three decades social inclusion/exclusion has gained popularity in social policy and research as a new approach to understanding and addressing dynamics of social disadvantage (see Levitas 2006; Saunders 2015; Silver 2007; Smyth 2010; Zinn 2013). The notion of social inclusion/exclusion is certainly not new. Whether considering ostracism in 5th century Athens, solidarism in 19th century France or stigma in modern societies (Allman 2013) the act of deliberately excluding individuals or groups from participating in particular areas of social life has long served to establish social order through hierarchy, discipline and shared values. The contemporary concept of social exclusion, however, refers to a historically specific socio-economic dynamic. Social exclusion refers to individuals' exposure to the risk of lapsing in key areas of social involvement (Levitas 2006; Saunders *et al.* 2008) because of complex structural effects of continuing modernization (Beck *et al.* 2003; Daly and Silver 2008). Although welfare states still attempt to remedy the undesired social effects of modernisation, they are increasingly constrained by the need to be financially austere (Taylor-Gooby 2004). Accordingly, social policy in Australia and other liberal welfare states increasingly frames involvement in society as citizens' own responsibility,

with social welfare provided to individuals experiencing the deepest forms of exclusion (Cobigo *et al.* 2012: 48; Hamilton 2014; Marston *et al.* 2010; Taylor-Gooby 2004).

Lapses in social involvement occur when individuals lack the resources or rights required to participate in the key relationships and activities of their societies (Levitas 2006; Silver 2007). Scholars observe that lapses in social involvement are becoming more common, particularly as the labour force and family become more flexible and precarious (Esping-Andersen 1999; Taylor-Gooby 2004). For example, economic globalisation and neoliberal policy are destabilising the largely secure and predictable workforce that existed in the Golden Age of welfare capitalism, to make way for an increasingly flexible and open labour market. While this has liberated young workers from the "drab full-time jobs and subordination to industrial management" of earlier generations (Standing 2011: 1) it is also creating a growing group of workers with a diminishing sense of work-based identity or security (Sennett 1998; Standing 2011). In the family home, greater freedom to decide how we live our lives has brought about a declining rate of marriage and a rising rate of divorce (Hackstaff 1999; Qu and Weston 2011). This can lead to single-parent households in which children have a heightened chance of experiencing poverty (Chzhen and Bradshaw 2012; Gray and Baxter 2012; Haskins 2015). In these cases, individuals must draw on whatever resources they have, to deal with possibly unforeseen or undesired consequences. This perspective highlights a point foreshadowed by Max Weber (1978)—that our position in society is determined by more than our economic situation.

Indeed, the emergence of social inclusion/exclusion as a framework for understanding and governing social inequality (Lenoir 1974 in Silver 1994) broadens the longstanding focus on the unequal distribution of economic resources and labour force participation as primary causes of social disadvantage (Azpitarte and Bowman 2015; Room 1995; Saunders 2011; Walker 1995). As such, social inclusion/exclusion has a distinctly Weberian flavour. According to Weber, one's role in the economy is an important but not the sole determinant of one's position in society. Rather, individuals have a range of resources that determine opportunities in life (or life chances) and one's ultimate position in society is shaped by personal decisions about how to value these resources to interact and bond with others (Weber 1978: 926-940). It is precisely Weber's focus on how

relationships are created and managed (Gane 2005) that enables him to guide our understanding of how the contours of social disadvantage have changed since the time of his writing in the years leading up to the First World War—i.e. as the expansion of a middle class via knowledge and service industries has softened the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie. As this chapter will discuss, changes in social structure increasingly expose individuals to decision-making situations and create expectations that individuals will actively make decisions that shape their life narrative.

The expectation that individuals will work on their own involvement in society is now increasingly reinforced by social policy. Just fifty years ago, in the Golden Age of welfare capitalism, the state would offer support when one's participation in society faltered from the standard life course—particularly if unemployment or illness prevented the breadwinner from providing for his family (Taylor-Gooby 2004). But as lapses in social participation increasingly occur in more diverse areas of society and because of more complex reasons (e.g. demographic ageing), the state itself is faltering in its capacity to provide the support it once did. Often referred to as the 'crisis of the welfare state' (Esping-Andersen 1996, 1999; Pierson 2001) the very social changes that increase risks of social exclusion now also challenge the capacity of states to continue providing universal protection. These changes include the erosion of full and life-long employment, new family structures and gender roles, and the opening up of national economies and cultures. Decisions to adopt social inclusion/exclusion as social policy frameworks in Australia, the UK and Europe have thus emerged alongside a need for state austerity. Reflecting the approach of other liberal wlfare states, Australian governments have and continue to facilitate social inclusion by investing in the capabilities of citizens, whilst also transferring risks from governments and industry to individuals (Giddens 1998: ch. 4; Hacker 2006; Marston *et al.* 2010; Taylor-Gooby 2004). As this chapter shows, the incremental individualisation of risk in social policy is triggering new processes of social inclusion that prescribe new roles to the state, market and citizen.

1.1 Inclusion/exclusion through opening/closing relationships

Social inclusion/exclusion, in its various contemporary conceptualisations (Levitas 1998, 2006; Saunders 2011; Silver 1994, 2007) has facilitated a shift in our

understanding of disadvantage (Lenoir 1974 in Silver 1994). Since the advent of post-industrialism in the 1980s, researchers and policy-makers have needed to look beyond the class-based model of social stratification to understand contemporary dynamics of disadvantage. In an Australian study conducted by Saunders *et al.* (2008) only 37 per cent of the people who were living in poverty were also considered to be excluded, suggesting that individuals who experience disengagement and service exclusion can often be different from those who lack economic resources. Saunders (2011) argues that while low income is a key risk factor that increases the likelihood of social disadvantage, it is increasingly important to investigate individuals' living standards and ability to participate in society.

Therefore, while the most disadvantaged and marginalised Australians do lack economic resources, changes in family structure and gender roles, security of employment, healthcare, education, civic participation and political affiliation increasingly expose individuals in various strata of society to the risk of falling out of the relationships that connect them to their social contexts (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Paugam 1995; Saunders 2011; Saunders *et al.* 2008; Whelan and Whelan 1995). Although relationships have always been important for including individuals in society, these relationships have now become more susceptible to change during one's life course. This social change has heightened our awareness of how important relationships are for social inclusion; and more specifically, how the *nature* of social inclusion is shaped by the process of creating and managing relationships. To make this argument, this chapter analyses changes to social structure in industrial and post-industrial times in terms of Weber's notion of open and closed or more precisely, opening and closing relationships (Weber 1978).

According to Weber (1978), there are two ideal types of relationships—open and closed relationships. An open relationship is one where "its system of order does not deny participation to anyone who wishes to join and is actually in a position to do so" (1978: 43). Weber writes that "market relationships are in most or at least in many cases essentially open" (1978: 45) because the competitive rationality of the market relies on broad participation. Conversely, a closed relationship exists insofar as "according to its subjective meaning and its binding rules, participation of certain persons is excluded, limited, or subjected to conditions" (Weber 1978: 43). Weber identifies relationships bound by inheritance or intimacy as closed relationships. Weber's examples have degrees of both

openness and closure, indicating that the two ideal types of relationships are best considered as opposing poles of a spectrum, with relationships in practice being situated between the two ends.

Open and closed relationships both facilitate inclusion and exclusion, albeit in different ways. Open relationships, such as those that occur in the market place, offer accessible and broad-reaching opportunities for inclusion because they can facilitate interaction between social actors from almost all areas of society. Yet, in being characterised by broad membership, open relationships do not usually facilitate the deep engagement that brings about strong feelings of connection, belonging and solidarity. These feelings are more likely to occur in closed relationships—between members of a family, a friendship group or a team of employees. Closed relationships may exclude vast areas of society, however they are crucial in facilitating the deep feelings and resources that citizens need to meaningfully participate, engage and connect with others.

Crucial to our understanding of processes of inclusion and exclusion is the idea that relationships open and close over time in response to different pressures. Weber explains that there is "a tendency [for relationships] to shift from a phase of expansion to one of exclusiveness," which leads to a "wide variety of different degrees of closure and of conditions of participation" (Weber 1978: 45). Sporting teams, for example, may experience a phase of expansion at the start of the sporting season, followed by a phase of exclusivity as team members are assigned roles and positions. In the workplace, relationships likewise experience phases of expansion when organisations recruit new employees, and phases of exclusivity once successful candidates have been integrated into their teams. Weber follows his interactionist approach to sociology when he proposes that relationships open and close over time through the concerted efforts of social actors. He argues that whether as existing or aspiring members of relationships, social actors draw on rational reasoning, affect and tradition to determine whether to open or close relationships. Although Weber considers changes to membership of relationships to stem from individual action, the sense-making and decision-making of individuals inevitably draws on broader social norms and structures.

This chapter now draws on Beck's understanding of social structure in industrial and post-industrial societies to illustrate that relationships are being severed and reformulated (cycling through openness and closure) more often in

contemporary post-industrial societies. This acceleration heightens the significance of the process through which individuals craft the relationships that include them in society, with implications for social inclusion/exclusion. Beck's theorisation of socio-structural change brings attention to the diverse experiences of disadvantage that are emerging in different strata of society, and not necessarily the deep and entrenched exclusion that marginalised groups in society experience. For this reason, some scholars critique Beck's work for 'universalising a particular, middle-class experience of modernity' (Dawson 2012). Beck's work is also sometimes critiqued for inadequate empirical engagement (e.g. Dawson 2012; Lupton and Tulloch 2002). Mindful of these possible limitations, this thesis draws on Beck's work to illustrate macro shifts in social structure. This chapter also supplements Beck's perspective with a review of empirical studies that investigate contemporary social disadvantage and social policy in Australia.

Opening and closing relationships in industrial society

According to Beck and Lau, the relationships that facilitated inclusion of citizens in industrial society were reinforced by a set of institutions that confirmed and supported one another (2005: 527). Society as a whole was understood to exist within the boundaries of the nation-state, which was governed by welfare state politics in which political parties were anchored in class-based interests. The nation-state supported and was supported by a national economy that was kept stable by industrial regulation and full and life-long employment. The labour market was structured around the ideal model of the nuclear family, which consisted of one breadwinner, his housewife and their children. This institutional structure was shaped by a logic of order that drew boundaries between people, things and activities—for example, family or not family, work or leisure, facts or values, war or peace, us or them (Beck and Lau 2005: 526-527). In this archetype of industrial society—which started to develop in Europe, North America and Australia from the mid-19th century to the height of industrialised society in the 1960s (Beck and Lau 2005: 527)—one's inclusion in society was determined by a standardized model of the life course.

The normal life course involved prescription to standard gender roles, family life, full and life-long employment, class and nationality. These institutions reinforced each other so that although the relationships that connected citizens did move through cycles of opening and closing, they did so very slowly. In the

workplace for example, relationships open up when new personnel are invited to join the organisation. In industrial society, life-long employment meant that relationships in the workplace typically opened up when young apprentices or graduates joined the organisation, rather than for mid-career employees to regularly transfer between workplaces. As Richard Sennett explains, although workers were more likely to earn a promotion by changing employer (requiring an opening and closing of relationships), the rate of intercompany transfer was lower (than now) because of factors such as job security and company loyalty or commitment (1998: 86). In family life, individuals experience an opening of relationships when unions breakdown—e.g. through separation, divorce or death. Until the 1970s in Australia, the necessity and longevity of marriage was institutionalised by social expectation (reinforced by stigma; Albrecht and Kunz 1980) and legislation (Qu and Weston 2011). Beck *et al.* (2003: 5) propose that the stability of social life had the effect of separating and closing off the social milieus and lifeworlds of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, bringing about distinct class cultures and social identities.

The slow cycle of opening and closing relationships in industrial society meant that social disadvantage was often a function of individuals' positioning in durable relationships that were situated in a social hierarchy. It was therefore common for scholars to understand social disadvantage in terms of a class struggle underpinned by an uneven distribution of resources—whether just material resources or cultural, social and symbolic resources as well (e.g. Bourdieu 1977; Connell and Irving 1992; Marx and Engels 1848). In retrospect, welfare policy simultaneously remedied and reinforced the stability of social stratification. In Australia, for example, the creation of the Basic Wage and industrial protection for the male breadwinner (Hancock 2013; O'Connor *et al.* 1999: 187-199) reinforced the central role of employment among men for the distribution of wealth and inclusion of citizens. The interlocking configuration of institutions meant that if the Australian welfare state was able to ensure full employment of male citizens at high wages and under secure conditions (Quiggin 2010: 8), then citizen participation in the nation, economy, local community, family and gender roles would subsequently fall into place.

Welfare policy in industrial society aimed to remedy disadvantage by engaging in horizontal redistribution (within class; and within one's life course) and some vertical redistribution (across social strata; Taylor-Gooby 2004). In

particular, when citizens became unemployed or without family, the welfare state enabled society to share the cost of this exclusion (Esping-Andersen 1999: 40-46). The welfare state thus aimed to support citizens along a life course—from 'cradle to grave'—that aligned with the assumed nuclear family and life-long employment of the male breadwinner. Against this backdrop, social disadvantage was understood to come about not through a severing of social relations, but rather, because of the unequal distribution of economic resources between the working class and owners of the means of production (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 33-36; Marx and Engels 1848).

Opening and closing relationships in post-industrial society

The interlocking institutions that standardized social life in industrial society are changing because of processes that have emerged out of the successes of modernisation (Beck *et al.* 2003; Beck and Lau 2005). Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) argue that the success of modernisation is evident through the development of the welfare state, the expansion of education, the legal underpinning of labour contracts, formalisation of interests represented by trade unions, the shortening of the working week and the growth of the service sector and associated opportunities for mobility. Social progress in these domains have led to globalisation, individualization, the gender revolution, underemployment and global risks, including health epidemics, climate change, global financial crises and terrorism (Beck and Lau 2005: 526). It is common for theorists to identify some or all of these processes as the catalysts for the transformation of industrial society into post-industrial society—characterised by a new type of modernity in which the conditions for participating in society are significantly different. Theorists including Beck, Giddens and Lash (1994) refer to this new type of modernity as reflexive, late or second modernity.

First and second modernity (correlating with industrial and post-industrial societies respectively) differ in terms of the processes that structure social institutions. In first modernity, institutions such as the nuclear family, gendered division of labour, life-long employment and class took their form by guiding individuals to take up predictable and standardized roles, norms and values. These institutions may still be traceable in contemporary society (alongside new, emergent forms of the family, gender and employment), however they are now understood as a function of individual decision-making, which Beck and Beck-

Gernsheim conceptualise in terms of the 'self-made biography' (2002: ch. 4). The expansion of education, citizen rights, economic prosperity and the mobility of people and ideas, has exposed individuals to a greater diversity of decisions about how they want to live their lives—particularly in areas such as family life, education, employment, leisure, geography and politics (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: ch. 4). Beck argues, however, that although individuals have greater choice in how they live their lives, they also have less knowledge and control over the decisions they make. From this perspective, expanded opportunities to shape the relationships that position us in institutions such as family and employment are constrained by a sense of uncertainty and precariousness regarding the future.

The individualisation of social structure (or the imperative for individuals to 'self-make' their personal biographies) brings about new experiences and understandings of social disadvantage. Rather than being rooted in class struggle, the experience of social disadvantage is understood to be shaped by individuals' capacity to harness opportunities to strengthen their relationships with others (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 4; Silver 2007). Scholars observe that individuals increasingly have the option and/or necessity to *decide* whether to change their employer more frequently (Sennett 1998; Standing 2011), reformulate their family more frequently (Beck-Gernsheim 1998; Weeks *et al.* 2001), change the city and culture of where they live more frequently (Dickmann 2012; King *et al.* 1998) and so on. This exposure to decision-making is shaped not only by one's pursuit of their own desires and ambitions in life, but also by the simultaneous choices of others which might affect one's own narrative.

However, although the individualisation of social structure exposes people in various strata of society to similar topics for decision-making—e.g. regarding unemployment, divorce, denial of financial credit, loss of affordable housing and unexpected illness (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: 47)—individuals have different resources with which to deal with these situations. Giddens (1991) argues that modernisation has enabled individuals to acquire knowledge or money without necessarily experiencing or participating in the local context where it was created. He argues that this 'disembedding' of knowledge from its local context enables individuals to experience new forms of agency by being able to make decisions about how they want to live their lives (1991: 17-21). From Giddens' perspective, people who have different access to money and knowledge have

different opportunities to express and experience agency in personal decision-making. In a more abstract sense, some of Beck's critics argue that individuals' decision-making is inevitably situated in existing fields or social contexts—structured by hierarchies of class and/or gender—that shape individuals' worldviews, resources and ultimately decisions (Adkins 2004; Dawson 2012; Lehmann 2009). From these perspectives, although individuals in diverse areas of society hold the same responsibility for directing their life narratives, differences in resources and life chances make some people better equipped than others to handle ruptures in relationships. This disparity tends to be exacerbated when organisations such as schools, hospitals or the state emphasise individual responsibility without recognizing that people of different gender, neighbourhood, educational attainment or health might be more or less able to meet these responsibilities (e.g. Howard 2012; Kavale 2002; Wilton and Schuer 2006).

Life course scholars add that the capacity of individuals to grapple with decision-making situations is shaped over time through the sequence of decisions, activities, resources and experiences that shape individuals' biographies. Motel-Klingebiel points out the significance of the 'biography' concept, explaining that it conceptualises one's path through life in terms of how the individual assembles and interprets the sequence of activities, challenges and availability of resources that make up his/her life narrative (2015: 33-34). The most significant events and experiences often occur as 'transitions' and 'turning points' in/out of paid work, in/out of welfare, in/out of families or households and in/out of good health or illness (Silver 2007; Elder *et al.* 2003: 3-19). Each time individuals move through a transition or turning point, they inevitably negotiate the opening and closing of relationships that connect them to society and potentially alter their social inclusion. In an empirical study of young Australians transitioning from secondary to tertiary education, for example, Woodman (2012) finds that young people with greater economic and social capital are better able to mitigating the effects of variable temporal structures of work and study on their interpersonal relationships. Accordingly, life transitions do not occur in isolation, with the presence or absence of resources in one area of life (e.g. employment) supporting or compromising transitions in other areas of life (e.g. family formation). Bruckner and Mayer (2005) find that as education has extended into and throughout adulthood in post-industrial societies, family formation has decoupled from the school-training-work nexus, with implications for the availability of resources and stability. Dewilde

(2003) explains that although individuals may attempt to anticipate future decision-making situations, transitions and turning points can nonetheless be unforeseeable or unpredictable. This can expose individuals to greater risks of social exclusion, particularly if they have not gathered the resources they require to overcome the unforeseen circumstances.

Social structure in post-industrial society thus increasingly exposes individuals to the simultaneous opportunity and necessity to shape personal narratives and biographies through personal decision-making. But social structure also carries the norms and values that validate or diminish the meaning of different choices. For example, although young adults often have greater choice of profession, social norms and labour markets nonetheless attribute different meaning and value to each of these choices. Some scholars argue that when individuals adhere to existing values and passively integrate into social structures, they bring about a 'weak' form of social inclusion (Labonte 2004; Martin 2004; Woodman and Wyn 2013). Scholars suggest that a stronger form of inclusion requires individuals to creatively combine and contest existing values and meanings when reconfiguring the relationships that connect them to society. Rather than pursuing inclusion through integration into existing social structures, the latter perspective considers inclusion to come about when the personal decisions of individuals influence the norms of the society in which they live. The distinction between the two processes of social inclusion will be elaborated in Chapter 3.

Changes to opening and closing relationships

This chapter has so far considered how socio-structural change has brought about new pressures and constraints on the opening and closing of relationships. Although Beck's work has been critiqued for 'universalising a particular, middle-class experience of modernity' (Dawson 2012), it has been used here to provide a high-level understanding of the persisting, yet changing importance of relationships for social inclusion. In industrial society, interlocking institutions constrained the extent to which relationships were reformulated during one's lifetime. This meant that social disadvantage was typically entrenched in particular social groups. By comparison, the increasingly precarious nature of social institutions such as the labour market and family reflects a shift in socio-structural conditions that expose individuals to greater opportunity and necessity for personal

decision-making. There is now a normative openness to relationships, making it acceptable for individuals to search for and seize opportunities that redirect their future. But this freedom is also often experienced as an expectation, necessity or burden that individuals in different strata of society—and thus with different economic, cultural, social and other resources—must respond to, by finding creative ways of drawing on the limited resources they have. To illustrate this further, the chapter now briefly reviews empirical research of social inclusion/exclusion in contemporary, post-industrial societies.

1.2 Research of contemporary social disadvantage

With the onset of post-industrial society, researchers in numerous disciplines and institutions began using the concepts of social inclusion and exclusion to theorise and empirically research emerging dynamics of social disadvantage. As scholars in various fields (e.g. focused on welfare, employment, education, health, family or other areas of social participation) adopted and tailored the terms, some have cautioned that the 'elasticity' and 'ambiguity' of social inclusion and exclusion may compromise the extent to which the concepts can be used in a meaningful way to guide research (Burchardt *et al.* 1999; Mackenzie *et al.* 2012; Mathieson *et al.* 2008; Silver 1994). Others have called on scholars to be critical of the conceptual relationship between inclusion and exclusion. Inclusion and exclusion can, for example, be understood as binary opposites which sit on a linear continuum or as two dynamics that occur simultaneously in different aspects of a person's life (Long 2010; Silver 2007). This section provides a brief overview of how scholars have used the concepts of inclusion and exclusion to provide insight into emergent forms of social disadvantage with particular focus on the Australian context. The section adopts a conceptualisation of social inclusion as a process through which individuals interact with other social actors to gather diverse resources to support involvement in key activities of their society. Social inclusion is therefore considered as a relational and multidimensional process that takes on meaning relative to one's social context.

With the aim of informing policy design and allocation of public funding, researchers in government agencies, NGOs and think tanks have typically operationalized social exclusion by compiling indicators that measure one's multiple resources for participating in key activities of society. In Australia, the Rudd-Gillard governments' Social Inclusion Board compiled data from annual

reporting of numerous government departments to compile its *How Australia is Faring* reports (ASIB 2010, 2012). In the third sector, the Brotherhood of St Laurence and the Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research set up a *Social Exclusion Monitor* using data from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey (BSL 2015). These instruments reflect similar attempts to measure social inclusion and exclusion in the UK and EU, compiled when 'social exclusion' was being integrated into public policy—including ones compiled by the Social Protection Committee (SPC) of the EU (Atkinson *et al.* 2002; European Union 2014), the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) in the UK and Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE), also in the UK (see Levitas 2006: 133). As Levitas points out, however, such studies are often constrained by the pragmatic concern of aligning the conceptualisation of social inclusion/exclusion with the availability of large data sets (2006: 127). Although this might challenge the ability of such measures to trace the complexity of social exclusion, they are nonetheless useful for identifying the demographic groups that are most likely to lack resources to participate in society.

The *Social Exclusion Monitor* and the *How Australia is Faring* reports show that in Australia, many people experience exclusion to different degrees of severity and duration. Both measures show that a minority group of approximately five per cent of Australians experiences deep social disadvantage and exclusion at a given point in time (ASIB 2012: 23; Azpitarte and Bowman 2015; Saunders 2011: 243). A larger group of approximately 20 per cent of Australians experiences marginal exclusion via a lack of one or two resources which are considered important for involvement in contemporary Australian society (Azpitarte and Bowman 2015).[1] One's experience of exclusion, however, is often temporary. The *How Australia is Faring* reports find that for people aged 18-65, only one third of people who experienced at least three forms of disadvantage in 2006 were continuing to have 'multiple disadvantages' two years later (ASIB 2012: 25). Likewise, the *Social Exclusion Monitor* shows that over a ten year

[1] The *Social Exclusion Monitor* measures social exclusion in terms of one's material resources, employment, education and skills, health, social connection, community and personal safety. When individuals lack one or two of these resources they are considered to be marginally excluded. Deep and very deep exclusion occur when individuals lack at least three or at least four resources, respectively (Azpitarte and Bowman 2015).

period between 2003 and 2012, approximately half the Australian population experienced social exclusion to some extent and about one in six were deeply excluded in at least one year (Azpitarte and Bowman 2015). These studies illustrate that while one in twenty Australians experience deep and entrenched disadvantage, many others transition in and out of full participation in society—or in and out of opening and closing relationships.

Considering who is susceptible to lacking resources for participation in society, the *Social Exclusion Monitor* finds the factors of age, health and family structure to be significant. Based on data from 2012, the *Social Exclusion Monitor* shows that nearly half of Australians aged over 65 years experience social exclusion; more than half of Australians who have long-term health conditions or disability experience exclusion; and that more than one-third of single people and lone parents experience social exclusion at higher rates than other households (Azpitarte and Bowman 2015: 3). The *Social Exclusion Monitor* also shows that women, immigrants from non-English speaking countries, people without Year 12 completion (education) and public housing tenants are more likely to lack resources for social inclusion than men, people born in Australia, people with Year 12 completion and people living outside of public housing, respectively (Azpitarte and Bowman 2015: 3). These findings resonate with the notion that changes in the labour force and gendered division of labour are heightening the risks of exclusion for some groups (Taylor-Gooby 2004)—in particular, individuals without high school completion, individuals with long-term health conditions and lone parents. Meanwhile, heightened risks of social exclusion because of factors such as age, relationship status and migration can be understood in terms of the opening and closing of relationships during one's life course.

Scholars who adopt an intersectional approach emphasise that within social groups that face heightened risks of exclusion, individuals carry different risks of exclusion depending on their unique position in configurations (or intersections) of systems of power such as gender, race and class (Choo and Ferree 2010; Grant-Smith *et al.* 2017; Olofsson *et al.* 2014; Warburton *et al.* 2016). For example, while all lone parents may carry heightened risks of exclusion, lone parents who also have low educational attainment, are unemployed and/or experiencing health issues face more severe risks of exclusion (Klett-Davies 2016; Zagel 2013). In his important book *Down and Out: Poverty and Exclusion in Australia* (2011), Peter Saunders compares experiences of disadvantage between welfare recipients and

the community at large. He finds that in most cases, welfare recipients are more likely to experience unacceptable living conditions (2011: ch. 6). Individuals who are unemployed, for example, have significantly lower living standards if they are recipients of welfare than if they are not. In a tangible sense, welfare recipients often have fewer resources with which to deal with the economic and social consequences of being unemployed. Welfare recipient are also more likely to experience discrimination and intergenerational disadvantage—processes of exclusion or marginalisation that are entrenched in their relationships with society and thus difficult to remedy with economic and social resources alone.

Thus, Saunders argues that while individuals' economic resources are a key indicator of disadvantage, multidimensional measures of exclusion and deprivation bring attention to underlying causes such as lack of adequate education, exposure to discrimination, lack of voice in the public sphere and poor mental or physical health that can entrench disadvantage within and across generations. These causes are understood both in terms or lack of practical resources and relationships of power through which some social actors actively exclude or marginalise others. Large quantitative studies are invaluable for identifying the social groups that are most likely to lack the resources that are required to participate in society—particularly in terms of economic, social and human capitals. But they are not designed to investigate the relationships of power that enable or deprive access to resources, nor how individuals deal with the opportunities and requirements to make decisions about their futures, given the unique resources and risks they carry.

A broad range of qualitative studies examines the lived experience of social inclusion and exclusion following a phenomenological approach. Rather than aiming to identify the most excluded and disadvantaged groups in society, these types of studies provide an in-depth and detailed understanding of inclusionary and exclusionary dynamics. Social groups that attract the attention of researchers include the homeless (Dwyer *et al.* 2015), refugees (Alam and Imran 2015), lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender groups (LGBT) (Willis 2009), mentally or physically ill (Treloar *et al.* 2014; Wright and Stickley 2013), seniors (Warburton *et al.* 2014; Scharlach and Lehning 2013; Croucher *et al.* 2015; McConkey *et al.* 2013) and among others, youth (Aaltonen 2013; Woodman 2012). These social groups represent individuals who are faced with making similar transitions or experiencing turning points in their life course which require

them to rework and negotiate the connections or relationships that link them to society. Scholars emphasise the multidimensional process of social inclusion by considering how numerous risks of exclusion converge; or intersect. Treloar *et al.* (2014), for example, consider how Aboriginal people who have been diagnosed with cancer navigate their deficit in trust, money and knowledge of the healthcare system when making the personal decision of whether to have treatment.

Scholarship that focuses on the inclusion/exclusion of particular groups (as above) often considers social inclusion as the result of an interaction or relatedness between groups who are at risk of exclusion, and broader society. In a very tangible way, some scholars focus on the interactions between research participants and their immediate social contexts—e.g. interaction between young LGBT people and their colleagues in the workplace (Willis 2009). A more abstract approach considers interaction between a social group and the state through public policy and programs—e.g. the experience of youth in the context of changing education and employment policies (Woodman and Wyn 2013) or the experiences of the homeless in the UK in demonstrating intentionality, priority need and local connection to access their statutory right to accommodation (Dwyer *et al.* 2015). Scholars often make recommendations about what changes are required (at the individual and particularly organisational and public policy levels) for individuals to feel more comfortable, confident and empowered in their immediate or broader social contexts. This conceptual approach to social inclusion highlights its horizontal 'in-out' rather than vertical 'up-down' trajectory (Silver 2007). As discussed at the start of this chapter, social inclusion and exclusion are not solely focused on the distribution of material resources, but more fundamentally, on who holds influence in shaping "the rules of the game" (Silver 2007: 4)—i.e. determining the value of the resources that people hold and how they can be used to shape the relationships that connect people to society.

The shift towards understanding issues of social disadvantage using an in-out logic (rather than vertical up-down) has been debated by feminists Fraser (1995, 2008) and Young (1997) through their comparison of politics of redistribution and politics of recognition. Initiating the conversation, Fraser (1995) argues that with the decentring of class and the mobilisation of diverse social movements, demands for cultural change have intermingled with demands for economic change. Cultural change, Fraser explains, would come about through the revaluing of disrespected identities and cultural products of marginalised groups,

through recognizing and positively celebrating cultural diversity, and through a transformation of societal patterns of representation, interpretation and communication. Compared to the traditional up-down politics of redistribution of income and reorganisation of the division of labour, the symbolic politics of recognition negotiate who is inside and who is marginalised or on the periphery of society. As Fraser states, "to be misrecognised...is not simply to be thought ill of, looked down on or devalued by others ... it is to be denied status as a full partner in social life" (Fraser 2008: 24). Fraser's argument (which is that the new politics of recognition has compromised the attention that should be given to redistribution) has been well critiqued. Young (1997) and Butler (1997) argue that by setting up economic and cultural systems as mutually exclusive, Fraser's model was limited in its understanding of the interrelatedness of social and economic conditions. The analytic distinction between the two logics are nonetheless helpful in highlighting the unique approach that scholars of social inclusion/exclusion attempt to develop, regarding the nature of participation and membership of contemporary society.

The two approaches that researchers use to operationalize social inclusion/exclusion (i.e. quantitative analysis of multidimensional indicators compared to relational case studies) both offer new ways of tracing the contours of contemporary social disadvantage. First, large scale studies of national or regional populations identify the diverse demographic groups that lack the specific economic and social resources widely thought to support participation in society. It is likely that many of these demographic groups—including females, those in older age, without high school completion or lone parents—face risks of exclusion because of changes in the labour force and gendered division of labour (Taylor-Gooby 2004). These categorical studies are useful so far as they help identify social groups in need. Yet, they typically do not reveal much of the nature of the relationships that connect and position marginalised groups in their social contexts—often shaped during the opening and closing of relationships. This has been the focus of phenomenological research, which considers how individuals who are at risk of exclusion manage the relationships with their immediate social networks (e.g. at home or in the workplace) or with the broader political context (particularly when accessing social services). Together, the two approaches provide insight into the structural conditions that exacerbate social disadvantage as well as the lived experience of mitigating risks of social exclusion.

1.3 Social inclusion in public policy

Since the 1980s, the concept of social inclusion has been developed not only by scholars who investigate new contours and experiences of social disadvantage, but also by policy-makers who attempt to govern the emergent dynamics of social disadvantage (particularly in Europe, Australia and Latin America; Daly and Silver 2008). It is widely written that the contemporary concept of social exclusion entered public debate in France in the 1970s (e.g. Cobigo *et al.* 2012; Levitas 2006; Silver 1994; Silver and Miller 2003). Silver and Miller (2003) argue that the concept took hold at a time when France was experiencing increased unemployment (particularly among youth, older workers and immigrants) during the oil shocks of that time. Reflective of French Republican political philosophy which stresses the importance of social solidarity in a healthy society, the rhetoric around social exclusion emphasised the spiritual and symbolic aspects of social isolation (in addition to lack of material resources) and noted the changing dynamics of relatedness (Silver 1994). In contrast to future conceptualisations of social inclusion, early conceptualisations of social exclusion were concerned with changes to a social order that was seen as "external, moral and normative, rather than grounded in individual, group, or class interests" (Silver 1994: 541). Initial conceptualisations of social exclusion in public policy therefore focused on divisions in society that were emerging because of changes to social structure.

Early conceptualisations of social exclusion migrated across the European continent during France's contribution to Europe's integration. This process, however, involved the reconceptualization of social inclusion to resonate with political philosophies of UK Conservatives and German Christian Democrats (Silver and Miller 2003). In a contest of ideas, the French Republican emphasis on social inclusion through social and cultural solidarity was superseded by the economic rationalist priority of social integration through individual agency and labour market participation (Levitas 1998; Martin 2004; Silver 1994). This conceptualisation of social inclusion was subsequently introduced into domestic social policy in the UK in the late 1990s, with the advent of Tony Blair's Third Way politics (Giddens 1998, 2000). Levitas observed that in this context, "inclusion became a duty rather than a right, and something which requires active performance" by the social actor (1998: 128). This reconceptualization of social inclusion created a new discourse of a 'moral underclass' that portrayed socially excluded groups as lacking good morals. As Silver (1994) argues, liberal welfare

states employ an understanding of 'the social' that perceives social dynamics (including inequality) to come about through the voluntary exchanges of autonomous individuals, who act in line with their own interests and motivations.

Inspired by the political narrative of Blair's Third Way politics, the Australian Labor Party (ALP) introduced the concept of social inclusion to federal politics in Australia when it won government in 2007 (Marston and Dee 2015; Saunders 2015; Silver 2010). In a campaign speech, Julia Gillard, Shadow Minister for Social Inclusion at the time, stated that the social inclusion platform would replace "a welfarist approach of helping the underprivileged with one of investing in them and their communities to bring them into the mainstream" (Gillard 2007). The Social Inclusion Agenda (SIA) outlined that this 'investment' would be reinforced by giving citizens:

> *"the opportunity to secure a job; access services; connect with others in life through family, friends, work, personal interest and local community; deal with personal crisis such as health, bereavement or the loss of a job; and have their voices heard"* (ALP 2007).

The SIA suggested that the ALP would broaden the focus of social policy in Australia, as to address the multiple factors that might compromise participation in contemporary society. And yet, reflecting on the social policies and programs of the Rudd government, Long argues that they "prioritise[d] in large part a conception of [social exclusion] as unemployment and [social inclusion] as workforce participation" (2010: 174). Marston and Dee argue that the emphasis on welfare-to-work programs prevented the Rudd-Gillard governments from responding "to other factors that lead to social inequality and entrenched disadvantage, such as chronic health problems, incarceration, permanent disability, and discrimination" (2015: 120). Commentators thus criticise social policy in Australia for ultimately failing to echo scholarly conceptualisations of social inclusion and exclusion that emphasise the increasingly relational and multidimensional character of contemporary social disadvantage.

In hindsight, it is not surprising that the focus of social policy at the time of the Rudd-Gillard governments' SIA was on employment. As Jacob Hacker argues, changes in social policy tend to be incremental and in line with an 'existing path of development' (2002: 52-58). In Australia's modern history, the welfare state has facilitated social inclusion via strong industrial protection laws and a minimum-wage (Castles 1985, 1994; Stebbing and Spies-Butcher 2010). Indeed, Francis

Castles (1994) argues that Australia (alongside New Zealand) became known as a 'wage earners' welfare state' because of the wage-based policy instruments and levers that were used in the realm of social service provision. Castles argues that the Australian welfare state supported inclusion via employment by controlling wages (through quasi-judicial activity), implementing protective tariffs to bolster wage levels in low-skilled industries and regulating manpower through controlled migration. Since the 1980s, however, the long-standing focus on employment has been subject to changes imposed by a new, liberalising 'path of development' that gradually transfers the responsibility for mitigating personal risk from government and business, onto individual citizens. As illustrated in the excerpt from Gillard above, the government aims to facilitate this transfer of responsibility by investing in citizens and creating opportunities for them to strengthen their own participation in society. Scholars including Hacker (2006), Marston *et al.* (2010) and Zinn (2013) refer to this path of development as the individualisation of risk in social policy.

Zinn (2013) considers how Australia's unique history as a wage earners' welfare state has influenced the particular processes of activation that are emerging in contemporary social policy. As Taylor-Gooby (2003, 2008) states, all Western countries are moving away from passive forms of welfare entitlement and towards active policies that create work incentives for citizens who receive welfare benefits, but there is variation in how this shift is emerging in different social and political contexts. In Australia, processes of activation are being implemented through a model of welfare that has historically used means-testing and regulation of industrial relations, rather social insurance that has characterised European welfare states since the post-war years (Zinn 2013). As such, the individualisation of risk in Australian social policy is further institutionalising existing divisions between the working majority and marginalised unemployed; and between the public concern of employment and the private concerns of family and care. Zinn argues that cultural understandings of the family as private have brought about relatively underdeveloped support for families and women with children in Australia that focus on incentivising women into part-time or casual work (see also Baird and O'Brien 2015; Cooke 2014). With reference to the *Social Exclusion Monitor*, is therefore unsurprising that the social groups who are at highest risk of social exclusion are groups who face some of the greatest hurdles to full

participation in the workforce—including older Australians, people with long-term health conditions or disability and lone parents.

The individualisation of risk in Australian social policy commenced in the 1980s, when the Hawke ALP government changed the conditions for accessing unemployment benefits (Hamilton 2014; Kerr and Savelsberg 1999; Zinn 2013). Recipients of the newly established Newstart Allowance were required to "actively pursue all suitable avenues to improve job prospects and find work" (Hamilton 2014: 457). The 'activation' of unemployed citizens was reinforced by the Howard government's Mutual Obligation policies in the 1990s, which dismissed the notion that citizens were *entitled* to unemployment benefits and instead, offered citizens a small income if they could show that they were actively applying for jobs, up-skilling or gaining work experience through the Work for the Dole program (Ey 2012; Hamilton 2014: 459-461; Wright *et al.* 2011). This approach to income support for the unemployed continued during the Rudd-Gillard ALP governments. When the Australian Council of Social Services (a peak body in the non-government sector) campaigned to lift the rate of the Newstart Allowance, the Gillard government refused. Although frontbench ministers acknowledged that the payment rate was difficult to survive on, they argued that increasing it might discourage the unemployed from accepting low-paid jobs (Mendes 2015: 435-436). Since the 1980s, both major political parties in Australia have reinforced the 'activation' of job seekers during their terms in government. This illustrates the state's growing interest in structuring processes of social inclusion in which individual citizens bear responsibility for their own participation in society, albeit with some support from the state.

The incremental transfer of risk from government to recipients of unemployment benefits has taken place within the context of historically specific social, political and economic conditions that are associated with the rise of post-industrialism. As stated above, the erosion of full and life-long employment, the opening up of national economies and cultures, and new family structures and gender roles triggered new processes and experiences of social disadvantage. Scholars argue that these social and economic changes have also brought about a 'crisis of the welfare state' (e.g. Esping-Andersen 1996, 1999; Pierson 2001; Taylor-Gooby 2004). At its height in the 1960s, the welfare state in Australia and other advanced democracies used to support citizens when their needs were not adequately met through the market. In particular, states supported citizens during

interruption of income (e.g. retirement or illness), mismatch between income and need during the life cycle (e.g. child endowment) or for highly-valued service areas where the costs of privately checking professional expertise were high (e.g. health care or education; Taylor-Gooby 2004). The complexity and diversity of contemporary social disadvantage has since placed greater demand on welfare states to alleviate social problems. And yet, steady processes of economic globalisation are undermining governments' command of economic activity, as multinational corporations choose to use emergent manufacturing and service industries in developing countries, pay relatively little tax, and lobby for reductions in tariffs on international trade. Changes in social and economic conditions are thus weakening the authority and resources of the modern state.

To address this dilemma, Australia and other liberal welfare states have adopted new modes of governance that involve a reconfiguration of the roles of state and market (Considine 2001; Harris 2001; Meagher and Goodwin 2015; Pusey 1991). Scholars often understand these emergent modes of governance within the framework of New Public Management (NPM; Hood 1991; Hood and Dixon 2016). NPM diverts public policy away from the rationale of 'universal treatment' to give priority to focus groups, client satisfaction and price (Considine *et al.* 2015: 21-24). Importantly, NPM pursues these priorities through market rationality and market mechanisms. For example in the 1990s, the Howard government contracted non-state actors to create the Job Network, which would support job-seekers to apply for jobs, up-skill or gain work experience (Considine *et al.*2014; Eardley 2003; Ramia and Carney 2003). Wright *et al.* (2011) argue that although Australia has historically had a mixed economy of service delivery (i.e. involving state and non-state actors) the design of the Job Network transformed the mixed welfare-to-work economy into a competitive market that revolved around measures of efficiency gains and cost saving. The concept of social inclusion was therefore introduced into a social policy context in which the government supported the social participation of citizens by transferring risks (such as unemployment) from government to individuals, and structuring market mechanisms that were supposed to assist individuals in mitigating these risks.

The individualisation of risk in social policy is most commonly researched with regards to policies that support marginalised groups in society, including the unemployed or disabled (Grahame and Marston 2012; Humpage 2007; Mendes 2009). Yet, the simultaneous transfer of risk onto citizens in mainstream society is

also occurring. Stebbing and Spies-Butcher (2010) argue that there are two distinct trajectories of social policy in Australia—for marginalised groups and mainstream society—which are creating a 'dual welfare state'. To develop their thesis, Stebbing and Spies-Butcher adopt a broad perspective of welfare proposed by Richard Titmuss in 1958. Titmuss argued that while marginalised social groups typically receive social welfare from the state, mainstream society tends to receive welfare via the fiscal system (e.g. tax concessions) and their place of work (e.g. sick leave). Stebbing and Spies-Butcher (2010) have traced a significant increase in social tax expenditure in Australia since the 1980s. This suggests that tax concessions have become a key strategy in social policy, with the aim of incentivising individuals in mainstream society to actively monitor and mitigate personal exposure to risk. As discussed earlier in this chapter, modernisation is exposing individuals across society to decision-making situations that heighten the risk of falling out of the relationships that shape one's inclusion. Fiscal welfare is increasingly adopted in areas such as health and retirement income, to promote social inclusion among citizens who may face relatively mild risks of exclusion.

The Australian state provides universal healthcare for its citizens via Medicare, which the Hawke government set up in 1984 (Boxall and Gillespie 2013; Robson and Paolucci 2012). Against the background of privatising the national airline Qantas, Commonwealth Bank of Australia and eventually Telstra, the initial set-up of Medicare 'refurbished' the welfare state by redistributing the cost of health care depending on citizen income (Murphy 2010; Quiggin 2010). The recent individualisation of health risk has occurred not through changes to Medicare, but rather through supplementary health policies that aim to expand the private health industry. The Medicare Levy Surcharge, for example, requires individuals or families who earn over a base rate to have an 'appropriate' level of private health insurance or pay additional tax (ATO 2015a; Robson and Paolucci 2012). The Lifetime Health Cover policy similarly guides individuals aged over 30 to purchase and maintain private hospital cover, or pay a loading on their fee in future years (Australian Government n.d.; Robson and Paolucci 2012). The Rudd-Gillard governments supported both measures, even increasing the Medicare Levy Surcharge to finance its National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS 2013). By encouraging individuals to purchase private health insurance from the private sector, Australian governments have steered individuals to actively mitigate risks to personal health.

The design of retirement income policies in Australia likewise illustrates the central role of market-based products for the social participation of citizens in mainstream society. An income at retirement has been a fixture of Australian social policy since the 1900s. In the early to mid-20th century, citizens were entitled to a pension as 'veterans of labour' just as returned soldiers were entitled to income support as 'veterans of war'—a notion rooted in Bismarck's welfare state (Murphy 2010: 35). White collar workers typically had access to a defined-benefit scheme—a sum that reflected the number of years they had worked for the employer and the salary they had earned—which employers were responsible for providing throughout a former employee's retirement. The shift to a defined-contribution model in the 1980s transferred risk from government and industry to individuals. The current defined-contributions scheme requires employers to pay at least 9.5% of the employee's salary each year into an investment. Adjacent policies—particularly enabling individuals to make tax-free contributions to their superannuation (ATO 2015b)—encourage individuals to manage their investments to ensure sufficient income upon retirement. The Rudd-Gillard governments legislated for the minimum employee contribution to be raised from 9% to 12% by 2025 (ATO 2014). Similar to the design of health policy, the design of contemporary retirement income policies increasingly guides individual citizens to manage personal risks via market-based products to protect their own social inclusion. In order to do so, however, citizens need to gather economic and other resources through participation in the labour force.

Recent changes in how social services are provided and changes in the structure of the labour force have introduced subtle shifts to the role of employment for bringing about social inclusion. In modern societies, life-long employment facilitated inclusion by connecting citizens to a stable and enduring social class or milieu (Beck 1997: ch. 1). As employment has become more precarious in certain industries, it often plays a less prominent role in shaping personal identity and social networks (Sennett 1998; Standing 2011). Despite this social change, political rhetoric and social policy in Australia continues to equate workforce participation with social inclusion (Long 2010; Marston and Dee 2015). While this may be partly influenced by cultural or historic reasons, it is also because social policies that individualise risk and expand private-sector provision of social services assume that citizens will have the economic capital required to interact with markets to mitigate personal risks. Employment has therefore become

a preliminary step in individual citizens' projects of pursuing how they want to live their lives and putting safeguards in place to insure these life choices.

The transfer of risk from governments to individual citizens is often justified through the argument that citizens are best-placed to make choices about how to mitigate personal risk, when market-based products and services are available to them (Taylor-Gooby 1998). Differences in the nature of support and incentives that governments give to marginalised and mainstream groups, however, suggest that individuals in mainstream society are considered more capable of making 'correct' choices than individuals in marginalised groups of society. As discussed above, governments create heavily structured pathways of social inclusion for marginalised groups which involve surveillance and scrutiny (Henman and Marston 2008) aimed at bringing recipients of social welfare into the mainstream. Levitas argues that the focus on bringing a 'moral underclass' into the mainstream has failed to problematize the pervasive dynamics of inequality that are already inherent to mainstream society (1998: 7). Instead, fiscal welfare, which is increasingly adopted in social policy to incentivise individuals in mainstream society to mitigate personal risks, considers individual capacity in terms of access to the market. Yet, evidence indicates disparities in, for example, the financial and health literacies of citizens (Lusardi and Mitchell 2014; Beauchamp *et al.* 2015), and more fundamentally, the extent to which individuals pursue instrumentally rational choices (Taylor-Gooby 1998). These perspectives bring this thesis to consider processes of social inclusion which may help relatively included individuals to overcome non-economic barriers to the market.

1.4 Conclusion

In recent decades, scholars have adopted the concepts of social inclusion and exclusion to guide contemporary understanding of the changing dynamics and experience of social disadvantage. Although social inclusion and exclusion are often critiqued for meaning "different things to different people" (Long 2010: 162; Walker 1995: 102) the concepts nonetheless tend to guide research concerned with the impact of continuing modernization (Beck *et al.* 2003) on how people become involved or disengaged from the key activities of their society (Daly and Silver 2008). Accordingly, this chapter has introduced the concept of social inclusion by considering how the social changes that have given rise to post-industrial societies have also caused contemporary relationships to open and close more rapidly than

relationships in prior, industrial societies. The chapter has considered how the changing structure of relationships increasingly exposes individuals to decision-making situations which carry heightened risks of social exclusion. Research has shown that certain social groups are better equipped to handle these situations than others. The *Social Exclusion Monitor*, for example, identifies single parents, people with long-term illness, seniors, immigrants and people without high school completion, to be more susceptible to lacking the resources required to sustain participation in society (Azpitarte and Bowman 2015). As individuals who face risks of social exclusion become more diverse—each with unique experiences, resources and life chances—social disadvantage becomes more complex.

Problematically, the increased complexity of contemporary social disadvantage is posing a challenge to welfare states. The social changes that are triggering new forms of social disadvantage are also undermining the resources and capacity of governments around the world to guarantee universal social protection. To deal with this crisis, policy-makers are reconfiguring the roles of the state, industry and citizens to strengthen individuals' participation in society. Scholars observe that in Australia and other liberal welfare states, the rise of NPM guided the incremental transfer of risk from government and industry onto individuals (Hacker 2006; Marston *et al.* 2010; Zinn 2013). The initial transfer of risk occurred through curtailed entitlements and more stringent eligibility conditions on social welfare (Hamilton 2014). Changes to public policy in the 1990s also entailed an expansion of the private sector through a shift towards marketization (O'Flynn 2007). Taylor-Gooby has explained that this approach enabled governments to stress the need for austerity (2004) whilst continuing to govern key social policy areas such as unemployment, income support, education and health. Some commentators warn that marketisation has also enabled a 'corporate takeover' in which corporate power is intruding into the political sphere with little accountability (Denniss and Richardson 2013; Hertz 2002). The liberalising path of development in social policy, that positions corporations as increasingly powerful administrators of social goods, has nonetheless influenced the strategy and operationalization of the SIA in Australia. As illustrated by the excerpt from Julia Gillard above (section 1.3), the SIA emphasised the responsibility of individuals to ensure their own participation and involvement in society, with assistance and 'investment' from government.

Interestingly, the individualisation of risk in social policy has been applied simultaneously to marginalised groups and to mainstream Australian society—albeit through different forms of welfare. Scholars have commented that different forms of welfare carry different moral judgements about personal worth (Henman and Marston 2008; Rowlingson and Connor 2011). Of interest to this thesis, is that these moral judgements seem to influence or reinforce assumptions about the capacity of individuals to fulfil their 'responsibility' to actively bring about their involvement in society. These assumptions bring about differences in the conditions and incentives that are incorporated into social policy for the provision of welfare to marginalised and mainstream groups. By imposing greater conditionality on social welfare, governments specify the activities that welfare recipients must engage in to receive support. Through fiscal welfare, by comparison, governments use tax and other incentives to promote the notion of individual choice about how to strengthen one's own involvement in society. By encouraging, but not requiring individuals in mainstream society to use market-based products to protect and strengthen their own social inclusion (Stebbing and Spies-Butcher 2010) governments highlight the autonomy of individuals in making choices that align with their own interests, motivations and risks.

When considering the pathways of social inclusion and exclusion that emerge from market-based transactions, it is important to recognise that disadvantage is triggered not only by the choices that people make, but more fundamentally by the structural conditions in which individuals make these choices. Markets are often critiqued for creating information asymmetries in which companies have greater access to information about products and services than consumers (e.g. Ali *et al.* 2015; ACCC 2014). In other words, corporations can capitalise on their stronger access to finance, information and policy domains to structure particular forms of economic exchange (with implications for citizens' social involvement) that they consider to be advantageous for the firm. An imbalance of power emerges when citizens/consumers do not have the skills or literacies to interpret complex information concerned with, for example, banking products, health insurance or superannuation (Lusardi and Mitchell 2014; Beauchamp *et al.* 2015). Scholars also critique private provision for being insecure or inadequate (e.g. Rehm *et al.* 2012; Taylor-Gooby 1998; Bode 2009). In other cases, citizens/consumers may purchase products to support social participation in

a particular way however this may trigger adverse consequences for other areas of social participation.

Although there are many situations in which powerful businesses profit at the expense of citizens/consumers, this thesis is curious about how, by transferring risk onto individuals, social policy indirectly exposes certain industry sectors to the risks that citizens/consumers carry. Scholars are observing a subtle shift in the economic sphere, in which companies are becoming more interested in understanding the role they can or need to play to support consumers in mitigating personal risks. Making sense of this shift, Shamir (2008) argues that a structural coupling of political and economic spheres is exposing the political system to the process of economisation and the economic system to the process of moralisation. Whereas this chapter has considered the economisation of the political sphere, the following chapter will discuss concurrent moralising shifts in the economic sphere.

2

Morals and markets, politics and profits, responsibility and risk

As the market becomes a more popular mechanism through which policy makers distribute public goods and social services, concurrent shifts in the economic sphere are steering corporations to show interest in alleviating social issues through extra-economic activity. Companies use various labels for extra-economic activity—one of which is corporate social responsibility (CSR). The conceptual roots of CSR are often traced back to the mid-twentieth century, at which time scholars debated the ethical principles that ought to govern the 'shadow' that business casts on the social scene (Eells and Waton 1961 in Carroll 1999). Since then, scholars and practitioners have used CSR to refer to all manner of extra-economic activities, including philanthropic giving, lobbying of governments and public relations 'window dressing' campaigns (Visser 2011). In recent years however, there has been an emphatic shift in scholarship and practice toward a more strategic approach to CSR (Lee 2008; Lu and Liu 2014). This shift guides businesses to make tangible changes in their operating environments that are understood to benefit *both* business *and* society (Husted *et al.* 2015; Lantos 2001; McWilliams and Siegel 2001, 2011; Porter and Kramer 2006, 2011). As governments increasingly frame consumption as a key process of social inclusion,

and thus as ‘corporate citizens’ increasingly become involved in administering social goods (Crane *et al.* 2004, 2008; Matten and Crane 2005; Moon *et al.* 2005, 2011), strategic, customer-focused CSR emerges as a mechanism that may influence how citizens become involved in the key activities of post-industrial societies.

To design strategic CSR programs that are beneficial to both business and society, businesses seek to pursue economic and social goals simultaneously. Businesses approach this task by designing programs that address social issues that are perceived to impact the company’s own pursuit of profit (McWilliams and Siegel 2011; Mellahi *et al.* 2015; Porter and Kramer 2006, 2011). Conceptually, corporations may also design strategic CSR such that economic benefits are secondary to the voice and rights of interest groups (Owen and Kemp 2013; Morrison 2014). Whereas the former, integrative approach to strategic CSR incorporates social goals into the ultimate end of creating financial gain for shareholders, the latter, political approach to strategic CSR seeks to satisfy economic viability with a focus on upholding the integrity of socio-political processes and values. As many critics of contemporary CSR state, it is often difficult to bring economic and socio-political rationales into harmony (Banerjee 2008; Banks *et al.* 2016; Crane *et al.* 2014; Jenkins 2005; Owen and Kemp 2013; Utting 2007; Vogel 2006). At the heart of these critiques is the argument that economic goals and exchanges compromise socio-political goals, processes and relationships.

To conceptualise strategic CSR around this tension, this chapter begins with an account of how the ongoing functional differentiation of economic and political systems in modern, capitalist societies has positioned economic and socio-political goals in a conflicting, yet ultimately interdependent relationship. The interdependence of the two systems has deepened over the course of modernity, as the political authority and welfare activities of the state legitimised the private pursuit of profit, which often occurred through exploitation and environmental degradation (Fraser 2015). With the rise of post-industrialism however, the state’s capacity to continue in this role is increasingly undermined. Instead, ongoing modernisation is enabling individuals, through access to education, ICTs and legal instruments (Beck 1992, 1997, 2009) to collectively scrutinise and pressure corporations to align with social values and expectations (Castells 2015; Holzer 2010; Swyngedouw 2014; Tormey 2015). Within this

changing political landscape, corporations are engaging in extra-economic initiatives (such as customer-focused strategic CSR) as a way of demonstrating self-regulation via a negotiation of economic and socio-political goals.

While pressure groups sometimes orchestrate global scandals that stifle particular dimensions of corporate activity, ongoing issues such as corporate tax evasion, degradation of environmental resources and exploitation of workers or local communities demonstrate that corporations still pursue economic goals in ways that compromise socio-political processes and goals. In one sense, the political and economic power that corporations are accumulating due to economic globalisation and liberal public policy is exposing corporations to increased scrutiny from new political coalitions. Yet, this political and economic power also enables corporations—through both economic and extra-economic activity—to structure their political and economic environments in ways that benefit the firm. In their highly influential (and no less controversial; e.g. Beschorner 2014; Crane *et al.* 2014) work on creating shared value, Porter and Kramer (2006, 2011) claim that capitalism has come 'under siege' and that to reinvent it, businesses must forge a stronger connection between company success and social progress. Crucially, in this and other CSR texts that emerge from business schools, scholars place corporations in the active position of deciding how to pre-empt and respond to political pressure. Understanding how corporations navigate their political and economic contexts to balance economic and socio-political goals provides insight into the processes of social inclusion that emerge in the context of strategic CSR programs.

2.1 Differentiating the political and the economic

Conditions for citizen participation in industrial and post-industrial societies are and have been significantly shaped by political and economic institutions. While this has been the case throughout modernity, debates about the precise role of the state and market in creating the circumstances for social participation are constantly fuelled by changes in the values, perceptions and expectations of civil society. This chapter first considers how different phases of consumer activism have contested the division of labour (or boundary) between business and government in creating the conditions for social participation. The focus on consumer activism (rather than political pressure from employees, supply chains or local communities) is most appropriate because of this thesis' interest in the

changing significance of consumption given the rise of marketisation and the individualisation of risk in social policy (Chapter 1). This chapter illustrates that while different phases of consumer activism initially threaten the legitimacy of private enterprise, in the longer term, they trigger states and market actors to reconfigure how they pursue their separate socio-political and economic goals. The effect of intermittent dissatisfaction among citizens/consumers has been a deepening of the separate but mutually interdependent economic and political rationales.

The functional differentiation of social systems—whether the separation of economic production from social reproduction, economics from politics, or human society from nonhuman nature—is a distinct feature of modern, capitalist societies (Luhmann 1982; Beck 1992: 183-187; Fraser 2015). Beck explains that during early stages of industrialisation in the 19th century, when agrarian societies were transformed into capitalist societies through processes of urbanisation, industrialisation, bureaucratisation and a new division of labour, the bourgeoisie sought to insure new profit-making activities by removing the field of business from the public realm (1992: 183). The political system subsequently evolved through institutions of representative democracy (primarily political parties and parliaments) and derived its legitimacy from the consent of the governed. Beck argues that the techno-economic system, by comparison, derived legitimacy for its unnamed and unknown goals of technological process through a type of 'consent in advance' from the public. The role of the economic system was to invest in scientific and technological progress which was believed to improve individual and collective wellbeing (Beck 1992: 184). Beck explains that until the height of modernity in the 1960s, scientific and technological progress was predominantly moderated by its own objective constraints and state regulation.

In an archetypical capitalist system the state and market pursue different and sometimes opposing goals which enable them to resist and support each other in the broader project of creating the conditions and resources for social organisation and participation. To apply a systems perspective, the state and market represent the key institutions of the political and economic social systems (respectively). Luhmann, a seminal systems theorist, explains that the economic system differentiates itself on the basis that it finds the pursuit of profit (or property) to be meaningful in its communication, while the political system differentiates itself on the basis that it finds the pursuit of power to be meaningful

in its communication (Luhmann 1982; Japp and Kusche 2008: 76-78). Canadian philosopher Joseph Heath (2011) presents two normative models of the welfare state, in which the distinct and opposing functions of the state and market are nonetheless mutually reinforcing. In his redistributive model, the market is responsible for generating wealth while the state is responsible for redistributing it. To fulfil these separate functions, the market and state operate through incompatible logics of efficiency and profit (for the market) compared to justice and equality (for the state). Heath compares the redistributive model with the communitarian model, in which the central function of the welfare state is to impose limits on the scope of the market to resist the commodification of certain social domains. In this model, social goods such as literacy, safety and human reproduction should be protected by the altruistic motive of the state, to keep them from being corrupted by the egotistical motives of market actors (Sandel 2012). Both models revolve around a separation yet interdependence of politics and economy.

Heath does not place the redistributive and communitarian models in historical contexts (arguing that they are both implicit in the contemporary roles of the welfare state) however his models can nonetheless guide our understanding of how the boundary between state and market, which informs legitimation processes, has evolved. Recounting the history of consumer activism, Lang and Gabriel write that in 19th century England, citizens banded in co-operatives to influence the price of necessities such as coal and food. Without a welfare state in place and without the cost-cutting technologies of mass production, cooperatives were able to provide a viable alternative to purchasing from profit-seeking firms for the supply of necessities (2005: 41-44). Next, the value-for-money movement emerged in early 20th century, Fordist America to protest against the concentration of capital in new, powerful corporations. The movement commenced with an exposé of food adulteration and bad trade which attracted new government regulation about food safety and consumer groups that provided information to members about how to get best value-for-money. These two first waves of consumer activism resonate with Heath's redistributive model because they were concerned with the accessibility of resources and distribution of wealth.

The state's role in safeguarding the legitimacy of the market was most prominent in the height of modernity, in the post-war years (Fraser 2015). A third phase of consumer activism commenced in the 1960s, with consumers protesting

against poor safety standards in the automobile and food industries. The movement commenced with an exposé of the Chevrolet Corvair in 1965 in a book by Ralph Nader titled, *Unsafe at Any Speed*. In his book, Nader argued that the design of the car had safety short-cuts that were causing 51,000 deaths a year and costing $8.3 billion in property damage, medical expenses, lost wages and insurance overhead expenses. Naderism promoted a distrust of corporations, by comparing the powerless individual against giant corporations and demanding state protection for its citizens (Lang and Gabriel 2005: 46-48; Carson 1962). By placing pressure on governments to regulate the market in the interest of public safety, Naderism demonstrated the communitarian position that certain social goods—such as public safety—should be protected by the altruistic state rather than the egotistic market. The changing plight of consumer movements—from the cooperative to value-for-money to Naderist phases—illustrate evolving citizen expectations about the role of business, government and society in alleviating or overcoming undesirable externalities of (or social problems caused by) the market.

With each contestation, the economic and political systems demonstrated and deepened their separation yet simultaneous interdependence. Whilst private enterprise relied on the state to translate public expectations (against which corporate legitimacy is formulated) into regulations to be adhered to, the state relied on industry to generate economic growth to improve the standard of living through provision of goods and services. The intermittent dissatisfaction of consumers, however, also showed that this equilibrium between state and market is difficult to sustain in practice. As Nancy Fraser (2015) has recently commented, the economic system's endless pursuit of accumulation tends to destabilize the very public power on which it relies.

2.2 Transformation of the political

New political exchanges between business and civil society suggest that the prior separation of industry from the political system is subsiding, with implications for how corporate legitimacy is derived. Since the 1980s, the introduction of economic rationalism or neoliberal policy into public policy in North America, the UK and Australasia has seen state and market decision-making converge around the rationale of efficiency. Economic rationalism guides political institutions to imagine market-based logics of competition and efficiency as the best process for achieving justice and equality in social relations (Gershon 2011; Harvey 2005;

Shamir 2008). This change undermines the usefulness of the redistributive and communitarian models for explaining the relationship between the state and market—because in both models the state and market pursue opposing rationales to enable and constrain each other. Heath therefore proposes a third normative model of the welfare state—the public goods model—in which both state and market follow the same rationale of efficiency, because they are both "in the business of enabling mutually beneficial forms of cooperation to emerge" regarding social issues that require collective action (Heath 2011: 23). The state and market differ, however, in the premise, organisation and cost of transactions. This enables the welfare state to emerge in areas where the liberal market fails to produce optimal outcomes. In particular, the social contract between state and citizen enables a hierarchical and authoritative relationship, through which the state can overcome barriers that the market faces, including incomplete property rights, information asymmetry, economies of scale and the drafting and execution of contracts (Heath 2011: 25).

Ulrich Beck likewise sees a dissolving tension between the rationales of the state and market, yet he emphasises that this does not equate to a resolution of the tension between political and economic spheres or rationales (2009: ch. 5). Instead, he argues that ongoing modernisation has caused government to be differentiated from the state, with government increasingly operating through new forms of citizen activism and mobilisation (2009: 95). Accordingly, political scientists observe a decline in citizen engagement in national, representative politics, however trace a strengthening of informal and direct political activity (e.g. Giddens 2002: ch. 5; Swyngedouw 2014; Tormey 2015). In the words of Beck and Beck-Gernsheim,

> *"the political system is losing its monopoly of politics… Alongside the forms and forums of parliamentary democracy, forms and forums of a politically self-active culture are taking shape. State politics and self-politics can neither copy nor replace one another: each has its characteristic ways of influencing events; they compete with one another (although by no means on equal terms) for the space of the political."* (2002: 45)

This 'transformation of politics' Beck argues, has relied on several processes of modernisation. First, as discussed in Chapter 1, social issues are no longer pinned to class-based conflicts over the redistribution of wealth, but also increasingly contest the identity, lifestyle and values that shape society (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002: ch. 3; see also Bernstein 1997, 2008). Second, the emergence of

new risks such as climate change, terrorism, new illnesses and nuclear explosions, demonstrate over and over again that the side effects of technological progress have surpassed the control of the state (Beck 2009: ch. 3). To this point, many scholars including Giddens (2002), Castells (2005) and Holzer (2010) trace rapidly declining levels of trust in modern political and economic institutions such as parliaments, political parties, governments and multinational corporations, and consider this 'trust deficit' to be a driver of informal and direct political activity. Third, the success of the welfare state has enabled citizens to use media and legal control to protect their own rights and interests outside of traditional political institutions (Beck 1992: 193-195; see also Castells 2015 who examines Western and non-Western societies).

New forms of consumer activism illustrate what Beck and others (as above) refer to as the transformation of politics. In the 1980s, the cooperative, value-for-money and Naderist forms of activism were joined by a fourth movement known as ethical or alternative consumption which expresses new concerns about the unsustainability of mass consumption (Johnston 2008; Lang and Gabriel 2005: 48-51). Critiquing corporate power in a global economy, ethical consumption first emerged around environmentalism, but has since expanded to address other late capitalist concerns including human rights, unfair global trade, corporate power and recognition-based politics (Johnston 2008). Whereas earlier waves of activism focused on improving the accessibility and safety of products (therefore reinforcing the market mechanism), ethical consumption initially took issue with the capitalist market in itself by lobbying for a reduction of consumption. The rise of ethical consumption however, has since turned to validate the market mechanism once more. Through ethical consumption, individuals boycott only particular brands (such as Kraft Goods, WalMart and Nike) to condemn practices such as the use of genetically modified ingredients and sweatshop production. Selective consumption has also validated the market through its support for new types of products and industries; including energy efficient appliances, organic food and hybrid cars (Johnston 2008: 238).

Some scholars consider the practice of ethical consumption to have given rise to the 'citizen-consumer' (see Lang and Gabriel 2005). Johnston (2008) explains that when the citizen-consumer 'votes with her/his dollar', s/he negotiates competing ideologies of consumerism, rooted in individual self-interest, and of citizenship, rooted in collective responsibility to a social and ecological commons.

When engaging in ethical consumption, citizen-consumers thus introduce logics of citizenship into the economic realm of consumption. As this thesis has discussed (Chapter 1), it is also possible to see the inverse process occurring whereby shifts towards marketisation and the individualisation of risk in social policy are steering individuals to introduce economic logics of consumption into the political realm of citizenship. While the hybrid concept of the citizen-consumer seems to conflate practices of citizenship with those of consumption, some scholars argue that it is misleading to understand the citizen-consumer as a hybrid role that dissolves the boundary between the two practices (Johnston 2008; Livingstone *et al.* 2007). Accordingly, this thesis takes the view that although socio-structural change is increasingly bringing consumption and citizenship to be practiced in the same institutional settings, the distinct logics, rationales or ideologies that have differentiated them throughout modernity persist. Therefore, when this thesis refers to the citizen/consumer, it is referring to the simultaneous practice of being a citizen and being a consumer, without blurring the theoretical distinction between the two.

The shift towards addressing socio-political issues in the marketplace is evident not only in changing practices of consumption, but also in changing practices of production and provision. In the early 2000s, the notion of 'corporate citizenship' emerged as a new way for corporations to speak about their engagement in social and political issues (Crane *et al.* 2004, 2008; Matten and Crane 2005; Moon *et al.* 2005, 2011; Wood and Logsdon 2001, 2008). Scholars who are engaged in this field of research understand citizenship as an organising principle that aligns roles and responsibilities *among* members of a political community and *between* them and other institutions wielding power and responsibility (Crane *et al.* 2008). As such, scholars propose that the concept of corporate citizenship invites an analysis of relational issues of governance, democracy, participation and sovereignty that are emerging as political and economic power shifts to global and market-based settings (Moon *et al.* 2011; Neron 2010; Scherer *et al.* 2013). Scholars analyse the changing political role and power of corporations by considering changes in public policy (especially in terms of the economisation of the political; Chapter 1) as well as changes in business conduct (especially in terms of the moralisation of the economic; Shamir 2008).

The intensification of economic globalisation and liberal approaches to public policy have changed the relationship between state and corporation in ways

that both enable and require corporations to be more involved in political processes. Resonating with the discussion in Chapter 1, Crane *et al.* (2004, 2008) argue that changes in public policy are increasingly positioning corporations as the administrators of public goods and social services. This means that although governments continue to guarantee citizens' rights, corporations that are increasingly involved in the administration of these rights make decisions that shape the definition, allocation and accessibility of fundamental goods and services. This inevitably introduces economic questions and rationales into a traditionally socio-political domain. Scholars of corporate citizenship also observe that as the economic and political power of corporations strengthens, corporations become more influential in processes of 'rule setting' in both the national and global political domains. This can occur through traditional processes of lobbying (Moon *et al.* 2005) or through new institutions of global governance in which businesses, governments and civil society actors organise to bring about change (Moon *et al.* 2011). Whether scholars position corporations alongside or below governments, they emphasise that the increasing political power of corporations enables them to introduce economic logics to traditionally socio-political processes and domains.

Crane *et al.* (2004, 2008) propose another perspective of corporate citizenship, which is removed from the changing relationship between state and corporation and instead focuses on the changing relationships between corporations and stakeholder groups. Crane *et al.* (2004, 2008) conceptualise the corporation as a new 'arena of citizenship' in which stakeholders—including customers—have particular rights and responsibilities. In this view, political power can shift between the corporation, which purchases and administers goods and services, and stakeholder groups, which collectively pressure corporations as a way of realising their own status, entitlements and political agendas. As discussed above for example, consumers increasingly 'vote with their dollar'. For employees, corporations are an 'arena of citizenship' in which individuals claim their rights to fair wages and working conditions, and participate in the financial and operational decision-making of the organisation. Crane *et al.* (2008) argue that by analysing stakeholder relationships through the metaphor or lens of citizenship, we can better understand the changing role that corporations play in creating conditions for 'human' citizen participation in society. With relevance to this

thesis, the citizenship lens frames new processes of social inclusion as being shaped through the structural coupling of economic and socio-political rationales.

Although scholars who theorise corporate citizenship typically emphasise the growing political power of corporations, conceptualising the corporation as an 'arena of citizenship' brings into view its increased exposure to emergent subpolitical risks. To wait until stakeholder concerns are integrated into government regulation can risk significant economic implications, given that new technologies enable some political coalitions to hinder business operations (Graetz and Franks 2016; Power 2007; Regester and Larkin 2008). Aligning corporate conduct with the expectations of civil society, however, is a challenging task. Resonating with the discussion in Chapter 1 about the increased opening and closing of relationships in reflexive modernity, contemporary political alliances come about through a playful merging of opposites which cuts across traditional social divisions defined by class, political party, nation, region, religion, government, corporation and social movements (Beck 2009: 100). The unpredictability of subpolitics thus steers corporations to pre-emptively consider socio-political questions in diverse areas of business conduct. According to Asslander and Curbach (2014, 2017) when 'corporate citizens' pre-emptively consider socio-political questions, they shift their self-perception from being focused on self-interest towards duty, allegiance, obedience and obligation to a broader society.

New political exchanges between business and civil society—which are embedded in the concepts of citizen/consumer and corporate citizenship—indicate that there is no longer a clear separation of private enterprise from the political system. Indeed, the blurring division of labour (or boundary) between the state and market—as both institutions increasingly draw on economic and socio-political rationales to guide decision-making—points to a disruption in the alignment between the state and political system, and the alignment between private enterprise and the economic system. This raises questions about how companies that have been established with the formal purpose of accumulating profit for shareholders, can weave both economic and socio-political rationale into decision-making, and further, what factors might enable or stifle this process. The remainder of this chapter contends that in the process of coming to terms with their increasingly visible status as 'citizens', corporations pursue strategic CSR as a way of negotiating the tension between economic goals and socio-political processes—

a tension that has been reinforced throughout the development of modernity. By differentiating between political and integrative approaches to strategic CSR, this chapter proposes that corporations can either address economic requirements within the sense-making of socio-political rationale, or address social issues within the sense-making of economic rationale. Conceptually, this formulates distinct pathways of social inclusion.

2.3 Business response to the transformation of politics

In recent decades, as media and interest groups have become more involved in monitoring the undesired social and environmental side effects of corporate activities, industry has taken to the idea of corporate social responsibility to publicly show the concerted alignment of business conduct with public expectations. Before considering contemporary forms of CSR, it is useful to reflect on the meaning of the concept 'responsibility'. According to Hage and Eckersley (2012) responsibility is a human-centred concept that refers to our capacity to be answerable for the decisions we make and actions we take. Individuals serving in government, for example, are answerable to the parliament, which is then answerable to the broader public. Individuals in government are therefore responsible for acting in the public interest. When responsibility is conceptualised in this relational way—where it is positioned between the individual and the social; or between the sovereignty over oneself and the sovereignty of others over us—the concept captures the tension between individual freedom and the necessity to conform or abide (Hage and Eckersley 2012: 1-11). This tension is of interest to contemporary scholars who examine responsibility as a neoliberal technique of governance, in which social actors are given the freedom to decide how to live their lives, albeit within a particular set of morals and norms (e.g. Rose 1996: 57-60).

Nevertheless, corporate rhetoric around CSR in liberal market economies tends to emphasise the autonomous and self-serving decision-making of the firm. Scholars of political economy find that although CSR exists across Western societies and increasingly in developing contexts (e.g. Doh *et al.* 2016; Hofman *et al.* 2017; Jamali *et al.* 2017), it takes on different forms depending on the relationships that are embedded in macro political and economic institutions (Griffiths and Zammuto 2005; Kang and Moon 2012; Knudsen *et al.* 2015; Matten and Moon 2008). The liberal market economy pivots on a competitive and

untrusting market, in which corporations are given significant autonomy through which to decide how to maximise shareholder value (Hall and Soskice 2001: 27-33). Scholars have found that shareholder primacy in liberal market economies brings about a 'performance driven' or 'social investment' model of CSR (Kang and Moon 2012; Matten and Moon 2008; Maignan and Ralston 2002). In this approach, corporations rarely acknowledge that their engagement in extra-economic activity is due to pressure from government or community groups. This is further discussed in Chapter 5.

Considering CSR in a conceptual sense, scholars have long contested the extent to which 'responsibility' can be applied to corporations, relative to individual (or human) citizens (Constantinescu 2013; Keeley 1981; Velasquez 1983). Individuals are often guided by morals and ethics in decision-making, whereas the differentiation of the economic system in the capitalist order has steered corporate decision-making to be centred on the rationale of profit or property rights. Notwithstanding, the notion that corporations hold 'social responsibility' has gained salience in the contemporary Western world, as the escalation of subpolitical pressure on corporations has weakened the corporation's sense of sovereignty over itself. In principle, when a firm recognises it has a social responsibility, it acknowledges that its decision-making and actions will impact other social actors and further, that it has a moral duty to be answerable to 'the social' for these side effects. As the state's role in governing and remedying market externalities has changed (Braithwaite 2000; Fukuyama 2016), it has become more important for corporations to 'self-regulate'; or to demonstrate responsibility for the undesired externalities of business conduct (e.g. Haufler 2013; Holzer 2003; Kinderman 2012).

Many corporations seek to demonstrate their self-regulation through the mechanism of strategic CSR. Through strategic CSR, corporations aim to satisfy both economic and social goals. Accordingly, Figure 1 (below), positions strategic CSR at the intersection of the economic focus on profit and the ethical concern of creating social good (Berman *et al.* 1999; Lantos 2001: 602; Windsor 2006). In a conceptual sense, strategic CSR aims to straddle the economic and ethical spheres. This means that strategic CSR is removed from long-standing approaches to CSR including philanthropy (a form of altruistic or ethical CSR; Lantos 2001) and marketing or public relations approaches through which corporations engage in 'window-dressing' (forms of instrumental CSR; Visser 2011: ch. 4). This thesis

focuses on the contemporary phenomenon of strategic CSR because it resonates so strongly with the inverse economising processes that are transforming the political sphere (i.e. marketisation and the individualisation of risk in social policy; Chapter 1). The concurrent economisation of the political and the moralisation of the economic is a display of the structural coupling of economic and social systems (Shamir 2008) which is occurring as state and market actors both seek to overcome new challenges posed by ongoing modernisation. In this thesis, these concurrent changes are theorised to introduce new conditions and support for social involvement and inclusion.

Interestingly, contemporary empirical research and conceptualisations of strategic CSR suggest that it is challenging for scholars and practitioners alike to afford even and simultaneous attention to economic and socio-political goals. As depicted in Figure 1 (below), the economic and socio-political spheres are mutually exclusive, without the possibility of integration. This thesis therefore differentiates two distinct approaches to strategic CSR. *Integrative approaches* to strategic CSR are positioned within the economic sphere because they prioritise the economic concern of market expansion and competition. Integrative approaches guide firms to address social issues which have implications for the conduct of business (e.g. Husted *et al.* 2015; Husted and Salazar 2006; Lantos 2001; Porter and Kramer 2006, 2011; Wood 1991). *Political approaches* to strategic CSR, by comparison, are positioned in the socio-political sphere because they prioritise the ethical concern of protecting the rights of civil society to self-determination and empowerment. Through political approaches to strategic CSR, firms may negotiate with interest groups or governments to ascertain the conditions under which the pursuit of profit would be considered acceptable or legitimate (e.g. Morrison 2014; Scherer and Palazzo 2011; Owen and Kemp 2013).

For the purpose of this thesis, it is important to draw a conceptual distinction between integrative and political approaches to strategic CSR because they are theorised to create qualitatively different opportunities for social inclusion. This is because the two approaches assemble economic and ethical goals in different ways, or different sequences. The two approaches are useful in distinguishing between the different rationales or logics that corporations use to make sense of their simultaneous engagement in social and economic goals. To be clear, while there is a conceptual distinction between the two approaches to strategic CSR, this does not mean that corporations necessarily employ only one of

the two approaches to guide their engagement in strategic CSR in practice. Corporations may draw on the two rationales at different times, depending on which arm of the corporation is involved, whom employees are speaking to, and whom employees are trying to influence.

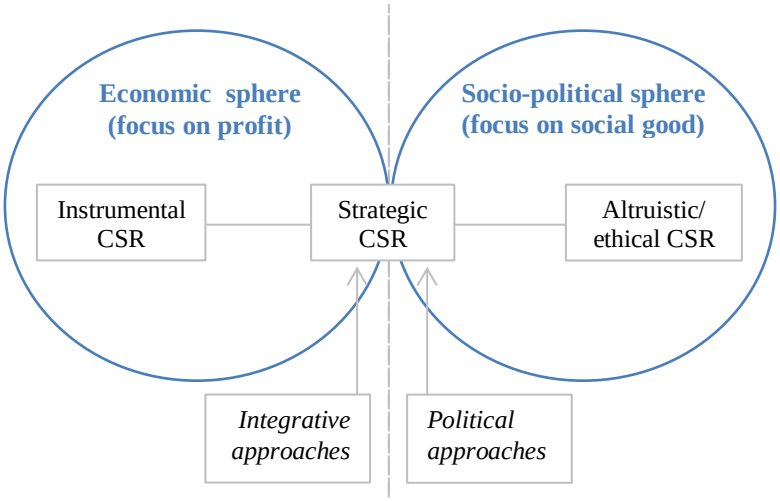


Figure 1. Integrative and political approaches to strategic CSR *(Source: author)*

Some scholars critique the usefulness of CSR as a concept for guiding scholarly research. Scholars including Aguinis and Glavas (2012) argue that CSR has developed so rapidly and in such diverse directions that it has become void of meaning. Taking this view, Waddock depicts CSR scholarship as a field of "parallel and sometimes confusing universes" (2004: 5). Accordingly, contemporary CSR scholarship uses numerous definitions of strategic CSR, political CSR and integrative CSR, which align and differ from how the concepts are being used in this thesis. To encourage scholars to reconsider the use of CSR as a framework for research, Oosterhout and Heugens (2008) argue that CSR lacks a theoretical basis and that it is possible to reduce the concept to processes of economising and legitimizing which have deeper roots in scholarship. As the following sections will discuss, the relevance of this argument is clear, given that integrative and political approaches to strategic CSR are essentially concerned with the respective processes of economising and legitimizing. This thesis nonetheless employs the strategic CSR concept, with the concerted aim of emphasising the concurrent and interdependent relationship between

economisation and legitimation, which has emerged at this historically particular time—as social change brings about the structural coupling of the economic and political spheres. While this study acknowledges the multifaceted development and wrangling of the CSR concept, its response is not to abandon it, but rather to be precise about how it is conceptualised for the purpose of this thesis.

Strategic CSR in the socio-political sphere: political approaches

The intent of strategic CSR programs that pursue socio-political goals is to enable the *opening* of relationships. They do so by inviting corporations and groups in civil society to jointly negotiate the value of resources and actions deemed relevant to those relationships. While there are practical implications from the knowledge that is created or decisions that are made, political approaches to strategic CSR strengthen corporate legitimacy through the *process* of obtaining stakeholder approval through transparent and open deliberation and decision-making. Accordingly, in their review of contemporary conceptualisations of 'political CSR' (which includes strategic as well as other forms of CSR), Frynas and Stephens (2015) find that scholars often develop their theoretical bases by drawing on Habermasian theories of deliberative democracy and discourse ethics (Mena and Palazzo 2012; Scherer and Palazzo 2007) or social contract theory (Dunfee 2006; Sacconi 2006; Morrison 2014). Theoretically, political approaches to strategic CSR offer creative opportunities for social inclusion, in which citizens/consumers are able to shape the relationships that connect them to society. This will be discussed in the following chapter. This section takes the preliminary step of reviewing scholarly research of political approaches to strategic CSR, with a focus on the social license to operate and corporate reputation.

Political approaches to strategic CSR focus on corporate relationships with civil society and to a lesser degree, business and governments. This is because, as in the case of the Brent Spar scandal, civil society is increasingly able to override the legitimacy granted by government. In the 1990s, Shell had obtained approval from the UK government to sink Brent Spar (an oil storage buoy) in line with existing regulations. Shell had not, however, considered the Greenpeace activist group in its decision-making. Greenpeace launched a worldwide media campaign against Shell's plan to sink the oil storage buoy. This led to public opposition in northern Europe, expressed through boycotts of Shell service stations (Beck 2009; Power 2007; Regester and Larkin 2008). This case illustrates how the final verdict

on corporate legitimacy increasingly rests with civil society. Accordingly, scholars and practitioners often consider the acceptability or legitimacy of business in terms of corporate reputation (Fombrun 1996; Brammer and Pavelin 2006; Power 2007; Walker 2010) or social licence to operate (Prno and Slocombe 2012; Owen and Kemp 2013; Bice 2014; Morrison 2014). Both are created or granted by beholders of corporate activity positioned in civil society.

A tangible goal of strategic CSR programs that facilitate political processes of deliberation and joint decision-making, is for business to obtain a 'social license to operate'. The wording of 'social license' positions it alongside legal licenses which are derived from international and local law and political licenses which are given by governments, politicians, elites and voters (Morrison 2014). John Morrison, who commenced his career in the pioneering role of human rights officer at The Body Shop in the 1990s, explains that 'social license' is a form of social acceptance or approval that business obtains from media, community groups, NGOs and the public at large. Contemporary use of the concept commenced in the extractive (oil, gas and mining) sector in Canada (Joyce and Thomson 2000) and later Australia (Morrison 2014), and is now being used in other industries. Lacey *et al.* (2012) find that CSR practitioners in the minerals industry in Australia think a collaborative and deliberative relationship with local communities is crucial for obtaining and retaining a social licence to operate. This suggests that political approaches to strategic CSR enable business to hear and respond to community demands, which typically call on greater involvement in decision-making and a greater share of benefits (Prno and Slocombe 2012).

Examining how companies pursue their social license in the extractives industries in Australia however, Owen and Kemp (2013) argue that in practice, businesses are too focused on risk management to comprehensively seek out a social license from local community groups. The often informal nature of a social license (particularly compared to legal licenses) enables companies to declare that they have the acceptance of the local community regardless of whether their relationship with the local community is based on transparency, access to information and a high level of trust, or whether the local community has reluctantly accepted the corporation's activities because of limited information and resources. Owen and Kemp argue that corporations seem to use the 'social license' term loosely and mask the gap between the long-term expectations of the community and the short-term profit maximising operations of business. They

explain that corporations tend to prioritise the "pragmatic calculation of what is required to minimise business risk and win the degree of community support required to avoid delay or disruption to company operations" (Owen and Kemp 2013: 31). When corporations compromise the socio-political priorities that are embedded in deliberation and joint learning, they move away from enabling creative processes of social inclusion and instead, facilitate inclusion through integration or worse, exploitation.

When companies pursue a social license as part of a risk management strategy rather than a mechanism for protecting the rights of interest groups, the aim of CSR shifts from the socio-political ideal of pursuing social good towards the economic concern for profit (Figure 1, above). Michael Power (2007), a professor of accounting at London School of Economics, explains that organisations have long existed through the process of risk management. Yet, while risk management used to be focused on internal systems, organisations must increasingly monitor and address threats and uncertainty in their broader operating context. Thus, as a process of self-governance, organisations create concepts or risk objects such as 'social license to operate' or 'reputational risk' through which they translate and order external threats in their own language so as to make uncertainties such as citizen activism intelligible, amenable to analysis, allocation of responsibility, decision-making and intervention (Power 2007). Power devotes particular attention to the rise of corporate reputational risk which, he argues, has emerged and intensified as the central risk object to guide management discourse about corporate scandals and citizen activism. Power argues that over the past two decades, businesses have used CSR to nurture the ethical and social dimensions of their reputations, in a bid to justify the wealth and power they hold.

In recent years, the practice of nurturing corporate reputation has changed quite rapidly. Traditionally, corporate reputations were crafted by the marketing team, which would disseminate narratives and symbols to shape the corporate brand, image and identity, with the aim of influencing customer perceptions, their loyalty and likelihood to repurchase (Gonring 2008). Increasingly, however, scholars conceptualise corporate reputation to be created by the active stakeholder, who adjudicates the legitimacy of the firm. A seminal scholar in the field of corporate reputation, Fombrun (1996) defines corporate reputation as "a perceptual representation of a company's past actions and future prospects that describes the firm's overall appeal to all of its key constituents when compared with other

leading rivals" (Fombrun 1996: 72; see also Walker 2010). Importantly, corporate reputation is not only a product of corporate relationships with customers, suppliers and providers of capital, but also with potentially threatening agents like Greenpeace who circulate impressions, symbols and valuations of the firm against their own ethical standards (Larkin 2002; Power 2007; Power *et al.* 2009; Rayner 2003). The notion that beholders of corporate activity *create* corporate reputation, upholds socio-political goals in the sense that it gives voice to individual citizens/consumers and interest groups, through which they can steer and pressure corporations to align with the values of broader society.

In the conceptualisation presented here, political approaches to strategic CSR require corporations to work on the distribution and negotiation of power between themselves and groups in society, whilst protecting the socio-political goals of citizen voice and self-determination. Conceptually, 'social license to operate' and 'corporate reputation' both emphasise that the legitimacy of business is shaped by an active and engaged public, which values or condemns tangible policies or operations of corporations. Although the political approach to strategic CSR is conceptually clear, empirical studies have found that it is difficult for organisations to operationalize it (Bowen *et al.* 2010). When firms design or implement political forms of strategic CSR with an eye to engage in risk management, they tend to compromise the space in which interest groups can fully express their voice and be heard. In such cases, programs which may have intended to adopt a political approach to strategic CSR begin to draw on primarily economic rationale, and therefore follow an integrative approach to strategic CSR.

Strategic CSR in the economic sphere: integrative approaches

Integrative approaches to strategic CSR are based on the view that because business and 'society' are interdependent, they each have an interest in the other's development. Just as social conditions impact the availability of resources for business to draw on, the conduct of business impacts the resources that are available to society. Accordingly, changes to society will have positive or adverse effects on business, just as changes to business will have positive or adverse effects on society. Crucial to the conceptual basis of integrative approaches to strategic CSR, is that both business *and* society need to be invested in and progressed equally and simultaneously for mutual benefit. The two integrative approaches that are presented here—stakeholder theory (Donaldson and Preston

1995; Freeman 1984; Freeman *et al.* 2010; Jamali 2008; Minoja 2012) and creating shared value (Porter and Kramer 2006, 2011)—are frameworks that guide the most contemporary integrative approaches to strategic CSR. Like frameworks that have informed prior work on integrative approaches to strategic CSR, including corporate social performance (Wartick and Cochran 1985; Wood 1991) and social responsiveness (Ackerman 1973; Sethi 1975; Wartick and Rude 1986), both stakeholder theory and creating shared value have a pragmatic tone. They both seek to explore how the tangible relationships or exchanges between actors who are inside and outside of the business can be improved to be optimal for both business and society.

The premise of integrative approaches to strategic CSR is nicely illustrated by stakeholder theory, which conceives business as the creation of value through a set of interactions and relationships between different individuals and groups in society (Freeman *et al.* 2010: 24). Each of these groups plays a different role (whether as financiers, employees, suppliers, customers or communities) in ensuring the success or failure of the business. Since formulating his normative view of the firm in the mid-1980s, Freeman has conceptualised stakeholders in two ways—as those "groups and individuals who have a stake in the success or failure of a business" (Freeman *et al.* 2010: xv) and more narrowly as "those groups without whose support, the business would cease to be viable" (Freeman *et al.* 2010: 26). In juxtaposition, the two quotes show that just as society (as the source of financiers, suppliers, employees, customers and communities) relies on business to create something that is valued, so too business (as the process of creating this valuable product or service) relies on the support of at least its five primary stakeholders who reside in society. This interdependence means that both business *and* society need to be invested in and progressed equally and simultaneously for mutual benefit.

In CSR scholarship and practice, stakeholder theory is sometimes used as a normative theory of the firm (in line with Freeman), however more commonly in a descriptive or instrumental way (see Donaldson and Preston 1995). The descriptive approach makes 'society' tangible by identifying specific individuals or groups which pose risks or resources to the firm. Stakeholder theory is likewise used in political approaches to strategic CSR (e.g. regarding social license to operate and corporate reputation) yet, while political approaches consider relationships with stakeholders in terms of corporate legitimacy, integrative

approaches consider these relationships in terms of improving commercial exchanges. For example, scholars research whether and how CSR boosts professional development, loyalty, satisfaction and pride among employees (Mueller *et al.* 2012; Voegtlin and Greenwood 2016; Erdogan *et al.* 2015). Similar studies consider the impact of CSR on the skills and attitudes of customers (Du *et al.* 2007; Skarmeas and Leonidou 2013), local communities (Moodley and Preece 2013) and suppliers (Yawar and Seuring 2015; Turker and Altuntas 2014). When scholars use stakeholder theory in this instrumental way (i.e. to identify relevant groups in society in terms of the resources they offer) their attention shifts away from Freeman's normative argument and moves towards a more strategic conception of the interdependent relationship between the firm and stakeholders.

The popularity of using integrative approaches to strategic CSR is demonstrated by the overwhelming take up of 'creating shared value' (CSV)—an idea penned in 2006 by Harvard business strategists Michael Porter and Mark Kramer. Resonating with stakeholder theory, Porter and Kramer depict a symbiotic relationship between business and society, in which "the success of the company and the success of the community become mutually reinforcing" (2006: 10). Despite acknowledging that business and society are interdependent, Porter and Kramer focus on what social changes can be made to support business and give far less attention to changes in business that can generate intrinsic social value. Accordingly, they encourage industry to support governance of competition, availability of supporting industries, and presence of high quality inputs and customer needs. Considering what changes in business would benefit society, they argue for the expansion of markets, particularly in the context of developing countries. Porter and Kramer thus argue for the creation of both social and economic value via the expansion and consolidation of markets. Fair trade, they argue, is insufficient because it merely redistributes existing wealth. Instead, corporations should create a 'bigger pie of revenue' by improving growing techniques, strengthening the local cluster of supporting suppliers and other institutions in order to increase farmers' efficiency, yields, product quality, and sustainability (2011: 5).

Interestingly, although stakeholder theory and CSV are both used in abundance in CSR scholarship, both Freeman (with Velamuri 2006) and Porter and Kramer (2011) argue that CSR is not a useful framework for business to understand and manage its role in society. For Freeman and Velamuri (2006) as

long as business is conducted in a legal and ethical manner (e.g. by paying taxes, protecting the rights of employees and meeting society's needs) CSR is superfluous. They dismiss CSR because it suggests that the conduct of business is inherently bad and needs to be corrected via tacked-on initiatives and this sits at odds with Freeman's normative theory of the firm. Porter and Kramer (2011) likewise argue that CSR is not a useful concept for business, because it has superficial connections to the operations of the firm. Whereas Freeman and Velamuri (2006) refute CSR because it contradicts their normative view of the firm, Porter and Kramer propose CSV as a more effective framework for leveraging the resources of the firm (2011: 16). In their critique of CSV, Crane *et al.* argue that Porter and Kramer take this position based on "a largely unrecognizable caricature of CSR that they can dismiss" (2014: 134). Porter and Kramer as well as Freeman and Velamuri ignore the increasing attention that scholars give to the integration of CSR into key strategic areas of business (e.g. Asif *et al.* 2013; Klettner *et al.* 2014; Martinuzzi and Krumay 2013).

With relevance to integrative approaches to strategic CSR, Crane *et al.* (2014) critique CSV for the inadequate attention it gives to the tension between social and economic goals. Crane *et al.* emphasise that in decision-making, organisations are usually pulled in many directions by a broad range of stakeholder groups. Microfinance organisations, for example, need to reconcile the needs of impoverished clients with the multiple interests of donor agencies, board members and other stakeholders (2014). This may involve reconciling the social ideal of serving individuals who are most in need, with achieving financial self-sufficiency and stability to enable the organisation to expand its access to capital and serve more clients. Porter and Kramer call on scholars and practitioners to develop a "far deeper appreciation of societal needs" (Porter and Kramer 2011: 4) however they propose for the ongoing exploration of societal needs via a "[discovery of] new opportunities for differentiation and repositioning in traditional markets and to recognise the potential of new markets they previously overlooked" (2011: 8). This approach echoes earlier suggestions made by Husted and Salaar (2006: 82), to employ strategic CSR as a way of addressing social issues that may attract government regulation, may enable a differentiation of products or that might reduce business costs in the future.

In summary, although integrative approaches to strategic CSR acknowledge the interdependence of business and society, they are firmly

positioned within the economic sphere (Figure 1, above) because they 'translate' social and ethical issues in terms of their effect on economic goals and priorities. Echoing Power's account of corporate risk management (2007) integrative approaches to strategic CSR encourages organisations to interpret threats in their environment to make them decipherable and amenable to decision-making and to then turn these external threats into opportunities to be capitalised. This imposes limitations on how 'social value' is understood and pursued via integrative approaches to strategic CSR. For example, Graetz and Franks (2016) observe that although 'social risk' has long referred to health and welfare indicators of individuals and communities, businesses have appropriated the concept to refer to risks that local communities pose to business. Limited to act within the confines of economic rationale, integrative approaches to strategic CSR struggle to understand principles that have intrinsic social value (such public interest or social need) if they do not also have implications for economic goals. This significant limitation of integrative approaches to strategic CSR has brought about critiques that describe it as a "smokescreen that buys time" for an inherently unsustainable capitalist system (Fleming *et al.* 2013: 342).

Although the limitations of integrative approaches to strategic CSR are conceptually evident, empirical research that illustrates the practical outcomes of such initiatives for the individuals and communities who participate is still emergent. As Bice cautions, "a long-held focus on the business case paradox [of CSR] raises especial concern that we risk losing sight of what effects the CSR policies and programmes already being implemented by numerous companies are having on the communities they seek to help…" (2015: 3). Corporate sustainability reports emphatically declare the social contribution of CSR programs, however tend to communicate this success in terms of how many individuals have attended. Scholars in business schools often consider 'social outcomes' of programs by looking at whether employees, customers, suppliers or other stakeholders feel more capable and willing to exchange with the firm. These roles certainly hold implications for one's social inclusion (as discussed in Chapter 1) however the personal and broader social value of being a 'loyal employee', a 'skilled consumer' or an 'ethical supplier' is rarely investigated or theorised. Critical management scholars make a contribution to the much needed evidence base (Aguilar-Stoen 2015; Banerjee 2008; Newell 2005; Owen and Kemp 2013; Yoo and Chon 2015) however their concern for the unsustainability and inequity

of the capitalist system generates an evidence-base that focuses on controversial or harmful industries, particularly where there is a significant power imbalance between multinational corporations and local communities. As yet, little is known about the social outcomes of strategic CSR programs conducted in less controversial and less harmful industries that provide essential products and services for day-to-day participation in society.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has conceptualised contemporary shifts in the economic sphere which suggest that companies are becoming more sensitive to social and political issues and so are becoming more willing to engage in extra-economic activity—often referred to as CSR. The 'moralisation of the economic' (Shamir 2008) holds implications for social inclusion, particularly as policy makers adopt market mechanisms to make social services available to 'active' citizens (Chapter 1). To begin, this chapter discussed that ongoing modernisation has entrenched the economic and socio-political systems in an interdependent yet essentially conflicting relationship. This conceptualisation affects our understanding of the contemporary strategic CSR phenomenon in two ways. First, the interdependence of the two systems highlights that corporate legitimacy relies on political power (Fraser 2015). Whereas governments used to have sufficient political power to legitimate business operations, ongoing modernisation is softening government authority and enabling individuals, via greater access to education, ICTs and legal instruments (Beck 1992, 2009) to scrutinise and pressure corporations to align with social values and expectations (Castells 2015; Holzer 2010; Swyngedouw 2014; Tormey 2015). This pressures corporations to engage in the political project of corporate legitimation. Second, the persisting tension between the two rationales highlights that as corporations try to reinvent CSR, they are faced with the challenge of reconciling the tension between economic and socio-political goals. As the conceptual model in this chapter has indicated, this necessitates two, conceptually distinct approaches to strategic CSR—the integrative approach which is guided by economic goals and the political approach which is guided by socio-political goals.

Theoretically, the two approaches to strategic CSR present different opportunities for social inclusion because they assign different roles to firm and civil society for setting the agenda of CSR programs. In the political approach to

strategic CSR, interest groups are afforded space to identify what actions or resources need to be negotiated to strengthen the legitimacy of a corporation. By comparison, integrative approaches to strategic CSR encourage businesses to proactively identify social issues that impact (or are impacted by) their business and to invest in their alleviation, on the premise that a healthy society will support business operations. Although the distinction between integrative and political approaches is conceptually clear, empirical studies question the extent to which private enterprise is able to facilitate political approaches. Studies suggest that this is because risk management often compromises the firm's willingness to give voice to interest groups (e.g. Banerjee 2008; Bowen *et al.* 2010; Morrison 2014; Owen and Kemp 2013). These studies, however, typically focus on CSR programs that facilitate interaction between multinational corporations and resource-poor, local communities. Questions also arise as to whether different power relations—e.g. between corporations and consumer groups—might arise in different types of industries or social contexts.

When corporations proactively determine the objectives of strategic CSR programs, they gear themselves towards supporting inclusion through integration. By comparison, when corporations design CSR programs with space for citizens to influence decision-making, they are more likely to enable citizens to create the relationships that connect them to society (Arnstein 1969; Bowen *et al.* 2010). Scholars of social inclusion, particularly in the conflict and feminist approaches (Fraser 1995; Labonte 2004; Martin 2004; Woodman and Wyn 2013), emphasise that strong inclusion emerges from creative processes of relationship formation. Scholars are often cautious about processes of integration, which may bring about weak inclusion. It is nonetheless important to recognise that citizens may have positive experience when given support to integrate into existing social structures. Further, integration may strengthen the capabilities of citizens to engage in strong or creative processes of social inclusion in the future. This is particularly so if strategic CSR programs support access to essential services—such as financial, telecommunications and health services—which ongoing modernisation and shifts in social policy are increasingly transferring onto the market.

These postulations need to be developed via an empirical investigation that considers not only how corporations negotiate economic and socio-political priorities to (perhaps inadvertently) create opportunities for social inclusion but also, whether and how citizens/consumers experience and engage in these

opportunities with implications for their broader involvement in society. Despite the near exponential increase of scholarship and research of contemporary CSR, scholars who adopt a dual corporate-community perspective of CSR find there is still little knowledge of how strategic CSR supports changes that are intrinsically beneficial to both the corporation and program participants. Esteves and Barclay for example, comment that a "continuing challenge for researchers and practitioners alike is the lack of data on the effectiveness of corporate–community investment programmes" (2011: 189; see also Kemp *et al.* 2011: 107). Bice (2015) has recently commented that the relative lack of empirical evidence is due to a clear scholarly focus on investigating the business case for CSR, in which mere investment in social issues is assumed to create changes that are socially valuable (Orlitzky *et al.* 2003; Salzmann *et al.* 2005; Carroll and Shabana 2010). Instead, to contribute to our understanding of the social benefits of strategic CSR, scholars need to give more attention to how citizens/consumers experience these corporate-run programs, and what implications these experiences hold for broader participation in society. To this end, the following chapter develops a conceptual framework that shapes this thesis' understanding of social inclusion, and further, guides its empirical investigation of the processes of social inclusion that emerge in the context of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs.

3

Social inclusion and strategic, customer-focused CSR

This thesis focuses on strategic CSR programs that are designed to enhance corporate interactions with customer groups. As discussed in Chapter 1, the individualisation of risk in social policy is positioning the provider-consumer exchange as an increasingly important site of social inclusion. Chapter 2 has also spoken about the increasingly political nature of exchanges between consumers and modernisation, as ongoing modernisation provides individuals with access to information, media and new opportunities for mobilisation. Scholars often investigate CSR programs that focus on employees (Mueller *et al.* 2012; Voegtlin and Greenwood 2016; Erdogan *et al.* 2015) or local communities (Moodley and Preece 2013) but there is relatively little research of CSR programs that focus on customers. Of the studies that do focus on customers, most are carried out by scholars in the field of marketing and so investigate the impacts of CSR agendas on consumption practices (e.g. Du *et al.* 2007; Skarmeas and Leonidou 2013). More theoretical and empirical work is needed to better understand how strategic, customer-focused CSR programs support individuals to transact with providers with the purpose of strengthening their day-to-day participation in society. From

this perspective, this thesis aims to develop our understanding of the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate.

Guided by the theoretical distinction that the previous chapter developed between political and integrative approaches to strategic CSR, this chapter argues that when exploring the processes of social inclusion that customer-focused strategic CSR programs facilitate, it is insightful to distinguish between deliberative and skills-based programs. In theory, deliberative programs align with the political approach to strategic CSR because they invite citizens/consumers to engage in shared knowledge-making and shared decision-making. Skills-based programs, by comparison, align with integrative approaches to strategic CSR because they provide citizens/consumers with access to existing knowledge that supports critical engagement in key activities of contemporary society. Whereas the political and integrative approaches to strategic CSR theorise the rationales that corporations adopt to make sense of the intersection between socio-political and economic goals, the distinction between deliberative and skills-based strategic CSR programs considers the different ways in which programs are tangibly structured. Both the philosophical approach to CSR and program type, shape the nature of interactions among and between corporations and citizens/consumers.

Although there is a theoretical alignment between the two approaches to strategic CSR and the two types of customer-focused strategic CSR programs, this alignment is not necessarily clear or formulaic in practice. As discussed in the previous chapter, corporations may adopt an integrative approach to develop deliberative programs. Evidence suggests that in such cases, program participants may feel that they are not being afforded a full opportunity to influence decision-making (Owen and Kemp 2013). Alternatively, corporations may adopt a political approach to develop skills-based programs. In such cases, programs may adopt a novel participatory action approach to the development of new skills, rather than to up-skill individuals via a pre-determined curriculum. Accordingly, when designing strategic, customer-focused CSR programs, corporations—whether intentionally or inadvertently—are guided by both philosophical approaches to strategic CSR and by tangible program goals. How their strategic, customer-focused CSR programs ultimately facilitate social inclusion however, depends on how citizens/consumers find the programs to support their broader social involvement.

To explore how customer-focused strategic CSR programs facilitate social inclusion, this thesis adopts a relational approach that explores the changes that program participants experience to their sense of agency and sense of connection with others. Agency and connection are themes that are well established in social inclusion scholarship. Agency, which is similar to concepts of empowerment and self-determination, enables citizens/consumers to sense that they are able to make personal decisions that shape the way they live (Levitas 1996; Martin 2004; Silver 2007). A sense of connection, which is rooted in shared values and mutual understanding, steers individuals to make decisions that align with social norms and ideals. This chapter theorises that deliberative and skills-based strategic, customer-focused CSR programs (which may be underpinned by political and/or integrative approaches to strategic CSR) are poised to support the agency and connection of citizens/consumers in different ways. This holds implications for the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate. This chapter first conceptualises the two concepts of agency and connection. It then theorises the different processes of social inclusion that skills-based and deliberative programs facilitate, given the different ways in which they support agency and connection among participants.

3.1 Conceptualising relational social inclusion

Social inclusion is an "ambiguous, multidimensional and elastic" term (Silver 1994: 536) which scholars and policy makers conceptualise in various ways to focus on different facets of contemporary social disadvantage. This study adopts a relational conception of social inclusion (see Silver 2007; Marston and Dee 2015) to consider how the interactions that occur in the context of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs affect participants' sense of agency and connection. As discussed in Chapter 1, relational studies of social inclusion differ from categorical studies that compile batteries of indicators to identify groups' access to resources that support participation in key activities of society (e.g. Levitas 2006; Azpitarte and Bowman 2015; ASIB 2010, 2012). Instead, relational studies tend to investigate particular (often marginalised) social groups in terms of the nature of the relationships that connect and position them in their social contexts. Echoing the type of contribution made by other relational studies (e.g. Dwyer *et al.* 2015; Willis 2009; Woodman and Wyn 2013), this thesis is therefore designed to provide commentary on the changes that are required at the individual, organisational and

public policy levels, for individuals to feel more comfortable, confident and empowered in their social environments.

The role of agency in supporting strong processes of social inclusion is given significant attention in contemporary scholarship. When discussing how to strengthen the inclusion of marginalised groups, scholars often emphasise the need to provide individuals with the opportunity and resources to be active in shaping their own lives and social environments (e.g. Levitas 1996; Martin 2004; Willis 2009; Cobigo *et al.* 2012). By comparison, contemporary scholars give relatively little attention to the role of 'connection' (supported by shared values and shared understanding) to the individuals' project of mitigating risks to social inclusion. Yet, agency without a sense of connection may lead to instances of voluntary exclusion (Barry 1998; le Grand 2003). In reverse, having a sense of connection without agency and empowerment may lead to passive integration (Levitas 1996; Martin 2004). As illustrated below in Figure 2 (below), this thesis therefore conceptualises both agency and connection (existing concurrently) as essential conditions for social inclusion.

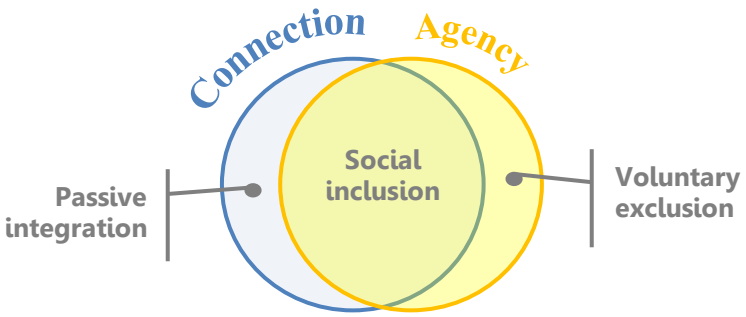


Figure 2. Social inclusion through a sense of agency and connection *(Source: author)*

Conceptualising agency

In the scholarly literature, expressing one's agency is considered essential in the process of creating 'strong' and desirable forms of social inclusion (Cobigo *et al.* 2012; Martin 2004; Silver 2007). In Atkinson's words, social actors and groups experience a sense of agency when they feel that they have the power to "change

their own lives" (1998: 14). This is important for social inclusion because it encourages individuals to work on altering the social structures that have previously compromised their social participation (Silver 2007; Martin 2004). Echoing notions of self-determination, autonomy, self-reliance and voice, the principle of agency is easily conceptualised. Formulating the processes or interactions that can strengthen one's sense of agency, however, is more complex.

In his prominent capability approach, Sen proposes that agency exists when people feel that they have the freedom to pursue and realize goals that they have reason to value (Sen 1992: 56). As an economist, Sen argues that this freedom stems from having the capabilities and resources to live a life of one's choosing (Sen 1992: 66). This approach conceptualises one's sense of agency as a state of possibility—or the feeling of being able to create change in personal and/or public life. This can be contrasted with the related but distinct concept of empowerment, which feminists Bookman and Morgen explain as the experience of "consolidating, maintaining, or changing the nature and distribution of power in a particular cultural context" (1988: 4). Although scholars sometimes use agency and empowerment interchangeably, in this thesis, agency focuses on the feeling of possibility of change whilst empowerment focuses on the feeling that arises from having created change, particularly via a shift in power relations.

Drawing on Sen's capability approach, social programs—including strategic CSR programs—may strengthen individuals' sense of agency by supporting individuals to accumulate resources that enable them to pursue a life of their choosing. In this way, Sen's capability approach emphasises the intersection between resources and participation. Although this thesis focuses on how strategic CSR programs create changes in participants' resources, it is also important to consider how individuals' existing 'bundle of resources' affect their chances of attending and benefiting from strategic CSR programs. Depending on the program design, differences in participants' levels of mobility (Cass *et al.* 2005; Lucas 2012; Sager 2006), time (Chatzitheochari and Arber 2012), language skills (Petriwskyj *et al.* 2012), physical and mental health, and other resources may enable some individuals to participate more deeply than others, with implications for their sense of agency. Further, scholars have found that when programs are not designed to account for differences in participants' resources, they may trigger administrative or structural exclusion—in which individuals who face greater disadvantage or marginalisation are unable to participate (e.g. Brodkin and

Majmundar 2010). Sen's perspective is useful so far as it emphasises the role of personal resources and decision-making opportunities for enabling a strengthened sense of agency. Yet, changes in resources and opportunities that CSR programs create, are not thought to promote a natural sense of freedom because they inevitably carry and may help reinforce existing power relations and social norms.

This thesis deviates slightly from Sen's capability approach, to emphasise that agency is the product of the structuring processes of institutionalised social interactions and relations. In his governmentality approach, Foucault (1980) argues that individuals are not 'free' to make their own decisions, but instead, always think and act through existing power relations. Foucault and other theorists of governmentality (Dean 1999; Garland 1997; Hansson and Hellberg 2015) explain that individuals experience a heightened sense of agency when they are exposed to disciplinary power, which sets up controls within them about the correct ways to act. Foucault argues that these internal controls make individuals compelled to make decisions about how they manage themselves and that this makes them more aware of themselves as active decision-makers (Foucault 1979: 184-194). Foucault's conceptualisation of agency is useful in developing our understanding of why individuals who participate in programs that are tightly structured by power holders (i.e. corporations) might nonetheless feel that their attendance has boosted their sense of agency. The perspective however, raises questions about the value and legitimacy of strengthened agency, if it brings individuals to make decisions that align with the values of profit-seeking power holders.

As indicated in Figure 2 above, agency constitutes the first of two essential conditions for strong processes of social inclusion. On its own, a strong sense of agency does not necessarily enable one's social inclusion because without also feeling a sense of connection through shared values, individuals may be susceptible to voluntary exclusion. Giddens (2000: 103-108), Barry (1998: 8-9) and le Grand (2003: 4) use the example of the gated community to illustrate the situation where well-resourced individuals, who feel they can direct their own life decisions (i.e. a strong sense of agency) voluntarily opt out of mainstream institutions. In this case, access to resources such as income, employment, education, safety, social networks and good health enable well-off individuals to 'change their own lives' and 'live a life of one's choosing'. But a weak sense of connection to one's public or civic realm, and the desire instead to differentiate

oneself (Gwyther 2005), may dissuade individuals from working on their inclusion into the mainstream (via adjustments to mainstream institutions where required). Alternatively, Zohir (2014) explains that individuals might *feel* a strong sense of agency in their decision-making, however if these decisions are made on incomplete or inaccurate information (relative to the knowledge base that supports mutual understanding in the broader community), then they are also likely to 'voluntarily' exclude themselves. Both situations illustrate that having a strong sense of agency is enriched by a sense of connection to one's social context—which carries social norms, shared values and shared knowledge—to optimise strong processes of social inclusion.

Conceptualising connection

One's sense of connection refers to the experience of having an affinity with the moral bonds that support solidarity and cohesion in one's society (Daly and Silver 2008). Although contemporary scholars and policy-makers tend to focus on the importance of agency for inclusion, connection was in fact a pivotal tenant of original French conceptualisation of social exclusion (Silver 1994). As discussed in Chapter 1, early French Republican conceptualisations of social exclusion emphasised integration, solidarity and cohesion as being valuable to society in and of itself (Silver 1994). By comparison, contemporary liberal approaches to connectedness conceptualise it in terms of individuals' social networks, rate of civic participation and feelings of social trust (e.g. Azpitarte and Bowman 2015; ASIB 2012; Silver 2010). These factors tend to be treated as desirable resources that support the social participation and agency of individuals (e.g. Poortinga 2012; Lancee 2012; Denny *et al.* 2014). In the liberal view, social networks provide individuals with not only social support, identity, opportunities for engagement and meaningful social roles, but also access to material resources, information, or reduced transaction costs (Silver 2010: 196). The predominantly micro perspective of the empirical component of this study (Chapter 4) tends to focus on connectedness as a function of individuals' interactions within social networks. To consider these relations in a social inclusion, rather than a social capital framework, this thesis considers the meaning that relationships take on in the context of large-scale shifts in social and economic circumstances (Daly and Silver 2008).

One's sense of connection is formulated through numerous relationships that support (and potentially undermine) each other. In particular, whether the structure of a relationship is open or closed influences the resources that are created and how (Weber 1978: 43). For example, families tend to be closed and inward looking relationships that ideally socialise members and give them a deep and intimate sense of belonging (Parsons and Bales 1956). By comparison, the interactions and relationships that characterise neighbourhoods are highly variable however they often have a greater degree of openness with greater diversity of members and more public reasons for interaction. Relationships that constitute the nation and large religious, public interest or political groups offer the most open member base and symbolic forms of interaction. These relationships tend not to be concerned with providing emotional support on a day-by-day basis, but with enabling individuals to adopt public and potentially durable identity markers that shape and reflect their personal values and worldview. To have a full sense of connection, it is important for individuals to be members of relationships with different degrees of closure and openness because this enables deeply personal or intimate connection as well as a connection with moral bases of broader social solidarity and cohesion.

Scholars often consider the sense of connection that relationships support to be affected by the degree of similarity or difference of members (Granovetter 1973; Warr 2005; Agnitsch *et al.* 2006). Individuals who are in similar life situations tend to share deeper feelings of empathy and mutual understanding of shared priorities and aspirations. When social networks are more heterogeneous, they require more communication to reconcile differences between the values and beliefs of interlocutors. Solidarity that emerges via interpersonal interactions sits in comparison to the solidarity of large social groups that often revolves around shared symbols, rituals, mythology and recognition of interdependence (e.g. Anderson 1983; Muniz 2001; McNeill 2014: ch. 2; Bell 2003). Reiterating the perspective above, each type of social interaction contributes to the fullness of individuals' sense of connection. Strategic CSR programs are therefore theorised to have diverse effects on individuals' sense of connection, depending on which relationships they affect. This may be influenced by the type of products or services a company provides and whether the firm is focused on enriching its own relationship with citizens/consumers, or enriching relationships between

citizens/consumers and their social contexts. When investigating individuals' sense of connection, it is therefore insightful to ask 'connection with whom'?

As indicated in Figure 2 above, feeling a sense of connection is not sufficient to facilitate social inclusion because without also feeling a sense of agency, individuals may be passively integrated into existing social structures. With this in mind, Levitas (1996) urges her readers to consider the inequalities that exist among individuals who are typically thought to be included (often based on their participation in the labour force). Levitas warns against thinking of individuals in disengaged and exploitative employment as being socially included, as categorical measures of social inclusion are often set up to do. Expression of agency becomes important when individuals' values and goals do not align with those of other members of their relationship or interaction. In such cases, individuals require resources and opportunities to contribute to the process of shaping shared values and priorities. As will be discussed below, with reference to Arnstein's (1969) classic ladder of participation, two-way communication and deliberation enable interlocutors to develop a deeper sense of solidarity. By comparison, one-way communication may lead to the undesirable situation of pacification or manipulation (Arnstein 1969). Having a strong sense of connection is therefore enriched by a sense of agency—or the ability to create change and pursue one's own goals—to optimise strong processes of social inclusion.

3.2 Relational social inclusion and strategic CSR

To improve our understanding of the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate, this thesis explores what effect the programs have on the sense of agency and sense of connection of individuals who attend. But just as there is variation in the philosophical approach that shapes corporate sense-making (Chapter 2), so too there is diversity in the tangible objectives, goals and designs that shape visible programs. This diversity needs to be accounted for when exploring how strategic, customer-focused CSR programs support agency and connection among citizens/consumers.

This thesis has defined strategic, customer-focused CSR as corporate-run programs that aim to enhance the provider-consumer exchange and in so doing, create outcomes that are beneficial to society and the competitive advantage of the firm. As discussed in Chapter 2, the provider-consumer exchange is becoming

more complex than the mere exchange of economic resources for goods. As industries such as the financial, technology and health sectors become more complex, corporations rely on citizens/consumers to have the knowledge and skills to differentiate between products and to use products for personal benefit (Ali *et al.* 2014; Bartholomae *et al.* 2016; Jung *et al.* 2013; Worthington 2008). Corporations also increasingly rely on citizens/consumers to shape corporate reputation (Larkin 2002; Rayner 2003) or provide local knowledge that could aid product development or delivery (Campbell *et al.* 2011; Cui and Wu 2015; Greer and Lei 2012). These perspectives indicate that corporations may use strategic, customer-focused CSR programs to improve different dimensions of contemporary exchanges between themselves and their customers.

Of interest to this thesis, is that when corporations use strategic CSR as a way of enhancing customer capabilities to use existing products, or to draw on local knowledge to create new products, or to work on corporate reputation, they put in motion different interactions and social processes. Programs that aim to enhance the use of existing products try to create changes at the level of the individual by providing access to existing knowledge and developing personal understanding and skills. By comparison, programs that aim to shape corporate reputation or garner local knowledge to influence product development or delivery, seemingly invite citizens/consumers to contribute to a new, shared knowledge base and to participate in shared decision-making. This thesis emphasises the distinction between the two social processes by distinguishing between the former 'skills-based' programs and latter 'deliberative' programs. As indicated in Figure 3 below, although skills-based CSR programs aim to support individuals to change themselves and deliberative CSR programs aim to generate shared resources, the two processes are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Program participants may develop skills in deliberative programs or share information in skills-based programs. It is nonetheless typically possible to characterise the publicly-communicated aim of a strategic, customer-focused CSR program in terms of the former or latter type.

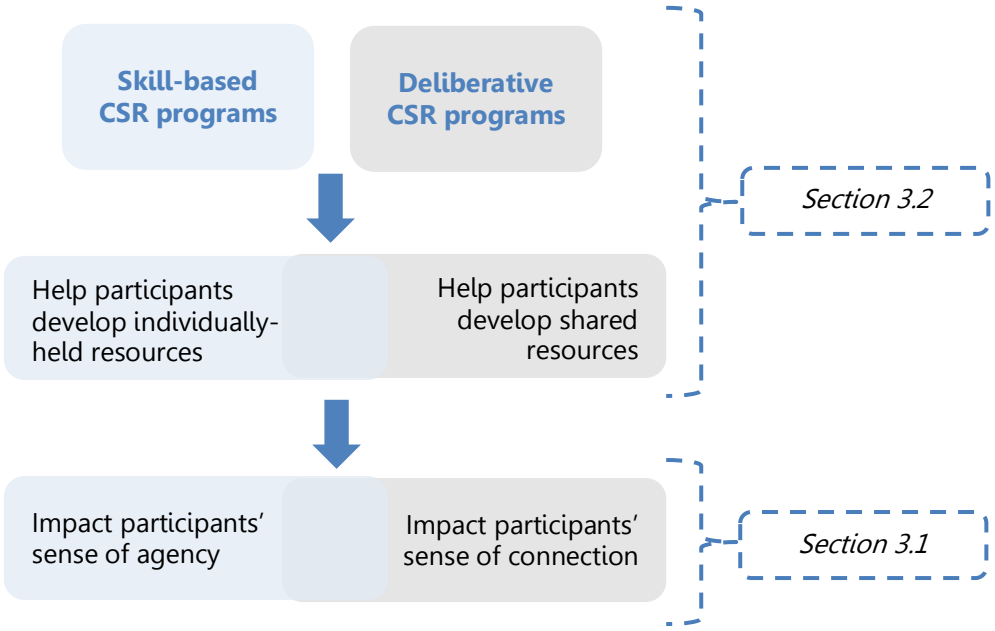


Figure 3. Strategic, customer-focused CSR programs as mechanisms for generating individually-held and shared resources, with implications for one's sense of agency and connection *(Source: author)*

To further illustrate the difference between skills-based and deliberative types of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs, this chapter now provides examples and theorises the types of interactions that they facilitate. With reference to contemporary scholarship on corporate citizenship, this micro-level perspective frames strategic CSR programs as 'arenas of citizenship' (Crane *et al.* 2004, 2008) in which corporations alter the relationships that position citizen/consumers in society—whether by changing the accessibility of valuable resources or accessibility of political processes. The interactions that characterise the two types of programs are considered to be different in terms of the types of resources that are created or shared and the power dynamics that are embedded in these resources. These two factors hold implications for the sense of agency and connection that participants experience and thus the nature of social inclusion the programs facilitate.

Skills-based strategic CSR programs

Skills-based, strategic, customer-focused CSR programs (herein 'skills-based CSR programs') help individuals generate the knowledge and know-how required to carry out activities that constitute normal participation in one's society. For

example in the banking industry, National Australia Bank runs a financial literacy skills program that encourages women to 'take control of their finances and make wise financial decisions'. Insurance provider, AAMI provides a free driving course for customers aged under 25, designed to 'arm young drivers with safe driving techniques and a better understanding of what it takes to be safe on the road'. Health insurer, Medibank Private provides a school-based program that aims to educate children about 'positive food habits'. Telecommunications firm, Optus, runs a Digital Thumbprint program at schools to teach students how to have a positive online presence and stay cyber safe. The immediate aim of each of these programs is to create change at the level of the individual through new knowledge or skills, so that they participate in particular activities in particular ways.

Sen's capability framework guides us to conceptualise skills-based programs as empowering because they can enable the citizen/consumer to access valued "states of being" (Sen 1994: 273-277). For example, programs that teach citizens how to ride a bicycle may enable them to be more mobile. Similarly, programs that teach citizens how to use the internet may enable them to be more informed and programs that help citizens manage their finances may enable them to be more financially secure. Integral to Sen's capability framework is that while interventions can facilitate the expansion of capabilities (and thus opportunities for new valued states of being), the citizen must draw on their own agency and values to convert capabilities into functionings (or valued states of being; Sen 1994). In other words, expansion of capabilities affords citizens/consumers greater freedom of choice when deciding whether to become more mobile, more informed or more socially connected. Considering skills-based CSR programs within the capabilities framework therefore portrays these CSR programs as interventions that may help expand opportunities for citizens/consumers to become empowered and self-determining decision-makers who can strengthen their own inclusion and participation in society.

Yet, as discussed above this study also draws on a governmentality perspective to question the extent to which citizens/consumers in modern regimes of power are 'free' to choose the states of being that they value. Foucault theorises that individuals, who are shaped by the decisions they make about who they are and how they live their lives, are always an "effect of power" (1980: 98). This means that the visible actions and decisions that appear as expressions of agency are always steered by internal controls that have been shaped within and through

the external systems of power that shape social reality (Bevir 1999). Employing this theoretical grounding, skills-based CSR programs are conceptualised as mechanisms through which corporations not only expand program participants' capabilities, but also promote particular values and states of being (such as being mobile, informed and socially connected). Yet, corporations are not the only actors that influence the decisions and behaviours of individuals via the internal controls of the 'disciplined subject'. Institutions in the health, penal, education and other realms of society also influence individuals' sense-making. This prompts consideration of how the potentially disciplinary effects of corporate power (including via strategic CSR programs; Banerjee 2008) reinforce and/or contradict the values and norms that are embedded in broader webs of power relations in society.

By aiming to help citizens/consumers develop individually-held resources, skills-based CSR programs are therefore theorised to support individuals in their active decision-making about participation in the key activities of society. This process of inclusion is particularly meaningful in contemporary social and political settings that require individuals to manage their own participation in society by mitigating personal risks in the areas of health, family, income and so on (Chapter 1). As such, the programs have immediate implications for one's sense of agency and follow-on implications for one's sense of connection. In a tangible way, when citizens/consumers become better resourced—e.g. by more effectively mitigating risks in areas such as income, mobility, diet and online activity—they have greater freedom in diversifying social interaction, social networks and engagement in deliberation (which all strengthen one's sense of connection via interpersonal means). In a more abstract sense, when individuals engage in personal risks in areas such as health, safety, education, finance, family, transport and so on, they fulfil their obligation in the changing social contract between citizen and state (Chapter 1). From this perspective, when citizens engage in personal decision-making that revolves around creating a 'life of one's own', they address their role as citizen and may strengthen their sense of membership and belonging to society.

Deliberative strategic CSR programs

Deliberative, strategic, customer-focused CSR programs (herein 'deliberative CSR programs') by comparison, invite citizens/consumers to create change in their

social context by influencing the decision-making of corporations or local communities. For example, Telstra, as a telecommunications firm, consults community groups to develop technologies that would meet the needs of groups with disabilities. Property developer, Stockland, consulted the local Aboriginal community in one of its developments to receive feedback about its archaeological test excavation methodology, cultural values assessment, heritage management planning and future Aboriginal heritage management strategy. Firms that design public space such as skate parks and playgrounds consult local community groups to ensure amenities meet the needs of prospective users. In these and similar examples, corporations are not hoping to provide citizens/consumers with resources for broader participation in society, so much as to improve corporate access to local knowledge and community support, which contribute to corporate decision-making and legitimacy. From a social inclusion perspective, when citizens/consumers deliberate in the context of community consultation, they actively (even if unknowingly) negotiate the power relations that link them to their social context.

The concept of deliberation has a long history in political philosophies of democratic processes, with contributors such as Habermas (on ideal speech situation; 1984), Rawls (on public reason; 1997), Held (2006), Dryzek (2001) and others theorising that deliberation strengthens mutual understanding and legitimacy. Because of this philosophical grounding, deliberative CSR aligns with the political approach to strategic CSR outlined in Chapter 2. Scholars commonly conceptualise deliberation as evidence-based reasoning, in which participants explore diverse positions on a topic and through balanced discussion and consideration, reach consensus. The process of creating mutual understanding and reaching consensus involves the alignment of knowledge, values and goals. When these resources are shared, they help strengthen a sense of solidarity and cohesion; or connection (Putnam 2000). Yet, it is important that citizens/consumers actively participate in the deliberative processes of creating shared understanding in order to feel a sense of affinity and connection to other interlocutors and shared resources. Political philosophies of ideal deliberative processes therefore require that inequalities of power between interlocutors do not influence or bias exchange of information, discussion and outcomes.

Yet, in contrast to philosophical conceptualisations of ideal deliberative processes, the practice of deliberation is understood to be inevitably constrained by

legal structures, parameters set by facilitating organisations and the very discourses that drive discussion which are interwoven with the balancing of interests and preferences (Habermas 1994: 6). In a systematic review of contemporary community engagement literature, Bowen *et al.* (2010) find that seemingly 'deliberative' processes are often mapped on a 'continuum of community engagement' depending on the extent to which participants can influence decision-making (e.g. Arnstein 1969; IAP2 2007; Butteriss *et al.* 2014; Altria Inc. 2004; Hashagen 2002). The 'ladder of participation' which Arnstein developed in 1969 is still regularly cited and illustrates that a community's role in local decision-making can range from the disempowered and effectively non-participatory role of being manipulated by policy makers, to the empowered role involved in partnering, having delegation or control of local issues (see Figure 4 below). Arnstein argues that deliberation which pursues the aim of 'educating' or 'curing' citizens/consumers tends not to afford citizens the opportunity to contribute to shared knowledge and decision-making, and that this compromises the sense of agency and solidarity that citizens experience.

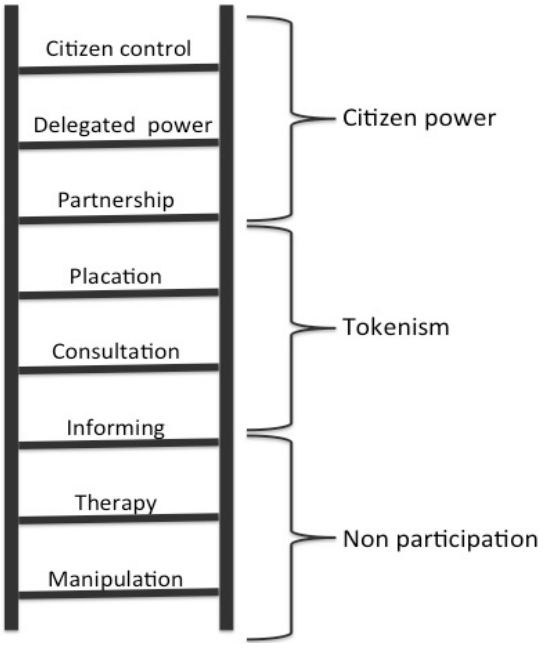


Figure 4. Arnstein's eight rungs on a ladder of citizen participation *(Source: Arnstein 1969: 217)*

The level of agency that community consultation affords citizens/consumers shapes opportunities for strengthening a sense of connection. Towards the higher rungs of the participatory ladder or spectrum, citizens/consumers are given more agency in the sense that they can influence decision-making and create change. Bowen *et al.* (2010) propose that community engagement that affords greater opportunity to influence decision-making, facilitates strong processes of social cohesion in the sense that it builds trust based on personal relationships and mutual understanding, and develops a shared organizational language which enables community needs and resources to be integrated into corporate decision-making (Bowen *et al.* 2010). Towards the lower rungs of the participatory ladder, if citizens/consumers feel motivated to create change however are not afforded influence over decision-making, community members may strengthen their sense of connection with each other (particularly their sense of identity and shared goals) but not with the organisation that is facilitating the deliberative forum. Alternatively, if citizens are not afforded influence over decision-making and do not feel motivated or resourced to create change, this may lead to a sense of powerlessness and disconnect, leading to exclusion.

When investigating how deliberative programs influence the agency and connection of participants, it is necessary to be sensitive to not only how these programs balance corporate and community interests, but also to how these programs balance the input of different community sub-groups. Feminists and community development scholars often problematize research and practice that conceives 'local community' as a homogenous collective that is united by the same values, interests and priorities (e.g. Ojha *et al.* 2016; Young 2002). Instead, it is more common for local communities to be made up of heterogeneous sub-groups that not only have different (if not competing) priorities but also different resources with which to steer deliberation to pursue these priorities (Luskin *et al.* 2014; Matthews and Missingham 2009; Petriwskyj *et al.* 2012). With relevance to this thesis, the way in which deliberative CSR programs moderate the power imbalance that often characterise local communities affects the experiences of individuals in different sub-groups, regarding shifts in their sense of agency and connection.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has developed the conceptual framework that will guide how this thesis explores the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate. By conceptualising social inclusion in terms of changes to program participants' agency and connection, this thesis will explore processes of social inclusion through the perceptions and experiences of individuals who attend. In this thesis, agency refers to the experience of feeling able to make personal decisions that shape how one lives. Connection refers to the experience of having an affinity with the moral bonds that support solidarity and cohesion in one's immediate and/or broader social circles (Daly and Silver 2008). This chapter has theorised that different types of interactions give rise to different experiences of agency and connection. It is therefore important to account for differences in strategic CSR programs that might facilitate different interactions. To this end, this chapter has distinguished between skills-based and deliberative strategic customer-focused CSR programs. Whereas skills-based programs are theoretically geared towards supporting processes of integration, deliberative programs are theoretically geared towards supporting creative processes of knowledge creation and shared decision-making.

As suggested throughout this chapter, various factors may influence the precise ways in which skills-based and deliberative programs influence the agency and connection of program participants in practice. These factors are introduced by both corporations and citizens/consumers, who actively shape the dynamics that emerge in the context of strategic, customer-focused CSR. They do so by drawing on personal or organisational beliefs, values and interests, which become meaningful relative to social norms, industry trends and regulatory structures. Although the primary aim of this thesis is to understand how strategic, customer-focused CSR programs affect the agency and connection of citizens/consumers who participate, the thesis also adopts a broader view to consider the social and political circumstances that enable and give meaning to these processes of inclusion.

How corporations design and implement particular skills-based or deliberative CSR programs is influenced by internal interests and external pressures, which may be within or beyond corporate control. Drawing on the previous chapter, corporations adopt (whether intentionally or not) particular

approaches to strategic CSR that bear implications for the roles that they assign to themselves and CSR program participants. This is theorised to affect the integrity with which skills-based and deliberative programs emerge in practice. When designing and administering strategic, customer-focused CSR programs, corporations may also be influenced by other corporate logics such as organisational approaches to profit making. These logics or approaches may influence which customer groups are targeted via strategic CSR and what changes CSR programs aim to create. Corporate decision-making may further be influenced by external pressures, such as government regulation, media scrutiny and trends in relevant industry sectors. Each of these factors may influence the tangible design and implementation of a deliberative or skills-based program, with implications for the nature of changes that citizens/consumers experience when attending.

Although corporations are most active in setting up CSR programs as tangible forums in which interaction occurs, these interactions become processes of social inclusion relative to the experiences and perceptions of citizens/consumers. Understanding how citizens/consumers appropriate or reject the opportunities for interaction that corporations embed in strategic CSR is therefore a key interest of this thesis. As this chapter has suggested via its conceptualisation of agency and connection, individuals' experiences become meaningful relative to social values and norms that constitute social structure. This suggests that when individuals make decisions on topics which are bound by strong social norms, individuals contend with greater external pressure than when making decisions about, for example, whether to become a member of a political party or live in a gated community. Further, while the former works on one's connection with mainstream society, participation in accepted but not necessarily expected activities builds one's connection with smaller groups. These perspectives indicate that citizens/consumers may find particular industry sectors, such as banking, telecommunications or education, to facilitate different experiences of agency and connection via strategic CSR than, for example, industry sectors such as luxury goods and services.

Although this thesis positions corporations and citizens/consumers as active decision-makers, it also considers that decisions and actions necessarily occur through or against existing social structures and power relations. This frames strategic CSR programs as sites of contestation. This perspective guides this

thesis' empirical work along two distinct but interdependent lines of inquiry. First, the thesis investigates the rationales that guide corporate and citizen/consumer involvement in strategic CSR programs. This line of inquiry informs commentary about which social groups are likely to be invited to attend strategic CSR programs and what support the programs may provide. Second, this thesis investigates the changes that citizens/consumers experience to their sense of agency and sense of connection on account of attending CSR programs. This line of inquiry focuses on how participants' agency and connection is affected in different ways in skills-based and deliberative style CSR programs. Together, the two lines of inquiry improve our understanding of the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate. The following chapter presents and justifies the empirical investigation of these research questions.

Part II

Designing and positioning the empirical study

4

Research design

To advance our understanding of the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate, this thesis develops two case studies. The two cases were purposefully selected to enable an investigation of a skills-based and a deliberative, strategic, customer-focused CSR program which this thesis has theorised to support distinct processes of social inclusion (Chapter 3). Each case was explored independently via the steps outlined in this chapter and compared upon completion. Both case studies were developed via a qualitative exploration of the perspectives and experiences of citizens/consumers who participated, the perspectives of employees who administered the programs on behalf of their organisations and an analysis of regulatory contexts in which the programs occurred. These perspectives were compared within and across the two case studies to provide insight into the nature of social inclusion that different types of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate.

The case study approach was selected because it lends itself to the creation of in-depth, context-specific knowledge, and so would provide insight into the circumstances that shape the processes of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate (Flyvbjerg 2001, 2006; Yin 2009). This thesis

uses the case studies as sources of empirical evidence to support theoretical propositions about the factors that shape whether and how strategic, customer-focused CSR programs support social inclusion. Researchers and policy-makers will find these propositions useful for guiding their interpretation of the opportunities for social inclusion that particular strategic, customer-focused CSR programs are likely or not likely to offer. The exploratory approach guided the development of case studies via a mostly inductive method of inquiry. Nonetheless, the researcher necessarily drew on her own questions and understanding gained from existing scholarship to co-create knowledge with research participants (Schwatrz-Shea and Yanow 2012: ch. 2). This process guided the theoretical propositions to adjust or extend existing knowledge about CSR and social inclusion.

Although case studies are often used in CSR research, many are limited in the diversity of perspectives they investigate and the depth of their contextual framing. Esteves and Barklay (2011) argue that CSR scholarship lacks data that illustrates the simultaneous benefits and shortcomings of CSR programs for both corporation and local community groups. Addressing this shortfall, the two case studies in this thesis explore the experiences and perspectives of citizens/consumers and corporations' employees (as they relate to corporate goals), and consider the significance of these perspectives relative to the regulatory contexts that are shaped by governments. The complex research design is important, given the thesis' relational conceptualisation of social inclusion which considers inclusion to be shaped through interaction between social actors. Accordingly, the research design positioned citizens/consumers, corporations and government organisations to not only be affected by CSR programs, but more importantly to have the standing from which to actively shape CSR programs into particular mechanisms of social inclusion and exclusion. The case study approach was adopted in this thesis because it would enable a focus on how individuals in different roles and in different contexts interact to shape distinct experiences of social inclusion.

Of course, all social research has its limitations and this study is no different. Interpretive epistemology and case study research are often critiqued for being susceptible to particular biases (see Schwatrz-Shea and Yanow 2012: ch. 6) or for limitations in the transferability of findings (see Flyvbjerg 2006: 220-228; Donmoyer 2000). Case study research is critiqued for producing findings that

cannot be generalized to a broader population (statistical generalizability). Instead of aiming to generalise findings from a single case to broader populations, the researcher's task is to understand how factors come together in a particular case or social context, and then use this insight to make theoretical propositions that describe and explain tensions in the social process under investigation (analytic generalizability) (Yin 2009: 38; Gobo 2004: 435). In the interpretive approach, researcher and research participant engage in the co-creation of knowledge—merging the researcher's questions and understanding gained from existing scholarship with the experiences and perceptions of research participants (Schwatrz-Shea and Yanow 2012: ch. 2). For some scholars, this flexible approach can come in the way of meeting positivist standards of validity, reliability, replicability and objectivity (Schwatrz-Shea and Yanow 2012: ch. 6).

For the purpose of this study however, the interpretive epistemology and case study design were most appropriate for addressing the research questions. This chapter outlines the decisions that were made and the processes that were followed to enhance the consistency of research practice and accuracy of empirical findings. The chapter first explains how and why two CSR programs were purposefully selected. The chapter explains that to enhance the accuracy of findings, the researcher took care to establish rapport with research participants, spent adequate time in the field, was open about her interpretation of data with research participants and colleagues, and ensured quotes were communicated in context. To support the consistency of data collection and analysis, detailed case study protocols were developed and adhered to. By offering transparency of the research process this chapter invites readers to first, judge the integrity of research design and conduct and second, have a clearer understanding of the knowledge that the study creates and how it can be used (Steinke 2004: 187).

4.1 Selection of cases

There are various types of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs. For the purpose of improving our understanding of how these corporate-run programs support social inclusion, this thesis has made the important distinction between skills-based and deliberative programs (Chapter 3). Skills-based programs aim to provide citizens/consumers with access to knowledge that may strengthen critical engagement in the key activities of society. Deliberative programs by comparison, invite citizens/consumers to create change in their social contexts by influencing

local decision-making. The two types of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs are theorised to support equally important, yet essentially distinct processes of inclusion. This distinction is built into the research design through the purposeful selection of one skills-based and one deliberative strategic, customer-focused CSR program.

The selection of multiple cases, rather than a single case, was an important strategy for strengthening the contribution that this thesis makes to theory development. Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) argue that whereas single case studies enable scholars to describe a phenomenon in detail, multiple case studies enable scholars to analyse a phenomenon through comparison. Through comparative analysis, this thesis explores how the phenomenon of social inclusion changes in different circumstances which are traceable through different types of programs. Scholars often recommend that multiple case studies be conducted with the purpose of verifying initial finding through replication (Eisenhardt 1991; Yin 2009). However this approach was not considered to be suitable for this thesis because it would not support a balanced investigation of both skills-based and deliberative programs. Instead, two cases were selected as 'polar types' (Eisenhardt and Graebner 2007). This means that independently, each case is typical of either the skills-based or deliberative type program. When taken together, the two cases support a more holistic understanding of whether and how different types of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs support opportunities for and experiences of social inclusion.

Because the two cases were developed via an exploratory approach, it was important that the significant theoretical development that informed their selection not introduce confirmation bias. To reduce confirmation bias, the two case studies were selected without a prior understanding of what effect the programs would have on the citizens/consumers who attended. The selection of the two cases was based on the publicly communicated aim of either program—which was either to provide citizens/consumers with access to knowledge or to support citizens/consumers to influence local decision-making—and at a time when both programs were still in progress. Bennett and Elman (2006) describe this process of decision-making as the selection of cases based on the independent variable, rather than the dependent variable. By adopting this approach, the two cases were open to resonating with or questioning the theoretical propositions that informed their

selection (Chapter 3). Section 4.3 (below) outlines the processes that were followed during data collection to further reduce confirmation bias.

The remainder of this section introduces the two cases that were developed to inform this thesis. The skills-based program was a digital literacy program for seniors, which was jointly run by state government and Telstra, the largest telecommunications firm in Australia. The deliberative program was a community engagement program that Wolfers, a large Australian property developer, conducted in two of its new residential property developments, Oasis and Glitz Apartments. The two cases were selected not only because they were typical of either skills-based or deliberative CSR programs, but also because they offered sufficient opportunity for learning (Stake 1995: 4-7; Merkens 2004: 166-167). Both Telstra and Wolfers were supportive of the research project and supported the researcher's access to individuals and CSR activities.[1]

Tech Savvy Seniors: a case of skills-based CSR

Tech Savvy Seniors—categorised in this thesis as a skills-based program—was a program jointly funded and administered by the New South Wales (NSW) state government and Telstra to improve digital inclusion among seniors (aged 60 or over) by helping them develop their understanding and use of ICTs. Through Tech Savvy Seniors, Telstra and the state government provided financial assistance and digital literacy training material to 64 public libraries and 36 community colleges in metropolitan and regional areas of New South Wales, Australia. Over a period of 18 months, libraries and community colleges offered one- to two-hour training sessions on topics such as emailing, internet browsing, online banking and shopping, cyber safety, using a webcam and digital photography on ICT devices including smartphones, tablets and computers. Training providers (i.e. public libraries and community colleges) were given some flexibility in how they packaged up these modules for enrolment and so some seniors attended many modules while others attended one or two. All training was provided at no cost to seniors. Over the 18-months between the first and last tutorials, Telstra estimates

[1] A large superannuation fund was also invited to participate in this study, with interest to examine the outcomes of its financial advice service on the financial literacy of members. Negotiations occurred between February–May 2014 over two meetings and numerous phone calls and emails. A case study protocol and research instruments were developed. The case study did not proceed because the superannuation fund required the researcher to sign a confidentiality agreement that would have compromised the independence of the research.

that Tech Savvy Seniors supported 17,000 training spots (Tim [Telstra sustainability officer] 2015, pers. comm., 23 April).

In public communications, Telstra and the state government described the aim of Tech Savvy Seniors as, to "help bridge the gap between those seniors who use technology, and those who don't… [to] deliver real health, social and community benefits, especially for those in rural and remote areas" (DFCS 2013). Tech Savvy Seniors initially commenced in 2012 as a state-run program that included a narrower range of training modules and was delivered through community colleges only. Telstra's involvement in Tech Savvy Seniors commenced in 2013, when it approached the government department with a proposal to expand the pilot program by providing $200,000 in funding (in addition to the $500,000 already invested by state government) and new training guides (Tim [Telstra sustainability officer] 2015, pers. comm., 23 April). How Telstra developed the new training guides or more specifically, what role seniors played in this process is beyond the scope of this study. These additional resources had the effect of expanding the range of training modules that the program offered and expanding the number of training providers by funding public libraries to also participate in the program. Telstra's involvement came about via its Office of Sustainability, which includes a team that manages various strategic CSR programs aimed at boosting digital inclusion in Australia. This case study explores Tech Savvy Seniors between January 2013 and June 2014—the duration of the first Tech Savvy Seniors partnership between Telstra and NSW state government.

For the purpose of this thesis, Tech Savvy Seniors was categorised as a typical case of a skills-based CSR program because it aimed to support social change by helping citizens/consumers access knowledge that may strengthen critical engagement in the key activities of society. Digital literacy and digital inclusion are increasingly important for participation in contemporary Australian (and other Western) societies. In Australia, internet use is steadily becoming more important in supporting social participation and connection, as public and private organisations increasingly disseminate information and deliver services online (ACMA 2014: 45; ACMA 2015: 58-59), as the significance and means of relating to local communities changes (Han *et al.* 2014; Revilla *et al.* 2013) and socio-structural changes increase risks of social isolation, particularly among seniors (Beer *et al.* 2016). Yet, the Australian Communications and Media Authority (ACMA 2014) finds that more than two thirds of adult, non-internet users (70%)

are people aged 65 and over. Figure 5 (below) shows a comparison of internet users across age groups. Although seniors are highly likely to face financial barriers to physically accessing ICTs (ABS 2013), their relatively poor use of internet is most often explained in terms of a lacking interest or lacking opportunity to learn to use ICTs via education or employment (Boulton-Lewis *et al.* 2007; Olphert *et al.* 2005; Warburton *et al.* 2013). Programs that aim to overcome this barrier are therefore particularly significant in enabling seniors to access knowledge for involvement in the key activities of their society—i.e. use of ICTs to access information and services.

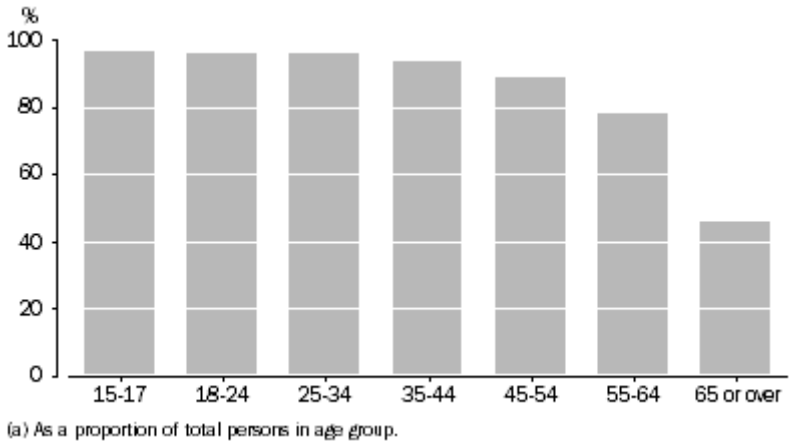


Figure 5. Internet users* in Australia in 2012-13, by age group *(Source: ABS 2014)*

** 'internet users' refers to people aged 15 years and over who accessed the internet within the previous 12 months.*

To be categorised as a strategic, customer-focused CSR program, Tech Savvy Seniors also needed to benefit Telstra by enhancing its exchanges with customers. In an interview that was conducted for this study, a sustainability officer at Telstra commented that "36% of [Telstra's] customers are seniors… but [seniors] still come in to a store and they're terrified of technology" (Tim [Telstra sustainability officer] 2015, pers. comm., 23 April). From Telstra's perspective, seniors therefore constitute a significant portion of customers who nonetheless face barriers to fuller consumption of Telstra's products or services. By not limiting the eligibility of seniors who could attend Tech Savvy Seniors, the program could improve Telstra's exchanges with existing customers as well as enable exchanges with new customers. Although improving the provider-customer exchange was the most visible commercial benefit of Tech Savvy Seniors, secondary benefits were also likely. First, Telstra is exposed to significant media

scrutiny (e.g. Brito 2014; Carter 2016; Griffiths 2013; Sharma 2014) and so Telstra may perceive it to be strategically important to demonstrate corporate citizenship. Second, Telstra is also subject to government regulation that promotes the accessibility of telecommunications (Chapter 5) and so its voluntary engagement may have the strategic intent of improving relations with government.

The process for arranging Telstra's participation in the present study was lengthy and complex, with negotiations occurring over a year-long period (June 2013 to June 2014). The process commenced with an introductory email between the researcher's supervisor and the supervisor's personal contact at Telstra. The researcher then communicated with Telstra over the course of six months to identify a digital literacy program which would be appropriate and mutually beneficial for evaluation. The remaining six months were spent drafting a research agreement between Telstra and the University. Although negotiations were lengthy and complex, they guaranteed researcher access to individuals for data collection. They also clearly articulated the roles and responsibilities of Telstra and the researcher.

The legal research agreement with Telstra posed two potential limitations that the researcher actively mitigated. First, although the agreement provided the researcher with logistical support for accessing research participants for data collection, it also constrained the freedom with which the researcher could access new sources of data as the case study unfolded. To address this potential limitation, the researcher drafted the research agreement to include more interviews than required, to afford opportunities for additional data collection if needed. Second, because of the lengthy process of negotiating the agreement, data collection did not commence until the final weeks of the Tech Savvy Seniors program. This limited the researcher's opportunity to attend Tech Savvy Seniors tutorials in person to conduct participant observation. To address this potential limitation, the researcher attended one Tech Savvy Seniors tutorial and supplemented this by holding one-on-one tutorials with seniors at a local NGO. This enabled the researcher to observe the challenges and experiences of seniors in improving their digital skills.

Finally, the formal research agreement also created scope for Telstra to provide funding for the research project to be carried out. This did not impose any

explicit or experiential obligations on the researcher, who did not have an interest in working with or for Telstra beyond the completion of this case study.

Wolfers' community engagement: a case of deliberative CSR

The second case study that informs this thesis is of a community engagement program that Wolfers, as an Australian property developer, conducted in two of its new, residential property developments, Oasis and Glitz Apartments. Wolfers' community engagement was selected as a typical case of a deliberative, strategic, customer-focused CSR program because it invited residents to join residents' associations to participate in local decision-making and encouraged residents to expand their social networks and sense of identity through community events. This thesis focused on the residents' associations that Wolfers established at Oasis and Glitz Apartments because they became site of deliberation and shared decision-making among residents. As theorised in Chapter 3, deliberation may allow residents to actively shape personal inclusion by determining their role and position in the emerging local residential community. Scholars who critically consider what relationships people are being 'included into', argue that being involved in shaping one's own inclusion is crucial for supporting strong processes of inclusion (Labonte 2004; Martin 2004). The case study also explored Wolfers' general community engagement because, as Putnam (2000) argues, civic organisations rely on the social capital that circulates broader social networks for trust and norms of reciprocity.

Oasis is a masterplanned housing estate located on a 55-hectare infill site in the suburbs of a major city in Australia. When completed, the estate is expected to consist of up to 900 lots and be home to 2,000 residents. In line with the typical characteristics of masterplanned housing estates (McGuirk and Dowling 2007), Oasis offers housing in a new neighbourhood that is built around carefully designed physical and social infrastructure such as parks, walking tracks, barbeque facilities and a community garden. Although the housing estate is regulated by Wolfers and the local council, Wolfers has established a residents' association with the purpose of involving local residents in the design and management of a community garden which is located in a park on the estate. Wolfers also encourages residents to develop a sense of attachment to, and ownership of place by putting on community events that promote the notion of happy, young, middle-income families. These events are typically held at the weekend, are linked to the

‘opening’ of a park, the local shops, a community garden or new display home, and involve live music, catering and activities that are child-friendly.

Glitz Apartments by comparison, is a multi-apartment development siting on a 15-hectare site in a newly rezoned inner-city location. At the time of this study, two thirds of the site had been developed. The precinct is located within walking distance of the central business district, it consists of mostly one or two bedroom apartments and is marketed at an affluent, ‘empty-nester’ market segment (Coiacetto 2007: 266-267). Wolfers emphasises the ‘neighbourhood’ or ‘village’ quality of Glitz Apartments alongside the physical features of a waterfront location, gym, parklands, barbeque facilities and hospitality outlets. Reflecting its approach to Oasis, Wolfers encourages a sense of attachment and ownership of place by hosting community events which reinforce the lifestyle propositions embedded in the design of the precinct—in this case, luxurious, inner-city living. Residents’ associations at Glitz Apartments took the form of owners’ corporations which—as is typical of apartment blocks in Australia—governed the shared infrastructure of the precinct. Owners’ corporations were established to meet statutory requirements, however were also incorporated into Wolfers broader approach to community engagement.

For the purpose of this thesis, Wolfers’ community engagement was categorised as a typical case of a deliberative CSR program because it aimed to create social change by involving citizens/consumers in local decision-making. The researcher took care to assess whether Wolfers aimed to deeply engage and empower residents via deliberation or whether consultation was designed to facilitate ‘tokenistic’ consultation (Arnstein 1969). Factors such as the early set up of the residents’ associations and the objective of tasking residents’ associations with management of shared amenity indicated that Wolfers aimed to tangibly involve residents in decision-making (Bowen *et al.* 2010). The depth of Wolfers’ community engagement in practice was explored during the development of the case study and not as part of case selection. By offering opportunities for deliberation, residents’ associations may have promoted social cohesion among residents and their attachment to local community. This is particularly important in new residential communities because they are more susceptible to insufficient services and fast growth, which may cause social isolation among residents (Francis *et al.* 2015). As the *Social Exclusion Monitor* (Chapter 1) suggests, when membership, connection or satisfaction with one’s local community are low

(Azpitarte and Bowman 2015), individuals become more vulnerable to risks of social exclusion.

To be categorised as a strategic, customer-focused CSR program, Wolfers' community engagement also needed to present commercial benefits to Wolfers by enhancing its exchanges with customers. In comparison to the case of Tech Savvy Seniors—which was open to all seniors regardless of whether they were Telstra customers or not—Wolfers's community engagement was targeted at Wolfers' existing customers. This suggested that the strategic intent of community engagement was to develop relational resources with customers—such as trust and loyalty—that may hold positive commercial implications for corporate reputation or repeat purchasing. As in the case of Tech Savvy Seniors, although improving the provider-customer exchange appeared as the most visible and direct commercial benefit, the strategic, customer-focused CSR program may have also been strategically important for improving Wolfers' exchanges with other stakeholders. For example, Wolfers is subject to government regulation that aims to promote the 'liveability' of urban development (Chapter 5). With this in mind, Wolfers' customer-focused community engagement may have been strategically important to improving relations with government.

The Wolfers case study was arranged during three meetings over the course of four months (June – October 2013). The first meeting was with a member of the national sustainability team, and the subsequent two meetings were with managers in the state where research was conducted. Wolfers did not require a formal agreement with the University. Instead, the researcher and Wolfers reached a spoken agreement that Wolfers would facilitate the researcher's access to individuals and community engagement events, and that the researcher would report on the research findings to Wolfers once data had been collected and analysed. Accordingly, a report of the research findings was presented to Wolfers on 22 July 2014. In contrast to the formal agreement between the University and Telstra, the informal agreement between the researcher and Wolfers meant there was more uncertainty as to the depth of inquiry that Wolfers would tolerate. Yet, by conducting the case study in a less formal manner, the researcher was able to distance herself from Wolfers and may have therefore appeared more approachable by research participants. There was no monetary exchange between the researcher and Wolfers, as had been the case with Telstra.

4.2 Research questions and levels of analysis

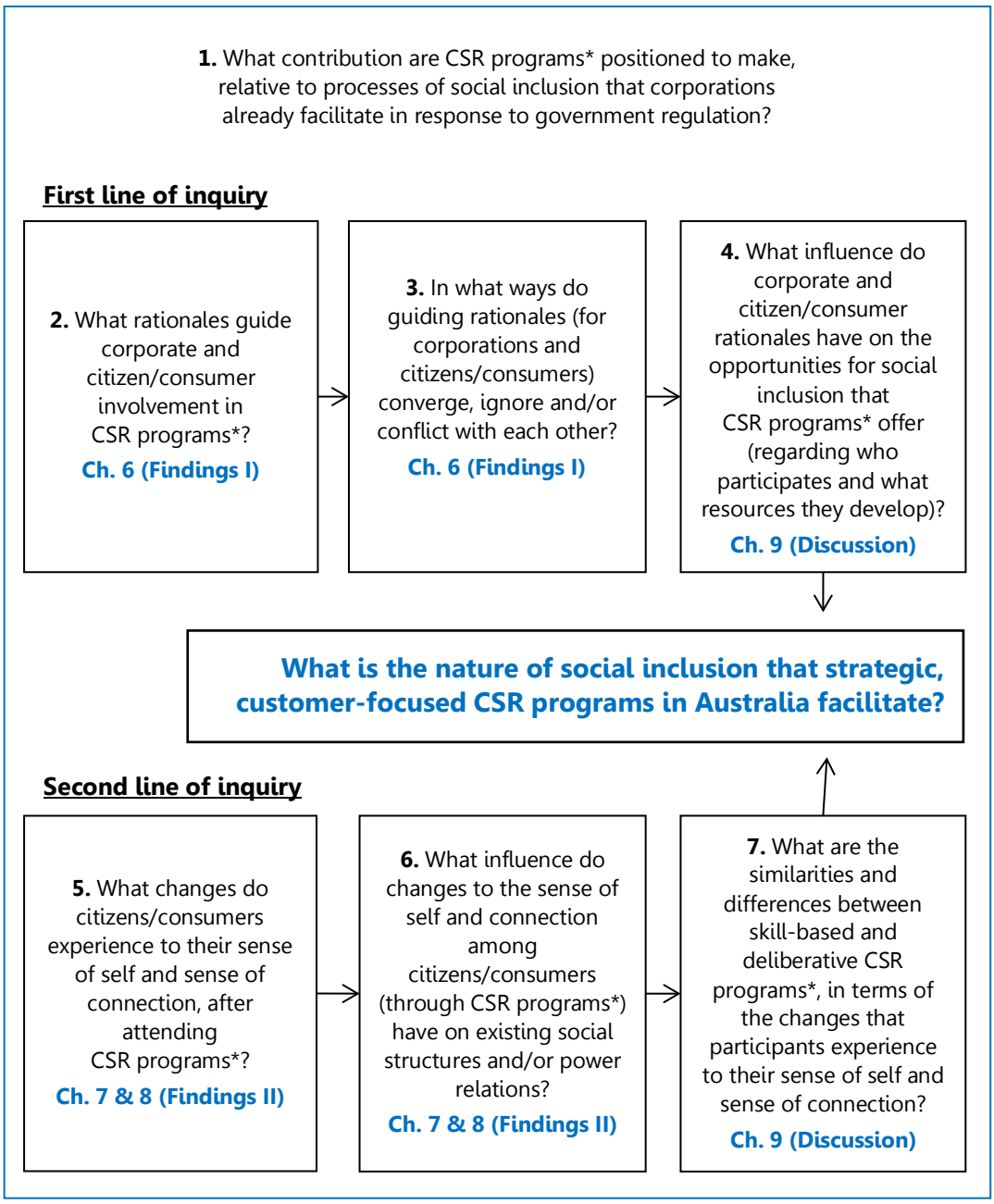
The two case studies above were developed to improve our understanding of the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate. As shown in Figure 6 (below), this was achieved by exploring one contextual question and six further research questions organised into two lines of inquiry.

The contextual research question—which will be addressed in Chapter 5—asks what contribution strategic, customer-focused CSR programs are positioned to make, relative to processes of social inclusion that corporations already facilitate in response to government regulation. This contextual question considers the role of strategic, customer-focused programs, given the blurring boundary between governments and businesses in supporting the social involvement of citizens/consumers.

The objective of the next three questions—questions 2 to 4—is to investigate how corporations and citizens/consumers create particular opportunities for social inclusion through their involvement in strategic CSR. Accordingly, the second research question asks: what rationales guide corporate and citizen/consumer involvement in strategic, customer-focused CSR programs? Next, in what ways do the guiding rationales of corporations and citizens/consumers converge, ignore and/or conflict with each other? And finally, how does the intersection of these interests and perspectives affect who is invited to participate in strategic, customer-focused CSR programs and what resources the programs help participants develop to strengthen their inclusion in society? Together, these questions constitute the thesis' first line of inquiry, which explores how corporations and citizens/consumers shape the opportunities for social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs present.

A further three questions—questions 5 to 7—constitute the second line of inquiry, which investigates the experience of attending strategic, customer-focused CSR programs. Accordingly, the fifth question adopts a phenomenological approach and asks: what changes do citizens/consumers experience to their sense of agency and sense of connection after attending strategic, customer-focused CSR programs? Sixth, how do different types of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs—i.e. depending on whether programs aim to develop personal skills or facilitate deliberation—adjust or perpetuate existing power relations? And finally, by drawing on this comparison, what are the similarities and differences between

participants' sense of agency and sense of connection, depending on the type of strategic CSR program they attend? Together, the two lines of inquiry have been developed to guide the thesis to provide insight into the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate.



'CSR programs' refers to 'strategic, customer-focused CSR programs in Australia'

Figure 6. Research questions to guide two lines of inquiry *(Source: author)*

The two lines of inquiry charted in Figure 6 (above), presuppose that corporations and citizens/consumers play active roles in shaping the pathways of social inclusion that emerge in the context of customer-focused, strategic CSR. This assumption is most evident in the first line of inquiry which considers the interplay between what citizens/consumers and what corporations hope to achieve by attending or investing in customer-focused, strategic CSR. As Flyvbjerg argues, understanding why social actors make particular decisions or have particular experiences requires an investigation of the meaning that these decisions or experiences take on within the unique power relations that structure particular social contexts (2001: ch. 6-7). Which contexts were relevant to one's meaning-making was determined through conversation between the researcher and research participant. When approaching the field however, the researcher was guided by existing scholarship on social inclusion and CSR to identify the contexts outlined in Figure 7 (below) as most likely to be relevant for the meaning-making of corporations and citizens/consumers. Assumptions about the relevance of contexts informed the questions embedded in research instruments.

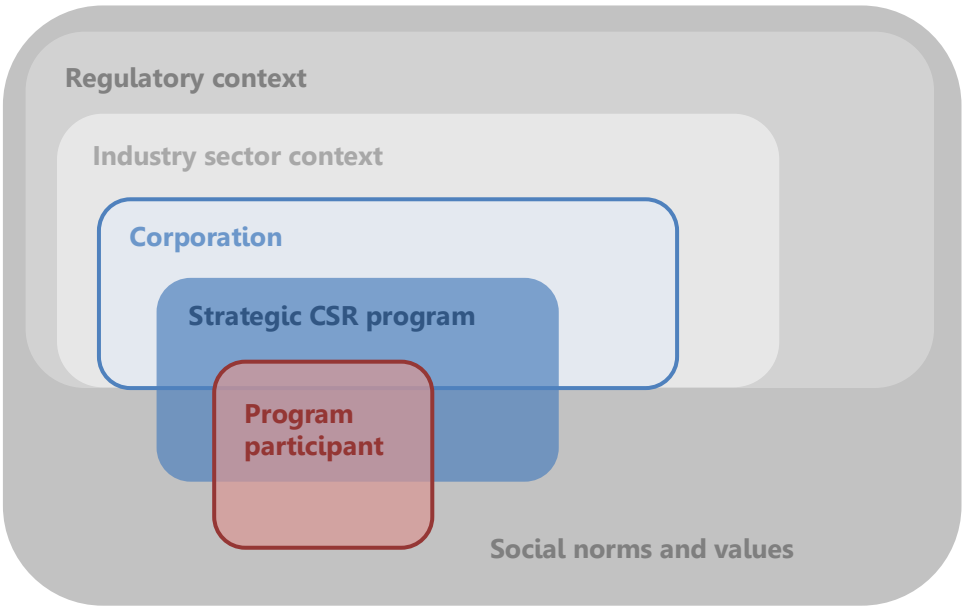


Figure 7. Positioning corporations and program participants in context *(Source: author)*

The positioning of the corporation in Figure 7 (above) indicates that the meaning-making of corporate decision-making occurs through or against pressures that

circulate in the firm's industry sector, regulatory context and broader social norms and values. In recent years, the influence of industry and regulatory contexts on corporate take-up of strategic CSR has attracted the attention of neo-institutionalist scholars (e.g. Bice 2012; Bondy *et al.* 2012) and political economy scholars (e.g. Matten and Moon 2008; Gond *et al.* 2011) respectively. Whilst the layering of contexts informs the study generally, research question 1 in Figure 6 (above) assigns particular attention to the role of regulatory context. This focus resonates with the thesis' interest in how the individualisation of risk in social policy is changing the boundary between government and industry; and how this in turn, is influencing corporate awareness of and action regarding social inclusion. By considering the corporate perspective, the thesis emphasises the active role that corporations play in interpreting and responding to this social change. The corporate perspective or worldview was ascertained via accounts provided by employees who were tangibly involved in the design and/or implementation of the strategic CSR programs selected for analysis.

Program participants were considered as a group of individuals who engaged in meaning-making processes through and against the same contexts. This does not mean that program participants were a homogenous group, but rather, that they made their perceptions and experiences meaningful via resonance with or resistance against similar pressures and social structures. Heterogeneity of program participants was explored through purposive sampling of research participants (section 4.3 below). Figure 7 (above) positions program participants wholly within the context of general social norms and values and only partly within the context of the strategic CSR program. This positioning guided an inquiry of how program participants referred to social values and norms which shaped their everyday lives, to make sense of their involvement in the strategically designed CSR program. This perspective helped position participation in strategic CSR programs, relative to the numerous interactions and relationships that shape individuals' day-to-day lives.

To investigate the opportunities and outcomes of strategic CSR programs for social inclusion, the study brought the meaning-making of corporations and citizens/consumers into conversation. This was achieved not through observation and analysis of interaction between corporation and citizen/consumer, but through intertextual analysis (Schwatrz-Shea and Yanow 2012: 88). An understanding of meaning-making of citizens/consumers and corporations was first developed

separately through the researcher's conversations with program participants or employees. As directed by research question 3 in Figure 6 (above), the researcher then analysed how the distinct processes of meaning-making resonated, ignored and/or conflicted with each other. In this process, the researcher was most active in identifying the tensions and synergies that constrained and triggered interaction between social actors and thus shaped the relational processes of social inclusion.

4.3 Data collection

The two case studies were developed using the same methods of generating data—involving qualitative, semi-structured interviews with program participants and employees, participant observation of each CSR program and surveys of program participants. Qualitative, semi-structured interviews were the primary method of data collection because they provided greatest insight into the meaning that program participants and corporations attributed to their involvement in strategic, customer-focused CSR. The thesis uses this insight to understanding how different social actors interact in the context of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs to create particular opportunities and experiences of social inclusion. The case studies also draw on data collected via participant observation of the two CSR programs and a survey of seniors or local residents. The purpose of these supplementary methods of data collection was to support the collection and interpretation of data created via interviews.

To enhance the consistency of data collection and analysis, the researcher developed case study protocols before case studies commenced, and updated them as the cases unfolded. The case study protocols listed the points and purpose of data collection, the research instruments as well as the coding frame that was later developed to thematically analyse data. Aside from guiding the development of the two cases, early versions of the protocols supported the researcher in reaching agreement with Telstra and Wolfers about the researcher's activities in the field. The protocols will also be useful in the future if replication studies are attempted.

Primary data: interviews

Qualitative, semi-structured interviews were conducted with seniors, local residents and employees to generate open discussions about the meaning of the strategic CSR program to the research participant, given their unique situation as a citizen/consumer or employee. As outlined in Figure 8 below, interviews were

conducted over an 18 month period, between October 2013 and April 2015. To strengthen the accuracy of findings, the researcher took great care in deciding who would be invited to participate in interviews, when and where interviews would take place and the role the researcher would play in encouraging conversation. This section outlines how the researcher made these decisions.

Informant	Time of interview	Place of interview	Duration
Seniors	Jun 2014 – Jul 2014	Phone interviews	20-25 minutes
Local residents	Oct 2013 – Jun 2014	Informants' homes or local cafés	20-90 minutes
Employees of Wolfers or Telstra	Nov 2013 – Apr 2015	Employees' meeting rooms or local cafés	25-60 minutes

Figure 8. Time and location of interviews *(Source: author)*

To develop a rich and nuanced understanding of the processes of social inclusion that characterise strategic, customer-focused CSR programs, a purposive sampling strategy was used to recruit interviewees with diverse perspectives and experiences. Gobo explains that "purposive sampling consists of detecting cases…within a wide range of situations to maximize variation" (2004: 448). Variation is important because it increases the likelihood of investigating different perspectives and experiences of a social dynamic. This is important for qualitative studies which are not focused on investigating the characteristics of a social group (e.g. seniors) but rather, focused on understanding the multifaceted dimensions of a social process (e.g. social inclusion; Gobo 2004: 435). Seniors who participated in interviews were diverse in terms of gender, location and prior use of ICTs, whereas local residents who participated in interviews were diverse in terms of their level of local participation, their household structure and employment status. Drawing on existing studies, these factors were theorised to bring about different interest in and experience of either CSR program. For ethical reasons, individuals were not refused participation in the study and so the distribution across these criteria was not perfect. Sampling of research participants nonetheless provided adequately diverse accounts of the programs.

The researcher took care in supporting individuals to feel comfortable and safe throughout their participation in the study. Interviews were conducted at a time and place that was convenient for research participants and the researcher

worked to create a trusting relationship between herself and research participants. These strategies were important not only to promote the accuracy of findings, but more fundamentally, to uphold the ethical principle of respecting research participants. Interviews took place in the days, weeks or months following attendance of Tech Savvy Seniors or Wolfers' community engagement. It was ideal to conduct the interviews soon after program attendance so that research participants would have a good recollection of their impressions and experiences of either program. Interviews were sometimes conducted some months after program attendance because of the lengthy process of arranging researcher access to the field. Where required, the researcher supported research participants to recollect their experiences by asking incremental questions and asking about important experiences that intersected with program attendance (Fowler and Consenza 2009).

Before any interview commenced, research participants were provided with a plain language statement (Appendix A) that detailed the aim of the research project and the intended use and possible sites of publication of their data. Interviewees were informed that they could end their interview at any time, that they were able to withdraw their data up to the point of analysis and that their data would be de-identified prior to analysis, including use of pseudonyms. Although this process sometimes created a formal atmosphere to the interview, it ensured that research participants were informed of what their participation in the research entailed before they provided consent (either orally or in writing) to carry out the interview. At all times, research was conducted in line with the essential values that guide ethical research—respect for human beings, research merit and integrity—with the aim of shaping a relationship of trust, mutual responsibility and ethical equality between the researcher and research participants (NHMRC 2015).

Because of the exploratory and interpretive approach of the two case studies, it was important for the researcher to create a forum in which research participants felt comfortable to speak their mind. To this end, the research instruments (Appendix B), commenced with broad questions to afford research participants the opportunity to identify topics or situations that were important to them, however may not have already constituted part of the researcher's sense-making. This introductory discussion then informed and shaped how more focused questions were asked later in the interview (Flick 2009: 150-151). To help research participants feel at ease, the researcher dressed similarly to research

participants, used conversational language and demonstrated an acceptance of the perspectives that research participants presented. This is commonly referred to as a process of 'impression management' (Broom *et al.* 2009). When asking follow–up question, the researcher was also careful not to stereotype participants (and searched for complexity instead; Krumer-Nevo 2002), to ask for clarifications, elaborations and examples, and to ask for verification of understanding. These strategies were useful for 'impression management' as well as for minimising confirmation bias, which can occur when researchers search for evidence that supports his/her developing understanding or theorisation of social phenomena. The privacy of research participants was also protected through anonymity

Sampling and recruitment of seniors who attended Tech Savvy Seniors

A group of 48 seniors who had participated in Tech Savvy Seniors and were diverse in terms of gender, location (i.e. regional or metropolitan) and prior use of ICTs was purposefully recruited for interview. These traits guided the sampling of seniors because existing studies suggest that they influence how individuals perceive and experience the use of ICTs. Existing research indicates that men and women tend to use ICTs for different activities. While older women report that they use the internet for social networking and games, older men report that they use the internet for functions such as bills, government services, education and music or movies (ABS 2014). Men and women were therefore expected to find changes to their digital skills to be meaningful in different ways. Likewise, evidence suggests that the meaning of internet use varies among people living in regional compared to metropolitan areas. As Warburton *et al.* (2013) discusses, seniors living in regional areas of Australia are more likely to face physical distance as a barrier to accessing government and other services or staying in touch with social networks (particularly as younger generations migrate to cities for education and employment). While gender and location were theorised to affect the meaning that seniors would attribute to improving their digital skills (in terms of how ICTs might support social participation), prior use of ICTs was theorised to shape the experience of using ICTs (particularly for one's sense of agency). Scholars who research computer anxiety find that if people perceive themselves to be able to use computers, they are more likely to enjoy using them, and vice versa (Thatcher and Perrewe 2002; Powell 2013). It was theorised that if gender, location and prior use of ICTs influences how seniors perceive and

experience ICTs, that these factors would also shape how seniors perceive and experience programs such as Tech Savvy Seniors, which aim to develop participants' understanding and use of ICTs.

The sampling tree in Figure 9 (below) illustrates the diversity of the 48 interviewees, across the key traits of location, gender and prior use of ICTs.

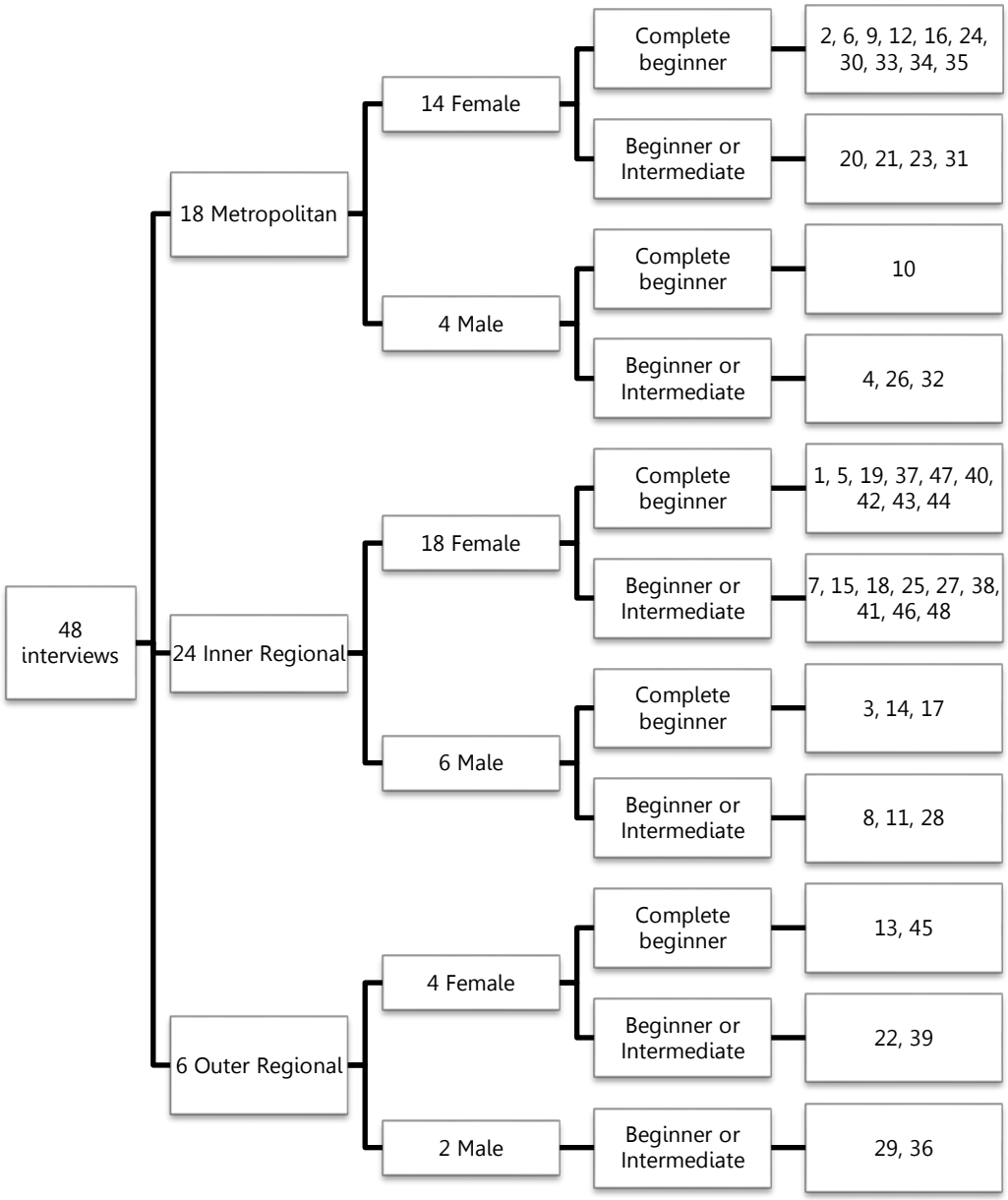


Figure 9. Sampling tree of seniors who participated in Tech Savvy Seniors *(Source: author)*

The sampling tree demonstrates that although variation across the key traits of location, gender and prior use of ICTs was achieved, there was nonetheless a concentration of seniors who were female and living in metropolitan and inner regional areas. Seniors had been given the option of providing their contact details at the completion of their tutorial if they were amenable to participating in a program evaluation. Guided by the study's purposive sampling strategy, the government department (which was involved in Tech Savvy Seniors) made contact with seniors and arranged a time for the interview to occur. The government department did not achieve a perfect distribution across the sampling tree, largely because women had been more likely to volunteer to be contacted to participate in future research and because the program had been delivered in more metropolitan and inner regional locations than outer regional locations (Figure 10).

Although training providers provided anecdotal accounts that women had been more likely to attend TSS than men, training providers did not collect systematic data that measured the number of women participants, compared to men. Australian data do show that gender is not a significant indicator of internet use or non-use, unlike education or income (ABS 2014), suggesting that there is just as much need among older men as there among older women, to improve digital skills. It seems that if women had in fact been more likely to attend TSS than men (although we cannot say this for sure), the program had not been as successful in resonating with men in need, as it had with women in need. The final distribution of research participants across the sampling tree nonetheless enabled the study to interact with variation in meaning-making processes to explore different perspectives of the mechanisms of social inclusion in the context of strategic, customer-focused CSR.

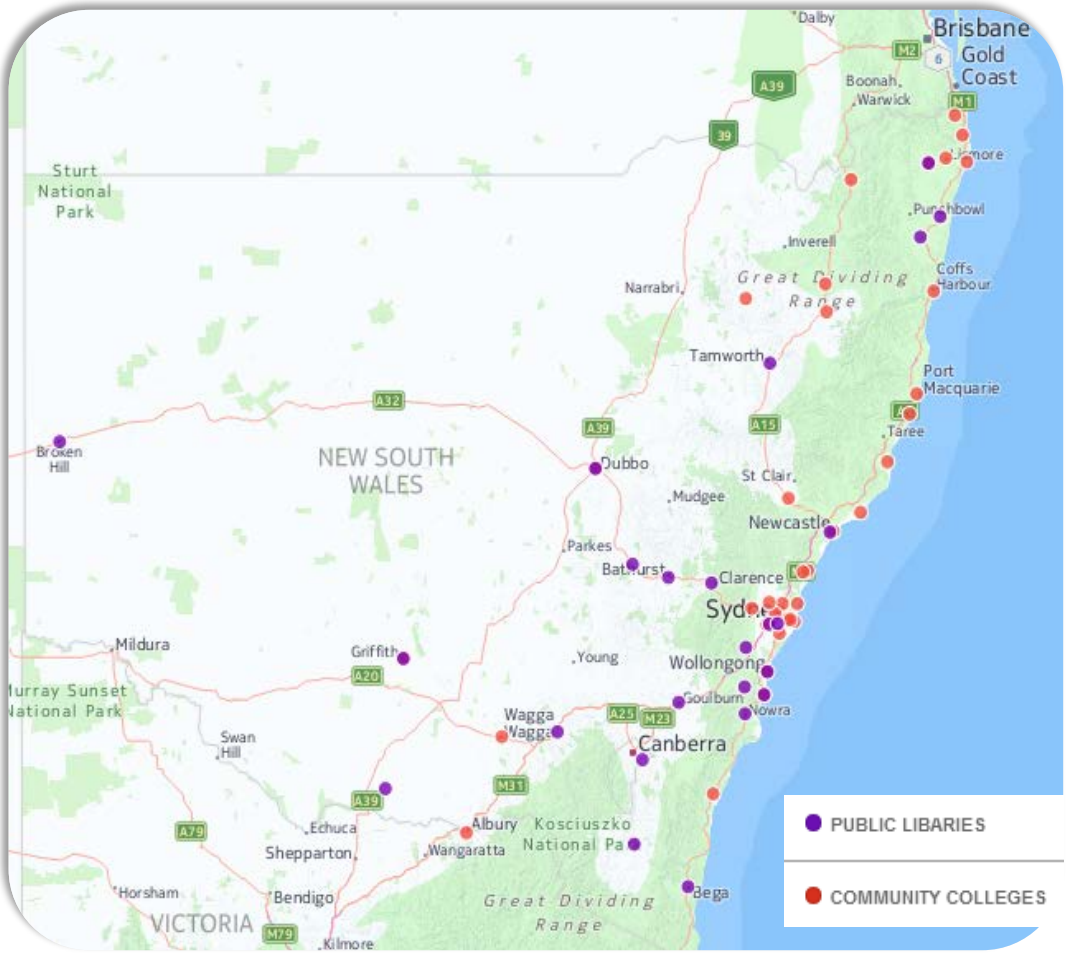


Figure 10. Locations of libraries and community colleges where Tech Savvy Seniors was offered *(Source: author)*

Interviews with seniors were conducted by telephone. This was primarily because research participants were recruited from numerous areas of New South Wales (a state about 800,000km^2 in size) which posed challenges for the researcher to meet with them in person. A possible limitation of conducting phone interviews was that they were relatively short (lasting about 20-25 minutes) and that both the researcher and research participant could only rely on what was spoken to reach understanding. Yet, the phone interview meant that seniors did not seem guarded or careful in how they presented their perspective and spoke quite frankly about their experience (Opdenakker 2006: 12-16).

Sampling and recruitment of residents living at Oasis or Glitz Apartments

A cohort of 29 residents from Oasis and Glitz Apartments, who had different levels of local community engagement (civic, social or no participation), household structure and employment status, was purposefully recruited for interview. Differences in local community engagement were theorised to trigger different processes of meaning-making. Evidence suggests that many residents in masterplanned communities do not interact with neighbours, however they nonetheless develop a strong emotional connection with their local community (Dowling *et al.* 2010; Rosenblatt *et al.* 2009). Kenna and Stevenson (2013) find that the visibility of a residents' association contributes to this sense of connection. Conversely, residents who participate in local decision-making often develop a professional and responsibility-laden approach to the local community (McGuirk and Dowling 2011). Residents were therefore theorised to have different experiences of Wolfers' community engagement, depending on what role they played in their local community. The sampling strategy also considered diversity of meaning-making to stem from differences in life stage, indicated by employment status and household structure (MacKean and Abbott-Chapman 2012; Volunteering Australia 2015: 4). The sampling tree in Figure 11 (below) illustrates the diversity of the 29 interviewees at Oasis and Glitz Apartments, across the key traits of community participation, household structure and employment.

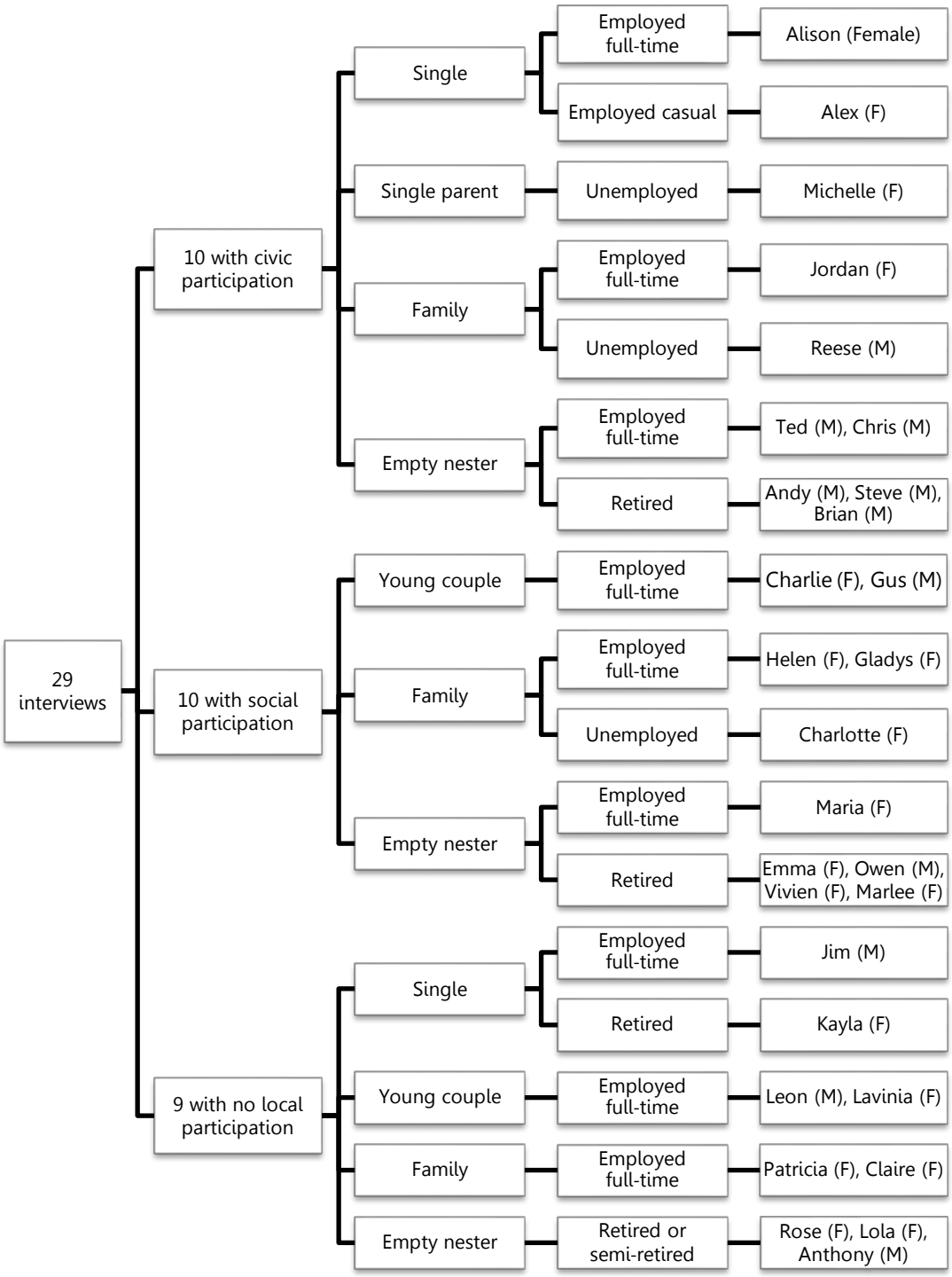


Figure 11. Sampling tree of local residents at Oasis and Glitz Apartments *(Source: author)*

At Oasis and Glitz Apartments, the researcher attended several community events, which served as opportunities to meet local residents and set up interviews in

person. Other residents were purposefully recruited for interview through snowballing, through referrals via Wolfers and via a space on the survey form where residents could provide their contact details if they were interested in being interviewed for the study. Interviews with residents who lived at Oasis and Glitz Apartments were carried out in person, at either the research participant's home (typically at Oasis) or in a local café (typical at Glitz Apartments)—depending on the preference of the research participant. Most interviews were between 30-40 minutes however interviews with residents who were passionate about their residents' associations were longer and more in-depth (i.e. up to 1.5 hours).

A key difference between the sampling of seniors and local residents was that only seniors who had attended Tech Savvy Seniors were invited for interview, whereas the Wolfers' case study included residents who had attended Wolfers' community engagement events as well as individuals who had not attended these community events. It was not feasible to locate seniors who had decided not to attend Tech Savvy Seniors. The program had been advertised in newspapers and on local noticeboards, inviting seniors to self-select if they wanted to attend or not. As such, there was no tangible forum or context in which to locate seniors who had decided not to attend. An implication of the different scope of sampling was that in the case study of Wolfers' community engagement, particular interviews were focused on understanding why some individuals had decided not to attend their local strategic-CSR program. Whereas 10 research participants had been involved in both local decision-making and social events that Wolfers hosted, 10 research participants had attended only the latter and 9 research participants had not attended either (see Figure 11). Understanding the perspectives of individuals who choose not to participate in CSR programs, or to only partially participate, is important to understand as it provides insight into the limits of strategic, customer focused CSR programs for facilitating social inclusion. Although this perspective was not fully investigated in the Tech Savvy Seniors case, it was still possible to investigate why some seniors had decided to attend particular training modules (e.g. email) but not others (e.g. internet banking). This approach helped overcome the limitation in sampling in the case of Tech Savvy Seniors.

Sampling of employees

A purposive sampling strategy was also used to recruit a cohort of 8 employees who had been involved in the design and/or administration of Tech Savvy Seniors

or Wolfers' community engagement programs. Rather than recruiting a heterogeneous sample however, employees were recruited based on whether they would be able to provide expert insight into the design and implementation of the strategic CSR programs under investigation (Flick 2009: 165-169; Trinczek 2009). Understanding the corporate perspective was important for answering the first four research questions charted in Figure 6 (above). These questions ask about the rationales that guide corporate involvement in strategic, customer-focused CSR to improve our understanding of the opportunities for social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs present.

Employees were invited to participate in interviews by email, either directly from the researcher or from a colleague who was in communication with the researcher. Depending on the preference of employees, interviews subsequently occurred in a local café or a meeting room in the employee's office. Interviews were 25-60 minutes in duration—often depending on how open employees were to answering the researcher's questions.

The sampling tree presented in Figure 12 (below) indicates that five employees were directly involved in the administration of TSS or Wolfers' community engagement and that three employees held higher-level, strategic positions in the respective organisations. This diversity was important because existing CSR scholarship indicates that the perspectives of employees in corporate policy or strategy can become loosely coupled or decoupled from the experiences, perspectives and rationales of employees in program delivery positions (Bice 2012). Some diversity in the expert perspectives therefore contributed to a fuller understanding of the rationales that guide corporate involvement in strategic CSR.

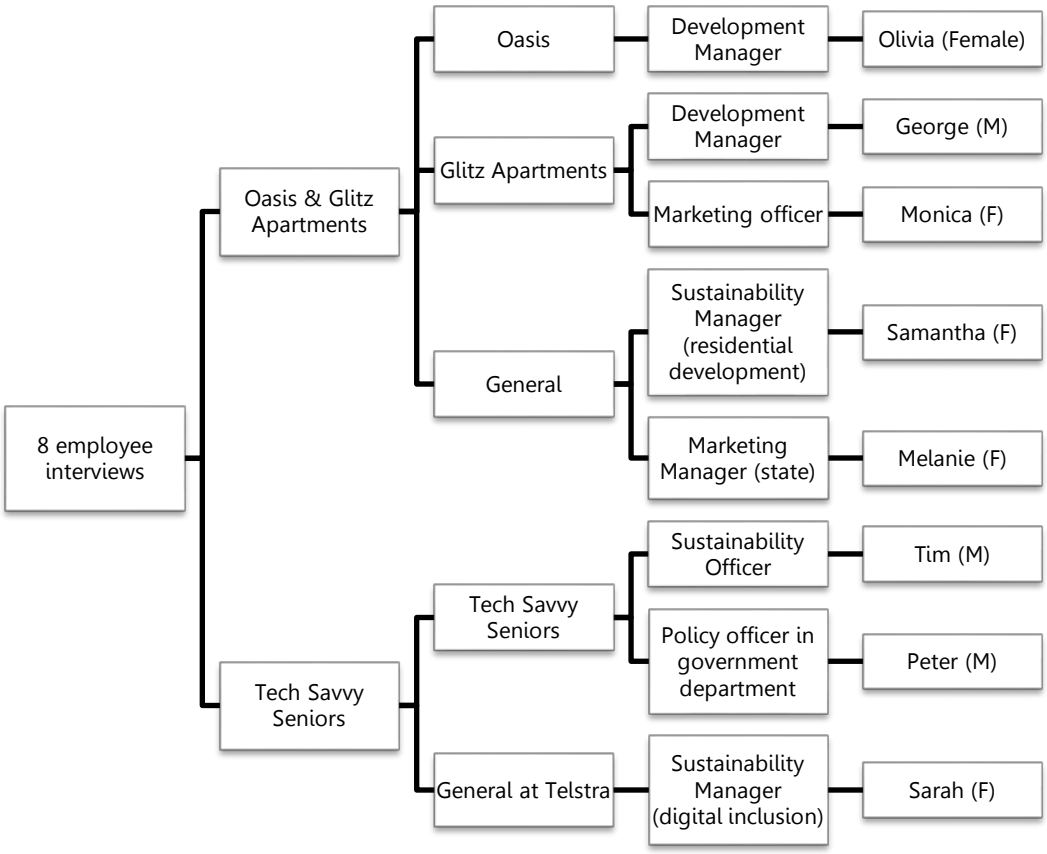


Figure 12. Sampling tree for employees of case studies *(Source: author)*

Supplementary data: participant observation and surveys

To aid in the development of case studies, supplementary data was generated via participant observation of CSR programs and surveys of seniors and local residents. Both forms of supplementary data were used to diversify and improve the researcher's understanding of the CSR programs, through immersion in the CSR programs themselves or through high-level illustrations of the characteristics and impressions of program attendees.

The researcher attended five CSR activities (Figure 13 below). Detailed field notes were written after each activity, describing the researcher's observations as well as impressions and analytic comments (Wolfinger 2002). These field notes were not systematically analysed and are not presented as evidence in the thesis, however they were useful as a source of ideas for new lines of inquiry during the development of the thesis. Having observed interactions

between program participants and Telstra or Wolfers during several CSR programs, the researcher was able to deepen her understanding of the perspectives that research participants described. Having experienced the atmosphere of CSR programs, the researcher felt better equipped to imagine and relate to the experiences that interviewees described and to prompt clarification and explanation during interviews. The shared experience of attending CSR programs helped build rapport and trust between researcher and research participant.

Date	Location	Activity
2 October 2013	Glitz Apartments	Interior Design tutorial
27 November 2013	Glitz Apartments	Christmas function for residents
7 December 2013	Oasis	Christmas function for residents
1 March 2014	Oasis	Opening of community garden
24 June 2014[1]	Hurstville Community College	Tech Savvy Seniors: Introduction to iPad

Figure 13. List of participant observation activities, by date and location *(Source: author)*

To develop a second source of supplementary data, the researcher also surveyed seniors who had attended Tech Savvy Seniors and local residents living at Oasis or Glitz Apartments. The purpose of the surveys was not to generate data that would directly answer the research questions but rather, to create a new perspective of the two CSR programs that would assist in the recruitment, conduct and interpretation of interviews. Of note, the survey forms included a field where respondents could volunteer to participate in qualitative interviews.

In the case of Tech Savvy Seniors, the researcher administered a 9-page survey which asked subjective and objective questions about respondents' attendance of Tech Savvy Seniors, their demographic characteristics, and their use of ICTs for connecting with social networks, supporting involvement in community life, and accessing information and services online. The survey was emailed to participants who provided email addresses (n=437). Program participants who did not provide email addresses were contacted to complete the

[1] The researcher attended only one Tech Savvy Seniors tutorial because the legal agreement which provided researcher access to the case was not finalised until June 2014, just as the CSR program neared completion.

survey over the telephone (n=83) or by mail (n=33). Over a period of 3 weeks in August 2014, 148 respondents participated in the survey (a response rate of 28%).

Local residents of Oasis and Glitz Apartments were provided with 2-page surveys which asked about their demographic characteristics, their participation in local community events, their interaction with neighbours and their perception of Wolfers' role in community development. Two hundred and thirty surveys were distributed to all letterboxes at Oasis on 30 November 2013 with the option of being completed online or via prepaid envelope. A reminder leaflet was distributed on 1 February 2014. A total of 34 responses were received (a response rate of 14.8%). Four hundred and seventy eight surveys were distributed to letterboxes of three apartment towers which, as the newest three in the development, were at the forefront of Wolfers' community engagement. The survey was provided on 18 March 2014 and a reminder leaflet was provided on 9 April 2014. A total of 71 responses were received (a response rate of 14.9%). The chance of winning two cinema tickets was offered as an incentive, with the aim of improving the response rate.

Both surveys were voluntarily completed and returned to the researcher. This method of survey administration is particularly vulnerable to self-selection bias—in which recipients who are passionate about the topic of the survey (through positive or negative experiences) or people who have more time than others, are most likely to complete the survey (Olsen 2008). Survey data was nevertheless collated to illustrate in broad brushstrokes who attended Tech Savvy Seniors or Wolfers' community engagement events, and the impressions that the programs created. Despite an unknown margin of error, this description was useful alongside data derived from participant observation of the programs and interviews with program participants. As noted above, the surveys also raised the profile of this study and attracting interest from strategic CSR program participants, some of whom later volunteered to be interviewed.

4.4 Data analysis

The two case studies were developed via an iterative logic of inquiry and so the initial stage of data analysis occurred in the midst of data collection. When research participants presented new perspectives, the researcher considered and sometimes used these perspectives to inform the future direction of inquiry. This

process promoted the accuracy of findings in the following two ways. First, it enabled the researcher to steer the collection of data in a way that accommodated the sense-making of research participants. Second, it enabled the researcher to consider how her emerging understanding of whether and how CSR programs facilitated processes of social inclusion resonated with individuals who had attended such programs. Once interviews had been conducted, interviews were transcribed and entered into QSR International's NVivo 10 software in preparation for thematic coding. There are many techniques of coding and recoding qualitative data, depending on the nature of research and research question (Saldaña 2012). In this study, thematic analysis followed two distinct stages and techniques.

Data from this study's 85 interviews were first organised into broad categories via a descriptive approach to coding. The broad categories were formulated in line with the theoretically-informed concerns that had structured interviews. Saldaña refers to this process as one of 'structural coding' (Saldaña 2012: 83-87). The purpose of structural coding was to collate various perspectives and experiences of a particular topic. For example, in the case of Tech Savvy Seniors, relevant data was compiled under the category of "the process of learning to use ICTs" which was further split into primary categories including: what support participants had received for developing digital skills outside of TSS, the meaningful ways in which participants were using ICTs and their thoughts on using ICTs in the future (Figure 14 below). Structural coding created an index that then allowed the researcher to sort through data according to common interview questions and topics.

The second phase of thematic coding adopted an analytic approach to disaggregate between the many perspectives of differentiated research participants (Gibbs 2008: 42-46). This process involved detecting trends and patterns in the words and perspective of research participants with the aim of bringing data together if they represented a similar perspective or experience. As indicated in Figure 14 (below), data within the code of 'using ICTs in meaningful ways' was further organised into subcodes to highlight differences and similarities between the experiences of research participants—e.g. in terms of using ICTs to connect with social networks, support one's involvement in community life, access information for personal interest, and so on.

Category: The process of learning to use ICTs

Code: SUPPORT TO IMPROVE DIGITAL SKILLS, OUTSIDE OF TSS
- Subcode: support from family (primary, secondary, negligent)
- Subcode: friends (primary, secondary, negligent)
- Subcode: civic group (primary, secondary, negligent)
- Subcode: workplace (primary, secondary, negligent)
- Subcode: computer store/other business (primary, secondary, negligent)
- Subcode: public library/community college, excluding TSS tutorial (primary, secondary, negligent)

Code: USING ICTs IN MEANINGFUL WAYS
- Subcode: to connect with family and/or friends
- Subcode: to support involvement in community life
- Subcode: to access information for personal interest
- Subcode: to access government services online
- Subcode: to shop online, or other economic transactions
- Subcode: to bank online
- Subcode: for travel
- Subcode: to play games online
- Subcode: to overcome distance, because living in rural area
- Subcode: other, such as study or employment
- Subcode: no use

Code: THOUGHTS ON USING ICTs IN THE FUTURE
- Subcode: excited to learn other ways of integrating ICTs into daily life
- Subcode: predicts difficulty of keeping up to date with ICT knowledge
- Subcode: fears adverse effects on social skills of younger generations
- Subcode: 'giving up' attitude, because of age
- Subcode: general fear

Figure 14. Excerpt from study's codebook *(Source: author)*

Different coding frames were developed for the two case studies to account for differences in conversation topics and experiences. A full list of categories and codes is provided at Appendix C.

5

Positioning strategic voluntarism in regulatory context

The processes of social inclusion that Telstra and Wolfers facilitated via Tech Savvy Seniors and community engagement initiatives take on particular significance when they are positioned within their regulatory contexts. Regulatory contexts are shaped by philosophies of governance and tangible laws that, as Heath (2011) suggests, ideally work towards more equitable distribution of wealth and/or the protection of social and public goods. Scholars including Crane (2010) and Scherer (2016) observe that the distribution of governance tasks between public and private sectors, however, is shifting. This is evident when we consider that social goals that have historically been the concern of the public sector—including the equitability of telecommunications and the liveability of new residential development—are extending into the private sector in the form of both voluntary and regulated corporate activity. To address the first research question of this thesis, this chapter frames the significance of the two (voluntary) strategic CSR programs in relation to the regulated initiatives that Telstra and Wolfers pursue to foster the equitability of telecommunication or the liveability of property development (Gond *et al.* 2011). In other words, the chapter considers the boundary between corporate social activity that is regulated and that which is

voluntary (i.e. strategic CSR) to begin to illustrate the unique role that strategic CSR is positioned to play in shaping the corporate contribution to social inclusion.

In recent years, scholars have given greater attention to the various intersections between government and business, as related to CSR (Dentchev *et al.* 2015; Gond *et al.* 2011; Knudsen *et al.* 2015; Marques 2016). Gond *et al.* caution that when scholars do not consider the intersections between CSR and government activities, they "misrepresent the empirical reality of CSR with serious consequences for policy" (2011: 641). This chapter uses a multi-level approach (Deeg and Jackson 2007; Orlitzky *et al.* 2015) to map these intersections as they relate to Tech Savvy Seniors and Wolfers' community engagement. First, the chapter draws on varieties of capitalism scholarship to develop a macro perspective of the roles that are prescribed to industry and government bodies under the liberal market political philosophy that tends to guide public policy in contemporary Australia (Hall and Soskice 2001: 19). Next, the chapter juxtaposes Tech Savvy Seniors and Wolfers' community engagement against industry-sector regulation that government bodies have developed over time to protect the accessibility of goods or services that are deemed valuable to society (specifically, the equitability of telecommunications and the liveability of new residential development). Finally, the chapter develops a micro perspective of the intersection between business and government agencies in the two case studies by considering how employees from public and private sectors negotiate the boundary between voluntary and regulated corporate social activity. Accordingly, for the purpose of this chapter, corporate social activity is loosely defined as the extra-economic interactions between corporations and stakeholders that encompasses voluntary interactions (such as CSR) as well as those mandated by government.

Scholars including Aguilera *et al.* (2007) and Aguinis and Glavas (2012) emphasise the importance of researching CSR using a multi-level approach. Aguilera *et al.* (2007) in particular, emphasise that different levels of analysis are structured by unique frames of sense-making that attach particular meaning to decisions, rationales and actions. Taking this approach, the significance of Tech Savvy Seniors and Wolfers' community engagement initiatives to the corporate contribution to social inclusion is different, depending on whether the programs are contextualised in their macro, meso or micro regulatory contexts. Uncovering the tension between the different levels of analysis invites a critical perspective of the government-business intersection at the macro level of political economy,

which is most commonly employed in CSR scholarship (Chen and Bouvain 2009; Knudsen *et al.* 2015; Matten and Moon 2008; Midttun *et al.* 2006). Whereas strategic CSR in liberal market economies tends to be conceptualised as a voluntary corporate activity that reflects corporate strategy (Brammer *et al.* 2012) the meso and micro perspectives position the contribution of strategic CSR, relative to existing government regulation of corporate social activity that has developed over time. Together, the three levels of analysis develop an intricate picture of the regulatory contexts that not only pressure corporations to take on particular roles, but more so, shape the significance of the decisions and actions that corporations make in the creation of strategic, customer-focused CSR.

5.1 Strategic CSR in liberal market economies

Scholars who adopt a macro political economy perspective emphasise the integral role that states play in defining the overarching structures and processes through which economic transactions occur. From a political economy perspective, cross-national differences in the character of CSR and how CSR is represented in corporate communication stem from variation in the institutional settings that states create to foster industry competitiveness (Griffiths and Zammuto 2005; Kang and Moon 2012; Knudsen *et al.* 2015; Matten and Moon 2008). Kang and Moon, for example, argue that "the behaviour and performance of large firms is dependent on the national institutional arrangements that govern finance and labour" (2012: 90). The focus on the structuring role of states is sometimes considered to sit at odds with firm-centric approaches to CSR that emphasise the autonomous decision-making of the firm (Griffiths and Zammuto 2005). This thesis adopts the view that the perceived autonomy of the firm in Australia and other liberal market economies including the USA, UK, Canada and New Zealand (Hall and Soskice 2001: 19) is enabled and indeed expected by institutional conditions created by the state.

Hall and Soskice, who are seminal figures in the political economy literature on varieties of capitalism, argue that liberal market economies are created by public policy that gives firms the freedom to 'hire-and-fire' employees, supports an education system that offers generalist skills for a transient workforce and that gives prominence to market self-organisation as the process for shaping economic relations (2001: 27-33). The archetypical liberal market economy is characterised by a competitive and untrusting market that is underpinned by a

financial system that revolves around the stock market. This orientation steers firms to orientate their corporate governance, including CSR initiatives, on 'maximising shareholder value' (Kang and Moon 2012: 91). Kang and Moon (2012) and Maignan and Ralston (2002) argue that shareholder primacy in liberal market economies brings about a 'performance driven' or 'social investment' model of CSR. By comparison, the financial system in coordinated market economies (such as Germany and Japan) is bank-based and so is more likely to encourage firms to foster networks and relationships with a more diverse group of stakeholders through non-market mechanisms (Hall and Soskice 2001: 21-27).

When strategic CSR programs such as Tech Savvy Seniors and Wolfers' community engagement are positioned in the liberal market context, they take on meaning as mechanisms of self-governance (Kinderman 2012). In this context, corporations often emphasise that their involvement in CSR is voluntary and pursued to derive economic benefit for shareholders (Brammer *et al.* 2012; Dentchev *et al.* 2015). In a seminal article, Matten and Moon (2008) observe that in this 'social investment' model of CSR, corporations are relatively forthcoming and explicit in outlining the extent of their involvement in CSR. This is because in the liberal market context, corporations have an interest in demonstrating to investors the active steps that are being taken to mitigate risks, including social and political risks linked to reputation (Harjoto 2011; Power 2007: ch. 5). Although many scholars question the efficacy of corporate self-regulation (Bondy *et al.* 2012; Lynch-Wood *et al.* 2009; Jenkins 2005; Vogel 2007, 2010), Kang and Moon nonetheless argue that strategic CSR is increasingly considered not only as desirable but "an integral part of the firm's competitive strategy" (2012: 96).

During the rapid take-up of strategic CSR in early 2000s, the Australian government—reflective of governments in other liberal market economies—reinforced the notion that corporations should be able to voluntarily design, administer and regulate their own CSR programmes. In 2006, a joint parliamentary committee conducted an inquiry into corporate responsibility and triple-bottom-line reporting to inform the government's views on its own role in steering organisational decision-making regarding the interests of stakeholders other than shareholders (Parliamentary Joint Committee on Corporations and Financial Services 2006). The joint committee reached the following conclusion, as outlined in its final report:

> *"The committee strongly supports further successful engagement in the voluntary development and wide adoption of corporate responsibility. The committee has formed the view that mandatory approaches to regulating director's duties and to sustainability reporting are not appropriate. Consequent on the recommendations of this report, the committee expects increasing engagement by corporations in corporate responsibility activities. This would obviate any future moves towards a mandatory approach. The committee believes that the recommendations contained in this report will play an important part in progressing the future of corporate responsibility in Australia."* (Parliamentary Joint Committee on Corporations and Financial Services 2006)

Although this conclusion recommends that CSR should be 'voluntary' and that a 'mandatory approach' would not be appropriate, the final sentence nonetheless recommends that government play a role in 'progressing' the future of CSR in Australia. To draw on Braithwaite's understanding of the new regulatory state the joint committee effectively recommended that the state become a role model that 'steers' the decision-making of private enterprise (Braithwaite 2000: 223).

In his work on the new regulatory state, Braithwaite argues that effective government regulation increasingly needs to draw on local knowledge, as economies have become larger and more complex (2000: 231-232). He argues that effective mechanisms of regulation often take the form of either local and specialised committees or the market, which is thought to reward actors who know and exploit local knowledge. Resonating with this perspective, the 2006 joint committee on corporate responsibility recommended that the state 'steer' CSR in Australia by establishing mechanisms such as benchmarks, guidelines, principles and working groups to guide responsible investment. Although many of the committee's recommendations appear not to have been realised, the verdict nonetheless demonstrates the state's philosophical position on CSR.

The voluntarist and self-regulatory approach that characterises CSR in liberal market economies relieves the state of centralist regulation of CSR. This means, however, that it creates space for more implicit, localised and flexible forms of regulation through unique configurations of government, market actors and civil society. In the words of Albareda *et al.*, CSR is becoming "a useful framework within which new ways of collaborating between corporations, governments and civil society can be found, creating innovative mechanisms for governance" (2008: 349). When governments interpret CSR in this way, their role in the development of CSR is in mediating, facilitating and partnering with

corporations on a case-by-case basis. This can occur through formal public-private partnerships or less formal interactions and exchanges such as reference groups, non-binding codes and the availability of information about CSR (Moon and Vogel 2008). As illustrated below, when governments and private enterprise interact on industry and corporation-specific levels, they implicitly shape strategic, customer-focused CSR in ways that structure pathways of inclusion that complement and extent the support for inclusion that is already provided through government regulation.

5.2 Regulation of telecommunications and property development industries, for social inclusion

On a meso level of analysis that focuses on industry sectors, government regulation of corporate social activity is aimed at making the most essential social goods or services accessible, affordable and safe for consumers. This is clear in the case of both the telecommunications and residential property development industries. Considering strategic CSR within the context of regulated corporate social activity helps frame the significance of social inclusion that strategic CSR facilitates. The contextualisation portrays strategic CSR as extending and supplementing mandatory corporate social activity. In this formulation, government regulation and strategic CSR are separate but interdependent. As discussed below, the unique delineation between government regulation and strategic CSR is shaped in part, by the role of the industry sector in facilitating citizen involvement in society, contemporary understandings of social inequality that arise from lack of access to the products that the industry provides and how regulation of the industry has developed over time.

Regulating equitable telecommunications

The equitability of telecommunications in Australia has long been a concern of federal government. For most of its history, telecommunications has been managed by the public sector: it was the responsibility of the Postmaster-General Department from the time of Australian Federation in 1901 to when the department was dissolved in 1975, in favour of a newly constituted and self-regulating government enterprise. The initial organisation of telecommunications as a statutory monopoly enabled the Australian government to invest in infrastructure with the purpose of making telecommunications equitable for all

citizens—particularly citizens living in rural and remote locations or living with health or disability issues (Wilson and Goggin 1993; McElhinney 2001). As argued by Wilson and Goggin (1993) equitable telecommunications must have universal geographic availability, be accessible, affordable, use standardised technology and allow participation in society. Over the past two decades, privatisation of the telecommunications sector has changed the role that government can and has played in facilitating the accessibility and affordability of telecommunications.

Corporatisation and privatisation of the telecommunications sector in Australia occurred from the 1990s, in pursuit of greater consumer choice, market efficiency and lower prices (Anderson 1999). Against the shift towards a market orientation, government regulation was introduced with the aim of protecting the egalitarian vision of accessible and affordable telecommunications. The government included a so-called Universal Service Obligation (USO) in privatisation legislation to require that Telstra continue the expansion of telecommunications infrastructure so that standard telephone services would be reasonably available to all people in Australia on an equitable basis—as outlined in the *Telecommunications (Consumer Protection and Service Standards) Act 1999*. Commentators noted that the USO effectively committed Telstra, as a privatised corporation, to continue services that were loss-making due to geographic and/or demographic challenges (McElhinney 2001: 235). Anderson (1999) recounts that fierce political argument was required to sustain these 'social objectives' in the face of attempts by a corporatized Telstra board to introduce, for example, timed local calls.

Whereas the USO is aimed at making standard telephone services and payphones available to people living in metropolitan, regional and rural areas alike, other pieces of government regulation aim to maintain the affordability of telecommunications. As a condition of its carrier license, Telstra is required to administer programs that make telecommunications affordable to low-income groups—as outlined in condition 22 of the *Carrier Licence Conditions (Telstra Corporation Limited) Declaration 1997*. The programs that Telstra administers to promote the affordability of telecommunications for low-income groups include bill assistance, phone cards and pensioner discounts. These affordability programs are monitored by a Low Income Measures Assessment Committee (LIMAC) which is set up by the Minister of Communications and convened approximately

five times a year. The LIMAC consists of various community and non-government sector organisations and reports to the Communications Minister annually (LIMAC 2013).

The continued relevance of Telstra's USO and affordability measures for ensuring the equitability of telecommunications however, is increasingly questionable. Equitable access to a standard telephone service in the early 1990s may have contributed to leveling citizens' opportunities to communicate with organisations and other individuals. Rapid technological change over the past two decades however, means this is no longer the case. All levels of government are expressing preference for online provision of information and services (e.g. Recommendation 10.6 of *The Report of the National Commission of Audit 2014; Victorian Government Digital Strategy 2014*). Businesses and individuals are also increasingly using telecommunications to facilitate transactions and exchanges with consumers or social networks (ACMA 2015: 56-57). Scholars who research the changing digital divide argue that inequality of physical access to telecommunications should increasingly be considered alongside other factors, including variation in digital hard- and software, digital skills and attitudes to ICTs (e.g. Helsper 2012; Pearce and Rice 2013; Selwyn 2004; van Deursen *et al.* 2011). This suggests that to ensure the equitability of telecommunications, government regulation would need to address the demographic and cultural factors that shape whether and how citizens can use telecommunications to support meaningful involvement in society.

Compared to programs that promote the accessibility of telecommunications, Tech Savvy Seniors aims to change attitudes and digital skills, to influence whether and how program participants use ICTs. One's access to telecommunications and their ability to use telecommunications are equally important for enabling digital inclusion in contemporary Australian society. Government regulation of Telstra's corporate social activity focuses primarily on the accessibility of telecommunications infrastructure however, because this was at the forefront of research of the digital divide when opportunities for regulation emerged in the 1990s (Selwyn 2004), during privatisation. Since that time, Telstra's engagement in emergent dimensions of the digital divide (including digital literacy) has occurred on a more voluntary basis via strategic CSR. Positioning Tech Savvy Seniors alongside regulatory measures that promote the accessibility of telecommunications infrastructure thus highlights the unique role

that strategic CSR plays in facilitating Telstra's involvement in alleviating emergent social issues that compromise the equitability of telecommunications.

Regulating liveable property developments

Government regulation of the social activity of property developers in Australia is generally concerned with fostering the 'liveability' of a city for current and future residents. By changing physical environments, property developers impact how citizens interact with each other and access services, with implications for general wellbeing and quality of life. This is increasingly the case, as scholars observe that the private sector is becoming more deeply involved in the planning and provision of social and physical infrastructure in new neighbourhoods across Australia (Dowling *et al.* 2010). This shift has triggered a key contention in contemporary critical urban scholarship that cautions that the focus among property developers on privatism may compromise the nature of connectedness in local residential communities (Cheshire *et al.* 2013; Dowling *et al.* 2010; Rosenblatt *et al.* 2009; Walters and Rosenblatt 2008). In particular, scholars argue that by marketing new housing as 'exclusive' products, property developers are bringing about new and complex forms of social differentiation in which well-resourced consumers retreat into enclaves and disassociate themselves from the shared public realm (Gwyther 2005; Kenna 2007). For this reason, scholars including Dowling *et al.* (2010; McGuirk and Dowling 2009) are critical of governments that seek out and validate private sector investment in urban development. Although governments in Australia increasingly authorize the private development of masterplanned communities, they also implement regulations which aim to ensure that these new residential developments meet desirable social, environmental and safety standards.

In Australia, government regulation has the greatest influence over property development during the initial stages of urban planning and project approval. Typically, the local council is responsible for assessing development proposals against a planning scheme, which is a statutory document that sets out objectives, policies and provisions for the use, development and protection of land (e.g. Victoria State Government 2015). As indicated in Figure 15 (below), Planning Schemes in Victoria include provisions set out at the state level as well as more specific provisions applicable to local municipalities. These provisions set out rules for planning in terms of state and local policies, zones, overlays and

specific use of land. The *Planning and Environment Act 1987* requires that local councils adhere to these provisions to support the fair, orderly, economic and sustainable use and development of land, protect public utilities for the benefit of the community and secure a pleasant, efficient and safe working, living and recreational environment for residents and visitors (*Planning and Environment Act 1987:* section 4; Victoria State Government 2016: section 10.02). Planning schemes thus guide local councils to determine the specific requirements to be placed on property developers, depending on the risks and opportunities of each development proposal.

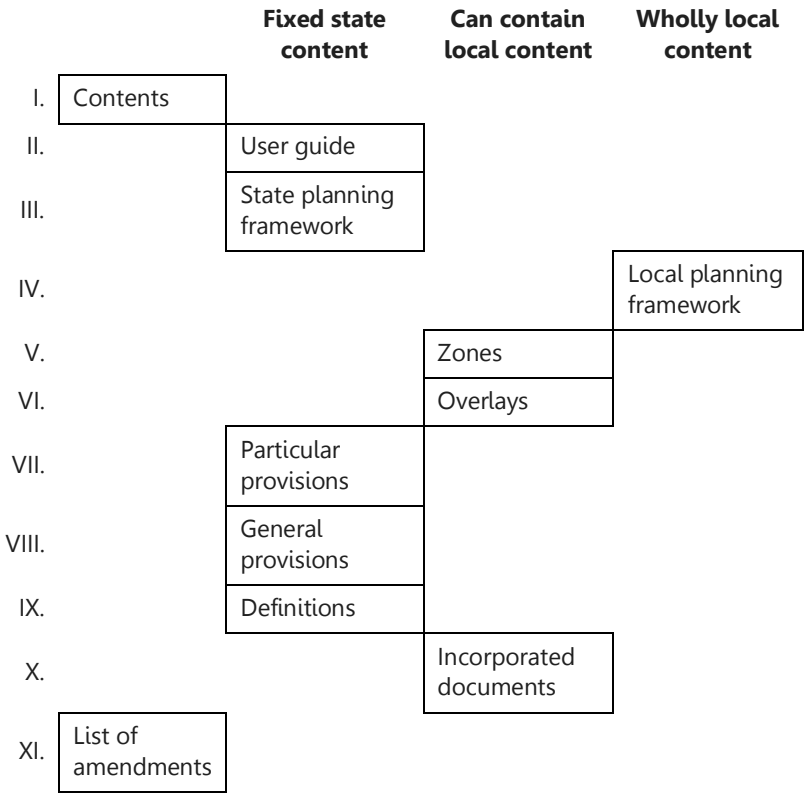


Figure 15. Planning scheme, disaggregated into parts *(Source: adapted from Victoria State Government 2015: 9)*

State governments are particularly attentive to regulating areas of rapid urban development that are referred to as growth corridors. In these areas, governments aim to coordinate the design of urban development to ensure that sufficient social and physical infrastructure is included to adequately service the needs of future residents (VPA 2016). In pursuit of this aim, state governments require property developers of residential projects that are projected to house

between 10,000 and 30,000 residents to have a Precinct Structure Plan (PSP). A PSP is a master plan that maps out the location of services such as roads, shopping centres, schools, parks, key transport connections and areas for housing and employment (MPA n.d.). PSPs can assist councils and developers to address complex issues of biodiversity, cultural heritage, infrastructure provision and council infrastructure contribution charges. Neither Oasis nor Glitz Apartments were planned to house over 10,000 residents and so, according to state regulation, were not of a size to require a PSP. Nonetheless, because the precinct of Glitz Apartments was positioned alongside six other development sites, the local municipality required that Wolfers submit a PSP. Wolfers' PSP for Glitz Apartments—which explained how physical infrastructure including public space, public art and other shared amenity would be integrated into the primarily residential development—formed part of the binding Development Agreement that outlined how Wolfers would develop the Glitz Apartments precinct.

In the case of the Oasis housing estate, the local council sought to promote fair and equitable access to affordable housing by requiring that Wolfers make a contribution to social housing. According to its subdivision agreement with local council, Wolfers was required to make 3% of the total subdivided land available to the public sector at a 30% discounted rate (with or without dwellings) or provide compensation in lieu. With particular reference to the housing markets in Sydney and Melbourne, politicians and media in Australia have recently declared a 'housing crisis' because of a shortage of affordable housing (Hayhurst 2015; NSW Government 2016; Preiss 2015). Unlike other large cities, including New York (NYC 2016) and London (Mayor of London 2016), government bodies in Australia do not ordinarily implement 'mandatory inclusionary zones' which require property developers to make a portion of new housing available at affordable (rather than market rate) prices to people on low or medium incomes (Saulwick 2016). Interestingly, the current *National Affordable Housing Agreement* (COAG 2009) no longer calls on state government to cooperate with the private sector to raise levels of affordable housing, as did the prior *Commonwealth State Housing Agreement* which ended in 2008 (Berry *et al.* 2006: 307; DSS 2016). Despite this broader political position, government regulation of the property development at Oasis required Wolfers to include a contribution to affordable housing stock.

Government regulations which required Wolfers to adhere to a PSP or make a contribution to social housing both focus on providing physical infrastructure which may improve the liveability of the areas under development. Similar to regulation that aims to facilitate equitable access to telecommunications, this approach aims to make provisions for the availability of public space and shared amenity whilst providing citizens with freedom of choice about whether and how they use it. When positioned in this regulatory context, Wolfers' community engagement initiatives (that fall under its strategic CSR) appear to offer a unique contribution to the processes of social inclusion that Wolfers facilitates. Like Tech Savvy Seniors, Wolfers' community engagement initiatives demonstrate how to use and manage physical infrastructure and provide support for program participants to do so. This comparison—between corporate social activity which is regulated versus that which is voluntary—highlights that the latter is positioned to make a unique contribution to processes of social inclusion by promoting the development of shared relational resources (such as social networks, shared values, shared responsibility and joint-decision making).

5.3 Negotiating 'equitability' and 'liveability'

Focusing on government regulation suggests a seemingly one-directional exchange between government bodies and the private sector, in which the former set standards, conditions and requirements that the latter must adhere to. The cases examined in this thesis however, illustrate that within formal regulatory frameworks, exchanges between government bodies and industry are often two-way. Government bodies may initiate regulation or cooperation however industry often responds with lobbying or the provision of expertise (Scherer 2014; Lawton *et al.* 2013). To refer again to Braithwaite, "what we must study today is strategies of regulation by state and non-state, where the state is both a subject and an object of regulation." (2000: 225) This requires an inquiry of the pressures that influence the delineation between voluntary and mandatory corporate social activity. From this perspective, regulation of corporate social activity is not solely the reflection of governments' agenda, but also governments' response to pressure from industry and other stakeholders. This section illustrates that strategic CSR is sometimes used to demonstrate corporate self-regulation as a way of avoiding increased government regulation. In doing so, it considers the content of corporate social

activity—including strategic CSR and actions mandated by governments—to be guided to some degree, by both corporate and state interests.

Tech Savvy Seniors in the context of corporate interaction with government

Tech Savvy Seniors aimed to improve the equitability of telecommunications by supporting seniors—the age group with the lowest proportion of internet users in Australia (Chapter 4)—to improve their digital skills and literacy. As project partners, Telstra and state government were jointly involved in funding and administering the program. Tim, who managed Telstra's involvement in the program, recounted that the cooperation between Telstra and state government came about as a way of joining the resources of the two organisations that had previously been invested in similar but separate programs. Tim explained,

> *"The government had committed half a million dollars. They issued a media release. Our government relations representative contacted the department, set up a meeting and pretty much, pitched to them, well, we're doing exactly what you're doing, wouldn't it make sense for the both of us if we pooled our resources and had a much better program sustained. That was the catalyst for the first partnership."* (Tim, coordinator of Tech Savvy Seniors, Telstra)

Tim explained that although non-government organisations in the third sector were also conducting digital literacy programs for seniors, Telstra had been interested in partnering with government because of expectations that the partnership would create a well-funded program which would provide support to seniors living in metropolitan, regional and rural areas alike. Peter, the program coordinator in state government, offered a similar perspective when he explained that state government partnered with Telstra to expand the 'reach' of the program. Peter explained,

> *"Generally governments seem to be moving towards public private partnerships… government funding is limited, but from a project delivery point of view, networks are very important. You can usually find the money if a program is successful, and the success of a program lies in its capacity for reach. When I'm thinking about who to partner with in the private sector, I think less about the money and more about the reach. Telstra has a huge network that is complimentary to the government's and vice versa."* (Peter, coordinator of Tech Savvy Seniors, state government)

Both Tim and Peter emphasise that the impetus for forming a partnership between Telstra and state government was to join resources to improve the reach and

success of Tech Savvy Seniors. Neither of the two program administrators spoke about needing to realign the aims of their own organisation to better synchronise with the project partner. This suggests a level dynamic between the state and non-state organisations, both subtly influencing the others' engagement in the social issue area. By cooperating to deliver a joint program—rather than two separate programs—Telstra was able to not only demonstrate its engagement in supporting the digital skills and literacy of seniors, but also to demonstrate that the depth of this engagement was to a standard acceptable to regulatory bodies.

As discussed at the start of this chapter, the self-governance model of CSR which is popular in liberal market economies frames CSR as a mechanism through which industry can demonstrate that traditional regulatory measures are not needed. This perspective was clearly adopted by Sarah, the manager of digital inclusion at Telstra, who said that Telstra's voluntary involvement in digital inclusion programs demonstrated to regulatory bodies such as the LIMAC that further regulation of corporate social activity was unnecessary. Speaking about the LIMAC, Sarah said,

> *"These are people that represent the Red Cross and the Savlos; they're the group that we need to keep happy [because] they report to the government about what we do in this space. They're super happy [that we're 'supercharging' what's already regulated]... We want to be on the front foot because we don't want there to be any further regulations that tell us what to do or how to do it."* (Sarah, manager of digital inclusion, Telstra)

By actively demonstrating its initiative to support egalitarian access to and use of telecommunications, Telstra positioned itself to influence how regulatory bodies worked towards this cause in the future. In the following excerpt, Sarah envisages Telstra using its influence to shape regulation such that other telecommunications businesses and providers are required to join Telstra and government to support digital inclusion. In Sarah's words,

> *"What we're actually lobbying for is that accessibility and affordability of broadband should be a shared responsibility by the government, by the NBN Co, by the other providers. But this is... no one wants to hear that."* (Sarah, manager of digital inclusion, Telstra)

The perspectives that Sarah, Tim and Peter present above, provide insight into how the opportunities for social inclusion that were structured into Tech Savvy Seniors, were shaped by the pressures and incentives at the boundary between regulated and voluntary corporate social activity. On the one hand, Telstra has and continues

to engage in digital inclusion programs outside of Tech Savvy Seniors. Yet, a partnership with state government not only enabled it to become involved in a larger program, but also to demonstrate the depth of this program more directly to government (because of its co-involvement). For Sarah, Telstra's partnership with government was valuable because of its potential to give the organisation some leverage over future regulatory measures that aim to promote digital inclusion. Telstra's ongoing awareness of its exposure to government regulation (e.g. USO and affordability requirements) and its awareness of the resources that government bodies may share, steered it to become involved in a digital inclusion program that directly aligned with a government interest or priority.

Telstra's decision to partner with state government and local councils brought about a CSR program that was geared towards supporting particular social groups more so than others. To illustrate this, it is insightful to compare TSS with another large-scale digital literacy program in Australia called Broadband for Seniors (BFS). The design of BFS is such, that while federal government creates teaching guidelines and resources, community organisations including NGOs and aged care facilities have autonomy in appropriating training material to meet the needs of its members. Because BFS is delivered through community organisations rather than local libraries, there may be more opportunity for BFS to reach out to seniors who face greater disadvantage. By comparison, TSS took place in more diverse geographical locations including regional and rural areas and offered a broader curriculum. Whereas BFS offers seniors assistance with how to use word processing, web browsing and email, the TSS consisted of 18 learning modules. Drawing on contemporary understandings of the 'explicit' nature of CSR in liberal market economies, it seems that Telstra's involvement in TSS affirmed a program design that emphasised its visibility and reach, rather than targeting communities or social groups facing the deepest disadvantage.

Community engagement in the context of corporate interaction with government

In the case of corporate social activity at Oasis and Glitz Apartments, interactions between Wolfers and government bodies shifted between dynamics of compliance, cooperation and lobbying at different stages of property development. While the first phase of project development was characterised by business needing to meet the standards and regulations of the government sector (in order to obtain

approval, as outlined above), the second phase was characterised by negotiation, as government and business worked to achieve their objectives within the framework of existing project approval. Employees had mixed attitudes to the benefits or constraints imposed by government, depending on what the government sector was offering or requiring of Wolfers—from pre-development (during approvals), during construction of residential development and following completion of the development.

Two development managers were interviewed in this study, corresponding to the two residential developments being investigated. Both explained that government planning schemes guided the design of either development. George, the development manager of Glitz Apartments, explained that local council and state government bodies required Wolfers to incorporate their policies around transport infrastructure, shared open space and public realm into the masterplan of the precinct. As George explained,

> The *"three government departments and their policies very much drive what we do down at the site. So we make all of their strategic documents around transport connections, around public open space, public realm, all of that sort of stuff, we have to follow, and incorporate into these masterplan documents. Or else we just don't get the approval to proceed. They're hugely involved. And that's challenging."* (George, development manager of Glitz Apartments, Wolfers)

The development manager of the Oasis housing estate likewise explained that during the planning stages of the Oasis project, the local city strategic plan had been reviewed and integrated into the development proposal. In both cases, employees stressed that Wolfers was required to adhere to regulatory frameworks developed by government bodies that set standards for safety, design and distribution of public space and access to social services.

In comparison to early project planning stages, employees described later stages of property development to be characterised by greater two-way negotiation between Wolfers and government bodies. Negotiation was concerned with working out how to meet the specifications outlined in the approved development documents and share responsibility in owning and maintaining land as the development progressed. The development manager at Oasis explained, "we have fortnightly meetings with the planning team at the local council, so we've got a close relationship with them." She recounted one instance, in which Wolfers was required to provide a "community contribution" to the local council. Wolfers

argued that the council should use the contribution to benefit the Oasis estate, yet the council ultimately decided to put the money towards childcare in the municipality. In another instance, local council had resisted taking on a maintenance role of the water irrigation lines, which had been part of the approved project design. Olivia, the development manager, explained that the council "don't really have it anywhere else—it's a complicated system; a lot of [the resistance was] to do with risk management of storm water and flooding." Olivia noted that "it gets a bit messy in terms of who's in charge" but that through fortnightly meetings, Wolfers was able to obtain government support for the irrigation lines.

The instances above refer to the normal course of business operations of the property developer, and not specifically to Wolfers' strategic CSR programs. Yet, regulation around public space influenced opportunities for Wolfers to facilitate civic and social interaction among local residents. Government requirements regarding Owners' Corporations of apartments, or residential associations that lease council land (i.e. for the purpose of a community garden) guided how community leadership was set up and now operates. By having a clearer view of the corporate social activity that is required by government, and thus the boundary between regulated and voluntary corporate social activity, we have greater insight into the relative role of strategic CSR in the corporate contribution to social inclusion. In this case, while regulations affected the design of public space and shared amenity, community engagement promoted the use and shared management of these shared resources and encourages residents to develop social networks with neighbours. This section has illustrated that underpinning this seemingly dichotomous divide, is a circular dynamic, in which government regulation has some influence over the scope of strategic CSR and corporations have (or aim to exert) influence over the regulation of corporate social activity.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has described the regulatory contexts in which Telstra and Wolfers conducted their respective strategic, customer-focused CSR programs. Scholars observe that CSR (particularly in liberal market economies) is often understood as a mechanism of voluntary corporate self-governance, which is removed from government regulation (Brammer *et al.* 2012; Dentchev *et al.* 2015; Kinderman 2012; Vogel 2006). In Australia, this perspective was clearly adopted in 2006 by a joint parliamentary committee which conducted an inquiry into corporate

responsibility. With relevance to this thesis however, the telecommunications and residential property development industries are nonetheless subject to government regulation that has developed over time and stipulates corporate involvement in the pursuit of particular social goals. Although this thesis conceptualises strategic CSR to be distinct from corporate social activity that is required by government, this chapter has considered the two to be tightly intertwined. When government regulation requires corporations to pursue social goals, it begins to direct the corporate social agenda. Further, by determining the extent to which corporations are required to engage in corporate social activity, government regulation delineates which actions are required and which are not (and therefore open to corporate involvement via strategic CSR).

Interestingly, government regulation of corporate social activity in the telecommunications and property development industries is focused on promoting the accessibility of infrastructure—i.e. the accessibility of telecommunications services or the accessibility of affordable housing, public space and shared amenity. In the telecommunications industry, this regulation was introduced during industry privatisation in the 1990s, when understandings of the digital divide focused on the issue of unequal access to telecommunication services and hardware (Selwyn 2004). What is apparent in both cases is that government regulation requires businesses to provide goods and services in ways that are most valuable to society as a whole. Indeed, scholars in both developing and developed contexts have critiqued privatisation for compounding exclusionary effects (Birdsall and Nellis 2003; Graham 1997; Marvin and Graham 1994; Speak and Graham 2000). Although studies often show that privatisation improves organisational efficiency and profitability, scholars also find that this occurs through new service ethics of ‘cherry picking’ and ‘social dumping’ in which businesses provide innovation, cheaper services, and higher reliability and security of service to competitive markets, leaving peripheral markets as private, uncompetitive monopolies. Marvin and Graham (1994) argue that in the case of privatisation in the UK, this new service ethic transformed previously uniform national grids into a patchwork quilt in which social groups and geographical areas have uneven access to essential services.

In an attempt to mitigate these risks of privatisation, government regulation nonetheless reinforces traditional roles and exchanges between providers and consumers—in which industry is responsible for the provision of goods and

services, while individual consumers are free to use or not use the products and services as is relevant to them. To support this exchange, the state aims to promote the accessibility of technological progress and wealth, for all citizens in society (Chapter 2). In contrast to this configuration of state, market and citizen/consumer, Telstra's involvement in digital literacy tutorials and Wolfers' community engagement initiatives entailed a shift or blurring of the boundary between producer and consumer, through which providers augmented their roles to support consumers in developing the personal (non-material) resources that enable and deepen use of products.

Whilst it is insightful to position strategic CSR alongside corporate social activity that is required by government regulation, it is important not to treat regulatory contexts as static environments produced by government bodies alone. Drawing on accounts provided by employees at Telstra and Wolfers, this chapter has highlighted that corporations actively work on shaping the scope of government regulation to support commercial interests. Employees believed that Telstra's involvement in Tech Savvy Seniors may help stave off government regulation in the future. Employees recounted that during construction, Wolfers regularly met with local council to negotiate how to implement an approved development proposal. These accounts resonate with scholarship concerning contemporary modes of governance that operate through more flexible, multi-actor and multi-dimensional processes of regulation (e.g. Braithwaite 2000). This perspective highlights the iterative dynamic that shapes the business-government nexus against which strategic CSR is shaped—whereby government regulation provides the context against which companies structure their strategic CSR, and strategic CSR provides the context against which governments design and implement regulation. From this perspective, CSR influences not only the relationship between provider and consumer, but also the relationships between industry and government, and subsequently, government and citizen. Although this is beyond the scope of this thesis, the processes of social inclusion that corporations create through strategic CSR are therefore not limited to the parameters of individual CSR programs, but also extend to the influence of CSR on the broader processes of social inclusion that governments shape through regulation.

This chapter has positioned Tech Savvy Seniors and Wolfers' community engagement initiatives in their regulatory contexts to highlight the *relative*

significance of the processes of social inclusion that strategic CSR programs aim to facilitate. In doing so, the chapter has also started to draw attention to the pressures or incentives that drive corporate involvement in strategic CSR. As discussed in Chapter 2, scholars often understand the contemporary expansion of CSR as the corporate response to political pressure from media and interest groups in civil society. This perspective frames CSR as a risk management strategy aimed at reducing costs of confrontation or conflict (Davis and Franks 2011; Graetz and Franks 2016; Kytle and Ruggie 2005; Joyce and Thomson 2000). Following the discussion in this chapter, it is pertinent to broaden this view to consider strategic CSR in terms of a corporate response to the risk of government regulation. This approach considers government regulation to pose costs to the corporation and compromise its freedom to pursue investment strategies of its own choosing. As discussed at the start of this chapter, the notion of an autonomous firm holds particular value in liberal market economies, which are characterised by competitive and untrusting markets. Having positioned Tech Savvy Seniors and Wolfers' community engagement in their regulatory contexts, the thesis now begins to explore how corporations and citizens/consumers interact in the context of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs to bring about particular opportunities for and processes of social inclusion.

Part III

A skills-based and deliberative case of strategic CSR

6

Same landmarks, different destinations

While large corporations increasingly communicate the variety of ways in which they support their stakeholders through extra-economic activity (Crane and Glozer 2016; Wickert *et al.* 2016), scholars question the nature of this support given that it often emerges from corporate interest in satisfying not just social but also commercial needs (Banerjee 2008; Banks *et al.* 2016; Kollen 2016; Kroeger and Weber 2014). This chapter improves our understanding of the opportunities for social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused programs create. To do so, the chapter addresses the thesis' second and third research questions, which ask about the rationales that guide corporate and citizen/consumer involvement in strategic, customer-focused CSR programs. This approach assumes that corporations and citizens/consumers both actively shape the reasons for and meaning behind the interactions that emerge in the context of these corporate-run programs. While the rationales that guide corporate involvement in strategic CSR are already well theorised and researched (Aguilera *et al.* 2007; Orlitzky and Swanson 2002; Petrenko *et al.* 2016; Power 2007; Rupp *et al.* 2006), the rationales that guide what citizens/consumers hope to achieve via strategic CSR programs are rarely, if ever, considered. By understanding both perspectives and how they resonate, conflict or

ignore each other, this chapter constructs strategic CSR programs as potential sites of cooperation and contestation, where corporations and citizens/consumers open and suppress particular opportunities for social inclusion.

Drawing on employee and program participant perspectives, this chapter illustrates that the reasons why corporations and citizens/consumers participate in strategic CSR programs can converge over shared goals and simultaneously diverge over the meaning or value attributed to these shared goals. Both Telstra and seniors hoped that TSS would boost the digital skills and digital inclusion of seniors, however while Telstra interpreted this goal as a commercial opportunity, seniors focused on wanting to feel more connected with family or broader social contexts. Likewise, both Wolfers and local committee members hoped that residents' involvement in local decision-making would contribute to the development of a well-connected and self-governing residential community, however while Wolfers focused on the commercial benefits of this, committee members focused on strengthening their connection with their local residential community and accessing information to inform personal decision-making. The convergence of goals occurred in these cases, because of the voluntary basis of program participation and because both corporations had a commercial interest in supporting citizen involvement in activities that are often considered fundamental to participation in contemporary Australian society.

Although corporations and citizens/consumers found the improved digital skills or civic participation of citizens/consumers to be meaningful in different ways, the divergence of meaning-making did not appear to trigger conflict. Corporate concern for reputation meant that corporations designed strategic CSR programs to avoid controversial or particularly complex social issues. Corporations instead designed programs to evoke positive feelings and experiences among program participants. Further, rather than prompting participants to critically reflect on the behaviour of the firm, the publicly communicated aim of TSS and Wolfers' community engagement focused on addressing participants' needs that were related but not necessarily central to business conduct. By providing citizens/consumers with access to resources that they valued and by avoiding controversial topics, the corporate approach to strategic CSR created space for processes of inclusion that focused on the take up of normal activities, rather than through conflict.

6.1 The corporate perspective: are you impressed?

Questioning why corporations engage or should engage in CSR has long been an interest of business ethics, business strategy and business management scholars, who seek to understand how corporations can reconcile tensions between pursuit of profit and changing social expectations about business conduct (Chapter 2). As discussed in Chapter 2, the influential Porter and Kramer emphasise that business and society exist in a symbiotic relationship and so firms have an interest in addressing social issues in their field of business (2006; 2011). Taking a different perspective, Power (2007) and Aguilera *et al.* (2007) contend that strategic CSR has become an important organisational instrument through which firms make sense of social risks and create the relational resources that shape corporate reputation and legitimacy.

Resonating with both approaches, this study found that Telstra and Wolfers explained their engagement in strategic, customer-focused CSR programs in terms of: (a) managing the customer's ability to use products, (b) seeking feedback about how to customise products and (c) spreading positive messages about the corporation with implications for corporate reputation. These areas of risk and resources are positioned in Figure 16 below; with (a) and (b) corresponding to Porter and Kramer's creating shared value and (c) corresponding to managing corporate reputation. In addition, Figure 16 notes that Telstra and Wolfers also aimed to (d) impress stakeholders (other than customers) through strategic CSR programs as part of managing corporate reputation. Employees thus rationalised their corporation's involvement in strategic, customer-focused CSR in terms of managing these four risks and resources which together contributed to the competitive advantage of the firm.

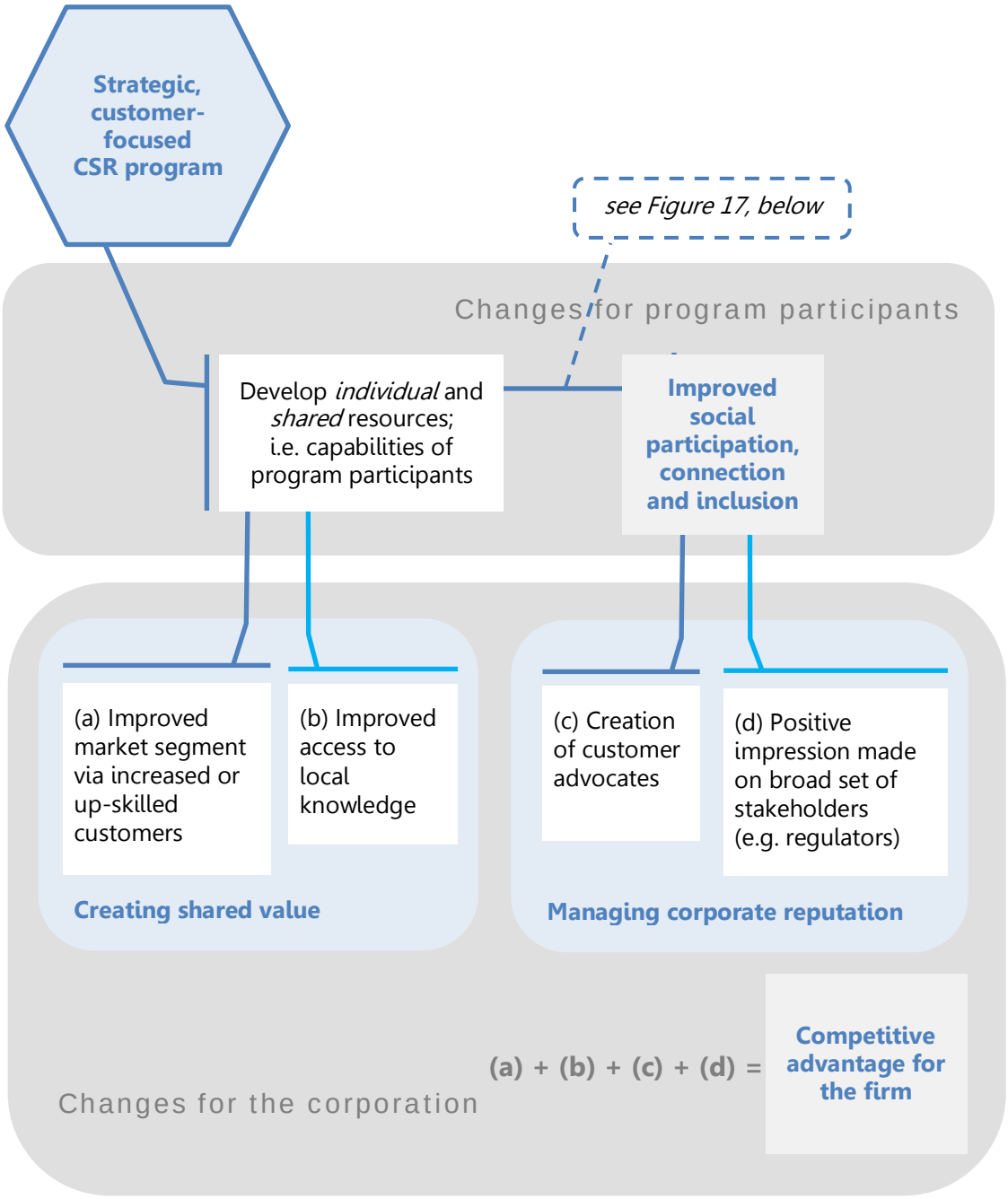


Figure 16. Corporate rationale for investing in strategic, customer-focused CSR programs *(Source: author)*

Deciding yes or no in terms of competitive advantage

Whether aiming to create shared value or manage corporate reputation, employees at Telstra and Wolfers rationalised their organisation's involvement in strategic CSR based on the commercial implications of the decision. In her role as the

development manager of Oasis, Olivia illustrated the pervasiveness of the commercial rationale in decision-making about strategic CSR by recounting a situation where Wolfers was not able to make a decision on whether to commission urban art for Oasis because the commercial benefit was questionable. She recounted,

> *"One argument we've had quite a bit at Oasis, is about urban art. Do we need it? It's a big cost to purchase and maintain it. But would we get the benefit out of it? It's an unresolved one. Nothing has been decided. Last time we discussed it... it's just in the too hard basket. I think that's probably one of those good examples where if there's no profit involved in doing it and the benefit of it from a community engagement point of view is arguable, it kind of just gets a sort of: No."* (Olivia, development manager of Oasis, Wolfers)

Olivia explained that a business case that focused on community involvement would most likely enable Wolfers to invest in urban art at Oasis. This could be achieved, she suggested, via a design competition in the local area, to attract proposals that were, "probably the more sophisticated version of people putting their handprints in concrete or something like that." Olivia suggested that a grassroots approach would maintain cost and budget and encourage a sense of ownership, identity and belonging among locals. These shared resources were worth 'investing in' because, as Olivia explained, they boosted residents' sense of pride in their local community and this in turn would boost customer satisfaction, buy-in and perhaps lead to re-purchase.

This thesis also found a prominent commercial rationale in Telstra's justification for its involvement in TSS. This was because Telstra's Sustainability Office, which was set up to guide Telstra's community investment towards social issues that could impact Telstra's commercial profile, managed Telstra's involvement in the program. Sarah, manager of digital inclusion in Telstra's Sustainability Office, said that "with this new model, in our new Sustainability Office, the focus that we've taken is on doing more than compliance; on really adding value to society as well as to the business." Sarah explained that to ensure that strategic CSR programs were both socially and commercially beneficial, employees needed to ask,

> *"Who do we try to influence? What is our argument? Is there a business case? If so, what is it? How do we persuade the business to provide these programs,*

> *especially in the context now where it might cost us money?*[1] *You do have to be very strategic."* (Sarah, manager of digital inclusion, Telstra)

This process indicates that Telstra's strategic CSR programs, including Telstra's involvement in TSS, needed to be justified in terms of commercial potential or merits that were in line with the organisation's core business.

Although employees at Telstra explained that the Sustainability Office was driven by commercial rationale, to some degree, this approach competed with Telstra's simultaneous involvement in philanthropic programs and its statutory obligations. As Sarah described, Telstra's philanthropic arm, the Telstra Foundation, receives "$5 to 6 million a year, ever year, no questions asked." Although the Telstra Foundation has stringent reporting and governance requirements, its philanthropic purpose means that it often funds innovative causes, for which the business case may be unclear. In Sarah's words, "it's actually alright to make mistakes; it's alright to back things that might not work in the long run." Alongside the Telstra Foundation's philanthropic approach, Telstra also administered digital inclusion programs to meet statutory obligations that were imposed during the organisation's privatisation (Chapter 5). For Tim, who was managing Telstra's involvement in TSS, this meant that,

> *"the organisation, particularly under the current CEO, has been recognising that it has statutory obligations as well as a real responsibility to Australia. But I think we're less focused on the creation of the Telstra value, it is more about community value. I think we can and should do more to benefit Telstra, because all the other organisations are doing it."* (Tim, coordinator of TSS, Telstra)

In Telstra's case, the organisation's long history in the public sector, which influences its contemporary obligations and worldview, appears to have diluted the use of commercial rationale to justify its CSR programs. Yet, this is an approach that the organisation is actively pursuing and developing through programs such as TSS for which Telstra's involvement is managed by its new Sustainability Office.

Creating shared value through individually-held or shared resources

To explain *how* Telstra and Wolfers aimed to boost their competitive advantage by administering strategic, customer-focused CSR programs, employees often drew on the prominent creating shared value approach that Porter and Kramer have

[1] Sarah is referring to Telstra's sale of its copper network to NBN Co in 2014.

developed over the past decade (2006, 2011). Through this approach employees explained that their organisation aimed to achieve socially desirable outcomes that would support the commercial interests of the firm. Defending their work, Porter and Kramer explain, "the reason that creating shared value has gained so much traction and led to real change is exactly because it aligns social progress with corporate self-interest in a concrete and highly tangible way" (in Crane *et al.* 2014: 50). Accordingly, presenting the aim of strategic CSR in terms of creating shared value steered employees to articulate and distinguish between the concrete and tangible benefits to the firm and to stakeholder groups.

When asked what Telstra aimed to achieve by becoming involved in TSS or its digital inclusion programs generally, employees spoke about Telstra's goal of ensuring that Australians have access to the resources required to utilise telecommunications for broader participation in society. As Sarah, manager of digital inclusion in Telstra's Sustainability Office explained, Telstra's digital inclusion programs are, "really about making sure that everyone has the tools and skills and access that they need to be able to participate." Sarah noted that although not all of Telstra's digital inclusion programs would also provide a financial return, Telstra's investment in seniors through programs such as TSS was expected to generate business for the firm. She commented,

> *"Some of our programs will bring business to the company and digital literacy and the seniors work we do is an example of that. We work with people who have never used that technology before and they get all excited."* (Sarah, manager of digital inclusion, Telstra)

In the specific case of TSS, Telstra in partnership with the state government, hoped to help seniors develop the skills and confidence to enable them to start, improve or broaden their use of ICTs. Tim, who was managing Telstra's involvement in the program, described that,

> *"One of the things we realised is that seniors come in to our store and they're terrified of technology. Many know they need to embrace technology but are still fearful. Others still don't see the value, it's all too difficult. So the program was designed to help address that need."* (Tim, coordinator of TSS, Telstra)

Tim then went on to discuss that state governments and banks are increasingly providing information and delivering services online, so the need to facilitate the digital inclusion of seniors is not just to help them overcome the emotional discomfort of being 'terrified' or 'fearful' but to tangibly develop their digital

skills and confidence to ensure that they are able to use ICTs in areas where citizens are increasingly expected to do so. From this perspective, Tim emphasised that both service providers and service users may benefit from an improvement in the digital inclusion of seniors.

Also adopting the shared value approach, employees at Wolfers explained that they established residents' associations at Oasis and Glitz Apartments with the aim of facilitating the long-term self-governance of the residential community. As the sustainability manager for residential developments, Samantha explained,

> *"One of the drivers for Wolfers is that it is easier to communicate with the community if there is formal representation. Then they'll have one person who can liaise with Wolfers and get everything solved. I think there is shared value there—for us, it makes the process way more efficient and for them it builds on their governance structure which means they now have a voice; if anything happened, or they had any concerns, whether it be with Wolfers or any other organisation, they're organised and they can make things happen."* (Samantha, manager of sustainability in residential development, Wolfers)

At both Oasis and Glitz Apartments, residents' associations were formal committees which provided residents with opportunities to participate in civic processes of community leadership and decision-making. The formal structure of these associations, Samantha explained, would be useful if residents chose to organise in support or opposition to government development proposals or local environmental issues.

By speaking about the future relevance of resident's associations, Samantha implies that the short-term aim of these associations is to help the local community generate shared resources (including a governance structure, social networks, shared values and identity, social trust and norms of reciprocity) that would enable residents to organise if ever faced with adversity. To generate shared resources, residents' associations were tasked with managing shared amenities located within the estate—such as the community garden or health club. In Olivia's words, "Wolfers is setting up the community garden, but we don't want to be running it. We want to hand it over to the community and get them involved." Olivia explained that at Oasis, although Wolfers had completed developing the park and community garden and so the local council held the title for the public space, Wolfers was still responsible for maintaining it. By transferring this responsibility to the local community, Wolfers identified an opportunity to support residents to develop shared civic resources and structures

for joint management of the community garden, as well as to distance itself from the cost and responsibility of managing the shared amenity.

This section has illustrated that when drawing on the rationale of creating shared value, employees at Telstra and Wolfers explained the purpose of strategic CSR programs in terms of helping citizens/consumers develop individually-held or shared skills and resources. Whether improving seniors' digital skills or creating governance structures in residential communities, the strategic CSR programs were intended to enhance the *ability* of program participants to use the products or services that the corporation offered. Employees were able to rationalize this goal to also be commercially beneficial to the firm, precisely because both corporations were in the business of enabling participation in key activities of Australian society. To a far lesser extent—and only in Wolfers' case—employees also interpreted expanded skills and resources to open pathways for citizens/consumers to provide local knowledge to the corporation.

Reputation risk management

Alongside creating shared value, employees also rationalised their organisation's involvement in strategic CSR in terms of managing corporate reputation. Rather than strengthening competitive advantage by helping customers be *able* to consume products or services, the corporate reputation approach aims to strengthen competitive advantage by supporting consumers to *enjoy* and *want* to consume products or services. Employees therefore shifted their focus from using strategic CSR as a way of changing individuals' capabilities, to changing individuals' emotional and relational resources such as excitement, loyalty and trust.

Interestingly, the reputational rationale for corporate engagement in strategic CSR begins to blur the boundary between CSR and marketing. When corporations use CSR for marketing purposes, they aim to change consumer perceptions with the ultimate intention of elevating intentions to purchase (Schultz 2015). Visser (2011: ch. 4) contends that the marketing approach to CSR was particularly widespread between the 1960s and 2007. He recounts that during this time, CSR was heavily criticised for greenwashing consumers by engaging in deceptive communication about corporate conduct. While some corporations may still adopt this approach, the corporations in this study considered strategic CSR to support marketing functions not through deception, but rather, through improved

social participation and connection with society. This is illustrated in Figure 16 (above), which shows strategic CSR programs creating shifts in corporate reputation by creating changes to the resources of citizens/consumers in ways that improve social participation and connection with society. This approach was evident in the rationales that employees from both Telstra and Wolfers used to explain corporate involvement in TSS or community engagement at Oasis or Glitz Apartments.

Recounting the process of recruiting residents to become involved in the Oasis community garden, Olivia described (rather dismally) that it can be difficult to change the attitudes of about 4 in 5 residents who get "a bit complacent" and "sit back and say that Wolfers can set up the community garden". She recounted that Wolfers hired a consultant to, "put together an information session [about the community garden] and get people excited about it." In this excerpt, Olivia refers to the two separate processes of: first, providing program participants with the information that *enables* them to participate in local decision-making, and second, generating the excitement that *motivates* them to participate. When individuals become motivated to participate in activities they find meaningful, valuable or rewarding, this holds positive opportunities for their involvement in society. From a commercial standpoint, it can also improve corporate reputation. Melanie, as a marketing manager at Wolfers, predicted that "there will be people at Oasis who come about—particularly with the community garden—to be community champions by creating that sense of community." In this excerpt, Melanie interpreted a stronger sense of belonging, involvement and pride in one's local community to present opportunities for promoting and advocating for Wolfers' residential property development.

Wolfers' employees perceived 'community champions' or 'customer advocates' to be of particular commercial value in the Glitz Apartments property development. This may be because the market for high-end apartments is relatively shallow, compared to cheaper property in housing estates. As Coiacetto (2007) finds, the shallow nature of high-end property markets means that buyers are 'more choosy' and that they respond to tailored products which are targeted through quality control, promotion and presentation (Coiacetto 2007: 266-267). With this in mind, George, as the development manager of Glitz Apartments, said it was important that,

> *"[community leaders] feel good about their experience and about the community they're in. They're pretty strong voices in the community so you send this message though these people or networks and that permeates through and that's good for us… I'd like to think that when they're at dinner parties with their friends, who are probably also high net-worth individuals, that they're saying good things about Wolfers."* (George, development manager of Glitz Apartments, Wolfers)

In this excerpt, George suggests that in the 'choosy' market of high-end apartments, people or organisations that know prospective buyers—in terms of their personal tastes, needs and desires—are particularly well placed to promote products in a targeted and personalised way. In a sense, encouraging existing residents to promote apartments by drawing on their knowledge of the preferences of the audience can be conceptualised as a subtle shift in the boundary between producer and consumer. From this perspective, employees rationalised Wolfers' involvement in strategic CSR by explaining that by changing residents' involvement in their local community, Wolfers could bolster a sense of ownership and pride in one's own local community, with positive implications for Wolfers' reputation and future sales.

In addition to luring prospective buyers through social networks, employees also explained that residents who were captivated and excited by their local residential community would be more likely to purchase more apartments in the future. In the following excerpt, George likens this loyalty to the process of upgrading a car:

> *"It's really important that residents have this sense of community and belonging and that they're passionate about where they live, because they'll buy in the next apartment tower, and the next one. They like to upgrade—it's like upgrading their car. So it's really important to have them engaged and let them know what's coming next because they might be purchasers."* (George, development manager of Glitz Apartments, Wolfers)

George emphasised that encouraging residents to be passionate and engaged in their local community was important for Wolfers because the rate of repeat purchasers (or 'apartment hoppers') was in the vicinity of 20-30 per cent. So whether to generate sales to new or repeat customers, employees at Wolfers were eager for citizen/consumer's to express their support for their residential community and by extension, Wolfers. Interestingly, this meant that the property developer was not focused on mitigating the risk of damage to corporate

reputation, but rather, focused on boosting and disseminating the corporate reputation through 'customer advocates'.

In the case of TSS, Telstra employees likewise explained that Telstra's concern for being respected and recommended by consumers often created impetus for its involvement in strategic CSR programs. Sarah, for example, explained that Telstra (like Wolfers) had recently adopted the 'customer advocate' concept to guide customer-provider interactions to foster relational resources that consumers apparently offered. In Sarah's words,

> *"one of the main areas of focus at Telstra is around customer advocacy, which is, we want to serve our customers in a way that they go and say nice things about us and help us win more business."* (Sarah, manager of digital inclusion, Telstra)

And Tim reiterated,

> *"Telstra is hugely focused on customer advocacy – how customers perceive us is one of our core metrics; it is a guiding principle of the company."* (Tim, coordinator of TSS, Telstra)

Despite having described customer advocacy as a 'guiding principle' of the company, Sarah and Tim did not illustrate how TSS would encourage and inspire participating seniors to advocate, promote or recommend Telstra throughout their social networks. This may be because Telstra's agreement with the partnering state government constrained opportunities for advertising its involvement in the program to participants.

Rather than using TSS as a vehicle for nurturing relational resources with seniors, Telstra seemed to consider how the program could make an impression on the way other large organisations perceived its identity, values and commitment to responsibility. Accordingly, in the following excerpt, Sarah explained that when her team makes the case to decision-makers for the commercial value of Telstra's involvement in new digital inclusion programs, a strong argument is rooted in the relational resources from influential people and third party advocates. In Sarah's words,

> *"We can never come up with this awesome business case that is financial, it's very reputational orientated. A lot of influential people love us for the stuff that we do in the digital inclusion area. Those third party advocates can be really powerful for us. That's the value."* (Sarah, manager of digital inclusion, Telstra)

These third party advocates, including large organisations in the third- and government sectors are not only Telstra customers but also their regulators. Sarah

explained that as purchasers of telecommunications, organisations increasingly include a section in their tender documents about the tenderer's social responsibility programs. Although it is difficult to know the extent to which this impacts their decision to contract Telstra (or others) for telecommunication services, it nonetheless establishes the expectation that Telstra will be supporting vulnerable members of the community who may face barriers to accessing and using digital technologies. Therefore, while seniors may constitute up to a third of Telstra's customer base (Tim [Telstra sustainability officer] 2015, pers. comm., 23 April), the commercial value of programs such as TSS may in fact be linked to other customer groups which have a greater impact on Telstra's position and reputation in the telecommunications market.

Telstra employees explained that they were weary of third party advocates not just because of their capacity to promote and advocate in favour of Telstra, but also because numerous organisations were involved in reviewing Telstra's programs in light of its statutory obligations for digital inclusion. In particular, Telstra often meets with the LIMAC (Chapter 5) to review how Telstra's decisions may impact vulnerable social groups. Although not all seniors would be classified as 'low income', Telstra's involvement in this area may impact how third-sector organisations view Telstra's 'community contribution' and further, may influence whether government establishes new regulation (Chapter 5). Sarah considered Telstra to be in a unique position of having to meet high expectations of its community involvement, which have come about because of its long history in the public sector and subsequent statutory obligations to provide telecommunications for vulnerable social groups. Telstra's involvement with government and third-sector organisations, as both customers and regulators, seemed to give these organisations precedence over seniors in terms of who Telstra aimed to impress and inspire through its digital literacy programs. Like Wolfers, Telstra used its strategic CSR programme as a mechanism through which to manage, meet and exceed stakeholder expectations to develop positive relational resources through trust and reputation.

Summary: The effects of commercial decision-making on opportunities for social inclusion

In summary, employees explained that the rationales that steered corporate involvement in strategic CSR pivoted on the commercial interest of strengthening

competitive advantage. As illustrated in Figure 16 above, employees explained that their organisation's involvement in strategic CSR was aimed at strengthening the firm's competitive advantage by strengthening the skills or other resources of existing or potential customers and/or by improving corporate reputation. Both corporations thus employed primarily integrative approaches to strategic CSR that rationalise corporate involvement in alleviating social issues on the basis that it will enable market expansion and competition (Chapter 2). Understanding corporate rationale in these terms raises the following points, regarding the opportunities for social inclusion that emerge in the context of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs, as effects of corporate decision-making.

First, both Wolfers and Telstra hoped that their interaction with citizens/consumers would inspire and empower them to advocate on behalf of the firm. Yet both companies also regarded particular social groups to be more important than others in this regard. Corporations can thus be expected to design strategic CSR programs around issues or goals that are of interest to stakeholder groups that have the greatest influence on corporate legitimacy and/or affluent consumer groups who value corporate reputation more highly than other market segments.

Second, as part of wanting to inspire and empower citizens/consumers to advocate on behalf of the firm, both Telstra and Wolfers designed their strategic CSR programs around social outcomes that evoked positive feelings. This suggests that when corporations adopt integrative approaches to strategic CSR programs, they are unlikely to bring about opportunities for social inclusion through which citizens/consumers and corporations address issues that may be caused by the firm's negative externalities or shortcomings. By extension, this approach prevents corporations from facilitating social inclusion through conflict or contestation, which social inclusion scholars often consider to be important strategies for deconstructing the power relations that caused exclusion in the past. This raises questions about the extent to integrative approaches to strategic CSR enable corporations to facilitate deliberative interactions in which diverse actors contest divergent knowledge and perspectives with the aim of reaching mutual agreement.

Finally, when explaining why Telstra or Wolfers became involved in strategic CSR, employees at both firms were able to employ the creating shared value approach. This is because both companies are in the business of selling

products and services that enable participation in key activities of Australia society. This perspective suggests that some industries are more likely to have a commercial interest in helping citizens/consumers develop resources for social participation than others.

The rationales that guided corporate decision-making therefore steered corporations to create opportunities for particular citizens/consumers to develop particular resources in particular ways. To improve our understanding of how these opportunities may have supported social inclusion, it is necessary to consider how citizens/consumers perceived them to be of benefit or relevant to their lives. As the following section illustrates, different citizens/consumers may interpret the opportunity to develop particular resources in different ways, giving rise to different experiences of agency and connection and thus, different processes of inclusion.

6.2 The community perspective: becoming a part of it

Scholars rarely, if ever, consider the reasons that bring citizens/consumers to attend CSR programs, let alone strategic, customer-focused CSR programs. Yet, it is important to explore these reasons because they help shape the opportunities for social inclusion that emerge in the context of these corporate-run programs. As this chapter now goes on to illustrate, the overarching rationale that made digital skills tutorials or local decision-making meaningful to research participants was one of social connectedness. Figure 17 (below) illustrates two distinct steps through which research participants interpreted or appropriated the opportunities that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs presented, to make them meaningful for strengthening one's social participation, connection and inclusion.

The bottom of the Figure 17 shows that the publicly communicated aim of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs is typically to help participants develop particular individually-held or shared resources. This part of Figure 17 is designed to link with the top of Figure 16 (above), showing that whilst corporations and citizens/consumers may converge over shared goals, they simultaneously diverge over the meaning or value attributed to these shared goals. Accordingly, Figure 17 (below) shows that research participants interpreted the value of the opportunity to develop resources in terms of whether it would enable them to address a gap in their personal resources to engage in activities that they valued. Whether these

new resources helped strengthen participants' sense of connection largely depended on how the resources supported engagement in what participants considered to be 'normal activities'—relative to participants' perceptions of social norms generally, and for norms for social groups they considered themselves to be a part of.

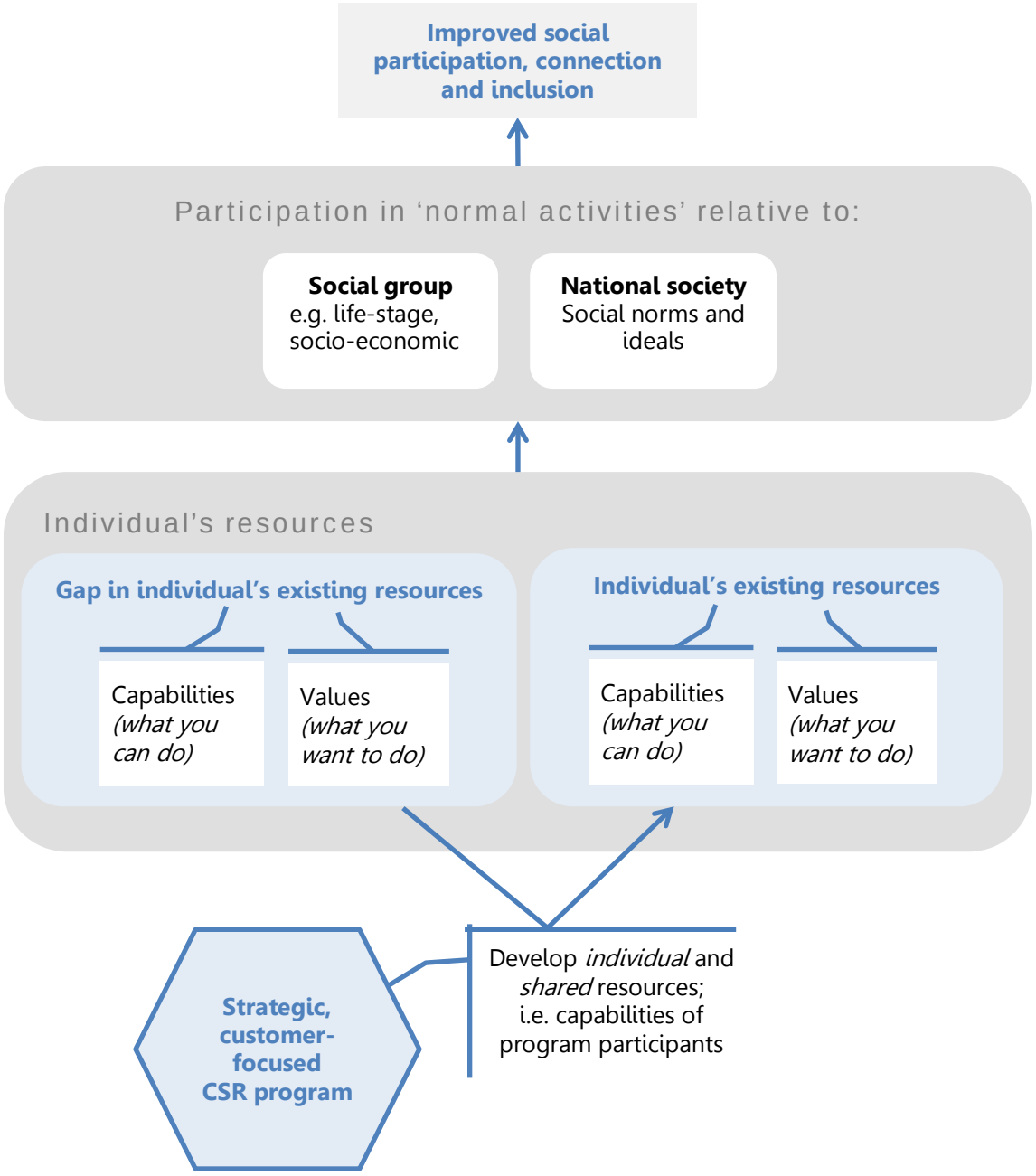


Figure 17. Citizen/consumer rationale for attending strategic, customer-focused CSR programs *(Source: author)*

Social connectedness through skills for participation

When research participants explained why they had chosen to attend TSS, they spoke about wanting to learn digital skills in order to overcome obstacles or utilise resources in their personal situations that would allow them to strengthen their sense of connectedness with immediate or broader social contexts. Many seniors explained that they had an ICT device at home, however did not know how to use it. Others, who had not used ICTs before attending their tutorials, spoke emphatically about not wanting to feel left behind in a society where ICTs are increasingly used in diverse areas of life, including family life. A third cohort of seniors, who typically spoke more optimistically about how ICTs could benefit their lifestyles, described their interest in learning to use ICTs because of the opportunities this would present for communicating with family members who had moved away or to support their community involvement. These reasons—whether to simply understand more about technology or to use technology to communicate with others—are interpreted here as the desire to strengthen one's sense of connectedness or practical connection with others.

By considering why seniors chose to attend tutorials about digital skills at their local library or community college, this section illustrates that seniors actively pursued opportunities to work on their own social inclusion. Seniors often noted that their sense of digital exclusion had built up over time, as their digital skills were not developing as quickly as the rapid proliferation and dissemination of ICTs. In this sense, although Telstra and the partnering state government structured and delivered the program, this did not necessarily mean that they determined how the program would impact the social participation and inclusion of seniors who attended. As illustrated below, seniors shaped what they hoped to achieve by attending the program and more importantly, what this change would mean in their personal situations.

When seniors where asked why they had chosen to attend TSS, an overwhelming majority expressed their desire to learn how to use a smartphone, a tablet, a computer, email, social media or other technological functions. To describe what 'learning' entailed, seniors talked about gaining access to information, about developing an understanding of what ICTs were or about developing the tangible skills to use ICTs. As Leigh, who had started to use ICTs not long before she attended TSS, described,

> *"I don't have any digital technology. Well, I should say I have a digital camera and an email address and a very ordinary mobile phone, but I don't have a smartphone, Facebook or Twitter. And so I was just keen to learn and at least have a look at these things."* (Leigh, ICT intermediate, regional NSW)

Seniors who were more advanced users of ICTs likewise explained that they decided to attend TSS because they wanted to learn or improve their knowledge, understanding or skills related to ICT use. One of the most experienced users of computers among all informants, Carni, referred to 'learning' three times when explaining why she attended TSS and explained that she was drawn to the opportunity to meet others in the group-learning environment. In Carni's words,

> *"I wanted to learn more and I live on my own so I wanted to meet other people and just get out and learn more because you can always learn more even if it's only a little bit."* (Carni, ICT intermediate, regional NSW)

While Carni's perspective suggests a desire to learn for the sake of learning, most seniors explained that they wanted to learn to use ICTs because of particular antecedents or consequences of improved use of ICTs. For example, it was particularly common for seniors to have recently received help from their families to choose and set up ICT devices or the internet at home, however they described their subsequent use of the ICT device as narrow or difficult. Piper, whose son had helped her acquire her first ICT device six months prior to TSS, explained that she attended her tutorials because,

> *"I have had an iPad for quite some time and I use it but I know there are a lot of things that I don't know about it and I just thought if I could learn a bit more and it was convenient, close by home you know?" (Piper, ICT intermediate, metropolitan NSW)*

The situation of wanting to attend TSS to learn how to use an ICT device that had been recently acquired was common even among seniors who already had some experience of using computers or the internet. In these cases, seniors found that their computer skills did not necessarily transfer to being able to use a tablet or that their emailing skills were not transferable to allow confident use of social media sites. As someone who had previously used computers, Heike explained that she attended TSS because she had used a computer in her prior workplace, however she was having difficulty in using her new tablet. Heike explained that she attended TSS because,

> *"I have a tablet and I wasn't sure how to use it. I am familiar with computers, I worked in a school office until a couple of years ago, and I have used a computer*

> *for some years. I have a laptop and I also have a PC, and I was recently given a Samsung Tablet and I was struggling."* (Heike, ICT intermediate, metropolitan NSW)

Echoing the accounts presented above, a cohort of seniors explained their desire to attend TSS because they wanted to develop their personal skills and understanding to use ICTs, so that they would be able to use the device they had at home.

As these cases illustrate, seniors who attended TSS were mostly very motivated to improve their knowledge and use of ICTs. Seniors who attended described that they had come across an advert in their local newspaper or the community college magazine that advertised the program as being for seniors, that it would be held at local libraries or community colleges and would assist participants to develop basic digital literacy skills for using computers, tablets or smartphones. The almost unanimous reason for attending TSS that was to learn to use ICTs. This can be understood as a response to the self-selection process of the advertisement and the broader need among seniors to develop their digital skills.

In comparison to the pragmatic approach above, seniors who had not used ICT devices and typically did not own an ICT device often expressed somewhat cathartically that they sought to remedy the *feeling* of being disconnected from their immediate social networks or society at large. For example Ainsley stated quite frankly that she attended TSS, "because everybody else knows about it and I don't. I just wanted to know how it works." Juxtaposing 'I' against 'everybody else' conveys Ainsley's feeing of isolation which arises not so much from her inability to use ICTs to communicate with people or organisations but rather from her awareness that she was not able to perform functions that she perceived 'everybody else' could perform with ease. Like Ainsley, Dana had not used computers or other devices before attending TSS. Echoing Ainsley's perspective, Dana explained,

> *"I have a burning desire not to be left behind by that particular industry that is moving so quickly. I'm 72 now and I realised that if I don't try and keep up with it, I will be left so far behind I won't be able to do any of it."* (Dana, ICT beginner, metropolitan NSW)

Both Ainsley and Dana spoke about attending TSS to avoid feeling left behind, disconnected or isolated from mainstream society. While Ainsley spoke about her feeling of isolation in current tense, Dana focused on wanting to avoid the risk of being left behind in the future. To mitigate this risk, she placed the responsibility

on herself to learn the skills to 'keep up with it' and be digitally included. While it is possible to hear the frustration in Ainsley's words, Dana seemed motivated by her fear of becoming disempowered through her disconnection from mainstream society. Together, these quotes highlight that although seniors actively decided why they wanted to attend TSS, some did so in response to pressure from broader social change and social expectations.

Alongside the pragmatic concern of learning to use an ICT device and the emotional concern of not wanting to feel disconnected, some seniors explained that they attended TSS because they wanted to learn to use technology for a specific purpose. The most common purpose was to communicate with family who had moved away from the local area or were travelling overseas. Living in a rural area, Dede explained that she attended TSS to learn how to use a computer because,

> *"My family have moved on: I've got six children and they moved to Townsville and to the Gold Coast and to Canada and to Melbourne and I've got grandchildren and now I'm starting to get great-grandchildren and I thought it is the best way to communicate and I've never had anything to do with a computer and so I thought well, I'll go and see."* (Dede, ICT beginner, rural NSW)

Although Dede had not used computers before attending TSS, those who attended tutorials to learn to use computers for a specific purpose were most commonly people who already had some experience and understanding of what ICTs could be used for. For example, Ted had used a computer on a daily basis in his recent position as a manager of a truck motor body building company, however found that when he became a church pastor in his retirement, he needed to broaden his knowledge and use of computers. In Ted's words,

> *"When I retired I became a church pastor and needed to use my computer again, every day and I just felt that while I knew sufficient to get me by, I wanted to learn more."* (Ted, ICT intermediate, metropolitan NSW)

Interestingly, it was not common for seniors to explain their desire to learn about ICTs in terms of a specific purpose such as communicating with family or community groups. Beginners, in particular, did not always know what ICTs could be used for and how this could be benefit them. This suggests that seniors typically attended TSS because of broader social expectations about digital inclusion as a component of social inclusion.

In summary, the study found that seniors most commonly expressed their reasons for attending TSS in terms of only one of the three reasons outlined above—whether simply to learn how to use a new device, to feel connected with their social context or because they wanted to use ICTs for the specific purpose of communicating with other people. Yet, these reasons are not mutually exclusive. Joyce explains that she attended TSS because,

> *"I'd just been given a computer and I wanted to learn how to use it. There's not much point in having it if it was just sitting there. I have used a computer generally, but I was unfamiliar with internet and email and all that stuff so I wanted to become familiar with that. It was just the fact that I had the computer there and, you know, there were people that I could be in touch with that I don't normally see. And the internet, you know, everyone tells you how wonderful the internet is and I thought, 'Well, I better find out.'"* (Joyce, ICT beginner, metropolitan NSW)

In her explanation, Joyce illustrated how the different triggers can overlap—of having a computer at home but not being able to use it, of being aware that one could be using a computer to strengthen connections with her social networks and wanting to overcome the distance between 'everyone' and 'I' in terms of understanding the benefits of the internet. Each of these triggers arose from the personal situations that already existed in the everyday lives of seniors. As such, TSS was positioned as a program that encouraged or enabled seniors to address a gap in their social participation that they had already identified.

Social connectedness through participation in local decision-making

When committee members at Oasis and Glitz Apartments were asked why they had wanted to become involved in their local residents' associations they provided responses to the effect of wanting to exchange information with other residents or policy makers. The words that committee members used to describe this process included: giving feedback, learning, finding out, knowing what's going on, participating and contributing. Each of these processes describe the exchange of information, however some focus more on accessing information while others focus on providing information with the aim of reaching agreement with other residents. The two types of exchanges have been conceptualised in this thesis as supporting different processes of social inclusion. Reflecting the social inclusion that TSS was structured to facilitate, accessing information brings about a process through which individuals seek to position themselves in their social context (e.g. local community) by changing their own skills and resources. By

comparison, contributing information to decision-making—of giving feedback, participating or contributing—requires individuals to become involved in the simultaneous process of positioning oneself in social structures that they are actively involved in creating. Committee members at Oasis and Glitz Apartments described that they hoped to take part in either or both of these processes by becoming involved in their respective residents' associations.

Residents who attended meetings of the Oasis Community Garden Committee typically explained that they were interested in sharing their thoughts in order to influence decision-making about how to set up and manage the community garden. Different personal situations, however, brought residents to express this in different ways. For example, Jordan, as a young mother who recently emigrated and has set up her own franchise in a local shopping centre, described that she attended two meetings,

> *"because I wanted to meet new people here in the community and to be good enough to say I participate in the election, when we decide we put this in here, and put this there."* (Jordan, family household, Oasis)

The excerpt highlights that Jordan liked the idea of broadening her local social networks and the idea of being involved in a strong local community. This is illustrated, in particular, by her conception of decision-making as a joint process in which 'we' participate. Reese, by comparison, spoke more generally about his involvement in the committee as a way of carving out a formal and active role for himself in the local community. In contrast to Jordan, Reese is a middle aged father with (teenage) children who had worked as a professional, however was unemployed at the time of this study. Influenced by this life situation, he explained that he attended committee meetings because he wanted,

> *"to contribute and also learn a little. Because, why not? If I get involved, automatically I have to do something. So I wanted to create that motivation within me to do something. If you're formally involved, and you're doing something; you have to get your hands dirty. Because I am not employed anymore, I have got enough free time to do anything I'd like to do, other than job search. And so I'm looking around for different ways to keep myself busy; community garden is one of them."* (Reese, family household, Oasis)

While both residents were interested in attended meetings of the Oasis Community Garden because they wanted to be involved and influence decision-making, the excerpts highlight that different life situations led committee members to express the meaning of this participation in different ways. Interestingly, committee

members were typically not overly concerned about the specific topic of decision-making (i.e. designing the community garden) but rather, had a general interest in shaping their local community and their active place in it.

Residents who attended meetings of the Owners' Corporations at Glitz Apartments shared similar reasons for participating in local decision-making—of wanting to access information to learn about or understand the governance structure of their apartment. Echoing the words of other committee members, Steve explained that,

> *"I deliberately said, that I just want to be a committee member. I just want to learn, you know? I ended up becoming a chairman of one of the OCs far sooner than I had hoped, because of a resignation."* (Steve, empty-nester household, Glitz Apartments)

Brian, a resident who regularly attended meetings but was not an office-bearer, likewise emphasised that he attended to access information so that he could be aware of what was going on in his local area. In his words, "I'm not on the committee as yet. I just think it's important to know what's going on in the community." Residents of Glitz Apartments who were actively involved in their Owners' Corporation seemed to share similar reasons for participating in local decision-making because they were of similar life stages and backgrounds—they were wealthy and retired male professionals who had not lived in apartment towers for much of their lives. As such, they typically explained that they became involved to understand the specific processes of apartment governance as this was different to their prior experiences of house maintenance.

Comparing the reasons why residents at Oasis and Glitz Apartments decided to become involve in their local residents' associations, we can see that residents at Oasis were more likely to speak about exchanging information while residents at Glitz Apartments were more likely to speak about accessing information. This difference was in response to how residents were recruited into leadership positions and the purpose of the residential association at the time of research. For example Alex, who was involved in the Oasis Community Garden, described that she received a leaflet that invited feedback from residents. In her words,

> *"Wolfers sent us a letter in the mail, just trying to find out who might be interested in the community garden and who might be interested in giving feedback about what they want."* (Alex, adult living with mother, Oasis)

By comparison Andy, who was a member of several Owners' Corporation committees at Glitz Apartments, recounted that he had been personally invited and encouraged to join his local governance body in order to access information about the administration of his apartment block. In Andy's words,

> *"When I moved in, the building manager suggested to me that I go on the residents' committee to find out how things worked. I did that and I've been on the committees ever since."* (Andy, empty-nester household, Glitz Apartments)

Both Alex and Andy described recruitment processes that echoed the experiences of their fellow committee members. At Glitz Apartments, residents typically received a personal invitation from the building manager or a member of the local community and the invitation was phrased as an opportunity to learn about the existing governance structures of the apartment. By comparison at Oasis, residents received a generic invitation from Wolfers to be involved in the community garden, however the involvement was described as offering feedback and thus shaping decisions. This perspective suggests that the different reasons why residents at Oasis and Glitz Apartments become involved in their residents' associations were largely in response to the type of opportunity for community involvement that was presented to them.

Comparing the reasons that motivated committee members at Oasis and Glitz Apartments to become involved in their respective residents' associations demonstrates the role of context, one's unique life situation and how relationships are 'opened' (i.e. the invitation) in shaping one's perception of how their involvement might support their connection to their local community. Committee members placed different emphases on whether they wanted to become involved to improve their own knowledge and skills or to contribute their knowledge, skills and perspective to shape local decisions. As conceptualised earlier in this thesis, citizens/consumers who aim to strengthen their own knowledge and skills (which research participants described as 'learning') are focused on strengthening their social connection by changing themselves in order to fit into existing social structures. By comparison, citizens/consumers who aim to provide information through 'feedback' or 'contributing', are focused on changing the social context in order to reflect their own values, interests and priorities. This study found that it was more common for research participants to focus on the former process, of inclusion through working on one's own skills and resources.

Summary: Pursuing connectedness through new information and deliberation

In summary, research participants found strategic, customer-focused CSR programs to offer meaningful opportunities for social inclusion because participants perceived the programs to help strengthen one's connection with others. Seniors and local residents often explained that this was because the programs offered opportunities to access or exchange information. As illustrated in Figure 17 above, the following factors further shaped the precise meaning that program participants attributed to the development of individually-held or shared resources, such as new information.

First, the norms and ideals of social participation that structured one's general social context influenced whether research participants perceived CSR programs as meaningful for simply strengthening social inclusion or overcoming risks of social exclusion (i.e. of being left out or left behind). This was further tempered by how participants perceived these social norms and expectations to apply to the social groups that they identified themselves to be a part of—e.g. seniors, affluent retirees, or other. A comparison of the two case studies highlights that while seniors who attended TSS were often very concerned with meeting the social expectations of digital inclusion, committee members seemed to consider their involvement in the local community as something that was not necessarily essential for social inclusion, however would nonetheless enhance it.

Second, circumstances in the personal lives of program participants also influenced participants' interpretation of how their attendance of CSR programs could be meaningful. Program participants often attended to make use of personal resources (e.g. an unused ICT device at home or administrative skills) or as part of managing more personal risks (e.g. unemployment, distance from family and friends, managing investment in real estate). With reference to Figure 17 above, this finding suggests that research participants interpreted the value of the opportunity to develop resources in terms of whether it would enable them to address a gap in their personal resources to engage in activities that they valued. This suggests that citizens/consumers find resources and domains of social participation to be meaningful in different ways, depending on different life stages or circumstances.

Finally, although research participants typically identified the personal risks they wished to mitigate or the general activity through which they wished to strengthen their social participation, they were often unsure of exactly what was needed to strengthen their connectedness. Research participants shaped their understanding of how exactly a CSR program might be meaningful to them by aligning with the aim of the program (of what information would be exchanged or what resources would be developed) that was embedded in the invitation for research participants to attend. Although citizens/consumers actively interpreted CSR programs into opportunities for social inclusion, program administrators nonetheless had a significant influence on initiating and/or guiding this process.

6.3 Synthesis: bridging the two perspectives

In the case of both Tech Savvy Seniors and Wolfers' community engagement, employees adopted ideas about competitive advantage to rationalise corporate involvement in strategic, customer-focused CSR, thus following a mainly integrative approach to strategic CSR (Chapter 2). Meanwhile, citizens/consumers often adopted a contrasting rationale of social connectedness to make sense of how the opportunities that these corporate-run programs presented might be meaningful to them. To improve our understanding of how both social actors structured strategic, customer-focused CSR to—whether actively or inadvertently—give rise to particular opportunities for social inclusion, the third research question of this thesis asks how the contrasting rationales converge, ignore and conflict with each other.

Despite the contrasting rationales that guided corporate and citizen/consumer involvement in strategic CSR, both case studies demonstrated that the two social actors converged over shared goals about the immediate or first-order outcomes of CSR programs. In the case of Tech Savvy Seniors, this goal was to improve digital skills and confidence among seniors. In the case of Wolfers' community engagement, this goal was to support an engaged local community that had a shared sense of ownership and responsibility. Two key factors supported the convergence of corporate and citizen/consumer interests. First, the creating shared value and reputational risk management frameworks both steered corporations to consider the values and perceptions of stakeholder groups when deciding how to design CSR to strengthen competitive advantage. Second, because of the role of corporations' industry sectors in supporting participation in

society, the goal of strengthening individuals' capacity to consume corporate products or services had positive implications for social connectedness as well as the profit making of the firm. This perspective suggests that the convergence of corporate and citizen/consumer goals is particularly likely in industry sectors that interact with civil society via an exchange with customers, rather than for example local communities. Recognizing the active role of citizens/consumers in validating or rejecting strategic, customer-focused CSR programs, highlights that corporations did not necessarily 'discipline' or 'colonise' program participants. Instead, these processes were already occurring through the norms and values that citizens/consumers perceived to structure mainstream society.

This chapter has illustrated that corporations and citizens/consumers diverged over the meaning or value that they attributed to the shared first-order aims of the two strategic CSR programs. Program participants actively interpreted the opportunities that strategic CSR programs offered by measuring up their own values and resources, relative to their perceptions of ideals and expectations about the key activities that constitute participation in society (Figure 17 above). Whilst corporations hoped to support improved social participation of program participants, they did so because of the implications this change would hold for corporate reputation (Figure 16 above). The finding that citizens/consumers did not consider how their involvement in strategic CSR would impact corporate reputation represents the key way in which the goals of corporations and citizens/consumers diverged or ignored each other. While corporations used strategic CSR to actively demonstrate their own relevance and legitimacy, citizens/consumers rarely used this forum to critique corporate conduct or legitimacy. As such, the opportunities for social inclusion that emerged in the context of strategic CSR focused on integrating citizens/consumers into particular social structures, rather than by adjusting the conduct of the firm to meet the expectations of citizens/consumers.

Interestingly, the rationales that guided corporate and citizen/consumer involvement in strategic CSR did not appear to conflict in either case study. A key reason for this is that the voluntary terms of program participation meant that citizens/consumers only decided to attend if they considered the programs to be of benefit to them. Further, because both corporations harnessed strategic CSR programs as a way of improving the capacities of citizens/consumers as well as promoting positive impressions of the firm, they were unlikely to use TSS or

community engagement as a way of addressing controversial or complex social issues. As illustrated in the first part of this chapter, the corporate concern for reputation instead steered both Telstra and Wolfers to want to impress stakeholders by addressing issues that were related however not necessarily central to business conduct. This approach prevented corporations from creating opportunities for conflict or contestation, which social inclusion scholars often consider to be important strategies for deconstructing the power relations that caused exclusion in the past.

This chapter has explored how the rationales that guided corporate and citizen/consumer involvement in strategic CSR brought about particular opportunities through which citizens/consumers could strengthen their social inclusion. In the following two chapters, the thesis moves on to explore the lived experiences of attending Tech Savvy Seniors (Chapter 7) and Wolfers' community engagement (Chapter 8) in terms of what impact the programs had on participants' sense of agency and connection.

7

Agency and connection through skills for participation: *Tech Savvy Seniors*

Through its involvement in Tech Savvy Seniors, Telstra worked towards its vision of 'everyone [having] the tools and skills and access that they need to be able to participate' in the online world (Chapter 6). More specifically, Telstra aimed to support and encourage seniors to 'embrace technology'. Seniors reinforced this program objective by saying that they attended TSS with a hope to 'learn' how to use ICTs and to not be 'left behind' (Chapter 6). These rationales and intentions frame TSS as a skills-based CSR program because it provided a forum in which citizens/consumers could access knowledge that might help strengthen critical engagement in the key activities of their society. To improve our understanding of the nature of social inclusion that skills-based CSR programs facilitate, this chapter draws on research participants' accounts of their experiences of attending TSS tutorials and how their use of technology changed following program attendance. Guided by a relational conceptualisation of social inclusion, this chapter analyses participants' experiences in terms of changes to their sense of agency and sense of connection.

The design of TSS aimed to support seniors to 'learn' how to use ICTs and 'embrace technology' by providing program participants with access to

information and interpersonal support on a range of predetermined topics. The program was thus geared to influence the agency and connection of program participants by supporting them to take up prescribed activities and by integrating them into existing social structures. As discussed throughout this thesis, this can be problematic from a social inclusion perspective because integration can give rise to 'weak' forms of inclusion (Chapters 1 and 3). In contrast to this theoretical perspective, research participants often reported that their attendance of TSS had enabled an experience of empowerment. In many cases, participants felt that they had benefited from absorbing information that trainers presented because as beginners, they did not yet have specific questions to ask and discuss. Further, although trainers followed predetermined course content, they did so in a manner that enabled participants to feel in control of their learning. These findings speak to existing empirical research that finds the effectiveness of digital literacy programs for seniors to be shaped by factors such as the empathy and patience of tutors, the quality of written course material, how clearly learning objectives are stated and the extent to which seniors can see the relevance of new skills to their daily lives (Gatti *et al.* 2017; Kim 2008; Kim and Gray 2016; Sayago 2013). In the case of TSS, the interactions that took place between trainers and trainees had a strong effect on the sense of agency that seniors experienced, with implications for their sense of connection. In cases where seniors had felt 'left behind' or had friends or family who wished to communicate online, improved digital skills and confidence enabled them to use ICTs to communicate with social networks more often and/or in new ways.

The changes that program participants experienced to their sense of agency and connection occurred through the perpetuation and/or adjustment of particular power relations. Which power relations were negotiated and how was influenced by the design of TSS—specifically, the voluntary terms of program attendance, the predetermined nature of the course content and the manner in which tutorials were taught. The voluntary nature of the program meant that seniors could choose not to attend particular modules such as social media or online banking. This sometimes had the effect of leaving in place the power relations embedded in incomplete or inaccurate information that often steered seniors' voluntary exclusion. The study found voluntary exclusion from particular ICT functions to be most common among participants who were relatively confident about their digital skills. By comparison, many research participants found the teaching style of their trainers to

have helped them overcome the complex power dynamics in their ageing families that had sometimes prevented them from receiving support to use ICTs at home. The two perspectives position the perpetuation of exclusionary power relations to have occurred through seniors' decision-making about whether and how to develop their digital skills. The prescribed nature of course content, by comparison, gave seniors greater choice in how to participate in society.

7.1 Empowering and connecting citizens/consumers through digital skills

Research participants often found that their participation in TSS influenced their actual and self-assessed capacity to use ICTs, with consequences for their sense of agency and sense of connection. Research participants who found TSS to have empowering effects often reflected on how their perceptions of their own ability to use ICTs had changed. Before attending TSS, seniors often thought they did not understand enough about ICTs and how to use them, and that this made them *feel* that they had been left behind, left out or disconnected from mainstream society. Together with the frustration, anxiety or fear of using ICTs, the feeling of inadequacy often evoked a disempowered sense of self (in the context of ICT use). By attending TSS, many seniors found their confidence to use ICTs grew, with positive implications for their sense of agency. In some cases, self-perceived improvements in digital skills also strengthened one's sense of connection with mainstream society. Whether TSS helped participants strengthen their connectedness with close social networks was influenced by the appropriateness of ICTs for communicating with family and friends, and personal preferences about modes of communication.

Computer anxiety—stemming from a fear of making mistakes that may cause loss of important data, broken hardware, embarrassment or other undesired consequences (Thatcher and Perrewe 2002)—is known to be a problem that seniors face more than other age groups (Powell 2013). Describing their experience of using computers before TSS, many seniors reported that they felt panic, anger, fear, nervousness, embarrassment or frustration because they would try to use their ICT device but find they did not understand how to do things or what they had done. For example, Carni had been using email, social media and internet browsing before attending her tutorials, however said that she often felt nervous and frustrated with technology. In her own words,

> *"Before TSS, I was a bit nervous about using technology. Sometimes in my emails I'd want to highlight something to keep it and it doesn't let you do that and then I'd end up rearranging them all in different orders and thinking, 'Hell I don't know how that happened.' I'd have pushed something but not knowing what I'd pushed and think, 'Oh bloody hell, what have I done here?!' And I know I couldn't break the thing but sometimes it just gets really frustrating and I want to put it through the window because I don't know what I've done and then suddenly things are all haywire."* (Carni, ICT beginner, regional NSW)

With the fear of inadvertently changing layouts or settings without knowing how to reverse the change, Carni's experience resonates with studies that find that seniors often struggle to recognise the icons that allow navigation of the internet (van Deursen and van Dijk 2011). Reflecting the experience of other TSS participants, Carni's nervousness comes from her expectation that she should understand how to use ICTs independently for a desired purpose, yet perceives or finds her skills to be deficient. For many seniors who attended TSS, computer anxiety prevented them from trying to develop their digital skills on their own through trial and error, independent research or practice.

In cases where seniors had found their tutorials to be beneficial, they often described that they had developed a better understanding of how to navigate their devices and that this allowed them to feel more confident and independent when using ICTs. For example prior to her six TSS tutorials, Stacey had been using her computer to email and bookkeep for her farming business however often felt nervous or unsure of what she was doing. She commented on how her tutorials had helped her develop her digital skills and confidence by saying,

> *"I'm more confident now with experimenting on the computer with icons. Before, I was too scared to touch anything and if something stopped I used to call the kids. But now I experiment a bit. When I'm sending emails I am not so nervous about which thing to press. I was always so scared that I was going to wipe something out. Now, with the icons, I can just go through and use them whereas before I used to sit there."* (Stacey, ICT beginner, rural NSW)

The changes that TSS brought about in Stacey's case are evident not only in her knowledge of icons and navigation, but also her sense of confidence (replacing nervousness and fear), her willingness to experiment and her experience of using computers with greater ease. Stacey's willingness to experiment—explained by others in terms of 'trial and error' or 'perseverance'—indicates a greater sense of independence and belief in oneself to be able to problem solve to achieve desired ends. Other research participants suggested that this greater sense of confidence

and independence was a shift away from feeling inadequate toward a sense of satisfaction and competence for the longer term.

Yet, in a few cases, seniors were not able to speak so positively about the role of TSS in improving their confidence because although their digital skills had improved, they had not improved sufficiently to tackle computer problems that came up at home. For example, both Dakota and Piper were beginners who attended a couple of TSS tutorials. Lacking some confidence, Piper described her tablet use as tentative and uncertain. She said,

> *"Well I am still a little bit tentative, but I'm not like some people, who just don't like to touch it. The word I use is 'fiddle'. Sometimes if you asked me what I did, I really don't know but I got there. And often it's not the quickest way but it doesn't bother me."* (Piper, ICT beginner, metropolitan NSW)

By comparison, Dakota recounted a specific situation in which she found that her understanding of ICTs did not adequately equip her to understand and deal with a case of fraud. She explained,

> *"My elderly aunty rung me up the other day and she said 'Dakota, about the message that you sent, my daughter said be careful because it looks like somebody's scammed it' and I'm thinking, 'Oh hell, what does that mean and what do I do. Do I keep sending messages' or do I think, 'Well bugger this, it's too dangerous and just never touch it again?' Do you know what I'm saying? My ignorance is causing all this—these problems are happening and I don't know how to deal with them."* (Dakota, ICT beginner, metropolitan NSW)

Both cases illustrate that while confidence to use computers may be what enables seniors to feel empowered, this confidence must be backed up by relevant digital skills that enable users to overcome adversity. Both Dakota and Piper were beginners and only attended a couple of tutorials. This suggests that the number of tutorials that seniors attended and by extension, the diversity of information that seniors were exposed to, influenced the extent to which TSS strengthened participants' sense of agency.

In some cases, individuals' changing perceptions of their own ability to use computers not only affected their sense of agency, but also their sense of connection. A few research participants noted that after participating in TSS, they felt a stronger sense of inclusion or membership in society as a whole. This feeling emerged from their perception that digital skills and literacy are expected traits of full members of contemporary society. For example, Stacey noticed that after attending TSS, she was able to keep up in family conversations that assumed an

understanding of ICTs. In her words, "Now when I talk to the kids about [ICTs], I know what they're talking about and we can have a conversation." Stacey's experience is meaningful relative to the fear that was common among research participants of being left out of society. Dana expressed this feeling of exclusion by saying that had she not improved her understanding of ICTs,

> *"I would be in a whole different strata of society because I would be the old one who don't know anything and the young ones then would say 'Oh she doesn't know,' or 'She wouldn't understand.'"* (Dana, ICT beginner, metropolitan NSW)

In these cases, by helping participants develop their understanding (but not necessarily use) of ICTs, TSS supported some participants strengthen their sense of connection with or membership in contemporary Australian society.

On a practical level, many research participants found TSS to have helped strengthen their sense of connection if they had developed digital skills that enabled them to communicate with close social networks and further, if there was reason to communicate with social networks online. In an article about using ICTs to build social inclusion among older people in rural Australia, Warburton *et al*. (2014) emphasise the importance of ICTs for helping seniors overcome the negative effects of the outward migration of young generations from rural areas, and the inward, lifestyle migration of seniors to rural areas. Accordingly, Freddie who lived in a regional area, noted that although some of his younger family members had moved overseas, TSS had helped him improve his use of ICTs and enabled him to stay connected. Freddie said,

> *"I've got a son in London and a granddaughter in California. We don't do it often; we don't live in each other's pockets. But it helps in that you know that if you need to get in touch with them, you can do so. Occasionally I just send an email and get a reply… and you know that the world is still turning and they're still in it."* (Freddie, ICT intermediate, regional NSW)

Other research participants—who lived in regional and metropolitan areas alike—spoke about using ICTs to stay in touch with family or friends who had moved interstate or about staying in touch with social networks while they themselves were travelling. Although this perspective illustrates TSS to have supported participants' sense of connection by improving their skills to use computers, it is important to keep in mind the enduring role of one's sense of agency and confidence. As existing research suggests, individuals who perceive themselves to

be capable users of ICTs are more likely to enjoy using ICTs and consequently more likely to use them consistently (Thatcher and Perrewe 2002).

For some research participants, TSS may have improved their understanding and confidence to use ICTs however this did not strengthen their sense of connection because they preferred staying in touch through other means of communication. For example, speaking about herself and her husband, Bronwyn said,

> *"We are 76 and 77 but we don't have any family at all. My husband's an only child, and myself, so we don't have any relatives or family. Friends we have are here, local, and several of those don't have the internet so they don't have the ability to email people so we've never bothered."* (Bronwyn, ICT intermediate, regional NSW)

Whereas Bronwyn made sense of her non-use of ICTs in terms of personal circumstances, Beth emphasised instead her personal preferences for other modes of communication. In Beth's words,

> *"I'm probably old fashioned because I am 81 and, to me, Facebook seemed a waste of time. I prefer, if I want to get in touch with family, to use the phone so I suppose you could put it down to the fact that I am inclined to cling to the things that I'm more familiar with."* (Beth, ICT beginner, regional NSW)

In these two situations, rather than noting any shortcomings in the design of TSS, research participants made sense of their continued non-use of ICTs relative to their personal needs or preferences for other modes of communication. This finding stresses that the value of information or other resources that strategic CSR programs aim to develop, is relative to the personal situations of participants.

So far, this chapter has addressed the opening research question of this thesis' second line of inquiry—regarding the changes that individuals experience to their sense of agency and connection on account of attending strategic, customer-focused CSR programs. As discussed above, many research participants found TSS helpful for strengthening their sense of agency because it improved their confidence to use ICTs. It was also common for participants to find the program helpful for strengthening their sense of connection because it enabled them to communicate with social networks either about ICTs or by using ICTs. However this was not the case for everyone. Of note, research participants suggested that the extent to which TSS strengthened or did not strengthen their sense of agency or connection was influenced by various external factors—

including participants' prior experiences of using ICTs and the relevance of ICTs for facilitating interaction within one's social networks.

This thesis has theorised that to better understand the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate, it is important to understand the power relations that these programs help adjust or perpetuate in the process of changing participants' sense of agency and connection. This constitutes the second question in the thesis' second line of inquiry. To address this concern, the following section considers the different roles that program participants and administrators played to give rise to the particular interactions and relationships that shaped participants' experiences of TSS.

7.2 Addressing barriers to inclusion: informing decision-making and levelling power relations

Scholars often explain seniors' relatively low use of ICTs in terms of a lacking interest or lacking opportunity to learn to use ICTs in education or employment contexts (Boulton-Lewis *et al.* 2007; Olphert *et al.* 2005; Warburton *et al.* 2013). Whilst most research participants recounted that they had not used ICTs in the workplace or at home before they retired, they also referred to factors in their current lives which prevented them from developing their understanding and use of ICTs. In particular, research participants referred to recurrent media reports about online scamming which made them fearful of communicating or transacting online, as well as complex family dynamics which sometimes came in the way of their adult children teaching them about ICTs in a patient and supportive manner.

Interestingly, the experiences of research participants suggest that TSS was limited in addressing the fear that media reports instilled in seniors. This was because participants drew on their existing perceptions of online risks when deciding whether to voluntarily enrol in particular training modules. By comparison, participants often found the teaching style of trainers to contrast with the power dynamics they experienced at home. While TSS did not necessarily affect power dynamics in the family, the program did provide an alternative source of information via interactions that seniors experienced in a relatively 'power-neutral' way. In both situations program administrators, trainers, program participants, families and the media played particular roles to create, adjust or perpetuate the power relations that affected seniors' sense of agency and connection. To progress this thesis' second line of inquiry, this chapter now

explores these roles to better understand the nature of social inclusion that TSS facilitated.

The digital skills that seniors were invited to improve through TSS were determined by program administrators—Telstra and state government—who developed and disseminated 18 training modules to training providers. In one sense, this meant that TSS supported program participants to develop digital skills relative to the assumptions that program administrators had made about important ways of using ICTs in day-to-day life. This was the case for many research participants, particular if they had not used ICTs before attending TSS. As a beginner, Ruby said that,

> *"I was just simply there for them to tell me [about technology]. I didn't know exactly what to ask. I just picked up on what they showed me, and if there had been anything, I think I would have asked."* (Ruby, ICT beginner, metropolitan NSW)

Participants who were already using ICTs when they enrolled in TSS modules were more likely to articulate what they did or did not want to learn, and how they would or would not use technology in the future. In particular, participants often said that they had not and would not use online banking or shopping because they did not trust the security of online transactions. Considering the effectiveness of a digital literacy program that targeted disadvantaged seniors in America, Kim and Gray (2016) likewise find that when interventions are short, it is difficult for them to address entrenched fear of cyber security and distrust of governments (or other institutions). Instead, in the case of TSS, seniors actively made decisions that validated or rejected the opportunities for social inclusion that Telstra and state government had embedded into the course content. For example, Skye explained,

> *"I like working on a computer – I do volunteer computer work at the Computer Pals for Seniors and secretarial work for the Senior Citizens Centre here… I get on the internet a lot. The only thing I don't do is internet banking."* (Skye, ICT intermediate, regional NSW)

Ella had similarly used computers and the internet before her tutorial, and said that,

> *"[the tutorial] was probably a bit more basic than I expected and it did cover things like shopping online, which I wouldn't touch with a 40 foot barge pole. [Why is that?] I am not interested in shopping online. [Why is that?] I don't trust the system."* (Ella, ICT intermediate, regional NSW)

Reflective of other research participants in similar situations, these excerpts show that neither Skye nor Ella saw TSS as an opportunity to review their decision to voluntarily exclude themselves from online shopping or banking, which may have been based on inadequate or misguided information. In a study conducted by Olphert *et al.* (2005), a large portion of seniors who did not use the internet said they could not see its relevance to their personal situation. Comparing internet users to non-internet users, Olphert *et al.* find that seniors who used the internet placed a high value on it, while only a small percentage (21%) of non-users believed that the internet was a valuable resource. If both cohorts were basing their decisions on the same information and understanding, the decisions of non-users would need to be respected. Yet, Olphert *et al.* find that compared to internet users, seniors who did not use the internet were unaware of many activities available via the internet.

Research participants who did not trust online banking often said this was a reaction to media reports they had seen regarding online scamming. For example Aubrey, who had not used ICTs before attending TSS said,

> *"You just see it all the time, people getting ripped off. They're not sure who's hacking in and all that hacking stuff you see it all the time on the news, so we'll just pay our bills as we normally do."* (Aubrey, ICT beginner, regional NSW)

In such cases, seniors' decisions were informed by perhaps sensationalised, biased and limited accounts of the risks and securities of online transactions. Sage, who at the age of 74 had not previously used ICTs, attended one tutorial. In the following excerpt, Sage explains why she does not use online banking,

> *"I don't do any business at all on the computer. I don't buy anything on the computer, I don't pay anything by computer. I don't think it's safe enough and I prefer not to. A lot of people still prefer to pay their bills by cheque and keep track of what they paid, where they paid, how they paid. And once you go electronic to doing these sorts of things, you are tied into a sort of time frame. Now, if people are pensioners or on a limited income, what they need to be able to do is spread out their bills over a month, not have three or four come in on the same week because it can leave them without food for the rest of the week, or it can cause them to go into debt. Because if money is being taken out of your account electronically and they happen to take it out the day before your pension goes in, then you are in trouble and you've got an overdraft situation."* (Sage, ICT beginner, metropolitan NSW)

By providing a detailed explanation of why she did not like internet banking, Sage revealed that she misinterpreted internet banking as the direct debit function

(where individuals provide permission for organisations to deduct the billed amount). Sage's situation illustrates that because TSS enabled seniors to decide which modules to attend, it left intact the power dynamics—exacerbated in particular by media stories of online scamming—that had been preventing seniors from seeking to adopt key activities of their society.

While some research participants said that they actively made the decision not to attend particular TSS modules, others recounted that factors in their personal lives made it difficult for them to continue their attendance. For example, as a beginner living in rural NSW, Linda mentioned the trouble she was having with her eye. In her words, "I have trouble with one eye and, yeah, I had to get a bigger screen for my computer because I have trouble with one eye. And I just found that intense concentration for the hour and I…yeah." Although some other participants also mentioned that a change in their own or a partner's health had disrupted their attendance of TSS, this narrative was uncommon relative to instances of voluntary exclusion. A reason for this may be that individuals who knew they had ongoing health (or other) issues would have been less likely to enrol in TSS in the first place, and thus not be included in the sample for this study. Linda's experience nonetheless brings our attention to existing research that examines that digital literacy programs for seniors are most effective when set in senior-friendly environments that include for example, adjustable furniture, adjustable screens, adjustable colour and size of screen content and substitution of the mouse with a track pad or touch screen (Kim 2008).

Generally speaking, once seniors had made the decision to enrol in TSS, the program was likely to help them address the power relations that had previously exacerbated their digital exclusion. Leigh, for example, was using email and word processing before she attended TSS but said that, "the reason I didn't like the idea of Facebook was because I was scared of the security of it… but the trainer showed us how very secure it can be… so that it opens to just my family and no one else." In this excerpt Leigh places the trainer in a central position—as the actor than enabled change. Whereas the relationship between program administrators and program participants was quite hierarchical—whereby Telstra and state government offered seniors opportunities to develop particular digital skills and seniors responded by either taking up or rejecting these opportunities—seniors often said that trainers sought to adjust their teaching style and sometimes content to meet the needs of participants. Leigh went on to say,

> *"Our trainer was… very approachable, very patient, very clear voice and very chatty. She just talked along with us, rather than dictating at us and we all liked that… She wasn't like a teacher. And she was very knowledgeable, anything you wanted to ask we were allowed to."* (Leigh, ICT intermediate, regional NSW)

Leigh's experience contrasts with that of Eden, who did not find his four tutorials to be of much benefit, because he did not have an encouraging and supportive trainer and this dissuaded him from actively engaging with the interactions or content of his TSS tutorials. Eden recounted the effects of his trainer's authoritative manner with the following words,

> *"Unfortunately, the tutors do talk down to you. They treat you like you're a dummy and you should know this. It knocks all the wind out of your sails and you say to yourself, "Well geez am I worthless." It takes a very special teacher to appreciate that we weren't brought up with the use of computers and it's embarrassment for us to ask for help."* (Eden, ICT beginner, regional NSW)

Although relatively uncommon, Eden's case illustrates that when trainers did not communicate clearly and in an approachable and friendly manner, seniors did not feel motivated or supported to actively engage in improving their own digital skills and inclusion. Both Leigh and Eden's experiences highlight that the teaching manner of trainers had a significant impact on how TSS supported the sense of agency of participants. In cases where participants found trainers to have facilitated horizontal power relations with trainees, participants often said that TSS enabled access information and support in a way that was not available to them in their family context. This finding resonates with existing studies of digital literacy programs for seniors, in which the empathy, persistence, patience and willingness of tutors to repeat course content encouraged and supported continued enrolment (see Nycyk and Redsell 2010).

Not much research has been conducted into the impact of family on digital inclusion. But a recent study conducted by Friemel (2016) in Switzerland, finds that social networks significantly influence the likelihood of internet use among seniors. Not only do seniors perceive communicating with friends and family online to be a key benefit of the internet, but also social networks often provide support for learning to use the internet. Accordingly, Friemel (2016) refers to Korupp and Szydlik (2005: 416) [1], who find that households with children or

[1] Korupp and Szydlik conducted their study in Germany. Suggesting a similar trend, ABS data from 2012-13 shows that almost every household with children under 15 years of age had

adolescents are more likely to have a computer and internet access and that this family context is a clearer indicator of internet use than economic capital. Although family members may help seniors become digitally included relative to other seniors, the ongoing digital exclusion of seniors in Australia suggests that the family setting is not effective enough in closing the digital gap between seniors and younger age groups. Although the family setting may hold resources that could support seniors to improve their digital exclusion, research participants who attended TSS often suggested that the power relations at home often prevented these resources from being shared.

Seniors are members of ageing families—characterised by complex power relations that have emerged as parents and children gradually change the way that they depend on each other (see Silverstein and Giarusso 2010). While family relations may be essentially amicable, studies suggest that seniors may feel resentment toward their children's busy schedules while adult children may dislike that they need to provide extensive support for their ageing parents. Some seniors who attended TSS, described that approaching their adult children for computer help sometimes reinforced their increasing dependence on their adult children, and conversely, that their adult children had restricted time to share with them. As Skye, who was using computers for word processing and internet browsing before attending TSS explained,

> *"I tried to teach myself but I found out I couldn't and my family said, 'For heaven's sake, go and do a basic computer course'. They were sick of me ringing them up and asking them how to get out of something or what did I do next and all the rest of it."* (Skye, ICT intermediate, regional NSW)

Seniors who described their adult children as not having a good teaching manner often said that their adult children lacked patience or demonstrated things too quickly. Ariel, who had not used ICTs before attending TSS, recounted that, "I tried to get my son to teach me but he wasn't patient enough." Carey, another participant who also had not used computers before attending TSS, said that she had not even ventured to ask family for help because she preferred to spend her limited time with family in a more social and pleasant manner. Although adult children often did assist seniors in their use of ICTs, seniors' experiences indicate

---

access to the internet at home (96%), as compared to 78% of households without children under 15 years of age.

that frustration, lack of patience and lack of time sometimes compromised the gesture.

While seniors typically needed to ask for help in the family setting, the TSS program enabled libraries and community colleges to be forthcoming with assistance to improve digital skills. This, among other factors, meant that whereas help from family members involved two-way interaction between family members and seniors, support via TSS revolved around one-directional provision of information from program administrators and trainers to seniors. Theoretically, two-way interaction enables social actors to pursue mutual understanding and can thus promote social inclusion. But whenever TSS tutorials deviated from the one-directional provision of information towards an interactive question-answer format, research participants often found the interaction to be disruptive to their learning. Indeed, previous studies that examine teaching styles in digital literacy courses for seniors find that seniors feel most comfortable when all participants have similar levels of digital skills and learning objectives are clearly articulated in advance. Unless advanced participants are formally asked to mentor seniors with less developed digital skills, participants are likely to experience frustration and disillusionment (Gatti *et al.* 2017).

Accordingly in the case of TSS, research participants recounted that conversations guided by one trainee could isolate others who were either far ahead or behind the question being asked. For example Dakota, as a complete beginner explained that when trainees who were more advanced that she was began to ask questions, she and the other beginners felt disconnected from the conversation. In Dakota's words, "as much as the trainer was very good, he was inundated with questions from the people that had had training and we were just left to flounder". From the opposite perspective, seniors who were at a more advanced stage sometimes found that two-way communication between trainers and seniors who had not previously used ICTs would prevent them from improving their digital skills. Carni explained,

> *"[I wanted to know] how to get around Facebook easier, like if I'm in a certain part in the page and then I go to someone that's sent me some links and I want to get back to where I was on that page and I don't know how to do that. [But I wasn't able to ask those questions] because there were others that had really basic questions and time was taken up with that."* (Carni, ICT intermediate, regional NSW)

These experiences suggest that when interactions between trainers and program participants deviated from the one-directional provision of information, participants were at heightened risk of feeling a degree of disempowerment or alienation. The effectiveness of TSS in supporting participants' agency and connection through the take up of prescribed knowledge and activities, relied on the accuracy of program administrators' and trainers' assumptions or understanding of what seniors wanted to learn and how. The voluntary terms of program participation afforded participants with choice about how to change their digital participation—both when deciding whether to attend particular modules or not and further, when deciding whether to use new skills to integrate ICT use in day-to-day life. These perspectives cast program administrators, trainers and program participants as active decision-makers who determined how to strengthen seniors' sense of agency and connection via changes to technology use. This study has nonetheless found that the voluntary terms of program participation was a key reason why TSS was sometimes unable to address existing exclusionary power relations.

7.3 Creating feelings of reciprocity and obligation?

TSS had the possibility of shaping participants' sense of agency and connection not only through the interpersonal interactions that occurred during tutorials, but also through the intangible or imagined exchanges between Telstra and participants. Theories of reciprocity and gift giving (e.g. Banks *et al.* 2016; Komter 1996; Stirrat and Henkel 1997) argue that providing objects or services for free can create relationships in which receiving actors feel morally obligated to reciprocate. When applied to the situation of free social programs, this dynamic may create feelings of indebtedness, which compromise the freedom of choice and independence that support strong processes of social inclusion. Despite TSS being a free program, the study found that participants rarely felt a sense of obligation to the funding organisations. Participants were either not aware of which organisations provided funding for TSS, or perceived Telstra to be acting in its own strategic interest and/or meeting its existing responsibilities to citizens/consumers.

A key reason why many seniors were not aware that Telstra had provided funding and other resources for TSS was probably that tutorials took place at public libraries and community colleges—institutions which are formed around

the principle of universal and 'free' access to resources for enjoyment and participation in society, for citizens of all walks of life. Writing about the role of libraries in creating social capital, Varheim (2011) describes public libraries as universal service institutions that provide a place where diverse people meet and are treated as equals and with respect. Although TSS was in part funded by a private organisation, seniors explained that TSS was presented as a public program that was underpinned by ideas of universal access and equality. In the experience of one participant,

> *"All businesses want to promote themselves but except for the little logo on the front and the teacher did mention that it was a joint effort between the government and Telstra... Fair enough they should get mentioned but other than that, nothing else was mentioned."* (Evelyn, ICT beginner, metropolitan NSW)

Accordingly, many seniors who were aware of Telstra's involvement did not seem to consider this as particularly significant or meaningful to them. Research participants commonly explained that they had not felt obligated to provide anything in return to Telstra because Telstra had not contacted them to sell their products or services.

When questioned further about what they thought of Telstra's involvement, seniors often said that they perceived Telstra to be consolidating its position as a primary provider of telecommunications—either by 'giving back' to the community that supports their business or by developing the skills of potential customers. As Shannon, an intermediate user of ICTs living in rural NSW said, "I think Telstra's got a fair share of the market so they're giving a little bit back to the people. I think that's fairly good." Shannon's perspective conceives the relationship between Telstra and citizens/consumers as reciprocal in nature, however with Telstra being indebted to the broader community.

Making sense of Telstra's involvement in terms of how the company could benefit from improved digital literacy of seniors, other research participants suggested Telstra's involvement was more strategic. Leigh, for example, who had attended TSS weekly tutorials for about six months explained,

> "Obviously it's in their own interests [to fund TSS] because they sell the technology and the more people they can train and that's the case with me, because they've trained me, now I will go purchase more things and one thing I'd particularly like is probably a smartphone and/or an iPad. So they're going to get more people like me from that. I thought it was a very sensible thing for them to do." (Leigh, ICT intermediate, regional NSW)

In this excerpt, Leigh predicted that Telstra would derive commercial benefits from the improved digital literacy of seniors, such as herself. Rather than new business coming about through feeling of reciprocity, obligation or loyalty, however, Leigh remarked that it would come about because of program participants' interest in getting new devices or connections for their own personal benefit.

Research participants were also asked about whether and how Telstra's involvement in TSS had altered their overall perception of Telstra. Seniors who were opinionated on the issue commonly responded that despite their positive experience of TSS, this was overshadowed by their negative experience of poor customer service, bill shock or lack of telecommunications infrastructure at home. Describing an unpleasant incident at the Telstra shopfront, Dakota recounted,

> *"I bought a new one of these swipe things and I just could not use it. I'm an intelligent woman but it was beyond me. Anyway the last time I went [to the Telstra shopfront] the young man was so rude and I daresay I was getting a little bit agro too. As I was leaving, I just put my hand on his arm to say 'Never mind luvvey, you know, one day you might get old too' and he just screeched at me, "Don't touch me. Don't touch me!" and made me, as a 70 year old woman, feel feral."* (Dakota, ICT beginner, metropolitan NSW)

Dakota's experience was similar to Harper's, who explained that her unpleasant experience of receiving high bills from Telstra had been most influential in shaping her perceptions of the company. She explained,

> *"We have a $900 bill and we also have a $600 bill and that was very daunting and very upsetting. I don't know why it was so great and I still need to find out more about that but the last bill was $648. That was really gruesome for me. We're with Telstra."* (Harper, ICT beginner, regional NSW)

Finally, Sasha, who had attended eight tutorials, compared how her impressions of Telstra through customer service weighed up against her impressions of the company through TSS. She explained that she considered them quite separately, saying,

> *"Well, Telstra is not my favourite company. My phone was out for two or three weeks after it stormed. [interviewer: But them supporting this program… has that changed your impression of the company?] No, they're really two separate things."* (Sasha, ICT intermediate, regional NSW)

Sasha explained that her positive experience of TSS had not offset the troubles she had had with Telstra in getting her home telephone line connected after a storm.

The danger that the free nature of TSS might bring seniors to feel obligated or indebted to Telstra seems not to have occurred. This may be because seniors attended tutorials at their local library or community centre, which represent universal service institutions that provide programs aimed at achieving equality and accessibility. When participants were asked to comment more critically about Telstra's involvement in TSS, some perceived Telstra to be consolidating its position as a primary provider of telecommunications—either by 'giving back' to the community that supports their business or by developing the capabilities of potential customers. Further, when asked whether and how Telstra's involvement in TSS had altered their overall perception of Telstra, seniors who were most opinionated said that their positive experience of TSS had not offset their prior difficulties in accessing or using Telstra's core business products or services.

7.4 Summary of findings for discussion

The case study of TSS illustrates that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs that aim to help citizens/consumers develop skills for participation in key activities in society can offer tangible and relevant pathways of social inclusion. Most research participants who attended TSS found the program useful for developing basic skills and understanding of ICTs in ways that made them feel confident and in control of their learning. This study attributes the strengthened sense of agency that seniors experienced to the active efforts of trainers to level power relations between themselves and their trainees. The experience of levelled power relations enabled seniors to feel that their needs and interests were directing the pace and content of the tutorial, despite the teaching method and content having been clearly structured and prescribed by Telstra and NSW government beforehand. This teaching style often helped participants overcome the complex family power relations that had made it difficult to develop digital skills in the family setting. From a critical perspective, however, there is a tension in the notion of corporations supporting citizens/consumers to take up prescribed knowledge and behaviours that further the interests of the corporation.

Focusing on how Telstra and NSW government designed TSS to support seniors to develop their digital skills would emphasise the role that program administrators played in integrating TSS participants into predetermined ways of understanding and using ICTs. This perspective could be problematic for social inclusion scholars who emphasise the importance of individuals shaping the terms

of their own participation in and connection to society. Instead, by focusing on the experiences and decision-making of program participants, this chapter has illustrated the active role that program participants played in assessing, validating and/or rejecting the assumptions that program administrators embedded in the TSS course content. Interestingly, program participants were more active in making specific decisions about which ICT devices and functions they wanted to learn about or use in day-to-day life if they were more confident in their own digital skills. This indicates that it is by helping citizens/consumers develop their resources for participation—resources that are inevitably and unavoidably steeped in power relations—that citizens/consumers can then participate in more creative processes of shaping their own social inclusion.

However, the common situation of TSS participants voluntarily excluding themselves from particular learning and/or using particular ICT functions highlighted confidence did not necessarily stem from a full or accurate understanding of the implications of using or not using ICTs. In cases of voluntary exclusion, seniors would demonstrate their agency by actively making decisions about their personal use of ICTs, however often had a weaker sense of connection with social networks or mainstream society because of their different perceptions of the benefits and dangers of using ICT functions such as social media, online banking or online shopping. In some cases, seniors made their decisions after attending TSS tutorials, based on personal preferences about how to communicate and transact with others. Often however, program participants made decisions not to learn more about particular ICT devices or functions based on incomplete or inaccurate information they had accessed via mass media (Olphert *et al.* 2005; Zohir 2014). The voluntary terms of participating in TSS prevented the program from supporting seniors to re-evaluate and revise what they thought they knew about ICTs. This situation raises questions about whether and how strategic CSR programs could overcome instances of voluntary exclusion.

Finally, the chapter has considered the effect of the free program on the relationship between program participants and Telstra. As the program was free of cost, it was possible for seniors to develop a sense of obligation or indebtedness to Telstra (which could negatively affect their sense of self-determination). This was found not to be the case because seniors had typically not given much thought to the meaning or significance behind Telstra's involvement in the program. When prompted, seniors made sense of Telstra's involvement in terms of 'giving back'

to the community or deriving its own benefit from the program and rarely commented that Telstra's involvement in the program had changed the impressions of the company that had built up over years of interacting via its core services. This finding suggests that by focusing on helping program participants to change their participation in key activities of society, skills-based CSR programs do not emerge as forums through which citizens/consumers actively assess and pressure corporations to shift their values and behaviour.

8

Agency and connection through deliberation: *local decision-making at Oasis and Glitz Apartments*

The second case study investigates the processes of social inclusion that Wolfers, an Australian property developer, facilitated by supporting residents in its new residential developments to engage in civic processes of local decision-making. As theorised in Chapter 3, participation in joint decision-making can strengthen social inclusion if people in conversation reach mutual understanding through a balanced exchange and consideration of knowledge and preferences. This process may enable individuals to strengthen their sense of agency by feeling that they can determine how they live their lives and strengthen their sense of connection by actively restructuring the relationships that link them to their social context. Yet, a long tradition of scholarship about participatory processes (Arnstein 1969; Habermas 1994; IAP2 2014) cautions that unequal power relations may compromise deliberative processes if they allow certain participants to influence what knowledge is shared, considered and used to inform decision-making. For this reason, when exploring the nature of social inclusion that deliberative CSR programs facilitate, it is important to make sense of the changes that

citizens/consumers experience to their sense of agency and connection in terms of how they adjust and/or perpetuate particular power relations.

At Oasis and Glitz Apartments, Wolfers set up residents' associations in an effort to engage new residents in local decision-making. Although the publicly communicated aim of the associations was to manage particular shared amenities, Wolfers hoped the associations would develop as civic organisations that would support 'a robust community that can take care of itself' (Chapter 6). Existing research suggests that residents' associations can be effective focal points that support residents' sense of belonging and involvement in local issues (Kenna and Stevenson 2013). Accordingly, committee members at Oasis and Glitz Apartments often found the forum that Wolfers structured and the information that Wolfers provided to have enabled them to strengthen their personal sense of agency and belonging to place. Alongside residents' associations however, Wolfers also hosted marketing style social events that sought to unite residents around shared values and experiences. As this chapter will illustrate, the interwoven design of Wolfers' strategic CSR and marketing activities seemed to steer the self-selection and decision-making of committee members in ways that did not necessarily recognise and account for diversity among residents in the broader community.

Perhaps because residents' associations engaged in decision-making about lifestyle choices and shared responsibility, whereas digital skills are increasingly considered a baseline requirement of participation in contemporary societies, the Wolfers case study involved more complex processes of social inclusion than TSS. Unlike TSS, the processes of inclusion that emerged at Oasis and Glitz Apartments appeared to be more tightly intertwined with simultaneous processes of exclusion. Whilst residents' associations engaged in deliberation, joint decision-making and shared responsibility, they did so in ways that aligned with the lifestyle propositions that Wolfers embedded in its broader branding and marketing of either residential estate. This brought the values that underpinned the shared identity and voice of the local community to be aspirational in nature, rather than representative of the day-to-day lived experiences of local residents. In the short term this is not necessarily problematic because excluded residents may be members of other social networks. Yet as this chapter illustrates, it has the potential to become problematic if the community faces adversity and the residents' association becomes an important site of deliberation and representation of all residents' interests.

8.1 Facilitating deliberation, shared responsibility and joint decision-making

At the time of this study, Wolfers and residents from Oasis were working together to set up a community garden in a park on the Oasis housing estate. Wolfers had already determined that a community garden would form part of the estate's masterplan and was now in the process of convening meetings with residents to encourage them to become involved in the administration of the shared amenity. As Bajracharya and Khan (2010) discuss with reference to governance structures in masterplanned communities, setting up residents' associations is an effective strategy for helping new residential communities transition from being governed by a private entity (i.e. the developer) to a public entity (i.e. local community and/or local council). For the handful of residents who attended meetings, this opened up opportunities to exchange information and preferences with each other to develop shared understanding of the purpose of the community garden and to collectively decide how it would be designed and managed. Jordan, who attended these early meetings, recounted decisions were mostly creative in nature. She said,

> *"We started talking about what we wanna have there: how many boxes, the distribution, the layout. If we want to have a place where the people can put their tools, what is the way it should work: do you have to pay money, will there be a key in the main office or are we going to choose one person responsible for that key; things like this."* (Jordan, family household, Oasis)

By identifying the specific decisions that residents needed to make, Jordan suggested that citizens engaged in deliberation which was aimed at reaching sufficient mutual understanding to support collective decision-making. Deliberation in itself may strengthen one's sense of connection if individuals feel that they identify with the values, priorities and goals that others share. More specifically, focusing on decisions about how residents would manage the community garden in the long term meant that residents went about defining the roles, responsibilities and relationships that would connect them in the shared management of the community garden in the future.

Theoretically, for deliberation to strengthen mutual understanding it is important for interlocutors to present their own knowledge and perspectives to others, who then collectively discuss the range of information through evidence-based reasoning (Chapter 3). Oasis residents, however, described that this process of deliberation did not occur because residents had limited knowledge of how

community gardens could or should be designed and managed. As Alex recounted, residents did not present their own knowledge but rather interacted with information that Wolfers and other experts provided.

> *"We were going off what the man from the [near-by] community garden told us. And there was a lady from [the local council] who is also a committee member of a different community garden. A lot of us didn't know… so we were all going off what they said. And then we had Wolfers giving recommendations - "the space is only this big, and, you'd want to have x amount of members have plots, so we were thinking that we'd have roughly this many plots, and it would be this big." In the end we were like 'Oh yeah, yeah, that sounds ok.'"* (Alex, adult living with mother, Oasis)

Chris, president of the committee, added that Wolfers' proposed design for the community garden was already informed by knowledge from other community gardens and so residents suggested only "tinkering changes and minor amendments". Another committee member, Jamie, also added that the committee was told about local regulations the garden would need to abide by—regarding insurance and the permitted size of plants. So rather than structuring mutual understanding around local knowledge, committee members instead discussed information that Wolfers and other experts presented. Although this prevented them from weaving their own experiences into their decision-making, residents typically found that interacting with information passed down through Wolfers enabled them to feel resourced and more active in local decision-making.

In particular, the president and secretary said that they found the forum that Wolfers convened and resourced to have made them feel sufficiently supported and encouraged to take on the responsibility of being office bearers. As illustrated by the following two excerpts, they both stated that Wolfers' involvement helped them feel they could influence local decision-making, with implications for their sense of agency. In his analysis of residents' willingness to participate in residents' associations in Hong Kong, Yau (2013) states that when residents believe that they are able to make a difference by becoming involved, they are more likely to participate. Yau adds that when there is strong cohesion among residents, they are more likely to feel that they can make a difference. In these excerpts, both office bearers also spoke of themselves as part of a 'we' or 'us', suggesting a sense of cooperation and interdependence among committee members. Speaking about Wolfers' involvement the president, Chris, recounted that,

> *"It gave us a sense of involvement and fair dinkum input towards the garden precinct that will be servicing our needs. Wolfers will now walk away from it and it's up to us to manage it, look after it and encourage ongoing participation and usage of it."* (Chris, empty-nester household, Oasis)

Recounting Wolfers' role in the more specific process of negotiating a lease agreement between the residents' association and the local council[1], the secretary, Reese, said,

> *"After our meeting, Wolfers would send us an email to update us with the new draft community agreement. After the first draft came through, we had one meeting and we went through all the clauses, we all made our suggestions. Then Wolfers wrote a big email to the council with all the points responding and then they came back to us with their answers. So we met again and then it was all ironed out."* (Reese, family household, Oasis)

Both Reese and Chris felt that Wolfers played an important role in facilitating residents' sense of involvement in decisions that would affect their local community. As Reese recounted, Wolfers created specific openings (or opportunities) that required residents to collectively provide input. Further, as Chris noted, residents were aware that once the community garden and its committee were set up, Wolfers would stop facilitating community involvement and it would be 'up to us' (committee members) to hold joint responsibility for managing the garden. These processes and circumstances enabled (or required) committee members to define shared goals and work towards them, accumulate shared experiences, and hold joint responsibility for the community garden. For Reese and Chris, this gave them a personal sense of being able to influence decisions in their local community (i.e. agency), and helped them be part of the 'we' that made up the committee (i.e. sense of connection).

Although committee members generally said their involvement in the community garden committee made them feel active and connected, one resident recounted instances when she had felt disillusioned by Wolfers' community engagement because it appeared to her as simply 'for show' rather than a genuine invitation for community input. Alex, who was not an office bearer however did consistently attend meetings, explained,

[1] The local council held the title for the land on which the community garden would be situated. As such, the residents' association needed to enter into a formal agreement with the local council to lease the land for the purpose of the community garden.

> *"I came up with a lot of names for the community garden, and someone else came up with a few names too. But instead of reading them out from the printed email, they were like 'oh we were just thinking Oasis Community Garden.' And I was like, 'Did you read my suggestions?' So they pulled out the email and started going through the list. Other people were agreeing with some of them and going, 'Oh yeah… that's good…' I just thought if you want our opinion, at least consider it. And not just go 'Oh, this is what we thought'. But before I said something, they didn't even read it out to ask people what they thought. It just seemed that this was all a bit for show."* (Alex, adult living with mother, Oasis)

Alex also noted that Wolfers made changes to the size of the community garden relative to the children's playground without her knowing why or when the change was made. She argued that if Wolfers had explained why they had chosen a particular name, or why they had changed the relative size of amenities she would have felt more included in the decision-making. She said that,

> *"especially towards the end—just before the community garden opening—it was just very: 'Yep, this is what we've decided. This is how we're going. We're gunna have the opening. If you guys want, we're looking for people to come along and get people to sign up.'"* (Alex, adult living with mother, Oasis)

Drawing on Arnstein's classic ladder of participation (1969) this type of consultation—where neighbourhood meetings are held so that residents simply 'participate in participation' without influencing decisions—is experienced as 'tokenistic'. Deliberative processes are compromised if unequal power relations allow certain participants to influence what knowledge is shared, considered and used to inform decisions. As Alex's excerpts demonstrate, tokenistic participation leads to frustration and can bring interlocutors to question the influence they actually have on deliberation and decision-making.

Alex's experience of participating in local decision-making differed from that of Reese and Chris because she did not necessarily find it to have strengthened her sense of agency or connection with other residents. The opposing experiences highlights the importance of distinguishing between instances when residents require support (or resources) to be involved, with instances when residents feel sufficiently independently resourced to direct their own involvement. Community members place themselves in either position by measuring up their own resources or capabilities against the role they are required to play. As office bearers, Reese and Chris relied on Wolfers to provide information for decision-making and facilitate communication between the residents' association and the local council. Illustrating this point, when Reese was asked whether residents could have

established a community garden without the involvement of Wolfers, he answered somewhat vehemently,

> *"Absolutely not! Absolutely not! Firstly, it would be a greatly impossible task to round up people together and have that mode of communication going through to everyone [and also] the council will not let us do anything without Wolfers supporting the whole project. [Wolfers' involvement] definitely makes me feel more comfortable."* (Reese, family household, Oasis)

By perceiving that they relied on Wolfers for support and that Wolfers was acting in interest of Oasis residents, Reese and Chris seemed to accept a greater margin of 'give and take' between committee members and Wolfers, than did Alex. While Reese and Chris were accepting of Wolfers' contribution to decision-making, Alex was more sensitive to situations when she felt her voice and input were constrained.

The experiences of Oasis committee members suggests that when companies create forums for deliberation and fill shortfalls in the resources of interlocutors they are likely to support interlocutors' strengthened sense of agency and connection with other decision-makers. And yet, as discussed in Chapter 3 with reference to Foucault's work, the act of resourcing individuals with decision-making topics, information and shared values engages in a process of recreating the power relations that are embedded within these resources. In the case of the Oasis community garden, while residents engaged in deliberation about shared roles, responsibilities and relationships, they did not contest the values and lifestyle propositions that were already embedded in the assumption that a community garden would support an inclusive focal point for the local community. Wolfers' approach to supporting deliberation raises questions about the effect of integrative approaches to strategic CSR (Chapters 2 and 6) on the capacity of deliberative programs to open and close relationships in ways that promote the inclusivity of new residential communities.

When this case study was being developed, the residents' association at Oasis was still in its early stages and so was receiving significant support from Wolfers. By comparison, the Owners' Corporations at Glitz Apartments had been operating for 5-10 years and were receiving little, if any support from Wolfers. Comparing residents' experiences at the two sites provides insight into the possible long term implications of deliberative, strategic, CSR for the social inclusion of local residents.

At the time of this study, the Owners' Corporations at Glitz Apartments were engaged in responding to a government development proposal for the local area. The development proposal was receiving some opposition from residents of Glitz Apartments because it included a bridge that would limit the height of the boats that could move in and out of the local marina and would change the vista from apartments over the water. Local residents were attending information sessions, researching the development proposal online, discussing the proposal in social groups and during Owners' Corporations' committee meetings, writing submissions individually and collectively, and coordinating with organisations from other parts of the suburb to make their voices heard. Although there is a statutory requirement for Owners' Corporations to govern apartment blocks, this study found similarities between how and for what Wolfers had set up Owners' Corporations at Glitz Apartments and the community garden committee at Oasis. As such, this case study includes an exploration of local decision-making at Glitz Apartments because it illustrates how a residents' association which has the purpose of managing shared amenity can organise a residential community when it faces adversity.

In the case of the bridge dispute, Owners' Corporations appeared to facilitate deliberation and mobilisation among (at least) the cohort of residents who had prior involvement in these committees. Brian, who regularly attended his Owners' Corporation committee meetings, recounted,

> *"When the big planning for the new suburb around the corner first came to the fore, that was one of the good things about being involved in the OC, you learnt more about that. I'd already done my own investigation. But the OCs enabled people to get together to discuss how it would affect us and enabled us individually and as a group, to make submissions to local council."* (Brian, empty-nester household, GA)

In this excerpt, Brian describes Owners' Corporations as a forum for local residents who were already involved in the OC to exchange information and develop shared understanding of how the development proposal might impact the local community. This shared understanding subsequently informed how the community's interests were presented to other community groups and policy makers. For example Steve, as the chairman of the overall Glitz Apartments Owners' Corporation, coordinated Glitz Apartments' response to the development proposal with other organisations. He said,

> *"Everyone was up in arms and the marina started their sub-committee, we started ours, and then we met and said 'Why don't we combine and share and take it on as a community'. We then went and consulted with Wolfers. They explained what they were doing. We explained what we intended to do. But they have still got to get permits. They have a business that they have to run and so they can't get as stuck in as we can as a community."* (Steve, empty-nester household, GA)

The deliberation and mutual understanding among residents who were actively involved in the Owners' Corporation committee informed how Steve and other committee members subsequently communicated the particular issues and priorities of residents at Glitz Apartments to policy makers. Following a community briefing session, the local council released a document that summarised the discussion that had occurred. The document interpreted that the local community had articulated the following as their primary concerns and requests:

- *Concerns about the proposed bridge including potential issues with boat access, noise, visual impact, loss of open space and impacts on local businesses.*
- *Concerns about the number of people coming in, the scale of developments and whether there will be sufficient community services and open space.*
- *That you want to have a say.*

The above points resonated with the views of committee members, however not necessarily with residents who were not involved in local community governance. This is a key concern in scholarly research of participatory processes in neighbourhoods—where scholars find that whether because of the design of participatory programs (Chaskin *et al.* 2012), the collective resources of the local community (Gilster 2014) or the resources and motivations of individuals (Michels and De Graaf 2010; Yau 2013), participants of deliberative programs are rarely representative of the local community as a whole. Indeed, these studies often find that educated males aged over 50 are most likely to participate, and that women, ethnic minorities, young people and people with low educational attainment are less likely to participate. Committee members who were interviewed for this study are likely to have explained the divergence of views among residents to be due to different levels of understanding of the government's development proposal. Yet, this does not change the observation that policy makers heard only the voices of committee members, who did not necessarily represent the views of the local community at large.

When the bridge dispute started attracting media attention, some local residents who had not been involved in the administrative business of Owners' Corporations became more active in considering how the development proposal might impact them. For example Jim, who had not attended Owners' Corporation meetings or community consultation sessions, was of the view that,

> *"It's interesting blocking the bridge, because of the 10 foot masts of which there are ten. If Wolfers was really community minded, they would have negotiated with those ten people to move them away. The new bridge would open up all sorts of community. But I am sure those people that own the tall boats have paid five million for their apartment and they're incredibly rich people and they've got all the lawyers in the world fighting that."* (Jim, single household, GA)

In this excerpt, Jim sets up a clear division between himself and Wolfers or 'incredibly rich people' who oppose the development proposal. Charlie, who did attend community consultation sessions, recounted,

> *"There was a petition going around at the community meeting saying that 'No, we don't want it'. I just... passed it, slyly, along. I said it to a few people that I would actually like to have a bridge and it was met with a few 'Oh...OK' kind of thing."* (Charlie, young couple household, GA)

Jim's and Charlie's experiences suggest that although Owners' Corporations were able to formally present a community position on the development proposal, they did not facilitate sufficiently democratic processes to allow deliberation and representation of all local residents. At Glitz Apartments, the homogeneity of committee members—mostly white, retired, professional males—seemingly prevented committees from adjusting their perceptions to better recognize the diverse views and values of the broader residential community. This was an interesting finding given that Steve and other committee members recognised the diversity of local residents at Glitz Apartments. In Steve's words,

> *"[I'm chairman] because I have got the time. When you've got young professionals with young kids there's no way you've got the time. But what they add to the community is the vibrancy. It's lovely when you see a family with kids. I think having young people around you is what helps keep you young and keeps you balanced and keeps you connected and frankly, you learn how society is changing."* (Steve, empty-nester household, GA)

In the case of the Oasis community garden, committee members also seemed to be aware of the limitations that prevented other residents from being involved in the deliberative forum. For example, Chris described the unique

resources that different members of the residential community could offer, stating that,

> *"There aren't many English-speaking people [here] so there weren't many people who stuck their hands up to be office bearers. So I said, 'Ok, I'll bite the bullet and do this'. It's very difficult to get non-English speakers engrossed in meaningful discussion or conversation. But that's ok. Obviously these people have offspring or children or cousins or brothers or sisters that have been in Australia for some time and I think we'll get more involvement in the community garden via those people and it'll benefit all."* (Chris, empty-nester household, Oasis)

Chris' perceptions aligned with the lived experience of numerous residents who explained that they were unable to participate. For example, as a young mother who managed her own business, Jordan explained,

> *"I started to participate. But I couldn't do it anymore because now I have work and it was so hard for me to stay here at 5pm."* (Jordan, family household, Oasis)

Another committee member, Alex, explained that her mother had wanted to become involved in the residents' association, however felt she could not because of her language skills. Similarly, Michelle explained that although she had attended the initial committee meeting, her 'science side' English had prevented her from volunteering as an office bearer. These personal experiences point to processes of self-selection that were triggered by elements of program design, including when and where committee meetings were held and the importance of understanding English to feel comfortable in participating.

Although committee members were aware of the limitations that prevented other residents from participating in local decision-making, in the case of the bridge dispute at Glitz Apartments, this did not prompt them to consider the diversity of residents' views when formulating the community's response to the government's development proposal. While this may be the case for many residents' associations—whether they are products of deliberative CSR or not—Wolfers' decisions about how and why to set up residents' associations influenced the power relations that later emerged. Wolfers' decisions about where and when to hold committee meetings and what support to offer or not offer to residents with poor English enabled particular residents to become more involved than others. Perhaps more fundamentally, by pre-determining what topics were open to deliberation and joint decision-making (and consequently which of Wolfers' assumptions were left intact) Wolfers also actively influenced the values that came to underpin residents' shared sense of identity and voice. As the chapter now goes

on to illustrates, Wolfers also engaged in this process through the design of its marketing strategy.

8.2 Connecting decision-makers with differentiated local communities

Robert Putnam (2000), in his popular book about the demise of local communities in America, argues that social trust, shared values and norms of reciprocity that are shared by social networks, mobilise the civic processes of deliberation and joint decision-making. From this perspective, the social interactions (or absence thereof) that connected residents in the local area as a whole supported and informed the civic activity that occurred in residents' associations at Oasis and Glitz Apartments. Understanding how residents interacted to create the resources that supported civic activity therefore provides further insight into why particular power relations emerged in the deliberative forum of residents' associations. This speaks to the second research question in this thesis' second line of inquiry (Chapter 4).

Research participants often recalled meeting their neighbours during incidental encounters, such as in the elevator or whilst moving in to their home. Yet, they became physically immersed in a tangible and visible 'local community' when they attended social events that Wolfers hosted within their property development. Wolfers hosted social events that brought large numbers of residents together in a visible way around activities that embodied particular identity markers, often linked to specific lifestyle propositions. Existing research suggests that this is an increasingly common practice among property developers of housing estates in Australia (e.g. Dowling *et al.* 2010; Rosenblatt *et al.* 2009). At Oasis and Glitz Apartments, some residents found Wolfers' community events to support a tangible sense of connection with their local community while others either decided not to attend or attended but experienced a 'superficial' sense of connection. Collectively, personal decisions to attend or to voluntarily exclude oneself brought about visible local communities that validated the values and shared identity that Wolfers' embedded in its marketing strategies. Because these values and lifestyle propositions were aspirational in nature, they supported a shared sense of identity that typically resonated with relatively affluent and advantaged residents. This was particularly evident in Glitz Apartments, where

Wolfers had a stronger commercial interest in attracting second- and subsequent-home owners to purchase its prestigious apartments.

At Oasis, Wolfers encouraged residents to gather in public spaces on the housing estate by organising events such as family-friendly fairs, movie nights and Ikea furniture displays. Informants who attended the family fairs often recounted their experience in a similar way—saying that they had attended with family, they had seen or attended the craft activity, the petting zoo, the jumping castle and the sausage sizzle. Marlee, who attended with her grandchildren, recounted,

> *"Jumping castle, yeah, the children like it. And then the animal park… too scary [squeals]. And then we went to the sausage sizzler."* (Marlee, empty-nester household, Oasis)

Another young resident summarised the experience as, "getting out there, take the dogs for a walk, getting a free snag" and an older resident said "I did my share—I had my sausage... I had a coffee." By attending these Oasis events, residents began to bond over shared experiences with other residents that were based on the family values and active lifestyle that Wolfers promoted through the design of the events and the broader marketing approach for the development. Other residents, who decided not to attend, did not contribute to or become a part of the visible and experiential community that Wolfers hosted. A young and older couple, neither of whom had young children, said that they would only attend local events if their friends with children were visiting or if they had children or grandchildren of their own.

By comparison, the social events that Wolfers hosted at Glitz Apartments took the form of cocktail parties, interior design presentations and boating information sessions. Rather than promoting family values and an active lifestyle, social events at Glitz epitomised the luxurious, water-front lifestyle that underpinned Wolfers' broader marketing strategy for the apartment precinct. Recounting her experience of Wolfers' social events, Gladys, a mother of three young adults, described,

> *"On the day that we purchased, Wolfers brought in a very very flashy boat and everyone who purchased a property that day were all taken onto the boat and wined and dined and taken for a bit of a trip. Then they had a series of social gatherings… for example, there was one in one of these homes—where they had people who knew their champagne, which we would taste and talk about. It was to focus people's attention on something to talk about. They have also had a couple of functions at the local restaurant, with outdoor entertainment, a*

> *presentation by [Wolfers] about the development and what's happening next. I would say, every event that I have been to has been engaging and interesting, and I have met people who live here."* (Gladys, family household, GA)

As Gladys described, the social events that Wolfers hosted at Glitz Apartments typically provided activities and entertainment best suited to adults, rather than families. Other residents also noted that Wolfers' events typically included an update or information session about the future development plans of the Glitz Apartments precinct. Some research participants who described Wolfers' social events as 'glossy', 'opulent' and 'soirées', suggested that Wolfers' events did not accurately represent the experience of day-to-day living at Glitz Apartments. Whilst Wolfers encouraged and supported local residents to meet each other, develop shared experiences and a shared sense of identity, it did so through events that resonated more accurately with the notion of luxurious, water-side lifestyles than the existing lives of local residents.

Rather than notably changing residents' values, Wolfers' social events empowered and supported residents who already identified with particular values and lifestyles, more so than residents who did not. Accordingly, numerous research participants explained that they chose not to attend some events because the activities did not interest them and/or they did not have the time to attend. These cases of voluntary exclusion suggest that the social networks, trust, values and reciprocity that connected residents and constituted the visible local community, were created by residents who identified with or aspired to the values and lifestyle propositions that Wolfers embedded in its presentation or branding of the two property developments.

Interestingly, in its corporate communications, Wolfers presented its social events to be an integral part of its social sustainability strategy. It is possible to categorise community building events as CSR because they constitute services that are not part of the provider-consumer exchange of money for real estate and they work towards both economic and social benefits. But there is also a strong counter argument for considering these activities as marketing strategies because they aim to promote a concept or develop a brand, and do so almost through deception of the nature of everyday life in a Wolfers' property development (Schultz 2015; Visser 2011: ch. 4).

In the case of Glitz Apartments in particular, it was important for Wolfers to embed aspirational values and lifestyle propositions in its social events because

product differentiation, quality and prime location enable property developers to make a profit from the relatively shallow higher-end property market (Coiacetto 2007). Scholars find that the strategy of product differentiation through the 'commodification of community' is common in new housing estates in large Australian cities (Cheshire *et al.* 2013; Dowling *et al.* 2010; Gwyther 2005; Kenna 2007; Rosenblatt *et al.* 2009). As illustrated here however, this strategy led Wolfers to support the development of social resources including trust, values, identity and norms of reciprocity that were founded in ideals that did not accurately represent the diversity of existing identities and lived experiences of residents (Roggenbuck 2016). With reference to the link that Putnam (2000) draws between the role of social capital (including shared resources such as trust and norms of reciprocity) and civic cooperation and organisation, this holds significant implications for the capacity of committee members to engage in deliberation and local decision-making in a way that not only addresses the concerns of individual committee members and individuals who attend Wolfers' social events, but also the concerns of all residents living at Oasis or Glitz Apartments.

8.3 Creating feelings of reciprocity and obligation?

The findings presented in this chapter have focused on how Wolfers' facilitated particular civic processes of deliberation and the creation of social capital among residents at Oasis and Glitz Apartments. Reflecting the case of TSS however, Wolfers' strategic CSR programs not only influenced relationships among local residents but also the relationships that local residents developed with Wolfers. With reference to theories of reciprocity and gift giving (e.g. Banks *et al.* 2016; Komter 1996; Stirrat and Henkel 1997) providing objects or services for 'free' can create relationships in which receiving actors feel somehow indebted to the giver. Yet, reflecting the findings of the TSS case, research participants rarely felt indebted to Wolfers. Rather than perceiving programs to be a 'free gift', research participants understood Wolfers' support of civic and social life to be part of the exchange between provider-consumer and/or in the mutual interest of both Wolfers and local residents.

As noted in the first section of this chapter, office bearers in the Oasis community garden committee often recognised the committee's reliance on Wolfers. Some committee members, including the committee secretary Reese (see Section 8.1 above), interpreted Wolfers' role to be in mobilising and supporting

residents to become involved in the community organisation. Other committee members, including Chris, focused on the material support that Wolfers' provided. In Chris' words,

> *"[Wolfers] dangled a few carrots for us. They paid the first year's insurance on the premises, which is about 13 hundred bucks. And they provided some tools for people to use and hoses, and little spades, so they've been very supportive because they knew we were starting with nothing - well, more or less, nothing. From scratch."* (Chris, empty-nester household, Oasis)

Although Chris recounted Wolfers to have supported the community garden in a material way, his use of the expression 'dangled a few carrots' implied that he perceived Wolfers to have an interest in incentivising residents to engage in particular activities or pursuits. As he went on to explain,

> *"It'll probably further their cap in future residential development to turn around and say 'Yep, at Oasis we had a really successful outcome with the 800 house development and we have got a community garden' and it's a good selling point for them... They want it to be maintained to a high standard because it's an asset that will well service their needs in the way this is copied or used in any further Wolfers development that are undertaken [in this city]."* (Chris, empty-nester household, Oasis)

Although Chris recognised Wolfers' support, he also recognised the contribution that residents made to the ongoing maintenance and management of the shared amenity. The perception of interdependence and mutual interest lessened any feelings of indebtedness to the property developer.

Interestingly, in the case of Glitz Apartments, some committee members spoke about a dispute that had occurred between Wolfers and residents on the Owners' Corporation. At the time of the dispute, Wolfers held a position on the Owners' Corporation because although a shared recreational facility had been built (and so needed to be financed and managed by the Owners' Corporations), not all apartment towers had been developed to finance the facility. Because Wolfers provided financial support to the shared recreational facility, it also obtained a formal say in decision-making. Reflecting on Wolfers' involvement in the committee, Steve said,

> *"Wolfers were very paternal. They were prepared for that activity to occur, but it had to be on their terms. They still wanted control. They wanted to veto everything, or to have the power of veto. And so, in the end, Wolfers made a Draconian decision and stuck a manager in there, who was an absolute disaster."* (Steve, empty-nester household, Glitz Apartments)

Steve went on to describe how prior feelings of shared goals, interdependence and reciprocity had dissolved when it became apparent that Wolfers was acting in its own self-interest, rather than striving to find shared goals and interest with residents. Research participants who had been involved in settling the dispute noted that when the matter had been resolved there was greater mutual respect between Wolfers and the local community.

Unlike the case of TSS, local residents who attended Wolfers' social events were typically already existing Wolfers' customers. This meant that residents made sense of Wolfers' community engagement initiatives with reference to (i.e. as incorporated or additional to) the existing relationship between provider and consumer. For example Jordan, an Oasis resident, did not expect that Wolfers would host activities that would bring local families together. Interpreting Wolfers' community engagement as something beyond the provider-consumer exchange, she said,

> *"No. No. No. I really didn't expect having this type of party. It is so good because it gives us the chance to meet other people. And it's something you feel the developer is giving to the community. Because we are paying money and not just 'Ok, that's the land, build your house, and that's all.' See you tomorrow. Also, I know we are paying in some way. But it's good. It's good."* (Jordan, family household, Oasis)

Other research participants from the Oasis housing estate focused on the benefits that residents and Wolfers both derived from enhancing community life in the housing estate. Gus, a local resident, said,

> *"I think it's fantastic that they do it and I know it's in their best interest to do it, in terms of marketing. But as a resident, it's fantastic. In terms of re-sale value…the things that they're doing are helping every resident in here."* (Gus, young couple household, Oasis)

Implicit in this point of view, is that the relationship between Wolfers and local residents is characterised by mutual interest. This promotes a sense of shared goals and cooperation between developer and residents as they both seek to increase the value of property on the estate. Although participants often recognised that they benefited from Wolfers' community engagement, they did not perceive this to come at a cost to Wolfers, who also benefit from the community engagement. This meant that they were not left feeling indebted to the developer.

Similarly to the TSS case, the lack of critical engagement among residents regarding how Wolfers' community engagement affected their overall perceptions of the developer, meant that residents were left with both positive and negative reviews of the developer. Although Gus thought that the community events were 'fantastic', he also shared his outrage regarding Wolfers' management of the presentability of the estate. He said,

> *"I was getting a retaining wall done in the front and there was all clay on the nature strip. Within, probably four days I got an email or letter, saying 'nature strips are to be kept clean' and like this big 'image' and 'perception' type thing. Of course I was going to move it eventually. So I rang up and cracked it at her. I'm pretty good with talking with someone and communicating. But that [really] pissed me off."* (Gus, young couple household, Oasis)

Other residents also vented their frustration at the extensive and difficult-to-understand 'guidelines' that Wolfers provided to residents who were building their own houses at Oasis. Charlotte, who had built her house on a corner block (which she said further complicated the already complex guidelines) explained that she had difficulty gaining assistance and clarity from Wolfers in response to her questions. Other residents were frustrated that they were only able to speak to the 'sales team' and 'customer service' who typically provided responses that lacked depth and explanation. Brian concluded that, "I mean, once they've sold on the apartment, it's really not their problem I suppose."

In all, the impact of Wolfers' facilitation of civic and social interaction among residents at Oasis and Glitz Apartments seemed to have little influence on their overall impression of or relationship with Wolfers. Although residents' positive experiences of being involved in Wolfers' community engagement initiatives, meant they had more positive things to say about Wolfers, this did not override the impressions they had formed through frustrating or negative interactions. Rather than thinking of Wolfers' support in facilitating civic and social interactions as a 'free gift', residents instead understood this community engagement as part of the exchange between provider-consumer, or as being in Wolfers' and residents' mutual interest.

8.4 Summary of findings for discussion

The case study of Wolfers' community engagement at Oasis and Glitz Apartments—particularly through residents' associations as community

governance structures—was selected to investigate pathways of social inclusion that come about through strategic, customer-focused CSR programs that involve program participants in deliberation and local decision-making. As argued in Chapter 3, these civic processes facilitate social inclusion in a qualitatively different way to programs that develop an individual's skills and knowledge. This is because theoretically, deliberation is focused on negotiating shared ideas, values, priorities and knowledge and so can lead to changes in the shared resources that connect us with each other. Rather than integrating program participants into existing social structures, deliberation presents greater opportunity for individuals to create or alter social structures so that they reflect the shared values and goals that have been newly negotiated.

In the case of the residents' association at Oasis, a handful of residents did participate in local decision-making and typically felt that their participation had enabled them to be more active and involved in their local community. Yet, the deliberation that occurred was relatively minor compared to the prior decisions that Wolfers had made about the purpose of the residents' association (to manage the community garden) and its legal structure (which was required by council). As such, the opportunities for social inclusion that Wolfers created at Oasis seemed to be primarily focused on resourcing committee members and the residential community at large with a community governance structure, with social networks throughout the community and with a shared sense of identity. The predetermined nature of identity markers and governance structures appeared to lessen the creative opportunities for inclusion that deliberation and decision-making could theoretically offer.

The different impressions that Oasis residents had of the support that Wolfers provided to local residents in the community garden committee highlighted that the depth of engagement that corporations facilitate (in relation to the continuum of participation; Chapter 3) should take into account the existing resources that community members have, and whether they need to be bolstered to enable community members to meet their responsibilities. At one point in time, community groups might be fully resourced to make some decisions (e.g. naming a shared amenity) but not to make other decisions (e.g. about how to determine an annual fee for a garden plot). In the case of the Oasis community garden, committee members developed their resources incrementally and gradually considered themselves to be more capable of taking on new responsibilities. This

perspective highlights the fine line between providing insufficient and superfluous assistance, both of which are likely to be experienced to compromise interlocutors' sense of agency.

This chapter also briefly considered Wolfers' role in helping residents develop social capital through social networks, shared values and shared identity. As Putnam argues, social capital plays an important role in enabling civic processes of deliberation and joint decision-making. Although the aspirational and promotional nature of Wolfers' social events enabled residents to be immersed in a visible local community, the events promoted ideals that did not seem to accurately represent the diversity of existing identities and lived experiences of residents (Roggenbuck 2016). In the short term this is not necessarily problematic, because excluded residents may have been members of other social networks. Yet, as this chapter illustrated, it has the potential to become problematic if committee members begin to make decisions and project a community voice that inaccurately represents the diversity of local residents at large. This was evident in the case of the bridge dispute, when committee members who identified with the shared values and priorities that Wolfers promoted became most vocal during the local council's community consultation. The effect was that the local council did not hear the diversity of perspectives and preferences held by residents.

Finally, this case study has considered the effect of Wolfers' free community engagement initiatives on the relationship between program participants and Wolfers. As it as free for residents to participate in the initiatives, it was possible for local residents to develop a sense of obligation or indebtedness to Wolfers. Instead, however, the study found that residents did not think of the initiatives as 'gifts' that came at a cost to the developer, but rather, they understood them either as part of the exchange between provider-consumer and/or as being in Wolfers' and residents' mutual best interest. Although participants typically had positive experiences of Wolfers' civic and social initiatives, they also noted these experienced did not alleviate the frustrating or negative transactions that they had had with Wolfers, outside of its strategic, customer-focused CSR program.

Part IV

The corporate contribution to social inclusion

9

Strategic CSR: shaping competitive and voluntary dynamics of inclusion

This thesis has presented numerous personal accounts of how strategic, customer-focused CSR programs support citizens/consumers to strengthen their social involvement. Research participants who benefited from Tech Savvy Seniors or Wolfers' community engagement often described the programs as useful forums for accessing information and interacting with others, with positive implications for their sense of agency and connection. The purpose of developing the two case studies was to explore how and to what extent different types of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs—namely skills-based and deliberative programs—support distinct processes of inclusion. While the two case studies demonstrate the value of this approach, they also show that other factors further shape how strategic, customer-focused CSR programs affect participants' agency and connection. These factors include the personal circumstances of participants, the social norms that give new knowledge or skills their value, the corporate philosophical approach to strategic CSR and the corporate logic of profit-making. This chapter begins with a discussion of how these factors influenced how TSS and Wolfers' community engagement influenced participants' sense of agency and connection, and thus the nature of their social inclusion. The chapter therefore

addresses this thesis' research questions in reverse order, by commencing with the thesis' second line of inquiry (Chapter 4).

Without diminishing the benefits that individuals can derive from participating in strategic, customer-focused CSR programs, this chapter also broadens its gaze to be more critical of who had the opportunity to attend the programs and what social issues the programs were designed to address. This speaks to the thesis' first line of inquiry, which queries how the rationales that guide corporate and citizen/consumer involvement in strategic CSR bring about particular opportunities for social inclusion. In both case studies, the integrative approach to strategic CSR guided corporations to focus on social groups and issues that they perceived to directly or indirectly affect the reputation and/or operations of the firm. Of note, corporations were more likely to support social groups in need if they perceived governments or NGOs to present undesirable risks to the firm—e.g. of increased regulation. Citizens/consumers also introduced limitations to the processes of social inclusion that strategic CSR facilitated, albeit to a lesser extent. Individuals often decided to become involved if they perceived the CSR program might strengthen their involvement in or connection with their social context. This meant that if individuals had inadequate information or divergent values, they sometimes 'voluntarily' excluded themselves from the program, with potentially adverse effects for their social participation in the future.

Both case studies therefore suggest that although the interpersonal interactions that emerge in the context of strategic CSR programs often give rise to positive lived experiences, the active decision-making of corporations and citizens/consumers trigger processes of social inclusion that sometimes exacerbate existing or create new differentiations in society. This dynamic emerged in the two case studies because corporations preferred to engage in smooth processes of resourcing social groups who were likely to make personal decisions that validated the relevance and legitimacy of the firm, rather than to address complex social issues or encourage a contestation of the values that underpin social cohesion. As illustrated in this and other studies of CSR (which often focus on interactions between multinational corporations and local communities; Bowen *et al.* 2010; Graetz and Franks 2016; Owen and Kemp 2013) corporations tend to design contemporary CSR in ways that avoid conflict or shared decision-making with civil society. In the area of customer-focused CSR, this emerged as more

problematic if corporations had a commercial interest in enhancing the exclusivity rather than accessibility of their products or services.

This critique does not aim to undermine the contribution that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs can and do make to processes of inclusion in society. Rather, the findings of this thesis emphasise that the contribution of these corporate-run programs relies on pressure that governments, interest groups and third sector organisations place on corporations to be sensitive to socio-political rationales. This was most evident in the case of TSS, where government regulation and NGO scrutiny of Telstra's digital accessibility programs (Chapter 5) pressured the corporation to be sensitive to the rationale of social need. To support the investments that corporations are making in strategic CSR, public and third sector organisations as well as the personal social networks of citizens/consumers also have an important role to play in nurturing the inclusivity of social norms and values that establish the moral bases of social interaction and cohesion (Daly and Silver 2008). This is likely to enable citizens/consumers to appropriate the otherwise individualistic and voluntary paths of social inclusion that are embedded in strategic, customer-focused CSR.

9.1 Strengthening agency and connection through new skills and deliberation

This thesis theorised that TSS and Wolfers' community engagement—as skills-based and deliberative CSR programs, respectively—would facilitate different types of interaction, and thus influence the agency and connection of participants in different ways. The skills-based design of TSS was theorised to create changes to the individual and thus focus on integrating program participants into existing social structures. The deliberative design of Wolfers' community engagement, by comparison, was theorised to facilitate inclusion of participants through creative processes of relationship formation. To some extent, these theoretical propositions were observed in practice. Chapter 7 illustrated that participants who attended TSS often spoke of a new sense of confidence that was derived from perceiving oneself to be better able to understand and use certain ICTs—i.e. changes at the level of the individual. This change helped participants strengthen their connection with mainstream society as well as existing social networks. By comparison, Chapter 8 illustrated that Wolfers' community engagement often strengthened participants' sense of connection with their local community. The sense of agency that

committee members experienced tended to come from feeling that they were able to create changes in their local community.

The extent to which the theoretical distinction between skills-based and deliberative programs emerged in practice was compromised in part, because both corporations drew on integrative approaches to strategic CSR (Chapter 6). This meant that rather than affording program participants the space to identify what actions or resources need to be negotiated to strengthen their own inclusion in society (as political approaches to strategic CSR would do), both corporations proactively identified what social issues the strategic CSR programs would address, and how. This approach enabled corporations to guide social change in ways that would also benefit the firm. This thesis theorised the integrative approach to strategic CSR to align with the objectives of skills-based programs, however potentially compromise the notion of citizens' voice that is central to deliberation (Chapter 3). Although Wolfers' approach did not seem to adversely affect the sense of agency and connection that committee members experienced, it did evoke greater similarity between the experience of agency that Telstra's skills-based and Wolfers' deliberative programs supported among participants. This finding indicates that when differentiating between skills-based and deliberative programs, it is important to also determine what approach to strategic CSR guides corporations in assigning roles to program administrators and program participants.

By means of comparative analysis, this thesis has found that the experience of participating in TSS or Wolfers' community engagement was shaped not only by the types of interaction that the programs facilitated, but also by the significance of digital skills and local participation for one's broader inclusion in society. In addition to exploring the relational character of social inclusion (Chapter 3) it is therefore also insightful to consider its relative character. A relative conceptualisation of social inclusion highlights that one's sense of agency and connection are shaped by individuals' perceptions of the activities they are able to participate in, relative to activities that they perceive to be normal or important in the society in which they live (Burchardt *et al.* 2002; Silver 2007). From this perspective, corporations may be most active in determining the type of interactions that occur in the context of strategic, customer-focused CSR, however citizens/consumers draw on their perceptions of their personal circumstances and of social values and norms to translate these interactions to be meaningful for their

personal involvement in society. Accordingly, processes of social inclusion that emerge in the context of strategic CSR are shaped not only by the decisions of corporations, but also by the broader social structures and pressures that guide how citizens/consumers make sense of these interactions.

Drawing on both relational and relative conceptualisations of social inclusion, this section addresses the thesis' second line of inquiry, which asks about the similarities and differences between skills-based and deliberative CSR programs, in terms of the changes that participants experience to their sense of agency and sense of connection.

Agency on whose terms?

By means of comparative analysis, this thesis finds that differences in the *essence* of agency that participants experienced were shaped by how essential participants perceived digital skills or local participation to be in supporting involvement in their social context. Participants of TSS often associated experiences of empowerment with a sense of relief, which they contrasted with their prior feelings of inadequacy, exclusion, frustration and powerlessness. By comparison, the sense of empowerment that committee members at Oasis and Glitz Apartments experienced was entwined in notions of benevolence and contribution. In this sense, the difference in experience did not arise so much from the type of interactions that characterised either program (i.e. skills-based or deliberative) but rather from participants' perceptions of social norms that give meaning and value to online participation or local community involvement. In Australian society, local community involvement and one's use of telecommunications carry significantly different implications for one's participation in society—particularly in terms of participation in economic, political and social activities (Burchardt *et al.* 2002) and for one's health and safety (Azpitarte and Bowman 2015). This means that the unique roles that industry sectors play in supporting social involvement bears influence on the sense of agency that different industries are positioned to support among participants of customer-focused, strategic CSR.

While it is possible to represent the essence of the experience of participating in TSS or Wolfers' community engagement (as summarised above), it is also important to recognise the diversity of lived experience. Variation in participants' sense of agency stemmed from the relevance of the type of interaction and value of new knowledge or decision-making, given participants'

personal life situations. Whether seniors had family living interstate or overseas, and whether they needed to access online government services for example, shaped the value and meaning that they attributed to improved digital skills. In the case of Wolfers' community engagement, whether participants were retired, unemployed, employed, with or without children, and interested or uninterested in gardening also shaped the unique sense of agency that they derived from their involvement in residents' associations. This perspective is useful for explaining why some program participants found the strategic CSR programs to be more or less beneficial than other participants. The social implications of resourcing and empowering groups of citizens/consumers who already recognise the value of the products and general lifestyle propositions that legitimise the firm are discussed later in this chapter.

The personal life situations of participants influenced not only what meaning participants attributed to improved digital skills or participation in local decision-making, but also how they experienced the depth of support that Telstra and Wolfers' offered. Whereas the former perspective draws on a relative conceptualisation of social inclusion, the latter draws on the relational conceptualisation of social inclusion that steered the design of this thesis (Chapter 3). This thesis found that the extent to which corporations and citizens/consumers were active in strengthening participants' sense of agency depended on how resourced participants perceived themselves to be. Seniors who had not previously used ICTs were less active than seniors who were already using ICTs in articulating what they hoped to learn. Similarly, as committee members became more integrated into the residents' associations, they became more active in considering the future of their association and local community. This illustrates that both skills-based and deliberative programs may strengthen participants' sense of agency by transitioning between integrative and creative processes of social inclusion.

The finding that TSS and Wolfers' community engagement typically enabled seniors or local residents to experience a heightened sense of agency—albeit in subtly different ways—sits at odds with emerging research in critical management studies that examines the social outcomes of CSR programs in developing countries (Aguilar-Støen 2015; Banks *et al.* 2016; Jenkins 2005). There are two key reasons for the difference in findings. First, compared to CSR programs that facilitate interaction between corporations and local communities,

customer-focused strategic CSR programs are more likely to support empowerment because providers and consumers have a mutual interest in supporting citizens/consumers to have the resources they need to use and enjoy products (Chapter 6). By comparison, local communities typically derive little benefit from the products that large multinationals such as mining companies create, with business operations often posing a greater threat to local livelihoods than the benefits they bring to the community (Banerjee 2008; Lund-Thomsen *et al.* 2016). This creates a critical separation of corporate and community interests. Second, from a development studies perspective, Lund-Thomsen *et al.* (2016; Khan and Lund-Thomsen 2011) argue that tensions between corporate interests and the interests of CSR program participants also emerge when corporate programs are designed to resonate with the norms that shape advanced capitalist societies, rather than the norms that govern the often developing societies or contexts in which local communities live. In the cases examined in this thesis by comparison, program administrators (including their primary stakeholders) and program participants operated or lived in the same national society.

There is nonetheless an underlying tension between the mostly positive and empowering experiences of attending strategic, customer-focused CSR programs and the finding that this empowerment occurred only so far as it advanced the interests of either firm. When considering the active way in which citizens/consumers draw on their own values and their own goals for social involvement to voluntarily participate in either program, it can be difficult to problematize this tension. In this situation—when the tension between corporate and citizen/consumer priorities appears to soften—the question of 'agency on whose terms?' is difficult to answer. Although strategic, customer-focused CSR programs are clearly designed and administered on corporate terms, experiences of agency and empowerment occur when program participants recognise the meaning and significance of their new skills or knowledge in relation to their own personal situations and their perceptions of society as a whole. When this convergence occurs, strategic CSR programs emerge not only as mechanisms that enable corporations to reinforce their own interests, but also as mechanisms that enable program participants to reinforce their own perceptions of societal values and norms.

Connection with whom?

The types of interactions that Telstra and Wolfers facilitated in their respective strategic CSR programs also influenced the sense of connection that program participants experienced. One's sense of connection refers to the experience of having an affinity with the moral bonds that support solidarity and cohesion either within particular social groups or within society as a whole (Chapter 3). A comparison of the two case studies illustrates that skills-based and deliberative programs influence participants' sense of connection in different ways because they influence the opening or closing of relationships in different ways. Whereas skills-based programs are geared to maintain the criteria that determine who is inside or outside of a relationship, deliberative programs engage in an opening and closing of relationships by questioning the values and roles that define the parameters of those relationships. Interestingly, whether Telstra or Wolfers designed their respective strategic, customer-focused CSR programs to reinforce the parameters of relationships or to redefine them seemed to be informed by the profit-making logic that steered the core business of either corporation.

Research participants who found TSS to have strengthened their sense of connection found it to have done so by strengthening their sense of membership in contemporary society and/or by strengthening their relationships with close social networks. The former emerged from seniors' changing perceptions of themselves as being able to participate in activities that they considered to be normal or expected in contemporary society. By comparison, the latter emerged from changes to increased or improved interactions between family and friends. In both situations, the requirements of membership in mainstream society and/or personal relationships did not change, meaning that relationships retained their level of openness and closure. By comparison, research participants who were involved in residents' associations expressed their sense of connection to stem from a new sense of shared responsibility, reciprocity and shared identity among committee members. Compared to TSS, the deliberative interaction that occurred in residents' associations involved an active engagement in the values and roles of local residents (regardless of the extent to which Wolfers or local residents influenced the values and roles interlocutors adopted), with implications for who then considered themselves to be inside and outside of the relationship.

The comparison between the two cases therefore suggests that a key difference between how skills-based and deliberative programs shape participants'

sense of connection arises from whether and how the programs negotiate the values that bind people in relationships. TSS did not seek to change participants' values so much as to provide knowledge and skills to enable new ways of interacting within existing relationships. Because online engagement is increasingly valued in public and personal life, improved digital skills also enabled seniors to experience a stronger sense of connection with mainstream society. By comparison, Wolfers' community engagement occurred in the very time and place in which local residents created the tangible relationships that connected them with other local residents. This meant that Wolfers and committee members were both involved in determining the values that connected particular residents whilst excluding others. As this study has found, Wolfers' integrative approach to strategic CSR and its intertwining of community engagement with marketing strategies seemed to bring the values that underpinned the sense of connection among committee members to reflect the aspirational identity markers embedded in the branding of the two property developments. By strengthening participants' sense of connection through the incremental closure of relationships, Wolfers' deliberative forums therefore seemed to support a strengthening of connection through simultaneous exclusion.

Interestingly, whether Telstra or Wolfers designed their respective strategic, customer-focused CSR programs to reinforce the parameters of relationships or to redefine them seemed to be informed not only by the type of interaction that occurred within the skills-based or deliberative program but also by whether notions of status, differentiation and exclusivity were central to the profit-making strategy of the corporation. Many industry and market sectors derive profit through widespread or mass consumption. With the gradual privatisation of particular industries and the individualisation of risk (because of both modernisation and changes in social policy; Chapter 1) there has been an expansion of industries that facilitate involvement in the key activities that enable participation or inclusion in society. These industries include, for example, telecommunications, banking, superannuation and insurance. Compared to industry sectors such as property development, these industries are relatively unconstrained by limited physical resources. This enables companies to pursue profit through mass consumption. In such cases, corporations have an interest in facilitating inclusion not necessarily through logics of exclusivity, but rather through logics of inclusivity.

By comparison, industries that are in the business of distributing finite resources often have a greater interest in emphasising the exclusivity of their products. Existing studies suggest this is the case for property developers who are operating in the second- and subsequent-home market (Coiacetto 2007). Different to the burgeoning housing estates located on the city fringe where property developers derive profit through mass production of housing, both Oasis and Glitz Apartments involved the development of rezoned brownfields located within established suburbs or the inner city. Many scholars are critical when property developers support connectedness among residents through a differentiation of new suburbs, against surrounding suburbs (Costley 2006; Gwyther 2005; Kenna 2007). As this thesis has shown, differentiation may occur not only between new and old suburbs but also among residents within new suburbs. When corporations pursue profit-making through logics of exclusivity, they are inclined to embed within their strategic, customer-focused CSR programs values and identity markers that support a sense of connection among elite groups, rather than citizens/consumers at large. While this may strengthen the sense of shared identity and shared responsibility among engaged residents, it may also hold adverse effects for the cohesion among residents in the immediate or surrounding suburbs.

Summary

There were subtle differences in the changes that participants experienced to their sense of agency and sense of connection, depending on whether they attended Telstra's skills-based program or Wolfers' deliberative program. These differences seemed to stem more from the relative nature of social inclusion than from differences in the types of interactions or relations that emerged. This suggests that the role of industry sectors in supporting involvement in society bears influence on the nature of inclusion that participants are likely to experience when attending strategic, customer-focused CSR programs. Although the differences that this thesis theorised between skills-based and deliberative programs were traced, they were not as evident as expected because both companies drew on integrative approaches to strategic CSR, thus limiting the extent to which committee members at Oasis engaged in creative deliberation. Interestingly, in both case studies participants became more critical in articulating how they would like to develop their involvement as they perceived themselves to be better equipped with knowledge, skills and resources to do so. This suggests that citizens/consumers

may transition between seeking out integrative and creative processes of social inclusion in both skills-based and deliberative programs.

9.2 Opportunities for social integration through strategic CSR

Our understanding of the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate needs to consider not only how the interactions that took place within the programs shaped the agency and connection of participants, but also how the decision-making of corporations and citizens/consumers enabled particular individuals or social groups to benefit more or less from these programs. This thesis has developed this perspective through its first line of inquiry, which explored the rationales that guided corporate and citizen/consumer involvement in strategic, customer-focused CSR (Chapter 6). By developing this dual corporate-community perspective, this thesis has found that corporations were most influential in shaping *who* the CSR programs were designed to support, *what* issues the CSR programs were designed to address, and *how.* Citizens/consumers then responded by considering how these opportunities might support their meaningful participation in society. The concurrent decisions of corporations and citizens/consumers brought about unequal opportunities for social groups to use strategic, customer-focused CSR as a way of strengthen their participation in society. Theoretically, this meant that the processes of inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs supported could exacerbate existing divisions or create new divisions in society.

Social inclusion as an effect of corporate decision-making

By considering the rationales that guided corporate involvement in TSS or community engagement, this thesis has shown that the integrative approach to strategic CSR steers corporations to make decisions that—whether intentionally or inadvertently—create opportunities for particular social groups to strengthen their social inclusion in particular ways. When adopting the integrative approach to strategic CSR, corporations are steered by perceptions about how to pursue or protect the interests of the firm steered corporate decision-making. As the two case studies have shown, this decision-making is often informed by corporate perceptions of the social risks and resources that are present in its operating environment (Graetz and Franks 2016; Kytle and Ruggie 2005). In Wolfers' case for example, employees stated that Wolfers' community engagement was guided

by the corporate concern for how existing, affluent customers shaped Wolfers' reputation. This influenced Wolfers to shape its strategic, customer-focused CSR programs in ways that offered opportunities for well-resourced individuals to deepen their existing social involvement. This was particularly evident in the case of Glitz Apartments, where community engagement was designed to attract, support, impress and empower residents who identified with a luxurious lifestyle. By comparison, although Telstra was also sensitive to corporate reputation risk, employees noted that Telstra's involvement in Tech Savvy Seniors was guided by its aim of impressing 'influential people' and third party advocates such as governments and NGOs (who were Telstra customers and/or monitored Telstra's statutory obligations). This influenced Telstra's decision to become involved in a social program that offered opportunities for social groups that were of particular concern to governments and NGOs, to strengthen their participation in society.

By aiming to impress governments and NGOs rather than affluent customer groups in civil society, it was more important for Telstra (compared to Wolfers) to engage in socio-political themes of social need, equity and fairness (Sandel 2012). As illustrated in Chapter 5, government regulation required both Telstra and Wolfers to engage in significant corporate social activity. Telstra employees however, communicated their greater awareness of ongoing (rather than upfront) monitoring and regulation. This difference steered Telstra employees to perceive new government regulation as a significant and undesirable risk to the corporation. In a recent study, Husted *et al.* (2015) refer to this dynamic as one of 'salience'. In their quantitative study of how corporations design CSR in Spain, they find that when NGOs have greater salience with a corporation—i.e. when managers give priority to the claims of NGOs—the corporation is more likely to plan its CSR agendas and programs in ways that identify and address particular social issues. Together with the findings of Husted *et al.* (2015) this thesis illustrates that although corporations make decisions about *who* strategic CSR programs are designed to support, governments and NGOs play important roles in influencing these corporate decisions. They can only do so, however, if corporations perceive them to pose undesirable risks or desirable resources for the firm.

There is a reasonably clear alignment between corporate perceptions of risks and resources and the social groups they aim to support via their strategic, customer-focused CSR programs. This alignment, however, is not as clear when

considering the issues that corporations aim to address via their strategic, customer-focused CSR. This is because corporations do not necessarily focus on issues that are priorities of a particular stakeholder group. Instead, the case studies of TSS and Wolfers' community engagement suggest that corporations aim to exceed their expectations. Wolfers and Telstra were not focused on using strategic CSR as a mechanism for overcoming grievances linked to, for example, inadequate access to telecommunications infrastructure in regional areas of Australia, bill shock, poor customer service, noisy living environment or the emotional and financial hardships that were experienced after constructing a house that did not adequately meet Wolfers' design specifications. Rather, Wolfers and Telstra both aimed to impress stakeholders by taking action on issues that were not considered their direct responsibility, however still relevant to their business (Dupire and M'Zali 2016). This finding suggests that while there is opportunity for governments and NGOs to influence which social groups corporations aim to support via strategic CSR, there may be less opportunity for them to guide which social issues corporations choose to address.

Social inclusion as an effect of citizen/consumer decision-making

This thesis has considered citizens/consumers to also play active roles in shaping the processes of social inclusion that emerge in the context of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs. As already discussed in this chapter, research participants actively drew on perceptions of their personal situations and their perceptions of social values and norms to give meaning to the resources and interactions that they encountered when participating in CSR programs. Before participating in the CSR programs, research participants also actively made decisions about whether and how they would participate in CSR programs. Interestingly, despite this active decision-making, citizens/consumers rarely considered the possibility of challenging or shifting the focus of these opportunities to better accommodate their own interests. Rather, if citizens/consumers considered CSR programs not to align with their own needs, they typically decided to exclude themselves from the program. This introduced two key limitations to the opportunities for social inclusion that the strategic, customer-focused CSR programs presented for social inclusion. First, voluntary exclusion limited the opportunity for CSR programs to emerge as sites of contestation. Second, voluntary exclusion also limited the opportunity for strategic CSR programs to address existing barriers to social inclusion that were tied to inadequate information or a divergence of values.

Scholars of social inclusion have questioned why situations in which individuals make decisions *not* to participate in key activities of their society might be problematic (Barry 1998; le Grand 2003). Le Grand argues that acts of 'voluntary exclusion' that result from poor information cannot be justified from social welfare and social justice perspectives (2003: 5-6). Voluntary exclusion is problematic, he argues, if individuals would make different choices if they had greater access to information. This was relevant in the case of TSS, in which all research participants had attended at least one digital literacy tutorial, but many noted that they had decided not to attend modules concerned with internet banking, online shopping or social media. Although some participants justified their decision based on personal preferences about means of communicating and interacting, it was clear that other participants also based their decisions on an inaccurate and/or incomplete understanding of what the functions were, how they worked and the implications of using or not using them. Decisions among participants to voluntarily themselves from particular modules thus prevented TSS from addressing the existing barriers that had prevented participants from making more informed decisions about how to participate in society.

In the case of Wolfers' community engagement, voluntary exclusion was triggered not by inaccurate or incomplete information but rather by personal decisions about lifestyle preferences. Some residents decided not to become involved in residents' associations or not to attend local community events because they preferred to pursue other interests. Residents who decided to voluntarily exclude themselves from Wolfers' community engagement were not necessarily disadvantaged in terms of social networks. Yet, they were less likely to be aware of what was happening in their local area and less likely to influence the community identity and voice that was gradually developing. Barry (1998: 14-16) warns that it is problematic if the interests of the voluntarily excluded are not congruent with the interests of citizens who are involved in decision-making. This became apparent in the situation of the bridge dispute at Glitz Apartments when the contributions that committee members made to a local government's call for submissions did not appear to represent the diversity of views among local residents (Roggenbuck 2016). From this perspective the voluntary exclusion of residents that emerged from an initial divergence of values, compromised the opportunity for Wolfers' strategic, customer-focused CSR programs to emerge as

forums in which local residents could together develop a shared identity that recognised the diversity of local residents.

Both types of voluntary exclusion described above frame citizens/consumers as active decision-makers. With reference to the relational conceptualisation of social inclusion presented in Chapter 3, this means that while citizens/consumers may exercise agency, they may not have as strong a sense of connection with society or a particular social setting that guides their integration into existing social structures. This situation contrasts with the experiences of citizens/consumers who found or considered themselves unable to participate in either strategic CSR program because they faced undesired barriers to involvement in society. Research participants who faced greater personal risks in areas such as health, family and language often found it most difficult to harness the opportunity to bolster their social involvement via strategic CSR (Mervyn *et al.* 2014). Because of the voluntary terms of program participation, there is a risk that policy makers and/or program administrators could also interpret these cases of program non-attendance as voluntary exclusion. It is important to understand the types of barriers that individuals face—whether inadequate information, divergent values or physical barriers tied to health, mobility or money—because these barriers bear different implications for the sense of agency that individuals feel able to exercise. This holds further implications for what support individuals may require, to overcome barriers to social involvement.

Voluntary exclusion is difficult for companies to address because they cannot require citizens/consumers to participate in particular activities as for example, governments can and do (Heath 2011: 25-26). With the exception of situations in which market externalities such as environmental pollution or economic crises affect citizens/consumers without their explicit consent, interactions between companies and citizens/consumers are modelled on a voluntary exchange of money for goods or services (Heath 2011; Smith 1999 [1776]; cf. Preston 1984). This is distinct from relationships between state and citizen, where an institutionalised social contract enables governments to make decisions on behalf of social actors found within its territory, including whether and how they are and are not required to act, on the premise that these decisions are in the best interest of social actors or society at large. For example, as discussed in Chapter 1, the Australian government currently requires certain citizens to demonstrate their attempts to obtain or prepare for employment before

receiving income support. To address the limitations that voluntary exclusion imposes on the opportunities for social inclusion that emerge through strategic, customer-focused CSR programs, it is important to strengthen the shared knowledge, morals, norms and cohesion that guide individual decision-making about how to participate in society. This is not a role for corporations that are governed by competitive and self-interested logics. With reference to Daly and Silver (2008), this raises our awareness of the important role that governments, civic organisations and social networks need to play to strengthening social inclusion by strengthening to moral bases and solidarity of society.

Summary

The opportunities and limitations that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs present for social inclusion are shaped by the decisions that corporations and citizens/consumers make about what goals they aim to pursue (or not pursue) through their involvement (or non-involvement). For policy makers to understand how these corporate-run programs may facilitate social inclusion in the future, it is important to identify which stakeholders pressure corporations to consider social issues, and to consider the information and values that inform citizens/consumers' decisions about whether and how to participate. Accordingly, there is significant scope for policy makers in the public and third sectors to support corporations and citizens/consumers to appropriate strategic, customer-focused CSR programs into beneficial sites of social inclusion. Public and third sectors are well positioned to apply this pressure and/or support because they typically work towards public, rather than private interests. Without this pressure and/or support, CSR programs may come to support social groups who do not necessarily face the greatest risks or barriers to participation.

The diversity of organisations in the third sector, however, means that they have different resources to offer. Some organisations such as Greenpeace and the Red Cross are well recognised with a broad supporter base and can thus exert significant pressure on firms. For this reason, they are often included in rule-making forums such as the Global Reporting Initiative or the International Organization for Standardization (Bostrom and Hallstrom 2010). Although the political and material resources of smaller NGOs are not as strong, their embeddedness in particular local contexts enables them to harbour contemporary knowledge about the practical resources, hurdles and experiences of disadvantaged

or marginalised groups (Grosser 2016). Their relatively shallow economic and political resources however, not only prevent them from applying pressure onto corporations and being invited to work with businesses, but also actually working with corporations when opportunities arise. To address this, Grosser (2016) argues that businesses need to support NGOs through funding and capacity building. Some scholars are weary of this approach because confrontation and negotiation between corporations and pressure groups can lead to co-optation and routinisation. In response, Burchell and Cook (2013) emphasise the agency of third sector organisations and their ability to develop new strategies of engagement, relative to their relationships with private organisations. As Grosser argues (2016), this positioning enables third sector organisations to support businesses to understand and continually work on the meaning, definition, scope and purpose of 'corporate social responsibility'.

When considering how corporations and citizens/consumers shape their involvement in strategic, customer-focused CSR, it is apparent that the opportunities for social inclusion are centred on processes of integration through the take up of prescribed activities. This is because first, corporations actively avoid addressing issues that may trigger contestation and instead, aim to conjure only positive emotions among stakeholders. The citizen/consumer response of either accepting or rejecting these opportunities—rather than appropriating opportunities to better suit their personal needs or values—has the effect of affirming the process of inclusion through integration that corporations structure. Scholars often consider integration to be synonymous with the process of 'inclusion'—whereby individuals strengthen their participation in society by assimilating into a dominant culture (Burchardt *et al.* 2002; Levitas 2006; Silver 1994: 541-2; Walker and Walker 1997). Yet, scholars are also critical of the strength of inclusion that integration facilitates, as integration leaves intact the power relations that had previously excluded social groups (Labonte 2004; Martin 2004; Silver 2007; Woodman and Wyn 2013: 272).

9.3 Social inclusion and the intertwining of economics and socio-politics

By exploring two cases of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs, this thesis has found that individuals often experience these programs as useful forums for accessing information and interacting with others, with positive implications for

their sense of agency and connection. So far, this thesis has considered the meaning of this change from the perspective of program participants. But a more abstract extrapolation can also be drawn by considering how these changes support the 'active citizen' and the 'active consumer' to participate in reflexive modernity. As discussed in Chapter 1, changes in social policy are increasingly encouraging active citizens in mainstream society to strengthen their involvement in society through particular areas of consumption. Chapter 2 subsequently discussed how the emergence of the subpolitical realm is also calling on active consumers to employ moral rationales to guide consumption. When individuals participate in strategic, customer-focused CSR programs they therefore necessarily participate as both active citizens and active consumers. To conclude, this chapter argues that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs may support the active citizen to acquire resources that enable her/him to shape a personal life s/he wants to live, but the programs have a lesser impact on the active consumers' involvement in public life.

Political context: active consumption as a form of citizenship

The individualisation of risk in social policy calls on the active citizen to work on personal involvement in society by drawing on material and non-material resources to pursue opportunities and mitigate risks in a way that will bring about a life s/he wants to live (Chapter 1). In this vein, seniors and local residents spoke about how changes to digital literacy or involvement in local community life would enable them to strengthen their connection with family, access information, keep busy through unemployment, access government services, manage financial investments and deepen involvement in other areas of personal life. Rather than feeling that improved skills, locally-based social networks, or other changes to personal resources would enable them to fulfil their moral responsibilities as 'active citizens' however, research participants were more likely to appreciate the intrinsic value of being connected with others or not feeling 'left behind'. This thesis began by theorising that the opening and closing of relationships in post-industrial societies, increasingly places individuals in decision-making situations which necessitate that they work on the relationships that connect them to social life.

By resourcing the active citizen, the two strategic CSR programs addressed an assumption that is often implicit in social policy—that as long as individuals

are integrated into the labour force and have economic resources they are well positioned to access market-based products that can help mitigate their exposure to personal risks. This thesis has illustrated that the factors that enable and constrain individuals to strengthen their social inclusion via the consumption of products or services are more diverse than one's economic resources. The barriers imposed by poor digital skills among seniors (Friemel 2016; Helsper 2012; Warburton *et al.* 2014) or lacking social cohesion in new residential estates (Martin and Goodman 2016; Warr and Robson 2013) are examples of this. Of interest to this study, was that these barriers not only come in the way of citizen involvement in the key activities of their society, but also perhaps, in the way of corporate pursuit of profit. When the two align, strategic, customer-focused CSR programs can work towards 'levelling the playing field' among active citizens to create or expand markets. But as this chapter has discussed, there are limitations to this assertion. In particular, certain social groups were found to benefit more from CSR programs than other groups. This means that strategic CSR programs level the playing field only in strategically important 'patches' or 'positions' of the field at large.

Although it is clear that the design of strategic CSR and the personal circumstances of individuals often imposed limitations on who benefited from either of the two programs and how, the notion of the active citizen and active consumer frames the limited reach of the programs as the product of individual choice. This is problematic when we consider that among the least likely to have sustained their attendance of either program were individuals who faced multiple barriers to their social involvement—whether because of health, income, family, and/or other issues such as inadequate or misguided information. As Saunders (2015) finds, exclusion is a stronger predictor of external constrains than internal preference. While individuals in mainstream society inevitably make choices about how to live their lives, some individuals have greater *freedom* of choice than others. In one sense, the two CSR programs provided support to the relatively disadvantaged as a way of bridging the gap between ICT users and non-users, or residents living in long-established and new residential areas. But from another perspective, the programs were not as successful in ensuring that all seniors or local residents would be equally able to attend and sustain their participation. This, of course, is difficult to achieve. For one, the diversity of social disadvantage makes it difficult to anticipate what support potential program participants might require to sustain their participation in the program. Second, from an instrumental

perspective, it may be difficult for corporations to justify larger and less secure investments in social groups that face complex barriers to social involvement. Ultimately, because program administrators did not actively prevent any seniors or local residents from attending either CSR program, non-attendance emerged as the consequence of individual choice.

The personal decisions of 'active citizens' accumulate to influence social trends and changes that impact the circumstances in which all citizens live. Theoretically, parity of freedom of choice would enable the cumulative weight of personal decisions to shape social change in a generally representative way. Yet the reality that citizens who face greater social disadvantage also face greater constraints to their freedom of choice means that they have less control over how to position themselves relative to broader shifts in society. For example, as more seniors choose to strengthen their digital participation, seniors who are not able to make this choice become part of a smaller minority of the digitally excluded. This positioning may impact their lives if, for example, an increase in overall rates of digital inclusion guides service providers to cease providing shopfront services. Likewise, when new residents' associations embed a particular identity or message in the community voice, individuals who were not able to become involved may feel more excluded from their local area than if the residents' association did not exist.

Although these types of general shifts come about through the cumulative effect of personal decisions and actions, it is significant that these decisions have been enabled and/or limited by the opportunities embedded in strategic CSR. From this perspective, corporations not only help citizens/consumers expand their range of choices (or capabilities) but more specifically, they expand a *particular* range of choices, which are accessible to individuals who have sufficient depth in their freedom of choice. To develop this perspective, it is useful to conceive of the corporation as a 'corporate citizen' that sits alongside government. Scholars who adopt this view argue that while governments are still the guarantors of citizen rights, corporations are expanding their involvement in the administration of social goods and services. As Crane *et al.* (2008) argue, it can be problematic when corporations administer social goods and services only in ways that support the interests of the firm. Whereas this may still deliver social benefits (as demonstrated by the case studies that inform this thesis) it may also neglect social issues that cannot (yet) be rationalised as instrumentally valuable. This thesis has

shown that this critique of corporate citizenship is relevant not only to corporation's core business but also to extra-economic activity that is formulated through an integrative approach.

The notion that social programs help individuals in particular circumstances to access a particular range of choices is not unique to strategic CSR. The structure and mechanism of the market however, mean that corporations are geared to delineate these parameters in a different way to how public or third sector organisations might do. As discussed in Chapter 2, Heath (2011) notes that a central differentiator of the state compared to private enterprise, is that the state has a greater pool of resources to invest in significant social projects, including infrastructure, health and education. Other scholars add that because governments are accountable to all citizens, rather than narrower networks of stakeholders who bear influence over the firm, governments are also better positioned to take a broader view of the social implications of social programs and investment. By comparison, the voluntary and competitive terms of market exchange mean that it lacks the coordination and reach of social programs that states can be more reasonably expected to achieve. This resonates with a perspective that Daly and Silver (2008) advance, in which the state necessarily plays a significant role in supporting processes of social inclusion because it is best placed to formulate the moral bases of solidarity and cohesion in society as a whole. The extent to which this is occurring in contemporary liberal welfare states is, of course, highly contested (e.g. Cantillon and Lancker 2012; Connell 2013; Gershon 2011). Yet, the moral bases of society are significant in guiding how the decisions that active citizens make—whether in the context of strategic CSR or more broadly—impact the inclusivity of society as a whole.

Subpolitical context: active citizenship as a form of consumption

Although strategic, customer-focused CSR programs may support individuals to acquire resources that enable them to shape a personal life they want to live, the two case studies in this thesis suggest that strategic, customer-focused CSR has a lesser impact on citizen involvement in public life. Scholars have long considered involvement in community groups and participation in parliamentary politics as important indicators of one's social inclusion (see Levitas 2006). From a social inclusion perspective, civic and political participation affords individuals a domain through which to actively influence the conditions in which they live. Adopting a

broader perspective, this thesis has drawn on the writings of Beck (1992, 1997, 2009) and Holzer (2006, 2013) on the transformation of politics in reflexive modernity to query whether and how strategic, customer-focused CSR programs might create new political spaces through which citizens/consumers actively influence power relations outside of the traditional political sphere. However, understanding CSR as the corporate response to increased scrutiny and pressure from interest groups who adjudicate corporate conduct (Holzer 2013; Johnston 2008; Power 2007: ch. 5) positions strategic CSR and subpolitics in a negative relationship. Accordingly, the two case studies have shown that when corporations engage in strategic CSR as a way of quelling public scrutiny and pressure, they purposefully design programs to avoid contestation or tension with stakeholders.

This thesis has been curious about whether and how Telstra or Wolfers might have nonetheless used strategic CSR as a forum for addressing the grievances that some research participants held against them. As noted in Chapters 7 and 8, research participants had expressed discontent about the experience of bill shock, poor customer service, noisy living environment or the emotional and financial hardships triggered by constructing a house that did not adequately meet Wolfers' design specifications. In these situations, which occurred outside the parameters of strategic CSR, companies determined the terms of exchange between provider and consumer. Individuals had responded by deciding whether they wished to exchange with the provider on these terms. When individuals did not act within these terms, they were penalised. Yet, particularly in situations such as bill shock or non-compliant housing, it was clear that some consumers had not fully understood what was required of them to avoid undesirable penalties. Research participants often expressed a sense of frustration and injustice at the unexpected financial burden they incurred. Had CSR programs been designed to create space for such grievances to come to light and be negotiated, the public voice would have changed the behaviour of the power-holder, rather than focusing on changing the resources and behaviour of the citizen/consumer. This would have triggered processes of social inclusion in which citizens/consumers actively shaped the circumstances in which they live.

Although both CSR programs avoided any contestation or rupturing of provider-consumer relationships, it was interesting that the skills and resources that Tech Savvy Seniors and Wolfers' community engagement helped participants to develop, could nonetheless bring about involvement in public life in the future.

Use of ICTs and community associations are critical to subpolitical activity. And yet the findings of both case studies show that there was little change to engagement in public life following participation in either program. Seniors in particular, focused on strengthening digital skills to enhance their connection with personal social networks or an abstract mainstream society. Participants who were involved in residents' associations likewise seemed to focus on accessing information and strengthening a personal sense of connection, rather than to substantively shape public life. Because this thesis found that citizens/consumers shaped their reasons for involvement in strategic CSR within the parameters of the aims of the programs that corporations had communicated, this raises questions about the depth of involvement that corporations aimed to support. It is therefore important to query in what ways strategic CSR programs guide and support citizens/consumers to use particular skills or resources.

In the case of Glitz Apartments, however, some 10 years after Wolfers had commenced its community engagement initiatives, the local residents' association became involved in public decision-making in the local area. There are many factors that may have contributed to this. Had the studies of Tech Savvy Seniors and Oasis been conducted 10 years after commencement of the two CSR programs, the impact of the programs on participation in public life may have been different. Yet, the case of Glitz Apartments shows that many other factors influence whether the skills and other resources that citizens/consumers develop in the context of strategic CSR are utilised in civic or political participation. For residents at Glitz Apartments, one of these factors was that public sector held consultation forums and called for written submissions about a development proposal, which triggered the residents' association to formalise a collective response. Second, as has been an enduring theme in the analysis of Glitz Apartments, the committee members were well-education, affluent and generally privileged people, which would have supported their confidence and capability to become involved in public decision-making. While Wolfers' community engagement helped shape a collective sense of identity in the estate, the mobilisation of committee members depended on a range of other factors as well.

These perspectives conjure the question of whether it is even reasonable to consider strategic CSR as a possible site of subpolitics. In other words, although corporation can be conceptualised as 'arenas of citizenship' (Crane *et al.* 2004, 2008) the corporate domain of strategic customer-focused CSR lends itself to the

actualisation of rights that enable involvement or decision-making in private rather than public life. This reinforces the political power that corporations have, in the short-term at least. Although the skills and other resources that individuals acquire through strategic, customer-focused CSR programs may eventually support individuals' participation in political or subpolitical activity, several factors prevented this dynamic from emerging within the parameters of the strategic CSR program itself. In particular, corporations purposefully designed strategic CSR programs to avoid tension, contestation or 'social risk', which the instrumental perspective interprets as an undesirable cost (Graetz and Franks 2016; Kytle and Ruggie 2005; Joyce and Thomson 2000). Theoretically, strategic CSR could work towards upholding socio-political goals by creating forums in which to address existing consumer grievances. Yet, scholars such as Bowen *et al.* (2010) find that even when corporations aim to create transformational relationships with groups in civil society—which enable shared learning and decision-making—organisations' risk management priorities often prevent the realisation of citizen activism. This does not, however, remove strategic CSR from the realm of political activity. Instead, strategic CSR constitutes a forum in which firms engage in more nuanced political projects of furthering their own interests without overt rupture or political upheaval.

Conclusion

Navigating risk, opportunity and responsibility

Strategic CSR programs—including customer-focused programs such as Tech Savvy Seniors and Wolfers' community engagement—are becoming more common in the Western world (LBG 2015). They are becoming more common as corporations seek to respond to increased political pressure from interest groups and mass media (Holzer 2013; Johnston 2008; Power 2007), as markets expand into diverse areas of private life (Hochschild 2012; Sandel 2012) and as neoliberal policy encourages horizontal modes of governance through self-regulation (Kinderman 2012; Midttun 2005; Shamir 2008). Together, these systemic changes are heightening corporate awareness of the impact that moral, social and political issues can have on the corporate pursuit of profit. Advocates of CSR contend that these systemic changes require a robust CSR agenda to be an integral part of the firm's competitive strategy (Kang and Moon 2012; McWilliams 2000; Visser 2011). Supporters and opponents alike are responding with greater engagement in the applied questions of how and to what extent corporations should invest in CSR. Since the early 2000s, business schools have addressed these questions with a concern for improving the competitive advantage of the firm. This thesis, by comparison, makes a contribution to emerging research that deepens our understanding of the social implications of contemporary CSR.

This thesis has argued that in liberal market settings such as Australia, the social implications of strategic CSR need to be understood relative to the changing contours of social disadvantage and the changing roles of state, market and

citizens/consumers in supporting social involvement. The thesis thus commenced with a discussion of the individualisation of risk in Australian social policy, which steers individuals to gather the resources and implement the safeguards required to strengthen her/his personal involvement in society (Hacker 2006; Marston *et al*. 2010; Zinn 2013). This is achieved in different ways, depending on whether social policy addresses mainstream or marginalised society. With regards to mainstream society, the expansion of fiscal welfare increasingly encourages citizens/consumers to strengthen their own inclusion through the consumption of particular market-based products and services (Hacker 2002; Stebbing and Spies-Butcher 2010). Policy makers argue that this promotes freedom and flexibility in how individuals alleviate their unique constellations of personal risks. Yet, it also assumes that citizens/consumers have sufficient economic and non-economic resources to inform market-based risk management. Against this setting, programs that aim to alleviate barriers to whether and how citizens/consumers transact with firms emerge as potentially important mechanisms of inclusion.

To provide insight into the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate, this thesis developed two case studies on three levels of analysis. This approach involved an exploration of how citizens/consumers, corporations and government regulators actively shape and experience strategic, customer-focused CSR programs, with implications for how the programs emerge as unique mechanisms of social inclusion. The thesis first illustrated the contribution that the two case studies were positioned to make, relative to the corporate social activity that is already required by government regulation (Chapter 5). The thesis then explored what effect corporate approaches to strategic CSR had on the types of opportunities for social inclusion that emerged in the two case studies (Chapter 6). Finally, the thesis explored how citizens/consumers made sense of these opportunities and how the experience of attending either program influenced participants' sense of agency and connection (Chapters 6, 7 and 8). By adopting a relational approach to social inclusion, the two case studies were selected to explore how the different types of interactions that characterise skills-based and deliberative programs support different experiences among participants. The exploratory approach however, also enabled the thesis to consider what other factors shape strategic, customer-focused CSR programs to offer particular opportunities, particular interactions and particular outcomes for social inclusion.

The cases of TSS and Wolfers' community engagement illustrate that corporations can and do deliver strategic, customer-focused CSR programs in ways that support citizens/consumers who are looking for resources or opportunities through which to strengthen their involvement in society. To some extent, the corporate-run programs therefore support some citizens/consumers to address assumptions in social policy that consider individuals to have what they need to consume products or services in ways that support their personal social inclusion. This thesis has found that positive experiences of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs were common among research participants because of the voluntary nature of the programs. In other words, research participants typically attended TSS or Wolfers' community engagement only if they perceived the programs to be beneficial to them, relative to their personal situations and their own perceptions of broader social values and norms. This sets customer-focused CSR programs apart from community-focused CSR programs that have attracted significant attention from critical management scholars (Banerjee 2008; Banks *et al.* 2016; Owen and Kemp 2013). In these studies, scholars stress that large multinational corporations often compromise the livelihoods of local communities and this compels local communities to respond to large multinationals, but often with little likelihood of finding common ground with corporations and little opportunity to influence corporate conduct.

Although this thesis found that customer-focused strategic CSR programs often supported beneficial experiences among research participants, it also found that significant limitations compromised how and the extent to which they facilitated social inclusion. The limitations of customer-focused strategic CSR became most evident through critical consideration of how the rationales that guided corporate and citizen/consumer involvement created opportunities for only particular social groups to strengthen their social involvement, and only in particular ways. Interestingly, these limitations did not arise so much from whether CSR programs were skills-based or deliberative types of programs but rather, from the integrative approaches to strategic CSR that underpinned both programs. Although the strategic, customer-focused CSR programs were removed from the provider-consumer exchange of economic resources for goods or services, the individualistic, voluntary and competitive logics that underpin market-based transactions nonetheless guided the terms of participation in strategic CSR. This meant that the extent to which the programs supported social inclusion was limited

by dynamics of voluntary exclusion as well as corporate interest in avoiding conflict, supporting social groups that present risks or resources to the firm, and supporting the profit-making logic of the corporation. These factors often perpetuated existing power relations, thus preventing citizens/consumers and corporations from addressing some barriers to social inclusion.

The key limitation that citizens/consumers imposed on the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitated was through decisions not to attend. This thesis has discussed that while decisions not to attend need to be respected if they enable citizens/consumers to pursue a life they want to live, the decisions become problematic if they are based on inaccurate or incomplete understanding of the implications of non-attendance (le Grand 2003; Zohir 2014). Problematically, when citizens/consumers voluntarily exclude themselves from social and civic life, they enable other actors to shape the society in which they live and by extension, their position in it (Barry 1998). Therefore, particularly when individual decision-making is guided by incomplete information or divergent values, voluntary exclusion may limit strategic CSR from addressing barriers that prevented individuals from being involved in particular activities in the past. And yet, attendance of strategic CSR programs is necessarily voluntary because although the programs may involve corporations in roles that governments have traditionally held (Crane 2010; Crane *et al.* 2004, 2008), corporations do so via the voluntary terms of market-based exchange. This raises our awareness of the role that civic organisations and social networks play in supporting the shared knowledge, morals, norms and cohesion that guide individual decision-making about how to participate in society.

This thesis has found that corporations also impose limitations on the processes of social inclusion that emerge in the context of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs, particularly when they adopt an integrative approach to strategic CSR. First, the case studies illustrate that when corporations rationalize their involvement in strategic CSR by emphasising benefits to the firm (i.e. via an integrative approach to strategic CSR), they do not necessarily aim to address social issues or support social groups that are in greatest need. They also aim to provide support in ways that citizens/consumers are most likely to experience in a positive and empowering way, thus dissuading corporations from addressing contentious or complex issues. Therefore although the groups and issues that Telstra and Wolfers aimed to support or alleviate could be framed as groups and

issues in need, they were not necessarily the groups or issues in greatest need of attention, relative to the disadvantage that other groups faced or the other barriers to social involvement that program participants faced. When strategic, customer-focused CSR programs support citizens/consumers who face relatively minor barriers to social exclusion, they may have the unintended effect of exacerbating divisions in mainstream society between individuals who face mild risks of exclusion and those who face multiple and complex risks of exclusion.

Second, the case studies illustrate that when corporations rationalize their involvement in strategic CSR by focusing on benefits to the firm, they are dissuaded from creating forums in which social actors contest the shared values and goals that underpin social cohesion. Indeed, scholars who consider the rise of contemporary CSR as the corporate response to an intensification of political pressure emphasise that corporations design CSR programs as a way of preventing perceived costs associated with increased government regulation or conflict with groups in civil society (Davis and Franks 2011; Graetz and Franks 2016; Kytle and Ruggie 2005). Although Wolfers created a deliberative forum in which some citizens/consumers engaged in shared learning and decision-making, it did so by embedding particular values and assumptions about what would enable cooperation and cohesion among local residents. Without encouraging deliberation of these values and assumptions but instead welcoming deliberation within the parameters of these values and assumptions, Wolfers did not create a deliberative forum which encouraged citizens/consumers to contest the aspirational lifestyle propositions that Wolfers encouraged residents to adopt. The customer-focused rather than community-focused nature of the CSR program meant that there was greater potential for this not to impinge on the subjective experiences of committee members. Nevertheless it limited the extent to which participants creatively shaped the relationships that connected them to their local community.

Finally, this thesis has found that when corporations use an integrative approach to strategic CSR, they adopt the conceptualisation of inclusion or exclusion that underpins the profit-making logic of their core business. While this finding is of particular pertinence to customer-focused CSR programs, it may also be tailored to examine relationships between corporations and other stakeholders via strategic CSR. Some industry sectors, including telecommunications, work towards supporting activities and values that are inclusive of individuals in society as a whole. In these cases, corporate interest in encouraging mass consumption

may also move towards strengthening social cohesion. Other industry sectors by comparison, derive profit from the exclusivity of their products and services. While these industries may support a strengthened sense of connection among particular groups of citizens/consumers, they do so through social division and differentiation. This was observed in the case of Wolfers' community engagement, which encouraged participants to feel a sense of pride, ownership and belonging to a local community that was bound by particular values and lifestyle. The two case studies that inform this thesis have therefore suggested that whether corporations pursue profit through broad-based or exclusive consumption affects the nature of connection and cohesion that their strategic, customer-focused CSR programs supported.

These conclusions have been informed by cases studies of two strategic, customer-focused CSR programs that were selected to consider how skills-based and deliberative programs give rise to different processes of social inclusion. Although the two case studies have provided considerable insight, as has been their purpose, they have also indicated that perspectives that were beyond the scope of this study could further our understanding of the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR facilitate. In particular, the two case studies were developed by asking research participants to recall their experiences of attending particular CSR programs. Data was collected shortly after program attendance to enable research participants to provide an accurate recollection of their experiences. By focusing on experiences of participating in strategic CSR, both factors may have overstated the impact that program participation had on participants' day-to-day experiences of inclusion. Future research could improve our understanding of the role of strategic, customer-focused CSR in supporting social inclusion by exploring the contribution of these corporate-run programs relative to the multiple other sources of support that individuals might access to strengthen their involvement in society.

A key finding of this thesis has been that although citizens/consumers who attend strategic, customer-focused CSR programs typically experience them in a positive way, these positive experiences can nonetheless give rise to adverse social differentiations or fault lines. This finding shows that to develop a more critical perspective of the processes of social inclusion *and* exclusion that corporations do and do not facilitate through strategic, customer-focused CSR, it is important for scholars to trace the impact of these corporate-run programs among individuals

who do not participate. This may include individuals who voluntarily exclude themselves from attending, who wish to attend however do not have the resources required to do so (e.g. time, mobility, or good health) or who have not been given the opportunity to participate in the first place. Whilst the research questions of this thesis did not seek to develop and understand these perspectives and experiences, the thesis nonetheless found that citizen/consumer decisions to voluntary exclude themselves and corporate decisions to actively include select social groups impose significant implications for the nature of social inclusion that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs facilitate.

By being positioned at the intersection of social inclusion and CSR scholarship, this study has made a notable contribution to both literatures. To the social inclusion literature, this study has emphasised the importance of examining opportunities and processes of social inclusion that are occurring adjacent to state-based social policy. This perspective is particularly valid as the state increasingly encourages individuals in mainstream society to work on their own inclusion through personal decision-making. With relevance to CSR literature, this study has emphasised the importance of thinking critically about the plurality, complexity and contestability of social value. The concept of social inclusion demonstrates this particularly well by illustrating that inclusion from one perspective can be reframed as exclusion from another perspective. As some scholars have already argued, the nature of economic and social value are inherently different and scholars of CSR need to acknowledge, examine and account for this in greater depth when considering the social implications of the 'social value' of CSR (Crane *et al.* 2014; Kroeger and Weber 2014). This thesis has illustrated that different industry sectors and indeed, market segments, are geared to support different social dynamics. This thesis has also deepened our understanding of the social processes that characterise customer-focused strategic CSR programs, which are often overlooked due to scholars' greater interest in community-focused and employee-focused programs (Crane *et al.* 2008: 110-114). In the future, differentiating between industry sectors, market segments, stakeholder groups and types of citizens/consumers will enable a more nuanced perspective of the social implications of strategic, customer-focused CSR.

Although it critiques the limitations of strategic, customer-focused CSR programs, this thesis does not aim to undermine the contribution that strategic, customer-focused CSR programs can and do make to contemporary processes of

social inclusion. Rather, the findings of this study suggest that the contribution of these corporate-run programs relies heavily on pressure that governments, interest groups and third sector organisations place on corporations to be sensitive to social and political issues. Whilst on the one hand, this suggests that little trust can be placed in corporations to design social programs that are of benefit to society as a whole, it also creates significant opportunity for public and third sector organisations to pressure private enterprise to continue and deepen its investment in alleviating social issues and supporting social groups in need. To support the investments that corporations are making in strategic CSR, public and third sector organisations also have an important role to play in nurturing the inclusivity of social norms and values that establish the moral bases of social interaction and cohesion. Shared values and norms enable citizens/consumers to appropriate the otherwise individualistic, competitive and voluntary paths of social inclusion that are embedded in strategic, customer-focused CSR.

Reference list

Aaltonen, S. (2013). 'Trying to push things through': forms and bounds of agency in transitions of school-age young people. *Journal of Youth Studies,16*(3), 375-390.

[ABS] Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2013). *Household Income and Income Distribution, Australia, 2011-12* (Cat. no. 6523.0). Retrieved from http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/6523.0Main+Features22011-12

[ABS] Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2014). *Household Use of Information Technology Australia, 2012-13* (Cat. no. 8146.0). Retrieved from http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/%20Lookup/8146.0Chapter32012-13

[ACCC] Australian Competition and Consumer Commission. (n.d.). *Australian Competition and Consumer Commission: About us*. Retrieved December 21, 2016, from https://www.accc.gov.au/about-us

[ACCC] Australian Competition and Consumer Commission. (2014). *Information and informed decision-making in private health insurance.* Retrieved from http://www.accc.gov.au/system/files/981_Private%20Health%20Report_2013-14_web%20FA.pdf

[ACCSR] Australian Centre for Corporate Social Responsibility (2017). *The State of CSR in Australia and New Zealand Annual Review*. Retrieved from http://accsr.com.au/what-we-do/latest-research/

[ACMA] Australian Communications and Media Authority. (2015). *Communications Report 2014-15*. Retrieved from http://www.acma.gov.au/theACMA/Library/Corporate-library/Corporate-publications/communications-report-2014-15

Ackerman, R. W. (1973). How companies respond to social demands. *Harvard Business Review, 51*(4), 88-98.

Adkins, L. (2003). Reflexivity: Freedom or habit of gender? *Theory, Culture & Society, 20*(6), 21-42.

Agnitsch, K., Flora, J., & Ryan, V. (2006). Bonding and bridging social capital: The interactive effects on community action. *Community Development, 37*(1), 36-51.

Aguilar-Støen, M. (2015). Exploring participation in new forms of environmental governance: a case study of payments for environmental services in Nicaragua. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, *17*(4), 941-958.

Aguilera, R. V., Rupp, D. E., Williams, C. A., & Ganapathi, J. (2007). Putting the S back in corporate social responsibility: A multilevel theory of social change in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*(3), 836-863.

Aguinis, H., & Glavas, A. (2012). What we know and don't know about corporate social responsibility a review and research agenda. *Journal of Management*, *38*(4), 932-968.

Alam, K., & Imran, S. (2015). The digital divide and social inclusion among refugee migrants: a case in regional Australia. *Information Technology & People*, *28*(2), 344-356.

Albareda, L., Lozano, J. M., Tencati, A., Midttun, A., & Perrini, F. (2008). The changing role of governments in corporate social responsibility: drivers and responses. *Business Ethics: a European Review*, *17*(4), 347-363.

Albrecht, S. L., & Kunz, P. R. (1980). The decision to divorce: A social exchange perspective. *Journal of Divorce*, *3*(4), 319-337.

Ali, P., Anderson, M. E., McRae, C. H., & Ramsay, I. (2014). The Financial Literacy of Young Australians: An Empirical Study and Implications for Consumer Protection and ASIC's National Financial Literacy Strategy. *Company and Securities Law Journal*, *32*(5), 334-352.

Allman, D. (2013). The sociology of social inclusion. *Sage Open*, *3*(1), 1-16.

[ALP] Australian Labor Party (2007). *Social Inclusion Agenda*.

Altria Corporate Services Inc. (2004). *Stakeholder Engagement Planning Toolkit*. Retrieved from http://www.forumstrategies.com/content/pdf/stakeholder_engagement.pdf

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Community*. Verso.

Anderson, T. (1999). The meaning of deregulation. *Journal of Australian Political Economy*, *44*, 5-21.

Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, *35*(4), 216-224.

[ASIB] Australian Social Inclusion Board. (2010). *Social Inclusion in Australia: How Australia is Faring*. Retrieved from http://www.socialinclusion.gov.au/publications/social-inclusion-australia-how-australia-faring-2010

[ASIB] Australian Social Inclusion Board. (2012). *Social Inclusion in Australia: How Australia is Faring*. Retrieved from http://www.socialinclusion.gov.au/sites/www.socialinclusion.gov.au/files/publications/pdf/HAIF_report_final.pdf

Asif, M., Searcy, C., Zutshi, A., & Fisscher, O. A. (2013). An integrated management systems approach to corporate social responsibility. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, *56*, 7-17.

Aßländer, M. S., & Curbach, J. (2014). The corporation as citoyen? Towards a new understanding of corporate citizenship. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *120*(4), 541-554.

Aßländer, M. S., & Curbach, J. (2017). Corporate or governmental duties? Corporate citizenship from a governmental perspective. *Business & Society*, 56(4), 617-645.

Atkinson, A. B. (1998). *Poverty in Europe*. Blackwell.

Atkinson, A. B., Cantillon, B., Marlier, E., & Nolan, B. (2002). *Social indicators: The EU and social inclusion*. Oxford University Press.

[ATO] Australian Tax Office. (2014). *Changes to super guarantee*. Retrieved June 30, 2016, from https://www.ato.gov.au/General/New-legislation/In-detail/Other-topics/Repeal-of-MRRT-and-related-measures/Changes-to-the-super-guarantee/

[ATO] Australian Tax Office. (2015a). *Medicare Levy Surcharge*. Retrieved June 30, 2016, from https://www.ato.gov.au/Individuals/Medicare-levy/Medicare-levy-surcharge/

[ATO] Australian Tax Office. (2015b). *Personal super contributions.* Retrieved June 13, 2016, from https://www.ato.gov.au/individuals/super/growing-your-super/adding-to-my-super/personal-super-contributions/

Australian Government. (n.d.). *Life Time Health Cover*. Retrieved April 6, 2016, from http://www.privatehealth.gov.au/healthinsurance/incentivessurcharges/lifetimehealthcover.htm/

Azpitarte, F., & Bowman, D. (2015). *Brotherhood of St Laurence and Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research: Social Exclusion Monitor Bulletin, June 2015*. Retrieved from http://library.bsl.org.au/jspui/bitstream/1/6083/1/AzpitarteBowman_Social_exclusion_monitor_bulletin_Jun2015.pdf

Baird, M., & O'Brien, M. (2015). Dynamics of parental leave in Anglophone countries: The paradox of state expansion in liberal welfare regimes. *Community, Work & Family*, *18*(2), 198-217.

Bajracharya, B., & Khan, S. (2010). Evolving governance model for community building: collaborative partnerships in master planned communities. *Urban Policy and Research*, *28*(4), 471-485.

Banerjee, S. B. (2008). Corporate social responsibility: The good, the bad and the ugly. *Critical Sociology*, *34*(1), 51-79.

Banks, G., Scheyvens, R., McLennan, S., & Bebbington, A. (2016). Conceptualising corporate community development. *Third World Quarterly*, *37*(2), 245-263.

Barry, B. M. (1998). *Social exclusion, social isolation and the distribution of income* (LSE CASEpaper, CASE/12). Retrieved from http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/6516/

Bartholomae, S., Russell, M. B., Braun, B., & McCoy, T. (2016). Building health insurance literacy: Evidence from the Smart Choice Health Insurance™ program. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, *37*(2), 140-155.

Beauchamp, A., Buchbinder, R., Dodson, S., Batterham, R. W., Elsworth, G. R., McPhee, C., … & Osborne, R. H. (2015). Distribution of health literacy strengths and weaknesses across socio-demographic groups: a cross-sectional survey using the Health Literacy Questionnaire (HLQ). *BMC Public Health*, *15*(1), 1-13.

Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a new modernity*. M. Ritter (Trans.). Sage.

Beck, U. (1997). *The reinvention of politics: Rethinking modernity in the global social order*. John Wiley & Sons.

Beck, U. (2009). *World at risk*. Polity.

Beck, U., & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002). *Individualization: Institutionalized individualism and its social and political consequences*. Thousand Oaks.

Beck, U., Bonss, W., & Lau, C. (2003). The Theory of Reflexive Modernization: Problematic, Hypotheses and Research Programme. *Theory, Culture & Society, 20*(2), 1-33.

Beck, U., Giddens, A., & Lash, S. (1994). *Reflexive modernization: Politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order*. Stanford University Press.

Beck, U., & Lau, C. (2005). Second modernity as a research agenda: theoretical and empirical explorations in the 'meta-change' of modern society. *The British Journal of Sociology, 56*(4), 525-557.

Beck-Gernsheim, E. (1998). On the way to a post-familial family from a community of need to elective affinities. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *15*(3), 53-70.

Beer, A., Faulkner, D., Law, J., Lewin, G., Tinker, A., Buys, L., ... & Chessman, S. (2016). Regional variation in social isolation amongst older Australians. *Regional Studies, Regional Science*, *3*(1), 170-184.

Bell, D. S. (2003). Mythscapes: memory, mythology, and national identity. *The British Journal of Sociology*, *54*(1), 63-81.

Bennett, A., & Elman, C. (2006). Qualitative research: Recent developments in case study methods. *Annual Review of Political Science, 9*, 455-476.

Berman, S. L., Wicks, A. C., Kotha, S., & Jones, T. M. (1999). Does stakeholder orientation matter? The relationship between stakeholder management models and firm financial performance. *Academy of Management Journal, 42*(5), 488-506.

Bernstein, M. (1997). Celebration and suppression: The strategic uses of identity by the lesbian and gay movement 1. *American Journal of Sociology, 103*(3), 531-565.

Bernstein, M. (2008). The analytic dimensions of identity: A political identity framework. In J. Reger, D. J. Myers & R. L. Einwohner (Eds.), *Identity work in social movements* (pp. 277-301). University of Minnesota Press.

Berry, M., Whitehead, C., Williams, P., & Yates, J. (2006). Involving the private sector in affordable housing provision: can Australia learn from the United Kingdom?. *Urban Policy and Research*, *24*(3), 307-323.

Beschorner, T. (2014). Creating shared value: The one-trick pony approach. *Business Ethics Journal Review, 1*(17), 106-112.

Bevir, M. (1999). Foucault, power, and institutions. *Political Studies*, *47*(2), 345-359.

Bice, S. (2012). *Beyond the business case: a new institutional analysis of corporate social responsibility in Australian mining* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of Melbourne, Australia.

Bice, S. (2014). What gives you a social licence? An exploration of the social licence to operate in the Australian mining industry. *Resources*, *3*(1), 62-80.

Bice, S. (2015). Corporate Social Responsibility as Institution: A Social Mechanisms Framework. *Journal of Business Ethics*. doi: 10.1007/s10551-015-2791-1.

Birdsall, N., & Nellis, J. (2003). Winners and Losers: Assessing the distributional impact of privatization. *World development*, *31*(10), 1617-1633.

Bode, I. (2009). On the Road to Welfare Markets: Institutional, Organizational, and Cultural Dynamics of a New European Welfare State Settlement. In J. L. Powell &

J. Hendricks (Eds.), *The welfare state in post-industrial society: A global perspective* (pp. 161-177). Springer.

Bondy, K., Moon, J., & Matten, D. (2012). An institution of corporate social responsibility in multi-national corporations: Form and implications. *Journal of Business Ethics, 111*(2), 281-299.

Bookman, A. & Morgen, S. (1988). *Women and the Politics of Empowerment*. Temple University Press.

Boström, M., & Hallström, K. T. (2010). NGO power in global social and environmental standard-setting. *Global Environmental Politics, 10*(4), 36-59.

Boulton-Lewis, G. M., Buys, L., Lovie-Kitchin, J., Barnett, K., & David, L. N. (2007). Ageing, learning, and computer technology in Australia. *Educational Gerontology, 33*(3), 253-270.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). Symbolic Power. In D. Gleason (Ed.), *Identity and structure: Issues in the sociology of education* (pp. 112-119). Nafferton Books.

Bowen, F., Newenham-Kahindi, A., & Herremans, I. (2010). When Suits Meet Roots: The Antecedents and Consequences of Community Engagement Strategy. *Journal of Business Ethics, 95*(2), 297-318.

Boxall, A. M., & Gillespie, J. (2013). *Making Medicare: the politics of universal health care in Australia*. UNSW Press.

Braithwaite, J. (2000). The new regulatory state and the transformation of criminology. *British Journal of Criminology, 40*(2), 222-238.

Brammer, S., Jackson, G., & Matten, D. (2012). Corporate social responsibility and institutional theory: New perspectives on private governance. *Socio-Economic Review, 10*(1), 3-28.

Brammer, S., & Pavelin, S. (2006). Corporate reputation and social performance: The importance of fit. *Journal of Management Studies, 43*(3), 435-455.

Brito, S. (2014, April 4). Telstra we do not need a new phone every year. *Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from http://www.smh.com.au/comment/telstra-we-do-not-need-a-new-phone-every-year-20140402-zqq0n.html

Brodkin, E. Z., & Majmundar, M. (2010). Administrative exclusion: Organizations and the hidden costs of welfare claiming. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 20*(4), 827-848.

Broom, A., Hand, K., & Tovey, P. (2009). The role of gender, environment and individual biography in shaping qualitative interview data. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 12*(1), 51-65.

[BSL] Brotherhood of St Laurence. (2015). *Social Exclusion Monitor*. Retrieved April 6, 2016, from https://www.bsl.org.au/knowledge/social-exclusion-monitor/

Bruckner, H., & Mayer, K. U. (2005). De-standardization of the life course: What it might mean? And if it means anything, whether it actually took place? *Advances in Life Course Research, 9*, 27-53.

Burchardt, T., Le Grand, J., & Piachaud, D. (1999). Social exclusion in Britain 1991-1995. *Social Policy & Administration, 33*(3), 227-244.

Burchell, J., & Cook, J. (2013). CSR, co-optation and resistance: The emergence of new agonistic relations between business and civil society. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *115*(4), 741-754.

Butler, J. (1997). Merely cultural. *Social Text*, *15*(3&4), 265-277.

Butteriss, C., Crozier, M., Scanlan, R., & Gobley, T. (2014). *Online consultation guidebook: A practice guide for EngagementHQ™*. Retrieved from http://bangthetable.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Online-Consultation-Guide-Book-colour.pdf

Campbell, C. S., Maglio, P. P., and Davis, M. M. (2011). From self-service to super-service: a resource mapping framework for co-creating value by shifting the boundary between provider and customer. *Information Systems and e-business Management*, *9*(2), 173-191.

Cantillon, B., & Van Lancker, W. (2012). Solidarity and reciprocity in the social investment state: what can be learned from the case of Flemish school allowances and truancy? *Journal of Social Policy*, *41*(4), 657-675.

Carroll, A. B. (1999). Corporate social responsibility evolution of a definitional construct. *Business & Society*, *38*(3), 268-295.

Carroll, A. B., & Shabana, K. M. (2010). The business case for corporate social responsibility: A review of concepts, research and practice. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, *12*(1), 85-105.

Carson, R. (1962). *Silent Spring*. Houghton Mifflin.

Carter, L. (2016, May 24). Telstra outage continues as internet service complaints rise across Australia. *Australian Broadcasting Corporation*. Retrieved from http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-05-24/telstra-outage-continues-as-internet-service-complaints-rise/7441440

Chaskin, R., Khare, A., & Joseph, M. (2012). Participation, deliberation, and decision making: The dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in mixed-income developments. *Urban Affairs Review*, *48*(6), 863-906.

Cass, N., Shove, E., & Urry, J. (2005). Social exclusion, mobility and access. *The Sociological Review*, *53*(3), 539-555.

Castells, M. (2005). Global governance and global politics. *Political Science and Politics*, *38*(1), 9-16.

Castells, M. (2015). *Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the Internet age*. John Wiley & Sons.

Castles, F. G. (1985). *The working class and welfare: reflections on the political development of the welfare state in Australia and New Zealand, 1890-1980*. Taylor & Francis.

Castles, F. G. (1994). The wage earners' Welfare State revisited: Refurbishing the established model of Australian social protection, 1983-93. *The Australian Journal of Social Issues*, *29*(2), 120-145.

Chatzitheochari, S., & Arber, S. (2012). Class, gender and time poverty: a time-use analysis of British workers' free time resources. *The British Journal of Sociology*, *63*(3), 451-471.

Chen, S., & Bouvain, P. (2009). Is corporate responsibility converging? A comparison of corporate responsibility reporting in the USA, UK, Australia, and Germany. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *87*(1), 299-317.

Cheshire, L., Wickes, R., & White, G. (2013). New Suburbs in the Making? Locating Master Planned Estates in a Comparative Analysis of Suburbs in South-East Queensland. *Urban Policy and Research*, *31*(3), 281-299.

Choo, H. Y., & Ferree, M. M. (2010). Practicing intersectionality in sociological research: A critical analysis of inclusions, interactions, and institutions in the study of inequalities. *Sociological theory*, *28*(2), 129-149.

Chzhen, Y., & Bradshaw, J. (2012). Lone parents, poverty and policy in the European Union. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *22*(5), 487-506.

[COAG] Council of Australian Governments. (2009). *National Affordable Housing Agreement*. Retrieved from http://www.federalfinancialrelations.gov.au/content/npa/national_agreements/national-housing-agreement.pdf

Cobigo, V., Ouellette-Kuntz, H., Lysaght, R., & Martin, L. (2012). Shifting our conceptualization of social inclusion. *Stigma Research and Action*, *2*(2), 75-84.

Coiacetto, E. (2007). Residential sub-market targeting by developers in Brisbane. *Urban Policy and Research*, *25*(2), 257-274.

Connell, R. W., & Irving, T. H. (1992). *Class Structure in Australian History: poverty and progress*. Longman Cheshire.

Connell, R. (2013). Why do market 'reforms' persistently increase inequality? *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *34*(2), 279-285.

Connelly, J., & Hayward, J. (Eds.). (2012). *The withering of the welfare state: regression*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Considine, M. (2001). *Enterprising states: The public management of welfare-to-work*. Cambridge University Press.

Considine, M., Lewis, J. M., O'Sullivan, S., & Sol, E. (2015). *Getting Welfare to Work: Street-Level Governance in Australia, the UK, and the Netherlands*. Oxford University Press.

Considine, M., O'Sullivan, S., & Nguyen, P. (2014). New public management and welfare-to-work in Australia: Comparing the reform agendas of the ALP and the Coalition. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *49*(3), 469-485.

Constantinescu, M. (2013). Attributions of moral responsibility: from Aristotle to corporations. *Annals of the University of Bucharest-Philosophy Series*, *62*(1).

Cooke, L. P. (2014). Gendered parenthood penalties and premiums across the earnings distribution in Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. *European Sociological Review*, *30*(3), 360-372.

Crane, A. (2010). From governance to Governance: On blurring boundaries. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *94*(Supplement 1), 17-19.

Crane, A., & Glozer, S. (2016). Researching CSR communication: Themes, opportunities and challenges. *Journal of Management Studies*, 53(7), 1223-1252.

Crane, A., Matten, D., & Moon, J. (2004). Stakeholders as citizens? Rethinking rights, participation, and democracy. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *53*(1), 107-122.

Crane, A., Matten, D., & Moon, J. (2008). *Corporations and Citizenship*. Cambridge University Press.

Crane, A., Palazzo, G., Spence, L. J., & Matten, D. (2014). Contesting the value of 'creating shared value'. *California Management Review*, *56*(2), 130-153.

Croucher, A., Blank, A., Bryant, W., Notley, J., & Pell, H. (2015). 'Social Inclusion is... Being Involved in the Community and Feeling Safe': Exploring the Experience of Social Inclusion for People with Mental Illness. *World Association Psychosocial Rehabilitation Bulletin*, *36*, 11-16.

Cui, A. S., and Wu, F. (2015). Utilizing customer knowledge in innovation: antecedents and impact of customer involvement on new product performance. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, *44*(4), 516-538.

Daly, M., & Silver, H. (2008). Social capital and social exclusion: A comparison and critique. *Theory and Society*, *37*(6), 537-66.

Davis, R., & Franks, D. M. (2011). The costs of conflict with local communities in the extractive industry. In D. Brereton, D. Pesce & X. Abogabir (Eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Seminar on Social Responsibility in Mining*. Retrieved from https://www.csrm.uq.edu.au/Portals/0/11srm_cap06_p88.pdf

Dawson, M. (2012). Reviewing the critique of individualization: The disembedded and embedded theses. *Acta Sociologica*, *55*(4), 305-319.

Dewilde, C. (2003). A life-course perspective on social exclusion and poverty. *The British Journal of Sociology*, *54*(1), 109-128.

Dean, M. (1999). *Governmentality: Power and rule in modern society*. Sage.

Deeg, R., & Jackson, G. (2007). Towards a more dynamic theory of capitalist variety. *Socio-Economic Review*, *5*(1), 149-179.

Denniss, R., & Richardson, D. (2013). *Corporate Power in Australia* (The Australia Institute Policy Brief No. 45). Retrieved from http://www.tai.org.au/sites/defualt/files/PB%2045%20Corporate%20power%20in%20Australia_4.pdf

Denny, B., Gavidia-Payne, S., Davis, K., Francis, A., & Jackson, M. (2014). Strengthening Australian families: Socioeconomic status, social connectedness, and family functioning. *Australian Social Work*, *67*(3), 438-450.

Dentchev, N. A., Haezendonck, E., & van Balen, M. (2015). The role of governments in the business and society debate. *Business & Society*. doi: 10.1177/0007650315586179.

[DFCS] Department of Family and Community Services. (2013). *Tech Savvy Seniors Fact Sheet*. Retrieved December 10, 2016, from http://www.adhc.nsw.gov.au/__data/assets/file/0008/263672/fact_sheet_final_tech_savvy.pdf

Dickmann, M. (2012). Why do they come to London? Exploring the motivations of expatriates to work in the British capital. *Journal of Management Development*, *31*(8), 783-800.

Doh, J., Husted, B. W., & Yang, X. (2016). Guest Editors' Introduction: Ethics, Corporate Social Responsibility, and Developing Country Multinationals. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, *26*(3), 301-315.

Donaldson, T., & Preston, L. E. (1995). The stakeholder theory of the corporation: Concepts, evidence, and implications. *Academy of Management Review*, *20*(1), 65-91.

Donmoyer, R. (2000). Generalizability and the single-case study. In R. Gomm, M. Hammersley, & P. Foster (Eds.), *Case study method: Key issues, key texts* (pp. 45-68). Sage.

Dowling, R., Atkinson, R., & McGuirk, P. (2010). Privatism, privatisation and social distinction in master-planned residential estates. *Urban Policy and Research*, *28*(4), 391-410.

Dryzek, J. S. (2001). Legitimacy and economy in deliberative democracy. *Political Theory*, *29*(5), 651-669.

[DSS] Department of Social Services. (2016). National Affordable Housing Agreement. Retrieved October 17, 2016, from https://www.dss.gov.au/housing-support/programmes-services/national-affordable-housing-agreement

Du, S., Bhattacharya, C. B., & Sen, S. (2007). Reaping relational rewards from corporate social responsibility: The role of competitive positioning. *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, *24*(3), 224-241.

Dunfee, T. W. (2006). A critical perspective of integrative social contracts theory: Recurring criticisms and next generation research topics. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *68*(3), 303-328.

Dupire, M., & M'Zali, B. (2016). CSR Strategies in response to competitive pressures. *Journal of Business Ethics*. doi:10.1007/s10551-015-2981-x.

Dwyer, P., Bowpitt, G., Sundin, E., & Weinstein, M. (2015). Rights, responsibilities and refusals: Homelessness policy and the exclusion of single homeless people with complex needs. *Critical Social Policy*, *35*(1), 3-23.

Eardley, T. (2003). Non-economic perspectives on the job network. *Australian Journal of Labour Economics*, *6*(2), 317-329.

Eisenhardt, K. M. (1991). Better stories and better constructs: The case for rigor and comparative logic. *Academy of Management Review*, *16*(3), 620-627.

Eisenhardt, K. M., & Graebner, M. E. (2007). Theory building from cases: Opportunities and challenges. *Academy of Management Journal*, *50*(1), 25-32.

Elder Jr, G. H., Johnson, M. K., & Crosnoe, R. (2003). The emergence and development of life course theory. In J. T. Mortimer, & M. J. Shanahan (Eds.), *Handbook of the Life Course* (pp. 3-19). Springer US.

Erdogan, B., Bauer, T. N., & Taylor, S. (2015). Management commitment to the ecological environment and employees: Implications for employee attitudes and citizenship behaviors. *Human Relations*, *68*(11), 1669-1691.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism.* Princeton University Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (Ed.). (1996). *Welfare states in transition: National adaptations in global economies.* Sage.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1999). *Social foundations of post-industrial economies*. Oxford University Press.

Esteves, A. M., & Barclay, M. A. (2011). New approaches to evaluating the performance of corporate–community partnerships: A case study from the minerals sector. *Journal of Business Ethics, 103*(2), 189-202.

European Union. (2014). *European platform against poverty and social exclusion*. Retrieved May 11, 2016, from http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=961&langId=en

Ey, C. (2012). *Social security payments for the unemployed, the sick and those in special circumstances, 1942 to 2012: a chronology.* Retrieved from http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/prspub/2086993/upload_binary/2086993.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf

Fleming, P., Roberts, J., & Garsten, C. (2013). In search of corporate social responsibility: Introduction to special issue. *Organization, 20*(3), 337-348.

Flick, U. (2009). *An introduction to qualitative research.* Sage.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001). *Making social science matter: Why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again*. Cambridge University Press.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative inquiry, 12*(2), 219-245.

Fombrun, C. (1996). *Reputation*. John Wiley & Sons.

Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power-knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. C. Gordon (Ed. & Trans.). Harvester Press.

Fowler Jr, F. J., & Cosenza, C. (2009). Design and evaluation of survey questions. In L. Bickman & D. J. Rog (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of applied social research methods* (pp. 375-412). Sage.

Francis, J., Giles-Corti, B., Wood, L., & Knuiman, M. (2015). Neighbourhood influences on mental health in master planned estates: a qualitative study of resident perspectives. *Health Promotion Journal of Australia, 25*(3), 186-192.

Fraser, N. (1995). From redistribution to recognition? Dilemmas of justice in a 'post-socialist' age. *New Left Review, 212*, 68-93

Fraser, N. (2008). Heterosexism, Misrecognition, and Capitalism: A Response to Judith Butler. In K. Olson (Ed.), *Adding Insult to Injury: Nancy Fraser Debates Her Critics*. Verso.

Fraser, N. (2015). Legitimation Crisis? On the Political Contradictions of Financialized Capitalism. *Critical Historical Studies, 2*(2), 157-189.

Freeman, R. E. (1984). *Strategic Management: A stakeholder approach*. Pitman.

Freeman, R. E., Harrison, J. S., Wicks, A. C., Parmar, B. L., & de Colle, S. (2010). *Stakeholder theory: the state of the art*. Cambridge University Press.

Freeman, R. E., & Velamuri, S. R. (2006). A new approach to CSR: Company stakeholder responsibility. In A. Kakabadse & M. Morsing (Eds.), *Corporate Social Responsibility* (pp. 9-23). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Friemel, T. N. (2016). The digital divide has grown old: Determinants of a digital divide among seniors. *New Media & Society, 18*(2), 313-331.

Frynas, J. G., & Stephens, S. (2015). Political corporate social responsibility: Reviewing theories and setting new agendas. *International Journal of Management Reviews, 17*(4), 483-509.

Fukuyama, F. (2016). Governance: What Do We Know, and How Do We Know It? *Annual Review of Political Science, 19*, 89-105.

Gane, N. (2005). Max Weber as Social Theorist 'Class, Status, Party'. *European Journal of Social Theory, 8*(2), 211-226.

Garland, D. (1997). Governmentality and the problem of crime: Foucault, criminology, sociology. *Theoretical Criminology, 1*(2), 173-214.

Gatti, F. M., Brivio, E., & Galimberti, C. (2017). "The Future Is Ours Too": A Training Process to Enable the Learning Perception and Increase Self-Efficacy in the Use of Tablets in the Elderly. *Educational Gerontology*, (just-accepted).

Gershon, I. (2011). Neoliberal agency. *Current Anthropology, 52*(4), 537-555.

Gibbs, G. R. (2008). *Analysing qualitative data*. Sage.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Polity.

Giddens, A. (1998). *The third way: the renewal of social democracy*. Polity.

Giddens, A. (2000). *The third way and its critics*. Polity.

Giddens, A. (2002). *Runaway world: how globalisation is reshaping our lives*. Profile Books.

Gillard, J. (2007). The economics of social inclusion. *The Sydney Papers, 19*(3), 102-112.

Gilster, M. E. (2014). Putting activism in its place: the neighborhood context of participation in neighborhood-focused activism. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 36*(1), 33-50.

Gobo, G. (2004). Sampling, representativeness and generalizability. In C. Seale, G. Gobo, J.F. Gubrium & D. Silverman (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice* (pp. 435-455). Sage.

Gond, J., Kang, N., & Moon, J. (2011). The government of self-regulation: on the comparative dynamics of corporate social responsibility. *Economy and Society, 40*(4), 640-671.

Gonring, M. P. (2008). Customer loyalty and employee engagement: an alignment for value. *Journal of Business Strategy, 29*(4), 29-40.

Graetz, G., & Franks, D. M. (2016). Conceptualising social risk and business risk associated with private sector development projects. *Journal of Risk Research, 9*(5), 581-601.

Graham, S. (1997). Liberalized Utilities, New Technologies and Urban Social Polarization The UK Experience. *European Urban and Regional Studies, 4*(2), 135-150.

Grahame, T., & Marston, G. (2012). Welfare-to-work policies and the experience of employed single mothers on income support in Australia: where are the benefits? *Australian Social Work*, *65*(1), 73-86.

Graetz, G., & Franks, D. M. (2016). Conceptualising social risk and business risk associated with private sector development projects. *Journal of Risk Research*, *19*(5), 581-601.

Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, *78*(6), 1360-1380.

Grant-Smith, D., Osborne, N., & Johnson, L. (2017). Managing the challenges of combining mobilities of care and commuting: an Australian perspective. *Community, Work & Family*, *20*(2), 201-210.

Gray, M., & Baxter, J. (2012). Family joblessness and child wellbeing in Australia. In A. Kalil, R. Haskins and J. Chesters (Eds.) *Investing in Children, Work, Education, and Social Policy in Two Rich Countries* (pp. 48-78). Brookings Institution Press.

Greer, C. R., and Lei, D. (2012). Collaborative innovation with customers: a review of the literature and suggestions for future research. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, *14*(1), 63-84.

[GRI] Global Reporting Initiative. (2017). *GRI Sustainability Disclosure Database*. Retrieved from http://database.globalreporting.org/search/

Griffiths, A., & Zammuto, R. F. (2005). Institutional governance systems and variations in national competitive advantage: An integrative framework. *Academy of Management Review, 30*(4), 823-842.

Griffiths, E. (2013, July 3). Asbestos breaches uncovered at NBN sites in Banyo, Carseldine and Mackay. *Australian Broadcasting Corporation*. Retrieved from http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-06-03/asbestos-breaches-uncovered-at-nbn-sites-in-queensland/4730170

Grosser, K. (2016). Corporate Social Responsibility and Multi-Stakeholder Governance: Pluralism, Feminist Perspectives and Women's NGOs. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *137*(1), 65-81.

Gwyther, G. (2005). Paradise planned: community formation and the master planned estate. *Urban Policy and Research*, *23*(1), 57-72.

Habermas, J. (1984). *Theory of Communicative Action Volume One: Reason and the Rationalization of Society*. T. A. McCarthy (Trans.). Beacon Press.

Habermas, J. (1994). Three normative models of democracy. *Constellations*, *1*(1), 1-10.

Hacker, J. S. (2002). *The divided welfare state: The battle over public and private social benefits in the United States*. Cambridge University Press.

Hacker, J. S. (2006). *The great risk shift: The new insecurity and the decline of the American dream*. Oxford University Press.

Hackstaff, K. (1999). *Marriage in a culture of divorce*. Temple University Press.

Hage, G., & Eckersley, R. (Eds.). (2012). *Responsibility*. Melbourne University Publishing.

Hall, P. A., & Soskice, D. (Eds.). (2001). *Varieties of capitalism: The institutional foundations of comparative advantage*. Oxford University Press.

Hamilton, M. (2014). The 'new social contract' and the individualisation of risk in policy. *Journal of Risk Research*, *17*(4), 453-467.

Han, K., Shih, P. C., Rosson, M. B., & Carroll, J. M. (2014). Understanding local community attachment, engagement and social support networks mediated by mobile technology. *Interacting with Computers*. doi: 10.1093/iwc/iwu040.

Hancock, K. (2013). *Australian wage policy: infancy and adolescence*. University of Adelaide Press.

Hansson, S., & Hellberg, S. (2015). *Power, Freedom and the Agency of Being Governed. Studying the Agency of Being Governed.* Routledge.

Harjoto, M. A., & Jo, H. (2011). Corporate governance and CSR nexus. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *100*(1), 45-67.

Harris, P. (2001). From relief to mutual obligation: welfare rationalities and unemployment in 20th-century Australia. *Journal of Sociology*, *37*(1), 5-26.

Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press.

Hashagen, S. (2002). *Models of community engagement*. Retrieved from http://www.lcsansw.org.au/documents/item/463

Haskins, R. (2015). No Way Out: Dealing with the Consequences of Changes in Family Composition. In P. R. Amato, A. Booth, S. M. McHale, & J. V. Hook (Eds.), *Families in an Era of Increasing Inequality* (pp. 167-199). Springer International Publishing.

Haufler, V. (2013). *A public role for the private sector: Industry self-regulation in a global economy*. Carnegie Endowment.

Hayhurst, W. (2015, April 12). Baird government must act as record prices drive housing out of reach. *Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from http://www.smh.com.au/comment/baird-government-must-act-as-record-prices-drive-housing-out-of-reach-20150412-1mj80p.html

Heath, J. (2011). Three normative models of the welfare state. *Public Reason*, *3*(2), 13-43.

Held, D. (2006). *Models of democracy*. Polity.

Helsper, E. J. (2012). A corresponding fields model for the links between social and digital exclusion. *Communication Theory*, *22*(4), 403-426.

Henderson, S., & Petersen, A. R. (2002). *Consuming health: The commodification of health care*. Psychology Press.

Henman, P., & Marston, G. (2008). The social division of welfare surveillance. *Journal of Social Policy*, *37*(2), 187-205.

Hertz, N. (2002). *The silent takeover: Global capitalism and the death of democracy*. Simon and Schuster.

Hofman, P. S., Moon, J., & Wu, B. (2017). Corporate social responsibility under authoritarian capitalism dynamics and prospects of state-led and society-driven CSR. *Business & Society*, *56*(5), 651-671.

Holzer, B. (2006). Political consumerism between individual choice and collective action: social movements, role mobilization and signalling. *International Journal of Consumer Studies, 30*(5), 405-415.

Holzer, B. (2010). *Moralizing the corporation: Transnational activism and corporate accountability*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Holzer, B. (2013). Inadvertent citizens: Corporate citizenship and moral actorhood. In K. S. Helgesson & U. Morth (Eds.), *The Political Role of Corporate Citizens* (pp. 65-83). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Holzer, B., & Sørensen, M. P. (2003). Rethinking Subpolitics Beyond the 'Iron Cage' of Modern Politics? *Theory, Culture & Society, 20*(2), 79-102.

Hood, C. (1991). A public management for all seasons? *Public Administration, 69*(1), 3-19.

Hood, C., & Dixon, R. (2016). Not What It Said on the Tin? Reflections on Three Decades of UK Public Management Reform. *Financial Accountability & Management, 32*(4), 409-428.

Howard, C. (2012). The contradictions of individualized activation policy: Explaining the rise and demise of One to One Service in Australia. *Critical Social Policy, 32*(4), 655-676.

Humpage, L. (2007). Models of disability, work and welfare in Australia. *Social Policy & Administration, 41*(3), 215-231.

Husted, B. W., Allen, D. B., & Kock, N. (2015). Value creation through social strategy. *Business & Society, 54*(2), 147-186.

Husted, B.W., & Salazar, J.J. (2006). Taking Friedman seriously: maximising profits and social performance. *Journal of Management Studies, 43*(1), 75-91.

[IAP2] International Association for Public Participation. (2014). *IAP2's Public Participation Spectrum*. Retrieved from https://www.iap2.org.au/resources/public-participation-spectrum

Jamali, D. (2008). A stakeholder approach to corporate social responsibility: A fresh perspective into theory and practice. *Journal of Business Ethics, 82*(1), 213-231.

Jamali, D., Lund-Thomsen, P., & Khara, N. (2017). CSR Institutionalized Myths in Developing Countries An Imminent Threat of Selective Decoupling. *Business & Society, 56*(3), 454-486.

Japp, K. P., & Kusche, I. (2008). Systems Theory and Risk. In J. O. Zinn (Ed.), *Social Theories of Risk and Uncertainty: An Introduction* (pp. 76-105). Blackwell Publishing.

Jenkins, R. (2005). Globalization, corporate social responsibility and poverty. *International Affairs, 81*(3), 525-540.

Johnston, J. (2008). The citizen-consumer hybrid: ideological tensions and the case of Whole Foods Market. *Theory and Society, 37*(3), 229-270.

Joyce, S., & Thomson, I. (2000). Earning a social licence to operate: Social acceptability and resource development in Latin America. *CIM Bulletin, 93*(1037), 49-53.

Jung, J., Chan-Olmsted, S., & Kim, Y. (2013). From access to utilization factors affecting smartphone application use and its impacts on social and human capital acquisition in South Korea. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 90*(4), 715-735.

Kang, N., & Moon, J. (2012). Institutional complementarity between corporate governance and corporate social responsibility: A comparative institutional analysis of three capitalisms. *Socio-Economic Review, 10*(1), 85-108.

Kavale, K. A. (2002). Mainstreaming to full inclusion: From orthogenesis to pathogenesis of an idea. *International Journal of Disability, Development and Education, 49*(2), 201-214.

Keeley, M. (1981). Organizations as non-persons. *The Journal of Value Inquiry*, *15*(2), 149-155.

Kemp, D., Owen, J. R., Gotzmann, N., & Bond, C. J. (2011). Just Relations and Company-Community Conflict in Mining. *Journal of Business Ethics, 101*(1), 93-109.

Kenna, T. (2007). Consciously constructing exclusivity in the suburbs? Unpacking a master planned estate development in Western Sydney. *Geographical Research*, *45*(3), 300-313.

Kenna, T., & Stevenson, D. (2013). Experiences of 'community' in a gated residential estate. *Geographical Research*, *51*(4), 412-423.

Kerr, L., & Savelsberg, H. (1999). Unemployment and civic responsibility in Australia: towards a new social contract. *Critical Social Policy*, *19*(2), 233-255.

Kim, Y. S. (2008). Reviewing and critiquing computer learning and usage among older adults. *Educational Gerontology*, *34*(8), 709-735.

Kim, J., & Gray, J. (2016). Qualitative Evaluation of an Intervention Program for Sustained Internet Use Among Low-Income Older Adults. *Ageing International*, *41*(3), 240-253.

Kinderman, D. (2012). 'Free us up so we can be responsible!' The co-evolution of Corporate Social Responsibility and neo-liberalism in the UK, 1977–2010. *Socio-Economic Review*, *10*(1), 29-57.

King, R., Warnes, A. M., & Williams, A. M. (1998). International retirement migration in Europe. *International Journal of Population Geography*, *4*(2), 91-111.

Klett-Davies, M. (2016). *Going it alone? Lone motherhood in late modernity*. Routledge.

Klettner, A., Clarke, T., & Boersma, M. (2014). The governance of corporate sustainability: Empirical insights into the development, leadership and implementation of responsible business strategy. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *122*(1), 145-165.

Knudsen, J. S., Moon, J., & Slager, R. (2015). Government policies for corporate social responsibility in Europe: a comparative analysis of institutionalisation. *Policy & Politics*, *43*(1), 81-99.

Kollen, T. (2016). Acting out of compassion, egoism, and malice: A Schopenhauerian view on the moral worth of CSR and diversity management practices. *Journal of Business Ethics, 138*(2), 215-229.

Komter, A. E. (1996). Reciprocity as a principle of exclusion: Gift giving in the Netherlands. *Sociology*, *30*(2), 299-316.

Koppe, S., Ewert, B., & Blank, F. (2016). Welfare user roles in a conservative welfare state: are Germans citizens, consumers or co-producers? *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy*, *32*(1), 1-16.

Korupp, S. E., & Szydlik, M. (2005). Causes and trends of the digital divide. *European Sociological Review*, *21*(4), 409-422.

Kroeger, A., & Weber, C. (2014). Developing a conceptual framework for comparing social value creation. *Academy of Management Review*, *39*(4), 513-540.

Krumer-Nevo, M. (2002). The arena of othering a life-story study with women living in poverty and social marginality. *Qualitative Social Work*, *1*(3), 303-318.

Kytle, B., & Ruggie, J. G. (2005). *Corporate social responsibility as risk management: A model for multinationals* (Corporate Social Responsibility Initiative Working Paper No. 10). Retrieved from https://www.hks.harvard.edu/m-rcbg/CSRI/publications/workingpaper_10_kytle_ruggie.pdf

Labonte, R. (2004). Social inclusion/exclusion: dancing the dialectic. *Health Promotion International*, *19*(1), 115-121.

Lacey, J., Parsons, R., & Moffat, K. (2012). *Exploring the concept of a Social Licence to Operate in the Australian minerals industry: Results from interviews with industry representatives* (EP125553). Retrieved from https://publications.csiro.au/rpr/download?pid=csiro:EP125553&dsid=DS3

Lang, T., & Gabriel, Y. (2005). A brief history of consumer activism. In R. Harrison, T. Newholm, & D. Shaw (Eds.), *The ethical consumer* (pp. 39–53). Sage.

Lantos, G. L. (2001). The boundaries of strategic corporate social responsibility. *The Journal of Consumer Marketing*, *18*(7), 595-632.

Larkin, J. (2002). *Strategic reputation risk management*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Lancee, B. (2012). The economic returns of bonding and bridging social capital for immigrant men in Germany. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *35*(4), 664-683.

Lawton, T., McGuire, S., & Rajwani, T. (2013). Corporate political activity: A literature review and research agenda. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, *15*(1), 86-105.

[LBG] London Benchmarking Group. (2016). *11th LBG Annual Review of Community Investment*. Retrieved from http://www.lbg-australia.com/about-lbg/results/

Le Grand, J. (2003). *Individual choice and social exclusion* (LSE STICERD Research Paper No. CASE075). Retrieved from http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/4645/1/Individual_Choice_and_Social_Exclusion.pdf

Lee, M. D. P. (2008). A review of the theories of corporate social responsibility: Its evolutionary path and the road ahead. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, *10*(1), 53-73.

Lehmann, W. (2009). Becoming middle class: How working-class university students draw and transgress moral class boundaries. *Sociology*, *43*(4), 631-647.

Lenoir, R. (1974). *Les exclus.* Seuil.

Levitas, R. (1996). The concept of social exclusion and the new Durkeimian hegemony. *Critical Social Policy*, *16*(46), 5-20.

Levitas, R. (1998). *The Inclusive Society: Social Exclusion and New Labour*. Macmillan.

Levitas, R. (2006). The concept and measurement of social exclusion. In C. Pantazis, D. Gordon & R. Levitas (Eds.), *Poverty and Social Exclusion in Britain* (pp.123-160). Polity Press.

[LIMAC] Low Income Measures Assessment Committee (2013). *Low Income Measures Assessment Committee: Report to the Minister*. Retrieved from https://www.telstra.com.au/content/dam/tcom/about-us/community-environment/pdf/2013-report-minister.pdf

Livingstone, S., Lunt, P., & Miller, L. (2007). Citizens, consumers and the citizen-consumer: articulating the citizen interest in media and communications regulation. *Discourse & Communication*, *1*(1), 63-89.

Long, E. (2010). The Australian Social Inclusion Agenda: A New Approach to Social Policy? *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, *45*(2), 161-182.

Lucas, K. (2012). Transport and social exclusion: Where are we now? *Transport Policy*, *20*, 105-113.

Lu, L. Y., & Liu, J. S. (2014). The knowledge diffusion paths of corporate social responsibility—from 1970 to 2011. *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management*, *21*(2), 113-128.

Luhmann, N. (1982). The world society as a social system. *International Journal of General Systems*, *8*(3), 131-138.

Lupton, D., & Tulloch, J. (2002). Risk is part of your life': Risk epistemologies among a group of Australians. *Sociology*, *36*(2), 317-334.

Lusardi, A., & Mitchell, O. S. (2014). The economic importance of financial literacy: Theory and evidence. *Journal of Economic Literature*, *52*(1), 5-44.

Luskin, R. C., O'Flynn, I., Fishkin, J. S., & Russell, D. (2014). Deliberating across deep divides. *Political Studies*, *62*(1), 116-135.

Lynch-Wood, G., Williamson, D., & Jenkins, W. (2009). The over-reliance on self-regulation in CSR policy. *Business Ethics: A European Review*, *18*(1), 52-65.

MacKean, R., & Abbott-Chapman, J. (2012). Older people's perceived health and wellbeing: The contribution of peer-run community-based organisations. *Health Sociology Review*, *21*(1), 47-57.

Mackenzie, M., Reid, M., Turner, F., Wang, Y., Clarke, J., Sridharan, S., Platt, S., & O'Donnell, C. (2012). Reaching the hard-to-reach: conceptual puzzles and challenges for policy and practice. *Journal of Social Policy*, *41*(3), 511-532.

Maignan, I., & Ralston, D. A. (2002). Corporate social responsibility in Europe and the US: Insights from businesses' self-presentations. *Journal of International Business Studies*, *33*(3), 497-514.

Marques, J. C. (2016). Private regulatory fragmentation as public policy: Governing Canada's mining industry. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *135*(4), 617-630.

Marston, G., & Dee, M. (2015). The social inclusion policy agenda in Australia: a case of old wine, new bottles. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, *50*(2), 119-138.

Marston, G., Moss, J., & Quiggin, J. (Eds.). (2010). *Risk, Welfare and Work*. Melbourne University Press.

Martin, S. (2004). Reconceptualising social exclusion: A critical response to the neoliberal welfare reform agenda and the underclass thesis. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, *39*(1), 79-94.

Martin, S., & Goodman, R. (2016). Living on the Edge: New Forms of Poverty and Disadvantage on the Urban Fringe. In C. Williams (Ed.), *Social Work and the City* (pp. 235-257). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Martinuzzi, A., & Krumay, B. (2013). The good, the bad, and the successful: How corporate social responsibility leads to competitive advantage and organizational transformation. *Journal of Change Management*, *13*(4), 424-443.

Marvin, S., & Graham, S. (1994). Privatization of utilities: the implications for cities in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Urban Technology*, *2*(1), 47-66.

Mathieson, J., Popay, J., Enoch, E., Escorel, S., Hernandez, M., Johnston, H., & Rispel, L. (2008). *Social Exclusion: Meaning, measurement and experience and links to health inequalities: A review of literature* (World Health Organisation Social Exclusion Knowledge Network Background Paper 1). Retrieved from http://www.who.int/social_determinants/media/sekn_meaning_measurement_experience_2008.pdf.pdf

Matten, D., & Crane, A. (2005). Corporate citizenship: Toward an extended theoretical conceptualization. *Academy of Management Review*, *30*(1), 166-179.

Matten, D., & Moon, J. (2008). 'Implicit' and 'explicit' CSR: a conceptual framework for a comparative understanding of corporate social responsibility. *Academy of Management Review*, *33*(2), 404-424.

Matthews, N., & Missingham, B. (2009). Social accountability and community forest management: the failure of collaborative governance in the Wombat Forest. *Development in Practice*, *19*(8), 1052-1063.

Mayor of London. (2016). *Mayor reveals full extent of London's housing crisis* [Media release]. Retrieved from https://www.london.gov.uk/press-releases/mayoral/londons-housing-crisis-revealed-by-mayor

McConkey, R., Dowling, S., Hassan, D., & Menke, S. (2013). Promoting social inclusion through Unified Sports for youth with intellectual disabilities: a five-nation study. *Journal of Intellectual Disability Research*, *57*(10), 923-935.

McElhinney, S. (2001). Telecommunications liberalisation and the quest for universal service in Australia. *Telecommunications Policy*, *25*(4), 233-248.

McGuirk, P., & Dowling, R. (2007). Understanding master-planned estates in Australian cities: a framework for research. *Urban Policy and Research*, *25*(1), 21-38.

McGuirk, P., & Dowling, R. (2009). Neoliberal privatisation? Remapping the public and the private in Sydney's masterplanned residential estates. *Political Geography*, *28*(3), 174-185.

McGuirk, P., & Dowling, R. (2011). Governing Social Reproduction in Masterplanned Estates Urban Politics and Everyday Life in Sydney. *Urban Studies*, *48*(12), 2611-2628.

McNeill, D. (2014). *New Europe: imagined spaces*. Routledge.

McWilliams, A., & Siegel, D. (2001). Corporate social responsibility: A theory of the firm perspective. *Academy of Management Review, 26*(1), 117-127.

McWilliams, A., & Siegel, D. S. (2011). Creating and capturing value: Strategic corporate social responsibility, resource-based theory and sustainable competitive advantage. *Journal of Management, 37*(5), 1480-1495.

Meagher, G., & Goodwin, S. (Eds). (2015). *Markets, rights and power in Australian social policy*. Sydney University Press.

Mellahi, K., Frynas, J. G., Sun, P., & Siegel, D. (2015). A Review of the Nonmarket Strategy Literature Toward a Multi-Theoretical Integration. *Journal of Management, 42*(1), 143-173.

Mena, S., & Palazzo, G. (2012). Input and output legitimacy of multi-stakeholder initiatives. *Business Ethics Quarterly, 22*(3), 527-556.

Mendes, P. (2009). Retrenching or renovating the Australian welfare state: the paradox of the Howard government's neo-liberalism. *International Journal of Social Welfare, 18*(1), 102-110.

Mendes, P. (2015). The changing nature of the Australian welfare state: A critical analysis of the ACOSS campaign to increase the Newstart Allowance. *Australian Journal of Political Science, 50*(3), 427-441.

Merkens, H. (2004). Selection Procedures, Sampling, Case Construction. In U. Flick, E. von Kardoff & I. Steinke (Eds.), *A companion to qualitative research* (pp. 165-171). Sage.

Michels, A., & De Graaf, L. (2010). Examining citizen participation: Local participatory policy making and democracy. *Local Government Studies, 36*(4), 477-491.

Midttun, A. (2005). Policy making and the role of government: Realigning business, government and civil society. *Corporate Governance, 5*(3), 159-174.

Midttun, A., Gautesen, K., & Gjølberg, M. (2006). The political economy of CSR in Western Europe. *Corporate Governance: The International Journal of Business in Society, 6*(4), 369-385.

Minoja, M. (2012). Stakeholder management theory, firm strategy and ambidexterity. *Journal of Business Ethics, 109*(1), 67-82.

Moodley, K., & Preece, C. (2013). Community interaction in the construction industry. In M. Murray & A. Dainty (*Eds.*), *Corporate Social Responsibility in the Construction Industry* (pp. 98-118). Taylor and Francis.

Moon, J., Crane, A., & Matten, D. (2005). Can corporations be citizens? Corporate citizenship as a metaphor for business participation in society. *Business Ethics Quarterly, 15*(3), 429-453.

Moon, J., Crane, A., & Matten, D. (2011). Corporations and citizenship in new institutions of global governance. In C. Crouch & C. Maclean (Eds.), *The responsible corporation in a global economy* (pp. 203-224). Oxford University Press.

Moon, J., & Vogel, D. (2008). Corporate social responsibility, government and civil society. In A. Crane, A. McWilliams, D. Matten, J. Moon & D. S. Siegel (Eds.),

The Oxford handbook of corporate social responsibility (pp. 303-323). Oxford University Press.

Morrison, J. (2014). *The Social License: How to keep your organization legitimate*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Motel-Klingebiel, A. (2015). A lifecourse scholar's view: lifecourses crystallise in demographic structures. In K. Komp & S. Johansson (Eds.), *Population Ageing from a Lifecourse Perspective: Critical and International Approaches* (pp. 29-44). Polity Press.

[MPA] Melbourne Planning Authority. (n.d.). *Precinct Structure Planns (PSPs)*. Retrieved February 10, 2016 from http://www.mpa.vic.gov.au/planning-activities/greenfields-planning/precinct-structure-plans/

Mueller, K., Hattrup, K., Spiess, S. O., & Lin-Hi, N. (2012). The effects of corporate social responsibility on employees' affective commitment: A cross-cultural investigation. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *97*(6), 1186-1200.

Muniz Jr, A. M., & O'Guinn, T. C. (2001). Brand community. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *27*(4), 412-432.

Murphy, J. (2010). Welfare regimes and risky speculations. In G. Marston, J. Moss, & J. Quiggin (Eds.), *Risk, Welfare and Work* (pp. 24-47). Melbourne University Press.

Nader, R. (1965). *Unsafe at any speed. The designed-in dangers of the American automobile*. Grossman Publishers.

[NDIS] National Disability Insurance Scheme. (2013). *Federal Funding*. Retrieved June 13, 2016, from http://www.ndis.gov.au/about-us/governance/federal-funding

Néron, P. Y. (2010). Business and the polis: What does it mean to see corporations as political actors? *Journal of Business Ethics*, *94*(3), 333-352.

Newell, P. (2005). Citizenship, accountability and community: the limits of the CSR agenda. *International Affairs*, *81*(3), 541-557.

[NHMRC] National Health and Medical Research Council. (2015). *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) – Updated May 2015*. Retrieved from https://www.nhmrc.gov.au/guidelines-publications/e72

NSW Government, The Premier. (2016). *Billion dollar social and affordable housing fund to deliver better outcomes* [Media release]. Retrieved from https://www.nsw.gov.au/media-releases-premier/billion-dollar-social-and-affordable-housing-fund-deliver-better-outcomes

[NYC] New York City Department of City Planning. (2016). *Mandatory Inclusionary Housing*. Retrieved October 17, 2016, from http://www1.nyc.gov/site/planning/plans/mih/mandatory-inclusionary-housing.page

Nycyk, M., & Redsell, M. (2010). Making computer learning easier for older adults: A community study of tuition practices. In *Key Competencies in the Knowledge Society* (pp. 292-300). Springer Berlin Heidelberg.

O'Connor, J. S., Orloff, A. S., & Shaver, S. (1999). *States, markets, families: Gender, liberalism and social policy in Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States*. Cambridge University Press.

O'Flynn, J. (2007). From new public management to public value: Paradigmatic change and managerial implications. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, *66*(3), 353-366.

[OECD] Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2015). *Regional well-being in OECD countries: Australia.* Retrieved from http://www.oecd.org/cfe/regional-policy/hows-life-country-facts-australia.pdfOlphert, C. W., Damodaran, L., & May, A. J. (2005). Towards digital inclusion–engaging older people in the 'digital world'. In L. Gibson, P. Gregor & D. Sloan (Eds.), *Proceedings from Accessible Design in the Digital World Conference* (pp. 23-25). Retrieved from http://ewic.bcs.org/content/ConWebDoc/3825

Ojha, H. R., Ford, R., Keenan, R. J., Race, D., Vega, D. C., Baral, H., & Sapkota, P. (2016). Delocalizing communities: changing forms of community engagement in natural resources governance. *World Development*, *87*, 274-290.

Olofsson, A., Zinn, J. O., Griffin, G., Nygren, K. G., Cebulla, A., & Hannah-Moffat, K. (2014). The mutual constitution of risk and inequalities: Intersectional risk theory. *Health, Risk & Society*, *16*(5), 417-430.

Olsen, R. (2008). Self-selection bias. In P. J. Lavrakas (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of survey research methods* (pp. 809-811). Sage.

Oosterhout, J. H., & Heugens, P. (2008). Much Ado About Nothing. In A. Crane, A. McWilliams, D. Matten, J. Moon & D. Siegel (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of corporate social responsibility*. Oxford University Press.

Opdenakker, R. (2006). Advantages and disadvantages of four interview techniques in qualitative research. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *7*(4). URN: urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0604118.

Orlitzky, M., & Benjamin, J. D. (2001). Corporate social performance and firm risk: A meta-analytic review. *Business & Society*, *40*(4), 369–396.

Orlitzky, M., Louche, C., Gond, J. P., & Chapple, W. (2015). Unpacking the drivers of corporate social performance: A multilevel, multi-stakeholder, and multi-method analysis. *Journal of Business Ethics*. doi:10.1007/s10551-015-2822-y.

Orlitzky, M., Schmidt, F. L., & Rynes, S. L. (2003). Corporate social and financial performance: A meta-analysis. *Organization Studies, 24*(3), 403–441.

Orlitzky, M., & Swanson, D. L. (2002). Value attunement: Toward a theory of socially responsible executive decision-making. *Australian Journal of Management*, *27*(1), 119-128.

Owen, J. R., & Kemp, D. (2013). Social licence and mining: A critical perspective. *Resources Policy*, *38*(1), 29-35.

Parliamentary Joint Committee on Corporations and Financial Services. (2006). *Corporate responsibility: Managing risk and creating value*. Retrieved from https://www.aph.gov.au/binaries/senate/committee/corporations_ctte/completed_inquiries/2004-07/corporate_responsibility/report/report.pdf

Parsons, T., & Bales, R. F. (1956). *Family: Socialization and interaction process*. Routledge.

Paugam, S. (1995). The spiral of precariousness: a multidimensional approach to the process of social disqualification in France. In G. Room (*Ed.*), *Beyond the threshold: The measurement and analysis of social exclusion* (pp. 49-79). Polity.

Pearce, K. E., & Rice, R. E. (2013). Digital divides from access to activities: Comparing mobile and personal computer Internet users. *Journal of Communication*, *63*(4), 721-744.

Petrenko, O. V., Aime, F., Ridge, J., & Hill, A. (2016). Corporate social responsibility or CEO narcissism? CSR motivations and organizational performance. *Strategic Management Journal*, *37*(2), 262-279.

Petriwskyj, A., Warburton, J., Everingham, J. A., & Cuthill, M. (2012). Diversity and inclusion in local governance: An Australian study of seniors' participation. *Journal of Aging Studies*, *26*(2), 182-191.

Phillips, T. (2015). *Law, Environmental Illness and Medical Uncertainty: The Contested Governance of Health*. Routledge.

Pierson, P. (2001). *The new politics of the welfare state*. Oxford University Press.

Poortinga, W. (2012). Community resilience and health: The role of bonding, bridging, and linking aspects of social capital. *Health & Place*, *18*(2), 286-295.

Porter, M. E., & Kramer, M. R. (2006). Strategy and society: the link between competitive advantage and corporate social responsibility. *Harvard Business Review, December 2006*, 78-92.

Porter, M. E., & Kramer, M. R. (2011). Creating shared value. *Harvard Business Review, 89*(1-2), 62-77.

Powell, A. L. (2013). Computer anxiety: Comparison of research from the 1990s and 2000s. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *29*(6), 2337-2381.

Power, M. (2007). *Organized uncertainty: designing a world of risk management*. Oxford University Press.

Power, M., Scheytt, T., Soin, K., & Sahlin, K. (2009). Reputational risk as a logic of organizing in late modernity. *Organization Studies, 30*(2-3), 301-324.

Preiss, B. (2015, June 12). The new face of housing affordability: Buying first house too expensive for Victorian MP Tim Smith. *The Age*. Retrieved from http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/the-new-face-of-housing-affordability-buying-first-house-too-expensive-for-victorian-mp-tim-smith-20150612-ghmir7.html

PriceWaterhouse Coopers. (2016). *19th Annual Global CEO Survey / January 2016: Redefining business success in a changing world*. Retrieved from http://www.pwc.com/gx/en/ceo-survey/2016/landing-page/pwc-19th-annual-global-ceo-survey.pdf

Prno, J., & Slocombe, D. S. (2012). Exploring the origins of 'social license to operate' in the mining sector: Perspectives from governance and sustainability theories. *Resources Policy, 37*(3), 346-357.

Pusey, M. (1991). *Economic rationalism in Canberra: A nation-building state changes its mind.* Cambridge University Press.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon and Schuster.

QSR International Pty Ltd. (2012). *NVivo qualitative data analysis Software Version 10*. Retrieved from http://www.qsrinternational.com/

Qu, L., & Weston, R. (2011). Trends in couple dissolution: An update. *Australian Institute of Family Studies Newsletter No. 19*. Retrieved from https://aifs.gov.au/cfca/publications/family-relationships-quarterly-no-19/trends-couple-dissolution-update

Quiggin, J. (2010). Risk Shifts in Australia: Implications of the Financial Crisis. In G. Marston, J. Moss, & J. Quiggin (Eds.), *Risk, Welfare and Work* (pp. 3-23). Melbourne University Press.

Ramia, G., & Carney, T. (2003). New public management, the job network and non-profit strategy. *Australian Journal of Labour Economics*, *6*(2), 253-275.

Rawls, J. (1997). The idea of public reason revisited. *The University of Chicago Law Review*, *64*(3), 765-807.

Rayner, J. (2003). *Managing reputational risk: curbing threats, leveraging opportunities*. John Wiley and Sons.

Regester, M., & Larkin, J. (2008). *Risk issues and crisis management in public relations: A casebook of best practice*. Kogan Page Publishers.

Rehm, P., Hacker, J. S., & Schlesinger, M. (2012). Insecure alliances: Risk, inequality, and support for the welfare state. *American Political Science Review*, *106*(2), 386-406.

Revilla, J. C., Jefferys, S., & Martínez, F. J. T. (2013). Collective identities in the age of restructuring: Old and new class, space and community-based identities in six European regions. *International Sociology*, *28*(4), 391-408.

Robson, A., & Paolucci, F. (2012). Private Health Insurance Incentives in Australia: The effects of recent changes to price carrots and income sticks. *The Geneva Papers on Risk and Insurance-Issues and Practice*, *37*(4), 725-744.

Roggenbuck, C. (2016). Building Community in Masterplanned Estates: No Place for Culturally Diverse Aspirations? In M. Chou (Ed.), *Proceedings of The Australian Sociological Association 2016 Conference* (p. 300-305). Retrieved from http://conference.tasa.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/TASA_2016_Conference_Proceedings-2.pdf

Room, G. (1995). *Beyond the threshold: The measurement and analysis of social exclusion*. Policy Press.

Rose, N. (1996). Liberal government and techniques of the self. In A. Barry, T. Osborne, & N. Rose (Eds.), *Foucault and Political Reason: liberalism, neo-liberalism and the rationalities of government* (pp. 37-64). Routledge.

Rosenblatt, T., Cheshire, L., & Lawrence, G. (2009). Social interaction and sense of community in a master planned community. *Housing, Theory and Society*, *26*(2), 122-142.

Rowlingson, K., & Connor, S. (2011). The 'deserving' rich? Inequality, morality and social policy. *Journal of Social Policy*, *40*(3), 437-452.

Rupp, D. E., Ganapathi, J., Aguilera, R. V., & Williams, C. A. (2006). Employee reactions to corporate social responsibility: An organizational justice framework. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *27*(4), 537-543.

Sacconi, L. (2006). A social contract account for CSR as an extended model of corporate governance (I): Rational bargaining and justification. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *68*(3), 259-281.

Sager, T. (2006). Freedom as mobility: Implications of the distinction between actual and potential travelling. *Mobilities*, *1*(3), 465-488.

Saldaña, J. (2012). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Sage.

Salzmann, O., Ionescu-Somers, A., & Steger, U. (2005). The business case for corporate sustainability: Literature review and research options. *European Management Journal*, *23*(1), 27-36.

Sandel, M. J. (2012). *What money can't buy: the moral limits of markets*. Macmillan.

Saulwick, J. (2016, April 5). How the Baird government failed to make developers work for their millions. *Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from http://www.smh.com.au/comment/how-the-baird-government-failed-to-make-developers-work-for-their-millions-20160404-gnxvfc.html on 17/10/2016

Saunders, P. (2011). *Down and out: Poverty and exclusion in Australia.* Policy Press.

Saunders, P. (2015). Social inclusion, exclusion, and well-being in Australia: meaning and measurement. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, *50*(2), 139-157.

Saunders, P., Naidoo, Y., & Griffiths, M. (2008). Towards new indicators of disadvantage: deprivation and social exclusion in Australia. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, *43*(2), 175-194.

Sayago, S., Forbes, P., & Blat, J. (2013). Older people becoming successful ICT learners over time: challenges and strategies through an ethnographical lens. *Educational Gerontology*, *39*(7), 527-544.

Scharlach, A. E., & Lehning, A. J. (2013). Ageing-friendly communities and social inclusion in the United States of America. *Ageing and Society*, *33*(1), 110-136.

Scherer, A. G., Baumann-Pauly, D., & Schneider, A. (2013). Democratizing corporate governance: Compensating for the democratic deficit of corporate political activity and corporate citizenship. *Business & Society*, *52*(3), 473-514.

Scherer, A. G., & Palazzo, G. (2007). Toward a political conception of corporate responsibility: Business and society seen from a Habermasian perspective. *Academy of Management Review*, *32*(4), 1096-1120.

Scherer, A. G., & Palazzo, G. (2011). The new political role of business in a globalized world: A review of a new perspective on CSR and its implications for the firm, governance, and democracy. *Journal of Management Studies*, *48*(4), 899-931.

Scherer, A. G., Palazzo, G., & Matten, D. (2014). The business firm as a political actor a new theory of the firm for a globalized world. *Business & Society*, *53*(2), 143-156.

Schultz, F. (2015). Corporate Social Responsibility, Reputation and Moral Communication: A Constructivist View. In C. E. Carroll (*Ed.*), *The handbook of communication and corporate reputation* (pp. 362-375). John Wiley & Sons.

Schwartz-Shea, P., & Yanow, D. (2012). *Interpretive research design: Concepts and processes*. Routledge.

Sealey, C. (2015). Social exclusion: re-examining its conceptual relevance to tackling inequality and social injustice. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 35*(9/10), 600-617.

Selwyn, N. (2004). Reconsidering political and popular understandings of the digital divide. *New Media & Society, 6*(3), 341-362.

Sen, A. (1992). *Inequality re-examined.* Oxford University Press.

Sen, A. (1994). Capability and well-being. In D. M. Hausman (Ed.), *The philosophy of economics: an anthology* (pp. 270-293). Cambridge University Press.

Sennett, R. (1998). *The corrosion of character: The personal consequences of work in the New Capitalism*. WW Norton & Company.

Sethi, S. P. (1975). Dimensions of corporate social performance: An analytical framework. *California Management Review, 17*(3), 58-64.

Shamir, R. (2008). The age of responsibilization: On market-embedded morality. *Economy and Society, 37*(1), 1-19.

Sharma, M. (2014, March 11). Telstra breaches privacy of thousands of customers. *Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved from http://www.smh.com.au/it-pro/security-it/telstra-breaches-privacy-of-thousands-of-customers-20140310-hvh92.html

Silver, H. (1994). Social Exclusion and Social Solidarity—3 Paradigms. *International Labour Review, 133*(5-6), 531-578.

Silver, H. (2007). *The processes of social exclusion: the dynamics of an evolving concept* (Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper 95). Retrieved from http://www.cprc.abrc.co.uk/pubfiles/95Silver.pdf

Silver, H. (2010). Understanding social inclusion and its meaning for Australia. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 45*(2), 183-211.

Silver, H., & Miller, S. M. (2003). Social Exclusion: The European Approach to Social Disadvantage. *Indicators, 2*(2), 5-21.

Silverstein, M., & Giarrusso, R. (2010). Aging and family life: A decade review. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72*(5), 1039-1058.

Skarmeas, D., & Leonidou, C. N. (2013). When consumers doubt, watch out! The role of CSR skepticism. *Journal of Business Research, 66*(10), 1831-1838.

Smith, A. (1999/1776). *The Wealth of Nations. Books I-III.* A. Skinner (Ed.). Penguin.

Smyth, J., & Hattam, R. (2004). *'Dropping Out', Drifting Off, Being Excluded: Becoming Somebody Without School.* Peter Lang.

Smyth, P. (2010). *In Or Out?: Building an Inclusive Nation*. Retrieved from http://www.australiancollaboration.com.au/pdf/Essays/In-or-out.pdf

Speak, S., & Graham, S. (2000). Service Not Included: Social implications of private sector service restructuring in marginalised neighbourhoods. Policy Press.

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Sage.

Standing, G. (2011). *The precariat: The new dangerous class*. A&C Black.

Stebbing, A., & Spies-Butcher, B. (2010). Universal welfare by 'other means'? Social tax expenditures and the Australian dual welfare state. *Journal of Social Policy*, *39*(4), 585-606.

Steinke, I. (2004). Quality criteria in qualitative research. In U. Flick, E. von Kardoff & I. Steinke (Eds.), *A companion to qualitative research* (pp. 184-190). Sage.

Stirrat, R. L., & Henkel, H. (1997). The development gift: The problem of reciprocity in the NGO world. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 554*, 66-80.

Swyngedouw, E. (2014). Where is the political? Insurgent mobilisations and the incipient "return of the political". *Space and Polity*, *18*(2), 122-136.

Taylor-Gooby, P. (Ed.). (1998). *Choice and public policy: the limits to welfare markets*. Springer.

Taylor-Gooby, P. (2003). Introduction: open markets versus welfare citizenship: conflicting approaches to policy convergence in Europe. *Social Policy & Administration*, *37*(6), 539-554.

Taylor-Gooby, P. (2004). *New risks, new welfare: the transformation of the European welfare state*. Oxford University Press.

Taylor-Gooby, P. (2008). The new welfare state settlement in Europe. *European societies*, *10*(1), 3-24.

Thatcher, J. B., & Perrewe, P. L. (2002). An empirical examination of individual traits as antecedents to computer anxiety and computer self-efficacy. *MIS Quarterly*, *26*(4), 381-396.

Titmuss, R. (1958). *Essays on The Welfare State*. Unwin University Books.

Tormey, S. (2015). *The end of representative politics*. John Wiley & Sons.

Treloar, C., Gray, R., Brener, L., Jackson, C., Saunders, V., Johnson, P., … & Newman, C. (2014). 'I can't do this, it's too much': building social inclusion in cancer diagnosis and treatment experiences of Aboriginal people, their carers and health workers. *International Journal of Public Health*, *59*(2), 373-379.

Trinczek, R. (2009). How to interview managers? Methodical and methodological aspects of expert interviews as a qualitative method in empirical social research. In A. Bogner, B. Littig & W. Menz (Eds.), *Interviewing Experts* (pp. 203-216). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Turker, D., & Altuntas, C. (2014). Sustainable supply chain management in the fast fashion industry: An analysis of corporate reports. *European Management Journal*, *32*(5), 837-849.

Utting, P. (2007). CSR and equality. *Third World Quarterly*, *28*(4), 697-712.

van Deursen, A., & van Dijk, J. (2011). Internet skills and the digital divide. *New Media & Society*, *13*(6), 893-911.

Varheim, A. (2011). Gracious space: Library programming strategies towards immigrants as tools in the creation of social capital. *Library & Information Science Research*, *33*(1), 12-18.

Velasquez, M. G. (1983). Why corporations are not morally responsible for anything they do. *Business & Professional Ethics Journal*, *2*(3), 1-18.

Victoria State Government. (2015). *Using Victoria's Planning System*. Retrieved from http://www.dtpli.vic.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0008/275471/Using-Victorias-Planning-System-2015.pdf

Victoria State Government. (2016). *Victoria Planning Provisions*. Retrieved from http://planningschemes.dpcd.vic.gov.au/schemes/vpps

Visser, W. (2011). *The age of responsibility: CSR 2.0 and the new DNA of business*. John Wiley & Sons.

Voegtlin, C., & Greenwood, M. (2016). Corporate social responsibility and human resource management: A systematic review and conceptual analysis. *Human Resource Management Review, 26*(3), 181-197.

Volunteering Australia. (2015). *Key facts and statistics about volunteering in Australia: 16 April 2015*. Retrieved from http://www.volunteeringaustralia.org/wp-content/uploads/VA-Key-statistics-about-Australian-volunteering-16-April-20151.pdf

Vogel, D. (2006). *The Market for Virtue*. Brookings Institute.

Vogel, D. (2010). The private regulation of global corporate conduct achievements and limitations. *Business & Society*, *49*(1), 68-87.

[VPA] Victorian Planning Authority. (2016). *Growth Corridor Plans*. Retrieved October 17, 2016, from https://vpa.vic.gov.au/greenfield/growth-corridor-plans/

Waddock, S. (2004). Parallel universes: Companies, academics, and the progress of corporate citizenship. *Business & Society Review, 109*(1), 5-42.

Warburton, J., Scharf, T., & Walsh, K. (2016). Flying Under the Radar? Risks of Social Exclusion for Older People in Rural Communities in Australia, Ireland and Northern Ireland. *Sociologia Ruralis*. doi: 10.1111/soru.12129.

Walker, A., & Walker, C. (Eds.). (1997). *Britain divided: The growth of social exclusion in the 1980s and 1990s*. Child Poverty Action Group.

Walker, K. (2010). A Systematic Review of the Corporate Reputation Literature. *Corporate Reputation Review, 12*(4), 357-387.

Walker, R. (1995). The dynamics of poverty and social exclusion. *Beyond the Threshold*. In G. Room (Ed.), *Beyond the threshold. The measurement and analysis of social exclusion* (pp. 102-128). Policy Press.

Walters, P., & Rosenblatt, T. (2008). Co-operation or co-presence? The comforting ideal of community in a master planned estate. *Urban Policy and Research, 26*(4), 397-413.

Warburton, J., Cowan, S., & Bathgate, T. (2013). Building social capital among rural, older Australians through information and communication technologies: A review article. *Australasian Journal on Ageing, 32*(1), 8-14.

Warburton, J., Cowan, S., Winterton, R., & Hodgkins, S. (2014). Building Social Inclusion for Rural Older People Using Information and Communication Technologies: Perspectives of Rural Practitioners. *Australian Social Work, 67*(4), 479-494.

Warr, D. J. (2005). Social networks in a ‘discredited’ neighbourhood. *Journal of Sociology*, *41*(3), 285-308.

Warr, D., & Robson, B. (2013). ‘Everybody's Different’: Struggles to Find Community on the Suburban Frontier. *Housing Studies*, *28*(7), 971-992.

Wartick, S. L., & Cochran, P. L. (1985). The Evolution of the Corporate Social Performance Model. *Academy of Management Review, 10*(4), 758-769.

Wartick, S. L., & Rude, R. E. (1986). Issues management: Corporate fad or corporate function? *California Management Review, 29*(1), 124-140.

Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and Society: an outline of interpretive sociology.* G. Roth and C. Wittich (Eds.), E. Fischoff (Trans.). University of California Press.

Weeks, J., Heaphy, B., & Donovan, C. (2001). *Same sex intimacies: Families of choice and other life experiments*. Psychology Press.

Whelan, B. J., & C. T. Whelan (1995). In what sense is poverty multidimensional. In G. Room (Ed.), *Beyond the threshold. The measurement and analysis of social exclusion* (pp. 29-48). Policy Press.

Wickert, C., Scherer, A. G., & Spence, L. J. (2016). Walking and talking corporate social responsibility: Implications of firm size and organizational cost. *Journal of Management Studies, 53*(7), 1169–1196.

Willis, P. (2009). ‘It Really Is Water off Our Backs’: Young LGBQ People's Strategies for Resisting and Refuting Homonegative Practices in Australian Workplaces. *Gay and Lesbian Issues and Psychology Review, 5*(3), 134-145.

Wilson, I., & Goggin, G. (1993). *Reforming universal service: The future of consumer access and equity in Australian telecommunications.* Consumers’ Telecommunications Network, Redfern, Sydney.

Wilton, R., & Schuer, S. (2006). Towards socio-spatial inclusion? Disabled people, neoliberalism and the contemporary labour market. *Area*, *38*(2), 186-195.

Windsor, D. (2006). Corporate social responsibility: Three key approaches. *Journal of Management Studies, 43*(1), 93-114.

Wolfinger, N. H. (2002). On writing fieldnotes: collection strategies and background expectancies. *Qualitative Research*, *2*(1), 85-93.

Wood, D.J. (1991). Corporate Social Performance Revisited. *Academy of Management Review, 16*(4), 691-718.

Wood, D. J., & Logsdon, J. M. (2001). Theorising business citizenship. In J. Andriof & M. Mcintosh (Eds.), *Perspectives on corporate citizenship* (pp. 83-103). Greenleaf.

Wood, D. J., & Logsdon, J. M. (2008). Business citizenship as metaphor and reality. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, *18*(1), 51-59.

Woodman, D. (2012). Life out of synch: How new patterns of further education and the rise of precarious employment are reshaping young people’s relationships. *Sociology*, *46*(6), 1074-1090.

Woodman, D., & Wyn, J. (2013). Youth policy and generations: Why youth policy needs to ‘rethink youth’. *Social Policy and Society*, *12*(2), 265-275.

Worthington, A. C. (2008). Knowledge and perceptions of superannuation in Australia. *Journal of Consumer Policy*, *31*(3), 349-368.

Wright, S., Marston, G., & McDonald, C. (2011). The Role of Non-profit Organizations in the Mixed Economy of Welfare-to-Work in the UK and Australia. *Social Policy & Administration*, *45*(3), 299-318.

Wright, N., & Stickley, T. (2013). Concepts of social inclusion, exclusion and mental health: a review of the international literature. *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing*, *20*(1), 71-81.

Yau, Y. (2013). Willingness to participate in collective action: The case of multiowned housing management. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *35*(2), 153-171.

Yawar, S. A., & Seuring, S. (2015). Management of social issues in supply chains: a literature review exploring social issues, actions and performance outcomes. *Journal of Business Ethics*. doi: 10.1007/s10551-015-2719-9.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (4th edition). Sage.

Yoo, J. M., & Chon, M. L. (2015). The Effect of CSR on Employees' Turnover Intention: Comparative Study on Harmful and Non-Harmful Industry. *Indian Journal of Science and Technology*, *8*(21). doi: 10.17485/ijst/2015/v8i21/79157.

Young, I. M. (1997). Unruly categories: a critique of Nancy Fraser's dual systems theory. *New Left Review*, *222*, 147-160.

Young, I. M. (2002). *Inclusion and democracy*. Oxford University Press.

Zagel, H. (2013). Are all single mothers the same? Evidence from British and West German women's employment trajectories. *European Sociological Review*, *30*(1), 49-63.

Zinn, J. O. (2013). Risk, social inclusion and the life course–review of developments in policy and research. *Social Policy and Society*, *12*(2), 319-333.

Zohir, S. (2014). Exclusion and Initiatives to 'Include': Revisiting Basic Economics to Guide Development Practice. In J. von Braun & F. W. Gatzweiler (Eds.), *Marginality* (pp. 41-56). Springer Netherlands.

Appendix A

Example of plain language statement and consent form

Project: The corporate contribution to social inclusion in Australia

Dear [employee]

You are invited to participate in the above research project, which is being conducted by Ms Roksolana Suchowerska (PhD candidate) under the supervision of Assoc. Professor Jens Zinn and Dr Sara Bice, of the School of Social and Political Sciences at The University of Melbourne. This project will form part of Ms Suchowerska's PhD research, and has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee.

The overall aim of the project is to develop a new perspective on social inclusion, which considers the contribution companies make to social inclusion in Australia through corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs. The project has a specific interest in:

- The factors that companies consider when designing and implementing CSR programs
- The roles that companies and communities play during the implementation of CSR programs
- The relationships that are formed through participation in CSR programs
- The impact of participating in a CSR program on other areas of the participant's life, including social networks, skills or knowledge

You have been invited to be interviewed for about 45 minutes, in relation to the first two dot points. With your permission, the interview will be digitally recorded to ensure an accurate record of what you say. You are welcome to see the transcript of the interview, and make any changes.

Your name and contact details will be kept in a separate, password-protected computer file away from the information you provide. In the thesis, you will be referred to in terms of your generic role (for example, “sustainability officer”). You should note, however, that because the number of interviewees is small, it might still be possible for someone to identify you.

If you agree to the use of a recording device, the audio data will be uploaded as a securely protected file, and deleted from the original device. All data will be kept securely for five years from the date of publication, or until such time as the data is no longer of continuing value after the five-year period, before being destroyed.

As well as appearing in the thesis, the results of the study may also be presented at academic conferences or used in other academic publications.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decline to participate, cease participation at any stage without explanation, or withdraw any unprocessed data. Should you require any further information, or have any concerns, please do not hesitate to contact any of the researchers; Ms Roksolana Suchowerska: rsuc@student.unimelb.edu.au 0425 218 110; Dr Sara Bice: sara.bice@unimelb.edu.au; or Assoc. Professor Jens Zinn: jzinn@unimelb.edu.au. Should you have any concerns about the conduct of the project, you are welcome to contact the Executive Officer, Human Research Ethics, The University of Melbourne, on ph: 8344 2073, or fax: 9347 6739.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Roksolana Suchowerska, PhD Candidate
School of Social and Political Sciences
The University of Melbourne, Parkville, Melbourne

Name of participant:

I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me, and I have been provided with a written plain language statement to keep. I understand that my participation will involve being *interviewed* and I agree that the researcher may use the results as described in the plain language statement.

I acknowledge that:

a) the possible effects of participating in the *interview* have been explained to my satisfaction;
b) I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without explanation and to withdraw any unprocessed data I have provided;
c) the project is for the purpose of research;
d) I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements;
e) I have been informed that with my consent the *interview will be audio-recorded and I understand that audio-recordings* will be stored at University of Melbourne and will be destroyed after five years or at such time as they are no longer considered to be of continuing value, after a minimum five-year period;
f) my name will be referred to by a pseudonym in any publications arising from the research;

I consent to this interview being audio-recorded □ yes □ no

Participant signature:

Date:

Name of investigator: Roksolana Suchowerska, PhD candidate
School of Social and Political Sciences
The University of Melbourne, Parkville, Melbourne

Human Research Ethics ID: 1239150.2

Appendix B

Interview instruments

Interviews with employees (Wolfers)

1. About you

- First off, how long have you been working at Wolfers? And how long have you been working on the O/GA project?
- How would you describe your job? E.g. - what role do you play in (for example) planning and executing events at O/GA such as the opening of the local shops, or the community garden? How does this fit in with other roles/responsibilities?

2. Sustainable communities

- As I mentioned in the email, I am interested in this idea of the 'socially sustainable community'. So, what is your understanding of what it actually is? Of what a 'socially sustainable community' is? How do you know if you have a 'socially sustainable community'?
- I know that Wolfers has for a long time been working on environmental sustainability – where do you think this idea of 'social sustainability' has come from, in Wolfers's case?
- Why has community/social inclusion become important for Wolfers?

3. Oasis

- Which of the community events do you think best illustrates Wolfers' efforts to create a socially sustainable community at Oasis?
- Could you tell me about how the initiative/program came about? Why did Wolfers decide to run with it?
- What about the program illustrates community / 'social sustainability'?
- How would you describe the community that is being created?
- Could you tell me about the roles that residents play vs the roles played by Wolfers in this event/initiative?
- What have been the challenges here? Who makes decisions around e.g. how big the plots would be; what is involved in being a member; what is would be called? Why?
- How did you know (or why did you think) this (the event) might be a good 'fit' for the residents at Oasis? Did it have as much 'traction' with residents as expected?

- How do you think community involvement in these types of events (the community garden) will evolve over time? Wolfers has played a big role in getting things started… what is going to be really important to get residents to take ownership? Timeline? How is Wolfers facilitating this transition?
- How, would you say, has the initiative changed the relationship that Wolfers has with its residents? Could you give me an example?
- What feedback have you received on the event? How did you receive feedback?

4. Broader perspective

- Just to finish up, what are your thoughts on the role of 'social sustainability' or creating 'communities' in Wolfers' broader business of real estate development and management?
- I suppose - a big part of the debate about sustainability or csr is whether it is profitable. In your experience, when has the economic side of 'social sustainability' been a concern? And how has the tension between profit and social sustainability been overcome? Or maybe 'tension' is not the right word for it?
- What would/has happened where community engagement has been lacking in your projects?

Interviews with residents at Oasis or Glitz Apartments

1. Tell me about how you came to live at Oasis/Glitz Apartments

- How did you first hear about O/GA? What did you hear about it?
- Whose idea was it to move here?
- What were the reasons you decided to live here? E.g.
- How does O/GA compare to your previous living arrangement?
- What have you had to change because you have moved here? (e.g. travel time)

2. Tell me a bit more about yourself

- What do you do with most of your time?
- Have you been doing this for long? What came before this?
- How does O/GA support or make it tougher for you to…
- What are your interests and hobbies?
- Do you feel you can pursue these interests here at GA/O?

3. Off the top of your head, what community events can you name that Wolfers has organised, here at O/GA?

- How did you hear about them?
- Which ones did you attend?

- Why did you attend?
- What were your expectations of the event?
- Were there any surprises? Anything you got out of if that you didn't expect?
- How would you describe the events to someone that didn't go?

4. **How would you describe what you (personally) did at the events you participated in?**
    - Were you given opportunities to say what you would be interested in?
    - Did you get what you wanted out of the event? Or did you go home feeling a bit unfulfilled? Tell me more.
    - Did the event – whether participating in it or it merely being on offer – encourage you to participate in your residential community in a different way (in comparison to your previous residential area)? How?
5. **How would you describe the main role of 'community' in a residential area?**
    - What type of community is required to fulfil this role?
    - How does the community at GA/O compare to this ideal?
    - To what extent do you think the community development events you have attended (run by Wolfers) have helped bring about this type of (ideal) community?

6. **Residents' Associations**
    - I'm aware that you're on the local residents' committee. How did you first hear about it? Who told you about it and how? What was your understanding of what the main goal of the committee was, at this time?
    - Why did you initially decide that you wanted to be a member of the committee?
    - Could you describe the main topics of conversation that occur at committee meetings?
    - And what role does Wolfers play in facilitating this discussion? Have you found Wolfers' presence generally helpful or unhelpful? Could you give me an example?
    - Has there been a time when you felt the committee wasn't working very well?
    - What do you think will be the challenges for the committee in the future? What do you think will be your involvement over this time?

Interviews with seniors who attended Tech Savvy Seniors

1. About tutorial

- First off, how did you hear about Tech Savvy Seniors?
- How many tutorials did you attend?
- And when were the lessons/tutorials?
- What were they about?
- Why did you decide you wanted to go along?

2. About the trainer

- Did you find the trainer helpful? What (about the trainer) did you find helpful or not helpful?
- How did you find the pace of the tutorial? If too fast/slow – did you notice whether the tutorial was for beginners or intermediate? Did you find that people were generally at the same level?
- Have you found the print out or booklet to be helpful?
- Did you go along to the tutorial with specific questions you wanted to ask? Were you able to get answers for those questions? Tell me more about that.

3. Technology use before and after TSS

I would like to now ask you about what technology you used before you went to the tutorial

- What - Before the tutorial, were you already using a computer or tablet?
- Why/how - What kinds of things were you using the computer for? Where did you learn how to […]?
- Where - Did you have a computer at home?
- When - How often were you using it?
- Who - If you had any questions, who would you usually ask for help?

Now I would like to ask you about what technology (computer/tablet functions) you use now, after the tutorial

- [What / When] – Are you now using the computer on a regular basis?
- [Why/how] – Have you started using the computer/tablet in new ways? Could you give me an example?
- Do you usually look forward to using your [ICT device]? Why is that?
- Is there anything that makes your use of technology frustrating? Can you think of a time when that happened?

4. About you

To give me some context, would it be ok if I ask you a few questions about yourself?

- For example, could you tell me- what keeps you busy most of the time?

- What role do you have in …… [organization, family…]
- In what ways does technology (such as the internet and email) help you do...[role]?
- Do you think your involvement in [……] helps you:
    - live life more independently?
    - stay connected with important people in your life?
    - access information / services?
    - participate in your local community?
- Could you tell me a little bit more about that? Could you give me an example?
- What else keeps you busy? Do you use computers/tablet or the internet in that context? [repeat discussion above]

5. If not already mentioned…

- Would you mind – could I ask you your approximate age?
- And what was your occupation for most of your life? Or were you at home or…
- So, in this interview, I have essentially been trying to get a grasp of the impact of Tech Savvy Seniors on you and your use of technology. So perhaps, in your own words, what has been the value of going along to the tutorial(s) for you, in your situation?

6. Projections for future

- To finish up, what do you think will be the role of technology in your life, in the future?
- Do you think you might need some more training or support? [or] What support do you think you might need to help you continue developing your digital skills and knowledge?

7. Conclusion

- Do you have any final comments about something that I haven't asked you about specifically?

Appendix C

Coding frames

Coding frame for interviews with residents of Oasis or Glitz Apartments

Category: Personal life

Code: RESOURCES FOR SOCIAL INCLUSION
- Subcode: family
- Subcode: mobility
- Subcode: employment
- Subcode: wellbeing (health; leisure)
- Subcode: civic participation, including volunteering
- Subcode: religious participation

Code: RISKS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION
- Subcode: family (break-up; parenting challenges)
- Subcode: mobility
- Subcode: unemployment
- Subcode: wellbeing (health; leisure)
- Subcode: discrimination
- Subcode: age

Code: VALUES
- Subcode: reasons for living at O or GA – aesthetic
- Subcode: reasons for living at O or GA – affordability
- Subcode: reasons for living at O or GA – community
- Subcode: reasons for living at O or GA – location (close to social networks; close to services; temporary base)
- Subcode: reasons for living at O or GA – new house (build your own; re-size; maintenance; standard of living)

Category: Participation in local civic processes

Code: PARTICIPATION IN RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION
- Subcode: O – community garden committee meetings (issues discussed; manner of discussion)
- Subcode: O – reasons for involvement or non-involvement
- Subcode: GA – Owners' Corporation committee meetings (issues discussed; manner of discussion)
- Subcode: GA – reasons for involvement or non-involvement

Code: PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL CIVIC PROCESSES OUTSIDE OF RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION
- Subcode: GA – tram conflict

Category: Development of social capital in local residential community

Code: EXPERIENCE OF ATTENDING WOLFERS' COMMUNITY EVENTS
- Subcode: description of event
- Subcode: reasons for attending or not attending
- Subcode: recount of how time was spent at the community event
- Subcode: outcomes of attending the community event (social networks, sense of identity or belonging; other)

Code: NEIGHBOURS
- Subcode: about neighbours
- Subcode: process of meeting neighbours
- Subcode: neighbours as source of practical help and/or advice
- Subcode: social interaction with neighbours

Code: MEANING OF COMMUNITY
- Subcode: security and exclusivity
- Subcode: type of residents (owner-occupiers; renters, investors, apartment hoppers)
- Subcode: cost
- Subcode: residential community in the future

Category: Impression of Wolfers

Code: PERCEIVED LEADERSHIP OF WOLFERS
- Subcode: Wolfers' input into residents' associations
- Subcode: Wolfers' role in hosting community events
- Subcode: leadership on environment
- Subcode: leadership on aesthetics
- Subcode: corporate-citizen
- Subcode: shared value
- Subcode: pseudo council / addressing government lag (information lag; services lag)

Code: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WOLFERS AND RESIDENTS
- Subcode: horizontal relationship between Wolfers and residents
- Subcode: authoritative position of Wolfers
- Subcode: perceived image and identity of Wolfers
- Subcode: personality of employees

Code: GRIEVANCES ABOUT WOLFERS
- Subcode: poor communication with customer service
- Subcode: O – conflict over bond for construction of 'compliant' house
- Subcode: GA – conflict over management of local gym
- Subcode: other conflict – in context of Wolfers's role in residents' associations
- Subcode: other conflict – general

Coding frame for interviews with seniors who attended TSS

Category: Personal life

Code: RESOURCES FOR SOCIAL INCLUSION
- Subcode: family
- Subcode: mobility
- Subcode: health
- Subcode: hobbies and leisure
- Subcode: social networks (excluding family)
- Subcode: civic participation, including volunteering
- Subcode: religious participation

Code: RISKS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION
- Subcode: family
- Subcode: mobility
- Subcode: health
- Subcode: hobbies and leisure
- Subcode: social networks (excluding family)
- Subcode: discrimination
- Subcode: age

Category: Attitudes and use of ICTs, before attending Tech Savvy Seniors

Code: OWNERSHIP OF ICT DEVICES, BEFORE TSS
- Subcode: has owned an ICT device for some time
- Subcode: acquired ICT device recently (bought on one's own; given by family; given by work or community group; encouraged to buy by family; encouraged to buy through TSS)
- Subcode: has an ICT device, however without access to internet
- Subcode: does not have a personal ICT device

Code: REASON FOR USE OR NON-USE OF ICTs, BEFORE TSS
- Subcode: no opportunity to learn to use ICTs
- Subcode: no interest to learn to use ICTs (lacking relevance; prefers other methods of communication)
- Subcode: did not have personal ICT device
- Subcode: was already using ICTs

Code: EXPERIENCE OF USE OR NON-USE OF ICTs, BEFORE TSS
- Subcode: feeling of being left out or left behind (regarding immediate social networks; regarding mainstream society)
- Subcode: feeling uncertain of what one was doing
- Subcode: feeling frustrated
- Subcode: enjoyment

Category: The process of learning to use ICTs

Code: 'LOGISTICS' OF ATTENDING TSS
- Subcode: location and travel to tutorial
- Subcode: number of all tutorials attended and time-span
- Subcode: description of other participants

Subcode: how the interviewee heard about the program
Subcode: reasons for attending TSS

Code: EXPERIENCE OF ATTENDING TSS
Subcode: teaching manner of the trainer (pace of training; volume and clarity of trainer's voice; comprehendible (or not) explanations; authoritative vs lateral relations with seniors; opportunities (or not) to ask questions)
Subcode: impressions of training booklet
Subcode: social dynamics of tutorial
Subcode: outcomes of tutorial (lessening anxiety; gaining knowledge and awareness / information; gaining confidence; learning through trial and error; continued feelings of poor digital literacy)

Code: SUPPORT TO IMPROVE DIGITAL SKILLS, OUTSIDE OF TSS
Subcode: support from family (primary, secondary, negligent)
Subcode: friends (primary, secondary, negligent)
Subcode: civic group (primary, secondary, negligent)
Subcode: workplace (primary, secondary, negligent)
Subcode: computer store/other business (primary, secondary, negligent)
Subcode: public library/community college, excluding TSS tutorial (primary, secondary, negligent)

Code: USING ICTs IN MEANINGFUL WAYS
Subcode: to connect with family and/or friends
Subcode: to support involvement in community life
Subcode: to access information for personal interest
Subcode: to access government services online
Subcode: to shop online, or other economic transactions
Subcode: to bank online
Subcode: for travel
Subcode: to play games online
Subcode: to overcome distance, because living in rural area
Subcode: other, such as study or employment
Subcode: no use

Code: THOUGHTS ON USING ICTs IN THE FUTURE
Subcode: excited to learn other ways of integrating ICTs into daily life
Subcode: predicts difficulty of keeping up to date with ICT knowledge
Subcode: fears adverse effects on social skills of younger generations
Subcode: 'giving up' attitude, because of age
Subcode: general fear

Category: Impressions of Telstra

Code: IMPRESSIONS OF TELSTRA'S INVOLVEMENT IN TSS
Subcode: 'giving back' to the community
Subcode: commercial interest in training seniors to use ICTs
Subcode: self-promotion
Subcode: not aware of Telstra's involvement

Code: GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF TELSTRA
Subcode: customer service
Subcode: bill shock
Subcode: poor telecommunications infrastructure in regional areas