

Social Exclusion and Young People: A Critical Realist Strong Late Modern Analytic

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ABSTRACT

When New Labour came to power in 1997, one of the best known social policy changes they made was the prioritisation of social exclusion as at the vanguard of government policy, through the establishment of the Social Exclusion Unit. Social exclusion's 'value added' potentiality is as a broader analysis of the causes and conditions of disadvantage than poverty. However, this potentiality is limited by the 'weak' form of social exclusion adopted by New Labour, wherein social exclusion is considered as a process engendered by the excluded themselves. Giddens's notions of late modern individualisation and reflexivity underpin this weak account, and while agreeing with Giddens's notion of the late modern, his claims of the centrality of individualisation are rejected. Instead, what appears most evident from treating young people as an illustrative case of individualisation is how 'strong' old processes of structural inequality and a new form of social relations through individualism are at the heart of social exclusion. This leads to the thesis that underlying structural inequalities are principally reproducing the disadvantaged nature of young people's existence, and thus their social exclusion. This critical realist perspective rationalises an in-depth, qualitative, tripartite critical realist framework for data collection and analysis, focussed on the real underlying mechanisms reproducing social reality, and thus social exclusion. The research findings are directly related to the critical realist emphasis on both understanding and change from understanding, making it clear that there is a need to move social exclusion theory and policy away from the evidently flawed emphasis on its weak, individualised form towards its analytically and conceptually stronger, structural inequality focus.

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CONTENTS

1. Introduction	1
2. What is Social Exclusion?	9
2.1 Historical Origins of Social Exclusion.....	9
2.2 Differences Between Poverty and Social Exclusion.....	10
2.3 Social Exclusion as a Contested Concept	15
2.4 Weak and Strong Social Exclusion	16
2.5 Summary	17
3. Social Exclusion and New Labour Policy.....	18
3.1 Introduction	18
3.2 The Social Exclusion Unit	19
3.3 A Substantial Policy Departure?	20
3.4 Weak or Strong Social Exclusion?	26
3.5 Summary	28
4. The Theoretical Adequacy of New Labour's Social Exclusion Approach: A 'weak' critique and a 'strong' departure.....	30
4.1 Giddens's Third Way.....	31
4.2 The Third Way – Reality or Fallacy?	40
4.3 Considering A Strong Late Modern Form of Social Exclusion	47
4.4 Summary	57
5. Young People and Old and New Forms of Social Exclusion	59
5.1 Defining Youth	61
5.2 Youth in Modernity	62
5.3 Youth in Late Modernity	65
5.4 Youth and Reflexivity	70
5.5 Individualised Youth in Policy	74
5.6 Old and New forms of Youth Social Exclusion.....	77
5.7 Summary	84
6. Specifying Research Thesis, Questions and Outcomes within a Critical Realist Framework	85
6.1 Research Thesis.....	86
6.2 Main Research Question 1	93
6.3 Main Research Question 2	104
6.4 Research Outcomes	107
6.5 Summary	109

7. Data Collection, Analysis and Ethical Considerations.....	110
7.1 The Empirical, Actual and Real: A Tripartite Critical Realist Framework.....	112
7.2 Ethical Considerations	125
7.3 Summary	127
8. Sampling Frame: Methods and Profile of Research Participants	128
8.1 Sampling Process	129
8.2 Sampling Frame.....	139
8.3 Participants' Profile	143
8.4 Summary.....	151
9. Empirical Experiences of Social Exclusion: Diary Descriptive	153
9.1 Data Collection Process and Analysis	155
9.2 Individual Empirical Experiences of Social Exclusion	159
9.3 Reliability of Diary Data.....	178
9.4 Correspondence with Structure and Individualism.....	179
9.5 Dissonance with Structure and Individualism.....	181
9.6 Summary	187
10. Actual Experiences of Social Exclusion: Diary Interviews Analysis	188
10.1 Data Collection Process and Analysis	190
10.2 Dissonance with Structure	192
10.3 Correspondence with Structure	199
10.4 Correspondence with Individualism	212
10.5 Summary	219
11. Real Experiences of Social Exclusion: Follow Up Interviews.....	221
11.1 Data Collection Process and Analysis	223
11.2 Labour Market.....	225
11.3 Income	233
11.4 Locality.....	235
11.5 Welfare Agencies.....	239
11.6 Individualism	242
11.7 Future Outlook	248
11.8 Summary	250
12. Structure and Individualism – Old and New forms of Social Exclusion in Late Modernity?: Discussion of Findings.....	253
12.1 Introduction	253
12.2 Social Exclusion and Structural Inequality	259
12.3 Social Exclusion and Individualism	277
12.4 Summary	286
13. Conclusion and Research Reflection	289
13.1 Methodological Considerations	289
13.2 Understanding and Change for Social Exclusion	295

Appendix A

- A1 Research Information Leaflet
- A2 Consent Form
- A3 Questionnaire

Appendix B

- B1 Blank Diary Sample
- B2 Research Agreement

ABBREVIATIONS

BCC	Birmingham City Council
CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis
CCCS	Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies
DDIM	Diary: Diary Interview Method
DETR	Department of the Environment, Transport and Regions
DSS	Department for Social Security
DWP	Department for Work and Pensions
EU	European Union
JRF	Joseph Rowntree Foundation
LGA	Local Government Association
MUD	Moral Underclass Discourse
NDYP	New Deal for Young People
NEET	Not in Education Employment or Training
NMW	National Minimum Wage
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
RED	Redistributional Discourse
SETF	Social Exclusion Task Force
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit
SID	Social Integrationist Discourse
WW2	World War Two

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND GRAPHS

Table 2.1	Five value-added dimensions of social exclusion	14
Table 2.2	Selected Definitions of Social Exclusion	16
Graph 5.1	Changes in Employment and Unemployment, 1973-1983 by Age Groups	66
Table 5.1	Money spent in a month on different areas of consumption, by feeling of social isolation	72
Graph 5.2	How teenage poverty affects the odds of being poor as an adult: change over time	81
Table 6.1	Theoretical and Analytical Tendencies of Conceptions of Social Structure	94
Figure 6.1	A critical realist model of social exclusion/inclusion for socially excluded individuals	101
Table 7.1	Correspondences in Direct and Indirect Approaches to the Study of Poverty and Social Exclusion	113
Table 7.2	Tripartite critical realist framework for data collection and analysis	116
Figure 7.1	Linkages in the processes of data collection and data analyses	119
Table 7.3	Mapping of Research Questions to Data collection Processes, Data Analysis, and Principal Outcomes	124
Table 7.4	Payment made for Research Participation	126
Table 8.1	Comparison of Key Ward Statistics for Ward Localities A, B and Birmingham (%)	130
Table 8.2	Type, Hierarchical Classification and Priority for Inclusion of 'at risk' Factors within Questionnaire	136
Table 8.3	'At Risk' Type, Hierarchical Classifications and Thresholds for Inclusion, and Priority for Inclusion for Questions on Questionnaire	138
Graph 8.1	Hierarchically Classified Sum Scores for 'At Risk' Factors of eligible participants from Questionnaire: Centre A	140

Graph 8.2	Hierarchically Classified Sum Scores for 'At Risk' Factors of eligible participants from Questionnaire: Centre B	140
Table 8.4	Data Collection Processes	142
Table 8.5	Questionnaire Numbers, Pen Names and Number of 'At Risk' Factors for Chosen Participants	143
Table 8.6	'At Risk' Profiles of Research Participants from Questionnaire	145-146
Table 8.7	Levels of qualification of participants	147
Table 9.1	Count of Structured Diary Questions' Subcategories	158
Table 9.2	Reason for doing activities – Larry	175
Table 9.3	Comparison of Participants' Mode of Transport and Location of Activities (%)	178
Table 9.4	Number of different contacts for participants, by in work/out of work	180
Graph 9.1	Differences Between Who Participants Spent Time With	181
Table 9.5	Reasons for doing activities – All Participants (%)	185
Table 9.6	Reasons for doing activities – By Participants (%)	185
Table 11.1a	Changes in Participants Circumstances between Diary Interviews and Follow Up Interviews - Centre A	226
Table 11.1b	Changes in Participants Circumstances between Diary Interviews and Follow Up Interviews - Centre B	226
Figure 11.1	Sources of Employment – Formal v Informal	233
Figure 12.1	Proximity of betting shops in locality B	260
Table 12.1	Largest employers in neighbouring localities by type of business, 2007	266
Figure 12.2	Pathways to structural disadvantage from family context	270
Figure 12.3	Reasons for being 'pushed out' and 'missed out'	282
Figure 12.4	Simplified operationalisation of social exclusion in relation to structure	286
Table 13.1	Tripartite critical realist framework and summary of findings	290

1. Introduction

This social policy thesis is about the continued importance of structural factors to youth social exclusion. This is explicitly stated here because considering recent changes which I describe below, both structural factors and social exclusion appear to be of declining contemporary relevance in social policy theory and practice. But I will argue that despite these changes, both structure and social exclusion still have relevance to social policy.

The most recent change has been the downgrading of the role of the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU). When New Labour came to power in 1997, one of the best known new departmental changes made was the establishment of the SEU as at the vanguard of government policy, as evidenced in the fact that Tony Blair's first substantive policy speech as Prime Minister was on the subject of social exclusion. In practical terms, the SEU became responsible for making sure that social exclusion was not only a 'crosscutting' theme across other government departments, but was also widely incorporated into policy development. The significance of the SEU was perhaps exemplified by being headed by the Prime Minister in his own Strategy Unit within the Cabinet Office. In October 1997, the Economic and Social Research Council even set up a research programme at the London School of Economics (Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion) specifically focussed on social exclusion.

Perhaps the highpoint of the SEU was the publication of the 18 Policy Action Team Reports covering a diverse range of topics on the theme of Neighbourhood Renewal. In 2002, SEU responsibility was transferred to the old Department of Environment Transport and Regions (now Department of Communities and Local Government),

but it still retained its agency status. In 2006, however, the Social Exclusion Unit became the much smaller Social Exclusion Task Force (SETF), at the Cabinet Office. While a ‘cross-departmental’ approach is still affirmed as at the heart of the SETF (SETF, 2009), its reduced size and profile suggests that social exclusion is no longer at the heart of government policy itself.

Synchronous with this apparent lower profile of social exclusion has been a shift in policy over the years away from social exclusion towards social inclusion, which questions the relevance of this thesis’s focus on both structure and social exclusion. Indeed, it is arguable that this emphasis on mechanisms for social inclusion has been at the core of New Labour policy from 1997 (Page, 2006). However, whereas initially policy was linked firmly to the consideration of social exclusion, over time it is the promotion of social inclusion which has come to the fore (Spandler, 2007). Areas where this is especially evident are in education, mental health and youth crime, where inclusion polices abound. And to look at the way the government’s most recent National Action Plan for Social Exclusion seamlessly infused social inclusion and social exclusion into each other, it would be easy to conclude that there is little difference between the two terms:

In publishing this [National Action Plan] the UK Government hopes that it will form the basis for continuing this very important work to tackle the causes of poverty and social exclusion in the UK and contribute to the development of social inclusion strategies across Europe. In particular, the aim of this NAP is to promote equality of life chances for all and to deliver personalised services tailored to suit individual needs. (DWP, 2008a: v)

The way that social exclusion traverses into social inclusion above emphasises the general way in policy that social inclusion is presented as the self evident and desirable obverse of social exclusion (Spandler, 2007: 3), which at its base posits

inclusion as good and exclusion as bad (Vobruba, 2000). This means that ‘social exclusion is set up as a negative opposite to a set of positive roles and characteristics that make up an included person’ (Porter, 2000: 78), reinforcing both the apparently benevolent nature of social inclusion and the diminished status of social exclusion. It also encapsulates the generally ‘weak’ conceptualisation of social exclusion which New Labour has adopted, wherein social exclusion has been conceived as a process engendered by none other than the excluded themselves, thereby negating the old welfare concerns of structure. This is evident in the emphasis given in policy towards equality of opportunity rather than equality of outcome.

Where then do these changes leave a study of the structural causes of social exclusion, apart from apparently outdated and outmoded? Well, it is interesting to note that the downgrading of the SEU has not occurred from social exclusion being solved, but rather, according to Hilary Armstrong, the then new minister responsible for the SETF, from a realisation that the SEU had failed to reach some of the poorest, most isolated and vulnerable families (Wintour, 2006). The recent UNICEF (2007) report on child well-being is but one of a slew of reports which have highlighted the continuing prevalence of social exclusion. This suggests that social exclusion remains as a significant problematic, despite the change in political emphasis. If anything, the change says more about the approach of the government, in declaring that as we as a government have not been able to solve this problem, so we will devote less resource towards it, not more. This is even more unedifying taking into consideration the fact that the impetus for the shift towards social exclusion came from the New Labour government, as highlighted above.

As for structure and social exclusion being outmoded in relation to social inclusion, we only need to stop and ask ourselves who benefits most from an emphasis on inclusion rather than a critique of exclusion to put this in context (Labonte, 2004). Social inclusion means the participation, and the ability to participate, in political and social structures, and is seen as essential to political stability (Shortall, 2008: 455). This becomes very obvious from the fact that social inclusion policies tend to adopt people to the needs of markets, rather than regulate markets to the needs of people (Labonte, 2004).

At the same time, the uncritical approach to social inclusion means that the discriminatory nature of structures within the productive sphere is not questioned, as 'structural failings and dynamic processes fall out of view when considering the inverse process of inclusion' (Gingrich, 2006: 9). Thus:

Uncritical use of social inclusion can blind us to the use, abuse and distribution of power... We should not let the warmth of our inclusive ideal smother our anger over exclusivity's unfairness. Anger is often the magnet of mobilization, and mobilization is often the tool for social transformation that shifts power relations in ways that allow societies to become more inclusive. (Labonte, 2004: 118)

Adopting social exclusion as the basis for this thesis, then, as opposed to social inclusion, is from the careful consideration of the conceptual differences between the two terms, wherein in the critical, challenging and transforming potential of social exclusion takes precedence. Indeed, the current economic turmoil being experienced in many spheres and facets of society by many people but which undoubtedly is impacting more on the socially excluded than the socially included makes the need for this approach even more relevant. Thus, the 'critical' nature of this research 'frames its research program and its conceptual framework with an eye

to the aims and activities of those oppositional social movements with which it has a partisan, although not uncritical, identification' (McDowell, 2001: 95).

Having explained in more detail the relevance of the term social exclusion in Chapter 2, this critical approach of the research is reinforced in the rejection of the New Labour's conceptualisation of social exclusion, in which work and the work ethic have dominated social exclusion policy (Levitas, 2001). In Chapter 3, I argue that it is this 'weak' conceptualisation, particularly its overall emphasis on equality of opportunity over equality of outcome, which provides a possible explanation why there has been a stalling of social exclusion outcomes.

Here, the relevance of the term 'late modernity' makes itself apparent in Chapter 4, as New Labour's 'Third Way' approach to social policy in general and social exclusion in particular draws heavily on the work of Anthony Giddens, and his notion that 'individualisation' is a key theme of the 'late modern' period in which we now live. Through the notion of late modernity, Giddens provides a contemporary understanding of inequality which, while acknowledging the enduring nature of inequality, suggests that it is more effectively explained at the level of the individual rather than in terms of a particular group, and thus policies should be oriented towards the individual (Gillies, 2005: 836).

In accepting Giddens' general argument of a transition to a late modern period, there is the rejection of his claims of the centrality of individualisation. This is because theoretically and empirically, Giddens's notion of individualisation is too optimistically configured in terms of the way it conceptualises social exclusion. Rather, what appears more apparent is how 'strong' old processes of structural inequality *and* a

new form of social relations through individualism are at the heart of social exclusion, with old structured inequalities predominating in constituting social exclusion.

In Chapter 5, I rationalise my focus on young people in this thesis, as it is young people for whom this transition from modernity to late modernity over the last 25 years or so is described as being the most profound, (Smith, 2005) positing young people as an illustrative case of individualisation (Gordon *et al*, 2005). However, the evidence suggests that the complex transitions that lead to their social exclusion only relate to specific disadvantaged groups of young people, an observation which limits the utility of such individualised accounts. More specifically, this indicates that it is the way that the structured inequalities of late modernity engenders and feeds into individualism which is at the heart of social exclusion, meaning that it is old structured inequalities which predominate in constituting strong social exclusion.

This leads to the detailed outlining of the research thesis and research aims in Chapter 6

The research thesis is that :

Late modern forms of exclusion based on old structure and new individualism orient the social exclusion of young people

This thesis relates structure as the underlying embodiment of the distribution of wealth and/or power in a given society, and means that social exclusion occurs where this underlying embodiment of the distribution of wealth and/or power, or structural inequality, principally reproduces the disadvantaged nature of individuals' existence. This thesis's principal focus on structural inequality leads to a consideration how this could be problematic, as the notion of structure within social

research typically conjures of images of determinism and reductionist ontology. But I outline how, from a critical realist perspective, it is possible to conceptualise structure in a non-reductionist, ubiquity determining manner that conceives the possibility of both reproduction and transformation.

The thesis's essential critical realist focus means that its aim is not simply understanding, but also change from understanding. This means that the research outcomes relate to both late modern social exclusion theory and practice, as its aims are to contribute both to our further understanding of social exclusion, and to consider changes to current policy in the light of this further understanding. This is especially relevant in the context of New Labour's 'weak' version of social exclusion, as this research argues that a 'strong' version of social exclusion would provide a more fruitful application of the term.

In Chapter 7, this critical realist perspective rationalises an in-depth, qualitative tripartite critical realist framework for data collection and analysis, focussed on the underlying mechanisms reproducing social reality, and thus social exclusion. Here, a modified form of the Diary: Diary-Interview Method as the main mode of data collection functions as a good approximation of participation observation methods, and so provides the potential for descriptions of socially structured situations. The in-depth nature, in terms of time and processes, of the tripartite data framework necessitates a considered sample frame for the research, and the procedural and analytical processes for this described in Chapter 8 suggests high but varied experiences of social exclusion amongst the chosen participants.

The research findings in Chapters 9-11 consider whether there is greater correspondence or dissonance with the structural account of social exclusion

propounded in this thesis. A particular feature of these analyses is the way that the nature of participants' social exclusion changes in parallel with the analytical focus of the chapter. This is explored in detail in Chapter 12, in which the specific relevance from data analyses of the notions of structure and individualism are explored. In considering these finding in the Conclusion in Chapter 13, , I appraise the implications for our current understanding of social exclusion.

I outline how research outcomes distinctly and directly relate to both late modern theory and social exclusion policy. This occurs from critical realist emphasis described above on both understanding and change from understanding, which makes it manifest that there is a need to move social exclusion theory and policy away from the evidently flawed emphasis on its weak, individualised form towards its analytically and conceptually stronger, structural form.

2. What is Social Exclusion?

This chapter introduces and deliberates the term social exclusion as the focus of this thesis. The overtly political expediency behind its acceptance brings into question its difference from poverty, but it is possible to make a ‘value added’ distinction between social exclusion and poverty. However, apparent in the definitions of social exclusion is the contested nature of the term, and this leads to the observance of a further distinction between its ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ forms, which is explored in more detail in the next chapter.

2.1 Historical Origins of Social Exclusion

There is much debate about the historical origins of the term social exclusion, incorporating various traditions and concepts spanning a long timeframe. For example, Lister (2004) argues that Weber’s ‘social closure’ provides the theoretical roots of social exclusion, as Weber’s concern was with how some groups secured and maintained privilege at the expense of others different from their own group. Similarly, Barnes argues that social exclusion:

...derive[s] from an idea of society as a status hierarchy comprising people bound together by rights and obligations that reflect, and are defined with respect to, a shared moral order. Those excluded from the moral order often experienced marginalisation in times of employment and their relationship with the state. (Barnes, 2002: 5)

The reference here to ‘relationship with the state’ also corresponds to Silver’s (1994) observation of the emergence of concern with ‘les exclusifs’ in France between the 1960s and the 1980s. This concern was grounded particularly in the emerging social

problem of spatial isolation of certain groups between *banlieues* or big cities in terms of their citizenship (Kronauer, 1998), which is a perceptibly different meaning from that of Weber's as outlined above, but is a more familiar usage of the term social exclusion as contemporarily understood. Moreover, such an account also provides a possible explanation as to why the term social exclusion has been generally more readily taken up in Continental European countries, vis-à-vis their focus on citizenship, whereas in Britain there has been a noticeable reluctance towards a similar application. Byrne (2005) argues this difference can be related to a cultural embeddedness of theoretical notions of 'positive individualism' in Britain over notions concerned with citizenship (see also Clasen and Clegg, 2003). This is not to deny the importance in the UK of T H Marshall's (1950) conceptualisation of citizenship to social policy (Roche, 1992), but the point here is that the British tradition has been to focus on 'poverty' (Clasen, 2003). Indeed, bearing in mind this difference between the Continental and British traditions, it is perhaps not surprising that the UK was one of the last countries in the EU to accept usage of the term, and this only as a consequence of 'poverty' becoming unacceptable at a political level (Walker, 1998; Burchardt *et al*, 2002).

2.2 Differences Between Poverty and Social Exclusion

This observation relates the shift towards the term social exclusion in British social policy as occurring more from political expediency than from conceptual development. Indeed, the apparent similarity between relative deprivation and social exclusion has led to the questioning of whether social exclusion is a genuinely new concept, or simply the reformulation of 'old' poverty (Hills, 2002; Byrne, 1997). For example, poverty and social exclusion have been placed on a continuum, with poverty at one end and social

exclusion at the other, and ‘relative deprivation’ mediating between the two (Barnes, 2002; Rogaly *et al*, 1999), suggesting at least an *overlapping* relationship between the two (Lister, 2004; Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997). Moreover, Townsend’s (1987) and Veit-Wilson’s (1987) earlier call for greater relativity in poverty descriptions suggests much closer linkage between poverty and social exclusion. Their notion of ‘relative deprivation’ highlighted the importance of non-material services and amenities to an individual’s ability to participate in the norms and customs of a particular society, with Veit-Wilson (1987: 186) stating that ‘deprivation can be caused by factors other than poverty, and money can meet only those needs which in turn can be satisfied by the markets’.

However, Berghman (1995) argues that an important distinction should be made between poverty, relative deprivation and social exclusion. He argues that poverty and relative deprivation both essentially emphasise an *indirect* (in terms of income) measurement of poverty, in the sense that they both refer to the income threshold needed to participate in (social) activities. Social exclusion, he argues on the other hand, emphasises a *direct* (in terms of consumption) measurement of poverty, more concerned with the actual living conditions for individuals and households (Berghman, 1995: 16-17; see also Mack and Lansley, 1985; Ringen, 1988; Kangas and Ritakallio, 1998). This means that, whereas poverty and relative deprivation’s recreational, educational and social features all entail a necessary degree of income to be fulfilled, this is not necessarily the case for social exclusion’s economic, social, political or cultural facets, which are more concerned with the actual participation that occurs within

these spheres. In this sense, ‘poverty’ can be viewed as part of a specific form of social exclusion (Berghman, 1995: 20), while social exclusion itself is more of a social process than an economic process, occurring from a breakdown or malfunctioning of major societal systems. For example, social exclusion has often been rationalised as entailing a quantitative break from poverty, whereby:

To use the notion of social exclusion carries the implication that we are speaking of people who are suffering such a degree of multidimensional disadvantage, of such duration, and reinforced by such material and cultural degradation of the neighbourhoods in which they live, that their relational links with the wider society are ruptured to a degree which is to some considerable degree irreversible. We may sometimes choose to use the notion of social exclusion in a more general sense than this: but here is its core. (Room 1999: 171)

This difference between the two can be expressed distinctly by the fact that while people on low incomes are always in poverty, they may not necessarily be socially excluded in some factors, such as participation and community activities, students being an example. Conversely there may be people or groups, more rarely, who are not in poverty but are socially excluded, for example on the grounds of ethnicity or mental illness or disability (Oppenheim, 1998: 14), suggesting that the difference between the two can be fairly concrete. This is especially relevant in relation to a narrower income-consumption understanding of poverty (Sen, 2000), in which poverty is understood as determined by the ability of individuals or households to purchase goods and services that allows them to subsist above a predetermined poverty line (Nadvi, 2004: 25). Thus, whereas the term ‘poverty’ typically implies ‘an absolute or relative access to material welfare’, social exclusion:

...[is] a broader concept which usually implies that some people or households are not just poor, but that they have additionally lost the ability to both literally and metaphorically connect with many of the jobs, services

and facilities that they need to participate fully in society. (Church *et al*, 2000:197)

This is one of the most prominent ‘value-added’ claims of social exclusion – that it ‘necessitates a relationship with the wider society or subsections of society from which an individual or group is excluded’ (Lister 2004: 88). Typically, within social exclusion, this relationship with wider society is expressed in terms of participation in wider society, and thus, according to Burchardt *et al*, ‘a genuine new development’ occurring from the focus on social exclusion has been that:

...it allows the phenomena of interest to extend beyond non-participation due to lack of material resources...measures of social exclusion attempt to identify not only those who lack resources, but also those whose non-participation occurs in different ways: through discrimination, chronic ill health, geographical location or cultural identification, for example.
(Burchardt *et al*, 2002: 6)

From this perspective, as Saunders and Adelman (2006) argue, the emphasis on a wider range of measurements within social exclusion can be seen as addressing the credibility and judgement weaknesses of the poverty approach. Thus, a number of factors important for participation, and the inclusion of political, civil and broader human rights to the concept of social exclusion, have been key to the claims of social exclusion being broader than both poverty and deprivation (Lister, 2004). For example, in comparison to poverty, at least five ‘value-added’ dimensions to social exclusion have been argued, as shown in Table 2.1 below.

These dimensions suggest that, rather than simply being a semantic representation of the same phenomena, it is possible to rationalise real differences between poverty and social exclusion. This means that, as Alcock (2004: 410) observes, whereas poverty is

concerned with material deprivation, social exclusion also includes consideration of access to employment and family networks, and to public and private services, so that in this sense, social exclusion is defined as inescapably ‘social’ in essence. This means that it ‘...can only be understood as a lack of necessary resources to take part in the life of society’ (Golding 1995:213), and therefore is made up of a broader analysis of the causes and conditions of disadvantage than poverty, additionally encompassing both the social relations and the processes by which people become excluded, to greater or lesser extents, from wider society (Alcock and Erskine, 2003: 66).

Table 2.1 Five value-added dimensions of social exclusion

<i>Relativity</i>	‘People are excluded from a particular society...The concrete implementation of any criterion for exclusion has to take account of the activities of others.’ (Atkinson 1998:12; see also Lister, 2004; Room, 1995)
<i>Processes</i>	‘Exclusion implies an act with an agent or agents...we may be concerned not just with a person’s situation, but also the extent to which he or she is responsible.’ (Atkinson 1998:13; see also Alcock and Erskine, 2003; Barnes, 2002)
<i>Dynamics</i>	‘People are excluded not just because they are currently without a job or income but because they have little prospects for the future. By ‘prospects’, we should understand not only their own but also those of their children. Social exclusion may apply across generations. Assessment of the extent of social exclusion has therefore to go beyond current status.’ (Atkinson 1998:13; see also Whelan and Whelan, 1995; Burgess and Propper 2002).
<i>Spatial</i>	‘...referring not so much to spaces where there are poor persons but to poor areas themselves’ (Berghman, 1995:15; Cass <i>et al</i> , 2005).
<i>Multidimensionality</i>	‘...whereby individuals and groups are excluded from taking part in the social exchange, from the component practices and rights of social integration and identity’ (Commission of the European Communities, 1992, cited in Lister, 2004:92; Shucksmith and Philip, 1999).

Furthermore, in contrast to debates about absolute and relative poverty, these dimensions ‘explicitly and implicitly necessitate a relative measure of poverty … relative measures are theoretically consistent with social exclusion’ (Brady, 2003: 724). Perhaps this is not surprising, as ways to measure peoples experiences become more sophisticated and there is more of an emphasis on lived experience in social research than on absolute measures (Brady, 2003), meaning that in 10 years time, what we think of *now* as not necessary for ‘social coping’ may well be considered essential. In this sense, the shift from poverty to social exclusion in terms of relativity can be seen as a continuation of the process of defining such terms as a matter of belief and opinion rather than simply a calculation of income (Golding 1995: 228).

2.3 Social Exclusion as a Contested Concept

Despite this distinction from poverty, social exclusion is a ‘contested’ concept (Levitas, 2005: 3). This is exemplified by reference to the varying definitions that have been put forward for its meaning, as shown in Table 2.2 below. The definitions differ in terms of the specificity and dimensional capacity in which they orient social exclusion, and Levitas (2005: 7) has argued that these differences highlight the way that ‘social exclusion is embedded in different discourses’. These discourses range from a redistributive discourse (RED) within which social exclusion is intertwined with poverty; a moral underclass discourse (MUD) which relates to the notions of the underclass; and a social integrationist discourse (SID) which sees exclusion primarily in terms of labour market detachment (Levitas 2005: 2-3).

Table 2.2 Selected Definitions of Social Exclusion

Author	Definition
SEU (1997)	Social exclusion is about more than income poverty. Social exclusion happens when people or places suffer from a series of problems such as unemployment, discrimination, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime, ill health and family breakdown. When such problems combine they can create a vicious cycle. Social exclusion can happen as a result of problems that face one person in their life. But it can also start from birth. Being born into poverty or to parents with low skills still has a major influence on future life chances
Burchardt <i>et al</i> (1999)	An individual is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically resident in a society, (b) he or she cannot participate in the normal activities in that society, and (c) he or she would like to so participate, but is prevented from doing so by factors beyond his or her control.
Pierson (2001)	Social exclusion is a process that deprives individuals and families, group and neighbourhoods of the resources, economies and political activity of society as a whole. This process is primarily a consequence of poverty and low income, but other factors such as discrimination, low educational attainment also underpin it. Through this process people are cut off from their institutions and services, social networks and developmental opportunities that the great majority of society enjoys.
Rogaly <i>et al</i> 1999	The process which brings about a lack of citizenship, whether economic, political or social
Richardson and Le Grand (2002)	An individual is socially excluded if he or she does not participate in key activities of the society in which he or she lives
Room <i>et al</i> 1992	Social exclusion to refer, first to multidimensional disadvantage, which is of substantial duration and which involves disassociation from the major social and occupational milieux of society

2.4 Weak and Strong Social Exclusion

This contested nature is also evident in the distinction that Veit-Wilson (1998) makes between 'strong' and 'weak' versions of social exclusion to describe the extent to which attention is given to the processes by which people become excluded, whereby:

In the 'weak' version of this discourse, the solutions lie in altering these excluded people's handicapping characteristics and enhancing their integration into dominant society. 'Stronger' forms of this discourse also emphasise the role of those who are doing the excluding and therefore

aims for solutions which reduce the powers of exclusion. (Veit-Wilson, 1998: 45)

This distinction is something that makes itself apparent in the definitions shown in Table 2.2 above. Furthermore, its focus on the dimension of the processes of social exclusion outlined in Table 2.1 above is highly relevant to New Labour's conceptualisation of social exclusion, as discussed in the next chapter.

2.5 Summary

Social exclusion's adoption as a concept to explain disadvantage has particular origins in the notion of citizenship in France, although there was a British reluctance to consider the term. Its eventual acceptance as a term did not however mean an acceptance of its meaning, and social exclusion remains a contested concept. Despite this, it is possible to describe social exclusion as qualitatively different from poverty, through its orientation more on the social processes than on the economic processes. In particular, social exclusion is made up of a broader analysis of the causes and conditions of disadvantage than poverty, additionally encompassing both the social relations and the processes by which people become excluded from wider society. Weak and strong versions differ to lesser or greater extents respectively in the extent to which attention is given to the process by which people become excluded. The next section relates this notion of weak and strong forms of social exclusion to New Labour's conceptualisation of the term.

3. Social Exclusion and New Labour Policy

This section looks at how New Labour has developed the concept of social exclusion to explain disadvantage in the UK since 1997. New Labour heralded social exclusion as a substantial policy departure from previous policy focus on ‘poverty’, and the merits of this claim are analysed. Particular interest is paid to New Labour’s specific conceptualisation of the individual causes of social exclusion, a conceptualisation which makes itself readily apparent in policy, and which is identified as a significant marker of New Labour’s ‘weak’ approach to social exclusion. This is contrasted with a ‘strong’ approach which focuses on structural causes of social exclusion and is the focus of this thesis.

3.1 Introduction

The previous section outlined how the notion of social exclusion has come to be accepted as a concept to explain disadvantage in British social policy. The main claim is that the general acceptance of the term has not meant that it is taken as a given, and social exclusion remains a contested concept. Despite this, it is possible to discern its ‘value-added’ dimensions which distinguish it from poverty, as a broader analysis of poverty additionally encompassing both the social relations and the processes by which people become excluded. However, a distinction is also apparent in the extent to which different definitions give attention to the processes by which people become excluded. Following Veit-Wilson’s (1998: 45), in ‘weak’ versions of social exclusion, the emphasis

is on solutions which alter excluded people's limiting characteristics and enhance their integration into dominant society. In 'stronger' forms, the emphasis is additionally on 'the role of those who are doing the excluding and therefore aims for solutions which reduce the powers of exclusion'. This section looks primarily at how New Labour has developed the concept of social exclusion to explain disadvantage in the UK since 1997, towards relating it to either a weak or strong account.

3.2 The Social Exclusion Unit

Following New Labour's election in May 1997, there was the pronouncement of a substantial shift from the previous government's social policy agenda towards one particularly concerned with 'multidimensional' social exclusion, as perhaps most evident from the setting up of the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) in December 1997. Indeed, David Miliband (2005: 2), as Minister of Communities and Local Government, argued that the setting up of the SEU exemplified 'not just a change of terminology, or governmental plumbing, but a policy departure that occurred to address the moral vacuum at the heart of Conservative policy, but also the policy limitations in inherited assumptions on the Left.' Social exclusion was defined by New Labour as:

A short-hand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environment, bad health and family breakdown. (SEU, 1997)

In practical terms, the SEU became responsible for making sure that social exclusion was not only a 'crosscutting' theme across other government departments, but was also widely incorporated into policy development, as evident in the SEU's 18 Policy Action Team Reports on Neighbourhood Renewal on diverse topics like Truancy and

School Exclusion (SEU, 1998), Rough Sleeping (SEU, 1998a) and Unpopular Housing (DETR, 1999). Underpinning the SEU's approach in particular was a focus on targets, as exemplified by the government's *Opportunity for All* publications (see for example DWP, 2008 for the latest report) which since 1999, have charted the success or otherwise of explicit targets towards the reduction of specific social exclusion features. There has also been a specific policy focus on individuals or groups identified to be at risk of or presently socially excluded, such as lone parents, rough sleepers, children, the unemployed and those living in deprived areas. In this respect, the explicit linkage of policy to social exclusion objectives has marked an observable shift from the previous government's denial of poverty in both absolute and relative terms (Oppenheim, 1998), as the emphasis on social exclusion has acknowledged that disadvantage exists in relative terms at least, related to the norms of society (Miliband, 2005).

3.3 A Substantial Policy Departure?

Shucksmith and Philip (2000) discern that the major initial focus of New Labour's social exclusion policy measures was a specific emphasis on integration through paid employment. This is supported by Holden's (1999) observation that New Labour's concept of social exclusion is simply that of exclusion from the labour market, and Labonte's (2004) analysis of social policy in relation to social exclusion being 'truncated' to the labour market, an observation that can be seen with regard to the EU as well (Levitas, 1996; Whyman, 2005). This is a point made by Levitas (2005) in her consideration of the discourse of New Labour; she argues that New Labour's approach exemplified 'an inconsistent combination of SID [Social Integrationist Discourse] and MUD [Moral Underclass Discourse]' (pg. 28), with considerable 'pulling' towards the SID

'in which paid employment is the central means of social integration and social control, and unemployment the overriding element in social exclusion' (pg. 48). Hence, it has been the labour market which has been emphasised as the primary redistributive mechanism from New Labour (Lister, 1998), albeit a more regulated labour market through the use of 'legal welfare' (LeGrand, 1997) as in the form of the National Minimum Wage. There has also been the use of 'active' forms of welfare intervention to principally affect those entering the labour market (Hills, 2002), such as the New Deal programmes (DSS, 1998).

An additional focus of New Labour's policy has been its emphasis on 'states of multiple deprivation', thereby giving prominence to socially excluded groups as the defining feature of social exclusion (Porter, 2000). For example, Buchanan comments that:

The Sure Start programme has been successful in targeting the most disadvantaged areas characterized by higher rates of deprivation across a number of indicators, including child and adult health, educational achievement, school behaviour, crime, low income, child poverty, unemployment and benefit dependence. (Buchanan, 2007: 192)

Barnes and Morris identify the adoption of policies such as Sure Start as reflecting a growing 'preventative policy agenda' held by central government about the costs and consequences of social exclusion for children, families and society, and:

...concerned with the integration of those who are marginalized to ensure social cohesion and productivity, and attention is given to disrupting children's trajectories in order to promote outcomes that ensure longer-term productivity, cohesion and social inclusion. (Barnes and Morris, 2008: 1198)

The government's latest *Opportunity for All* update (DWP, 2008) notes that 'significant progress' has been made on a range of its social exclusion indicators, with education in particular outlined as showing good progression. However, the latest JRF *Monitoring Poverty and Social Exclusion* report (Palmer *et al*, 2008) is less equivocal, noting that the 'overall impression of early momentum not being sustained' in several high profile areas, such as children living in low-income household, working-age adults in low-income workless families, people in low-income households and people in households with an income below a fixed income threshold. This leads it to conclude that:

On the specific subject of child poverty, where Government policy is currently focused, the question is 'how to restart progress'. This analysis suggests that the answer is not simply 'work as the route out of poverty'. Rather, there needs to be an understanding of the problems that work can cause as well as the benefits that it provides. (Palmer *et al*, 2008a: 6)

Thus, as highlighted in the *Introduction*, the downgrading of the SEU to the Social Exclusion Task Force in 2006 did not occur as a result of social exclusion being solved, but rather, according to the minister responsible for the then new SETF Hilary Armstrong, from a realisation that the SEU had failed to reach some of the poorest, most isolated and vulnerable families (Wintour, 2006), as suggested in the JRF report.

That there should be a stalling of policy outcomes is perhaps not surprising considering that New Labour's claim of a substantial 'policy departure' is questionable on a number of points. For a start, there is a question as to whether New Labour's 'definition' is a definition of what social exclusion actually is, or is in fact simply an outline of what it sees as the 'key features' of social exclusion (Stewart and Hills, 2005). In particular,

Micklewright has questioned the pragmatic considerations behind the use of the words 'can happen' in the SEU's definition, as it suggests that:

...what we are left with is a description of examples of circumstances that may lead to exclusion rather than a definition of exclusion itself – although it is fairly obvious that the implied fate behind the wording is one of being 'shut out' from society in some sense. (Micklewright, 2005: 3)

Indeed, it is also observable that New Labour's definition is focussed on outcomes and 'makes no reference to the processes that create the problem identified in the definition' (Percy-Smith, 2000: 4). A good example of New Labour's key features approach is the emphasis on a range of indicators for social exclusion within the *Opportunity for All* reports; this is something which Pierson (2001) argues signifies the confusion of 'causation' with 'correlation', as:

Indicators do not identify the 'causes' of social exclusion ...They are merely quantifiable signposts – ways of estimating the degree of exclusion within a particular area. (Pierson, 2001: 8)

This leads to the conclusion that Fairclough makes that:

In the language of New Labour social exclusion is an outcome rather than a process – it is a condition people are in rather than something that is done to them. (Fairclough, 2000:54)

Furthermore, while using such a wide range of indicators can be useful in providing a general picture of the extent of social exclusion and also to focus on its specific aspects, in general the approach is limited as it presumes that one thing will lead to another without attempting to link them together theoretically. For example, reducing unemployment may lead to a reduction in social exclusion, but there is no explanation of to what extent or how, meaning that for New Labour, 'government is about solving

discrete problems' (Lister, 2001: 433), which to a large extent undermines its 'multidimensional' approach. Consequently, as Atkinson *et al* argue:

...it is not clear how the headline indicators can be used to measure whether [the overall objective] has been halved, or eradicated at a particular date, especially when the overall objective has not been specified at all. (Atkinson *et al*, 2002: 67)

Moreover, policies like the New Deal and Sure Start are also concomitant with the emphasis in its definition of social exclusion on specific problem groups, and in this sense, it is arguable that New Labour's approach is an example of 'problem selection' over 'problem definition' (Schram, 1995: 125). Thus, by focusing exclusively on the negative effects of social exclusion in its definition, New Labour has discursively placed the unwanted characteristics of the socially excluded as outside those of mainstream society, the effect of which has been to distract attention from the essentially class-divided character of society and to make conformity to mainstream society the focus of policy (Levitas, 2005).

In one respect, there is at least consistency between New Labour's conceptual and methodological approaches to social exclusion, as its focus on the resources commanded by individuals rather than their actual living conditions can be conceptualised as an indirect approach to the measurement of poverty rather than a direct approach, which necessitates policy concerned with equality of opportunity rather than equality of outcome (Ringen, 1988). Indeed, Gordon Brown (cited in Levitas, 2005) has made the explicit rejection of equality of outcome in favour of equality of opportunity a specific policy focus of New Labour, and in this respect, a continuation can be seen with previous governments' emphasis on equality of opportunity for those deemed to be

disadvantaged, with any redistribution through equality of outcome rejected on economic and moral grounds (Goes, 2004). What limited redistribution has taken place, for example increases in Income Support and Job Seekers' Allowance, has been done by 'stealth' (Levitas, 2001), and been constrained to 'improving the situation of those at the bottom relative to the middle with the position of those at the top considered unimportant' (Stewart and Hills, 2005: 15). Theoretically, the emphasis on equality of opportunity can be seen as locating policy in general towards the 'anti-egalitarianism' emphasis of the right, rather than the 'egalitarianism' of the left (Bobbio, 1996). Indeed, the New Labour approach has been implicitly criticised by the European Commission, in stating that:

The equally consistent finding that resource-related factors, in particular education, social class and employment, determine pathways into social exclusion (including persistent poverty risk, persistent deprivation and multiple deprivation) suggests that a political and policy commitment to education, training and employment remain – or should remain – strongholds of the national welfare states and the European social agenda. Targeted policies concentrating on those with accentuated needs over a period of time, like single parent households, older single person households or households with dependent children, are a complement but not a substitute of more generic social policies. (European Commission, 2002: 147)

The criticism above specifically questions the narrow focus of New Labour's approach within which 'problem selection' is prioritised over 'problem definition'. In particular Clasen (2003) has observed that that over the last 20 years, low benefit rates and the doubling of the number of claimants of low means tested benefits have been the two main reasons for an increased risk of poverty (Clasen, 2003). This suggests a necessity for 'passive' welfare policies that consider the 'effects of events' in a redistributive manner (Hills, 2002), and that combating social exclusion demands at least an interest

in income equality (Brady, 2003; Ellison and Ellison, 2006). That such limitations are observable in New Labour's approach, whether with reference to definition and causes, is somewhat ironic when considering that as argued earlier, in Britain at least, the impetus for the shift to social exclusion was rationalised by New Labour as a substantial shift from previous policy, encompassing the need to reflect the broader and multiple components of social disadvantage (Nunn *et al*, 2007).

3.4 Weak or Strong Social Exclusion?

Veit-Wilson (1998), in distinguishing between 'weak' and 'strong' forms of social exclusion as outlined in the previous section, related social exclusion to an humanistic strand of poverty, as it inherently assumes that:

...humans are real members of society with their own values, interests, projects and patterns of life, where ordinary activities are accessible to study and evaluation. (Veit-Wilson 1998: 44)

He contrasts this approach with 'asocial' discourses of poverty, which accords a 'simplistic hypothesis' to the 'realities of human social behaviour'. In these terms at least, New Labour's adoption of the term social exclusion can be seen as a shift from previous administrations' emphasis on poverty. However, Veit-Wilson (1998) also notes that the term social exclusion can be used in many different and often precise ways. This is where the distinction between 'weak' and 'strong' social exclusion makes itself very relevant, as:

Exclusion is an active term: someone is doing the excluding. Even if poor people are not excluded directly by overt discrimination, they are excluded from access to the political resources required for participation, since conflict between social groups over the distribution of limited resources (material and coercive) is at the heart of politics. This strong sense of the term seems to be absent from European politics. The focus of this

discourse on the socially excluded diverts attention from the search for and opposition to politically powerful excluded. (Veit-Wilson, 1998: 67)

This means that, as Smith argues, the idea of social exclusion in its strong form:

...provides a justification for intervention both against the most extreme forms of poverty and in order to protect the rights of all citizens. It presents a counter perspective to that of free market theory. (Smith, 1999: 65)

However, with regard to the claim made by New Labour of substantive change in the shift from poverty to social exclusion, significant limitations can be seen in New Labour's approach in relation to the conceptualisation, policy outcomes and discourse, especially with regard to its focus on the process by which people become excluded, which can be seen as a continuation of an agency centred policy discourse. Indeed David Miliband (2005) more recently emphasised the intention from New Labour of continuing to focus in policy on 'concentrated' forms of social exclusion, in contrast to 'wider' 'forms', suggesting that any acceptance of a broader definition of social exclusion is not on the agenda. This suggests, as Smith argues, that:

...as the term has become more popular in its usage, and is now common in British newspapers ... its meaning has tended to become diluted...In the UK 'social exclusion' has also come to be equated with poverty although this promotes a narrower meaning - an economic state of deprivation - rather than the broad meaning of economic, political, legal and social processes which bar people from full social participation. (Smith, 1999: 65)

In particular, Gingrich (2006: 6-7) states that the concept of social exclusion as used by New Labour reflects the idea that it is incumbent upon a kind or category of individual, and so does not signify a shift of perspective 'beyond the poverty paradigm', with its focus on material outcomes. Thus, it is arguable that 'agency' constitutes a significant aspect of New Labour's social exclusion, but in what Labonte (2004: 117) argues is a

'subtle form of victim blaming', whereby 'their disadvantage is seen to lie in their exclusion, rather than in excluding structures'. When combined with the absence of causal factors in its definition as highlighted above, this can be seen as supporting Lund's (2002: 206) claim that 'because New Labour has not identified any structural causal agents, the implication remains that the excluded have caused their own exclusion'. This is not an approach that can be seen as a distinct departure from previous governments' emphasis on poverty, despite the persistent structured inequality which has made itself more than apparent (Marsh, 1999). This suggests that the focus on social exclusion is not as distinct as posited, and Byrne (2005) argues in particular that New Labour's inability to conceive of social exclusion as a process engendered by any agents other than the excluded themselves commits it to the weakest possible weak version of the concept as a basis for social policies. Rather, the evidently individualistically-centred policies mark out New Labour's approach as a weak form of social exclusion, rather than strong form.

3.5 Summary

In outlining briefly how social exclusion came to be used as a concept to explain disadvantage in the UK, New Labour's claim of a substantial departure from previous governments' analyses of poverty plays a crucial role. However, this claim is not as distinct as New Labour has delineated. In particular, New Labour's specific articulation of the individual causes social exclusion makes itself readily apparent in policy, and this explicitly ignores social exclusion's 'value added' encompassing of both the social relations and the processes by which people become excluded, to greater or lesser extents, from wider society. This is a 'weak' conceptualisation not far removed from

previous governments', something that can also be said in relation to its overall emphasis on equality of opportunity over equality of outcome, and provides a possible explanation why there has been a stalling of social exclusion outcomes. The next section explores the theoretical underpinning of New Labour's weak approach to social exclusion.

4. The Theoretical Adequacy of New Labour's Social Exclusion Approach: A 'weak' critique and a 'strong' departure

This chapter considers the theoretical assumptions which have underpinned the weak version of social exclusion adopted by New Labour. The Third Way account of Anthony Giddens is identified as being central to New Labour policy, through it claims that in the transition from modernity to late modernity, it is the reflexive way that individuals construct their biographies per se which configures the current epoch, and that policies should be oriented towards this change. Giddens's claims of the late modern are contrasted with that of the post-modern, leading to a considered opinion on their respective merits. However, two specific claims regarding social exclusion in late modernity are made, which differ from that of Giddens. This essential relates that social exclusion in late modernity is a phenomenon specifically located within the occurrence of greater relative deprivation, which itself occurs from the prevalence of the 'old' structural inequalities of modernity.

In the previous chapters I argued that while studies of poverty have long aimed towards income as a measure of poverty, an important component of the 'value-added' nature of social exclusion is its emphasis on a broader analysis of the causes and conditions of disadvantage than poverty. This broader analysis additionally encompasses both the social relations and the processes by which people become excluded, to greater or lesser extents, from wider society. However, it was specifically observed that New Labour's definition of social exclusion gives emphasis to 'states of multiple deprivation', thereby giving prominence to socially excluded groups as the

defining feature of social exclusion. This emphasis does not attempt to suggest any processes by which people become excluded, but instead constructs a weak form of social exclusion from which it is possible to discern a policy framework that emphasises individualistic causes of social exclusion, implying to a large extent that the excluded significantly cause their own exclusion.

In this chapter, I explore the origins of New Labour's Anthony Giddens inspired 'Third Way' approach to social policy in general, in order to understand the theoretical underpinnings of its weak account of social exclusion. Through this, a collocation emerges between theory and policy, albeit one which is inherently flawed, and this inadequacy forms the basis of two specific claims regarding social exclusion, which differ from that of Giddens, and thus New Labour. Firstly, I will argue that late modernity, in contrast to modernity, has seen an emphasis on new forms of individualism, not individualisation, which has led to the creation of new sources of identity with a greater likelihood of conflicting with each, thereby constituting social exclusion. And secondly, I will argue that social exclusion in late modernity is a phenomenon specifically located within the occurrence of greater relative deprivation, which itself occurs from the prevalence of the 'old' structural inequalities of modernity.

4.1 Giddens's Third Way

The origins of New Labour's social policy approach has been related to the publication of the *Commission for Social Justice Report* in 1994 under the leadership of John Smith (McLaughlin and Baker, 2007) and linked theoretically to a number of positions (see Prideaux (2005) for a 'sociological critique' of these positions). But it is

the ‘Third Way’ which has arguably had the most influence on New Labour (Wetherly, 2001); indeed, according to Page (2007a), the origins of a third way approach from New Labour was distinguishable in the foreword to New Labour’s 1997 General Election Manifesto, which stated that:

We will be a radical government. But the definition of radicalism will not be that of doctrine whether left or right but of government. New Labour is a party of ideas and ideals but not of outdated ideology. What counts is what works. (Labour Party, 1997: 4)

As implied by the above excerpt, the key theme of the third way approach is the rejection of Old Left and New Right positions (Morrison, 2004). This rejection, out of the perceived shortcomings of social democracy and neo-liberalism, engenders the search for a new relationship between the individual and the community in which the entitlement to welfare rights take second place to responsibilities to the community (Kennedy and Kennedy, 2007). New Labour’s third way position draws heavily on the work of Anthony Giddens, and his notion that ‘reflexivity’ is a key theme of ‘late modern’ period in which we now live in (Giddens, 1991).

4.1.1 Giddens’s ‘late modern’ period

The ‘late modern’ account of Giddens (1991: 14) argues that the institutions of ‘modernity’ are shaping and are shaped by the emergence of new mechanisms of self-identity. He refers to modernity as ‘institutions and modes of behaviour established first of all in post-feudal Europe but which in the twentieth century have become world-historical in their impact’, and which can be understood as roughly equivalent to the industrialised world but not only pertaining to the institutional dimension of industrialism. Giddens argues that western industrialised societies are at least still within the epoch of modernity, but in a mature period, and that the

defining characteristics of this late period is greater 'reflexivity' within societies.

Reflexivity, as Jary observes, involves:

...a break with traditional 'certainties', whether religious or ideological... Ontologies and epistemologies are today insecure, leading to 'postmodern' proclamations such as the end of the individual and ethics. But for Giddens the crucial thing is that reflexivity becomes the basis of new possibilities for arriving – through dialogue – at fresh social and political definitions, especially those arising from the primacy of problems of a global kind'. (Jary, 2005:639)

For Giddens (1991), the greater reflexivity of late modernity is characterised by the susceptibility of most aspects of social activity and material relations with nature to change and revision in the light of new information or knowledge (pg. 27). This revision occurs principally from the sense that science and technology are double edged, creating new parameters of risk and danger, as well as offering beneficent possibilities for humankind. In particular, he argues that while modernity reduced the overall riskiness of everyday living in comparison to traditional periods, gradually it has introduced new 'high-consequence' and more pervasive 'manufactured uncertainty', social in origin, ranging from global warming to over population to global war, and derived particularly from 'the globalised character of the social systems of modernity' (pg. 4). Paradoxically, although such manufactured uncertainties are at some distance from our individual lives and seemingly remote, they potentially affect everyone or large numbers of people.

The advance of manufactured uncertainty is a long-term phenomenon, but has been accelerated from three peculiar dynamic characteristics in the development of modern social life. These are:

1. the influence of intensifying globalization (the co-ordination of the actions of many human beings physically absent from one another);
2. the emergence of a post-traditional social order (the 'lifting out of social relations from local contexts and their rearticulating across indefinite tracts of time space); and
3. the expansion of social reflexivity (the filtering of relevant information to life situation, and action on the basis of such filtering)

Suppressed in the past by the dominance of simple modernization, the global spread of the capitalism economy has contemporarily meant that these three dynamic characteristics have come to the fore, constituting the progression to late modernity which 'produces a situation in which humankind in some respects becomes a 'we', facing problems and opportunities where there are no 'others' (pg. 27). This is characterised by widespread scepticism about providential reason, coupled with the recognition that science and technology are double-edged, creating new parameters of risk and danger as well as offering beneficent possibilities for humankind (pg. 27), and in which the content and form, if not the intensity, of prevalent anxieties have become altered. Of these, social reflexivity is the key influence on a diversity of changes that otherwise have little in common, for example technological change, bureaucratic authority, and politics.

4.1.2 Reflexive individualisation and social exclusion

Such changes in modernity have consequences for both the nature and causes of poverty. For Giddens, manufactured uncertainty causes four main high consequence risks, each of which correspond to an institutional dimension of modernity. One of

these is the development of poverty on a large scale, as relative poverty, as opposed to absolute poverty, becomes the most dominant type of poverty, which thereby means that, at any rate, millions of people in the richest societies are poor. Such a global spread has a major influence on the difficulties of the welfare state in affluent countries, as capitalism has a tendency to produce polarizations of income both within and between countries (pg. 88). More specifically, the combined effects of globalization and social reflexivity alter the character of stratification systems within economically developed societies, such as the shrinking of the blue-collar work and the concomitant rise in proportions of people in white-collar and professional occupations. These changes affect the class system and also the political life of modern societies; equally importantly, the growth of social reflexivity produces forms of 'double discrimination' affecting the underprivileged, as to the effects of material deprivation are added disqualification from reflexive incorporation in the wider social order. Exclusionary mechanisms here are normally both social and psychological, concerning not only subjection to modes of power coming from the technical control of knowledge-based systems, but also attacking the integrity of the system itself (pg. 90).

At a more theoretical level, Giddens argues that the emphasis on reflexivity provides for a more sophisticated analysis of social reality, through its rejection of some of the features that have been identified as important to modernity, for example foundationalism and universalism. This relates to the observation of the knowledge base, and in this sense a correlation with post-structuralism may be discerned in that it encourages the dematerialization of structures into discursive practices (Schram, 1995: xxix). Giddens (1994) argues that the causes of poverty are complex, and

cannot simply be blamed on capitalism. A key outcome of these changes has been the redefinition of ‘equality’ and ‘inequality’. Under ‘old’ modernity, inequality was too narrowly defined in terms of economic inequalities based on class and measured in terms of income and wealth. Thus, a key argument of the third way is that the old social democratic emphasis on inequality is no longer relevant. Instead, Giddens’s third way redefines inequality as exclusion from ones community and/or the key institutions of social life such as education and employment (Kennedy and Kennedy, 2007: 288). **This also suggests that the significance of economic, social, demographic and cultural structures to the process of social exclusion is less relevant than in comparison to the past, as social exclusion is mediated to a greater extent extent through the ‘individualised’ biographies constructed by individuals.** It should have become apparent by now that as Fudge and Williams argue:

The central struggle of Giddens’s impressive body of work has been his attempts to reconcile and rework the age-old problematic of structure and agency in order to account for the ongoing development of modernity...According to the argument proposed by Giddens, the contemporary global age exemplifies the principles of this argument most clearly in that the essential rationality of the human agent has a greater potential to self-realization, or self-actualization, within the possibilities provided by the new global information driven medium. (Fudge and Williams, 2006: 590)

Concomitantly, Giddens argues that the change in late modernity towards greater reflexivity presents greater possibilities for the realisation of individual identity than ever possible in modernity, and so in this respect late modernity is optimistically configured (Jamieson, 1999).

The third way, then, prioritises an essentially individualistic ethic of responsibility (Dean, 2004); socioeconomic and demographic factors, although acknowledged, are regarded as secondary to the role of attitudes and values in perpetuating welfare

dependency and disengagement from work (Smith, 2007: 366). Rather, 'heroic citizens are autonomous and responsible risk takers, willing to provide for their own welfare. All they need in the government's mind is the right information and they can be expected to seek out the best deal to suit their circumstances' (Dean, 2004). This emphasis, McLennan argues:

...explains why earlier attempts to build a communitarian theme into Third Way ideas fall by the wayside, and individualistic, meritocratic impulses, operating under an overarching notion of postmaterialist, 'lifestyle politics', come to the fore. (McLennan, 2004: 491)

Instead, according to Giddens's third way:

...state institutions must now develop concurrently with the idea of the 'self monitoring individual', and the 'reflexive agent'. Institutions such as the welfare state and educational establishments now have to be much more receptive to the idea that the risk, or reflexive stage of modernity, brings with it the possibilities for new choices or life chances. According to Giddens, this is not simply the resurrection of the 'sovereign economic individual' implicit in the policies of the new right, it is about creating the conditions for what he calls the freeing up of the reflexive agent who is now able to make more informed decisions in charting the individual life course... Here, philosophical conceptions of structure and agency have become reconfigured in order to reflect the social and economic conditions of late modernity where the third way has become, 'the political midwife of the new knowledge economy'. (Fudge and Williams, 2006: 588)

The late modern account of Giddens, then, points to the declining importance and relevance of what in modernity was the most important structural consideration, class (Crompton, 2006). At the same time, the importance of reflexive individualisation, viz. agency, is heightened, especially in relation to social exclusion. This explains in particular the theoretical underpinning of New Labour's articulation of 'weak' social exclusion, as this account explicitly rejects 'strong' considerations of social exclusion, encompassing of both the social relations and the processes by which people become excluded, to greater or lesser extents, from wider society, as evident in policy.

4.1.3 The third way in policy

Similar themes to Giddens's reflexive individualisation are found in Beck's (1992) account of 'reflexive modernization' in the second modernity of 'risk' society, but it is Giddens account which has had the most influence on New Labour's policy. In presenting the changes of globalization as both inevitable and as 'a self regulating and implacable force of nature' (Hall, 1998:11), these ideas have given legitimacy to the third way projects of various countries, notable Britain and Germany (Fudge and Williams, 2006). For example, in 1999 Tony Blair and Gerard Schroder, then the German Chancellor, issued a jointly authored manifesto on the 'Third Way/Neue Mitte' in specific response 'to 'conditions that have objectively changed', particularly the emergence of a more globalised, knowledge-based and technologically driven economy' (Hudson *et al*, 2008: 210).The key elements of their response to a changed modernity entailed:

*...the need for the Third Way to depart from traditional social democracy in areas where the latter was deemed to have failed in the past...the need for flexibility 'in a world of ever more rapid globalisation and scientific changes' and the need 'to invest in human capital: to make the individual and businesses fit for the knowledge-based economy of the future'. Finally, there is the need to develop a new 'supply side agenda for the left' in order to meet key social and economic policy challenges. Here the message is clear: traditional Keynesianism is no longer an option so 'economies must be adaptable: flexible markets are a modern social democratic aim. (Hudson *et al*, 2008: 210)*

These needs have constructed third way policies by New Labour in Britain that are:

...distinctive from the 'old left' and the 'new right'... are based on investing rather than levelling or deregulating; inclusion rather than equality or inequality; conditionality rather than rights or responsibilities; partnerships rather than the state or the private sector; networks rather than hierarchies or markets; and pragmatism about social expenditure rather than high or low spending. A 'modern' or 'investor's' welfare state is proactive, emphasising prevention, and stressing causes rather than effects. It redistributes opportunities rather than just redistributing income. There is a new stress on paid work and responsibility. (Bonoli and Powell, 2002: 61)

At a broad macroeconomic level, Hay (2004: 41) argues that the influence of the third way political economy is easy to observe, as evident in New Labour's 'open economy macroeconomics and its agenda of supply side reform and human capital formation respectively.' In relation to the welfare state, Burkitt argues that:

New Labour seeks not the abolition nor the extension of the welfare state, but rather a change in its character...The New Labour approach to social policy, based upon the strategy of constrained discretion, is to change the character of the welfare state... the amelioration of absolute and relative poverty to the improvement of capacity defined under global market terms. It is clear from New Labour policy and literature that it emphasises equality of opportunity rather than treatment or of outcome. Consequently its social policy is integrally related to its focus upon investment in human capital. To the extent that education and training deliver an adaptable, well motivated, highly skilled and well remunerated workforce, the problems of poverty and inequality will be considerably reduced. (Burkitt, 2006: 7-8)

This means that the concern of policy is to engender the reconnection, or inclusion, with such institutions, not with inequality *per se*, as David Blunkett, cited in Page, outlined:

Paid work is the key to productive and fulfilling lives. Of course, there are many other worthwhile forms of fulfilment and contribution, not least unpaid parenting, but in modern societies, work is central to an individual's identity, their social status and their ability to exercise real choices in other areas of their lives.
(Page, 2007a: 108)

Such reconnection is only possible with a shift from the traditional passive welfare state to a more 'active' one, focusing on the constraints people face in the new modernity (Hills, 2002: 230). A concrete manifestation of this active welfare state has been the welfare to work programme of New Labour, and the previously described emphasis on paid work with New Labour's social exclusion policy. Such policy has now come to occupy an 'influential moral argument', which posits:

...agency as the primary bearer of contemporary risk, while serving to legitimate many of the structural barriers that stand between the self-autonomizing individual Giddens would have us believe is now characteristic of late modern society. (Fudge and Williams, 2006: 585)

4.2 The Third Way – Reality or Fallacy?

4.2.1 The Late Modern

The notion of the late modern as described by Giddens is dependent upon the pre-existence of ‘modernity’ itself. However, O’Brien and Penna’s (1996) delineation of the three distinct senses in which the question of ‘the modern’ can be posed shows, as Therborn (1995) observes, that there is, not very much consensus as to what modernity actually is. This suggests more generally that, as Yack (1997: 12) argues, the concept of modernity is best applied as a ‘heuristic device’ as it allows for speculation, analysis and historical context to be analysed in new ways, but only if we remember that this is an intellectual device and should not be taken as worldly reality; if this happens and modernity is treated as a coherent and integrated whole, there is the risk of obscuring more layers of reality and more aspects of experience that we uncover and that have characterised our experience.

Nevertheless, the prevalence of an epoch that can be differentiated from others and which can be seen as having the characteristics ascribed to ‘modernity’ by Giddens does make itself apparent as the manifestation of the Enlightenment notion of progressive development and rationality, proceeding as it did traditional/feudal societies, in which the development of nation states and other institutions came to the fore. Modernity in this sense is also characterised by rapid economic growth and the development of the nation state as the source of welfare capitalism vis-à-vis the

welfare state (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Wallace and Kovatscheva, 1998), a universalism in both the economic and cultural spheres, notwithstanding the inter-war period, the apex of which was the ‘thirty golden years’ (Wagner, 2001) in the immediate World War Two (WW2) period.

Similarly, despite the lack of consensus as to what ‘modernity’ actually means, that there has been some process of social change within Western societies at least is relatively uncontested, and this rupture is typically dated from the mid 1970s (Byrne 1997; Hirst and Thompson 1999; Amin 1994; Roche 1992). What is contested is what this rupture has meant in terms of the epoch we now live in; as Crooks *et al* observe:

The observation that radical social change is in process is shared widely but there is considerable disagreement as to whether we are witnessing a simple extension, or development, of modernity, or whether we are entering a genuinely new historical configuration. (Crooks *et al*, 1992: 1)

Thus, there is disagreement about how far the change has gone between ‘late-modernity’ continuity and ‘post-modernity’ discontinuity in modernity, with Gray (1997), for example, outlining an ‘interregnum’ between modernity and early post-modern period.

At the simplest level, post-modernity can be differentiated from modernity in terms of the emphasis on contextualisation, relativism and pluralism as opposed to foundationalism and certainty. In contrast to late modernity, post modernity emphasises the epochal transition from modernity, and typically views the totality of the development of modernity in a negative manner, and arguing that the Enlightenment notion of progressive development of modernity was an illusionary

and discriminating reality. Bauman (1989) in particular provides a challenge to this general notion of modernity as a period of progressive development, in arguing that the need to separate people into strongly distinguished groups was an intrinsic aspect of hierarchic nature of modernity, resulting in discriminatory practices which ultimately culminating in the Holocaust and other kinds of social division. This transition is underpinned by ‘incredulity’ towards the ‘grand narratives’ of modernity (Yack, 1997), presaging a shift away from the universality of metanarratives to the contestability of particular ‘discourses’ (Marx and Mazlish, 1998), as evidenced in the previous section. This contestability of the present is evident in the emphasis given to other forms of identity in social policy, such as the feminizing and radicalisation of poverty (Williams, 1989). Progressive development in the domains of work and family are typically described as catalysts for this change, occurring principally from the tensions and contradictions within modernity itself, especially in the industrial and technological spheres of the economy.

The claims of post-modernity in contrast to that of late modernity can be seen to be limited by a number of factors however. Post-modernity typically criticises modernity for its emphasis on grand narratives for social reality, but it can be seen that post-modernity shares with modernity, and late-modernity, the concept that changes towards post-modernity are related to the nature of modernity itself in a dialectical manners; in so doing, post-modernity clings to a ‘westernized narrative of modernity’ (Gray, 1997), and thus relies on the existence of the same analytical tool that is argued to limit modernity. This can be seen especially with regard to the concept of globalisation, which is often claimed as a significant marker of post-modernity (Hirst and Thompson, 1999), whereby it signifies the creation of a new world order.

However, globalisation is not a new concept, it can be found in the work of that most modern of thinkers, Marx himself (Marx and Mazlish, 1996). Furthermore, it is a concept that fits well with modernist notion of progressive development - that knowledge growth equates to greater efficiency and freedom (Kumar, 1995). Touraine, cited in Therbon (1995: 4), has stated that 'we leave modernity when we cease to define a conduct or a form of social organisation on the axis of tradition-modernity or underdevelopment-development'; if this is the case, then from post-modernity's own criteria, post-modernity cannot be viewed as a fully fledged condition in its own right, as in itself it has little or nothing by way of definite characteristic and features that analytically define it from modernity (Tester, 1993: 151).

Also, the concomitant post-modern claim that all knowledge systems are equal within post-modernity (Yack, 1997) obviates the 'regime of truth' observed by Foucault (1980), which can be seen to emphasise the fallacy of the claims of post-modernity, whereby:

It requires a wilful blindness to some of the most prominent features of our social landscape. We live with a style of knowledge that disrupts and deplores other styles of knowledge wherever it goes – and it seems to be going everywhere these days. A juggernaut still runs through our world. Cultural, moral and political discourse still struggle on in the spaces to each side of the swath it cuts. (Yack, 1997: 86)

Thus, as Sardor (1998:20) observes with regard to the post-modern 'we' and its emphasis on 'freedom of choice', it is not a pluralistic global 'we' that is relevant to those least disadvantaged or socially excluded, but only to those in North America and Western Europe who are privileged enough to belong a particular groups in western societies. Such an approach, then, in ignoring people's differential

experiences of structures, fails to acknowledge the particularities of embodied experience, as mediated by poverty ethnicity and disability for example, and so can fall into the trap of assuming that the constraints placed on individuals are merely discursive (Ward, 2005: 102).

In contrast to the realism outlined above, then, such relativism represents 'an epistemological nihilism in which truth is an illusion' (Manicas, 1998: 316), which 'at their most extreme end [make] social science itself impossible' (Wallace and Kovatcheva, 1998: 8). Moreover, the emphasis in post-structuralism on discursive representation, according to King (1996:5) can be seen as limiting in that 'Human actions, behaviour, protests celebrations and contestations are likewise representative practices making manifest the attitudes, values and priorities which inform them' and so 'attention to how structure and institutions help impart meaning is a necessary part of the deconstructive enterprise' (Schram, 1995: xxix). This is not to repeat the epistemological fallacy of modernity, to claim that such action or behaviour directly correlates to rational reality, but rather to relate that, epistemologically 'in spite of the philosophical musings of the postmodernists, there is a 'there' out there' (Wolcott, 2001:33), and ontologically, social exclusion can and does manifest itself as an artefact of such structures and institutions, and thus the focus of research should be upon the broader political economy of society from which such representation occurs (Room, 1999).

This means that the usefulness of the term late modernity, as Fornas argues, is that it:

...renders it possible for scholars to see how on certain points this phase diverges from previous patterns, rather than always having to make vague

references to modern aspects or characteristics without any historical specifications. The concept also makes it clear that late modernity does not turn previous relationships totally upside down but rather carries on and radicalises forces and processes which are inbuilt in the several-centuries-old modern project. (Fornas, 1995:4)

The general notion of late modernity, then, provides a useful heuristic contrast to that of post-modernity, in that its explanation of gradual change from modernity is more plausible than a wholesale rupture. However, other key aspects of Giddens's theory are less amenable to critical analysis, as described below.

4.2.2 Individualisation

The other main strand to Giddens's work is that of reflexive individualisation, wherein he argues that the significance of economic, social, demographic and cultural structures to the process of social exclusion is less than that of the biographies that are constructed by individuals, and so social exclusion predominately manifests itself as the outcome of such individual biographical construction. Concomitantly, he posits that the change in late modernity towards greater individualisation presents greater possibilities for the realisation of individual identity than ever possible in modernity, and so in this respect late modernity is optimistically configured. More significantly, such individualisation orients structural constraints as less important in the construction of social exclusion, as:

...people with the same income level, or put in an old-fashioned way, within the same 'class', can or even must choose between different lifestyles, subcultures social ties and identities. From knowing one's 'class' position one can no longer determine one's personal outlook, relations, social and political ideas or identity. (Beck, 1992: 131)

However, the emphasis on reflexivity by Giddens has been criticised by Furlong and Cartmel (1997: 113) for the over significance it attaches to changes in the ways

individuals interpret the world and subjectively construct social realities, a characteristic which May and Cooper (1995: 76) argue exaggerates the existence of new forms of subjectivity, so that ‘the constraints that are placed on the capacity of individuals to construct new identities are profoundly underestimated.’ More generally, the relativism inherent within individualisation has been critiqued as having an ‘anything goes’ outlook to social reality (Wagner, 2001), and not having any empirical roots, by in particular, subtracting from our human powers and accrediting all of them – selfhood, reflexivity, thought, memory and emotionality – to society’s discourse (Archer, 2000: 4). Moreover, such relativism can be problematic epistemologically because, as Sarup argues:

...if all values are relative to specific cultures, discourse or language, then why make claims at all about what is right, just or true. Why bother to hold and views about anything? (Sarup, 1996: 103)

Moreover, Alexander (1996) argues that the distinction between tradition and reflexive modernity in Giddens’s work, in which tradition exercises influence only in a non-cultural way, ignores the importance of cultural tradition on reflexivity. In particular, Goldthorpe and Marshall have observed a ‘dualistic historical thinking’ in the late-modern analysis of Giddens, whereby:

...a communitarian and solidaristic proletariat of some bygone heyday of class antagonism is set against the atomised and consumer-oriented working class of today – in a manner, however, that has little basis in either sociological or historical research. (Goldthorpe and Marshall, 1992:387)

However, it is interesting to note that even where analytical frameworks are definitively concerned with culture, as with Bourdieu’s ‘habitus’, it is structure that is identified as the explanatory for cultural positions (Bourdieu, 1989). Furthermore, it is observable that the class barriers to social mobility have remained more or less unchanged, as:

If the degree of individual socioeconomic mobility is measured in relative terms (thereby discounting the mobility resulting from a general upgrading of the occupational structure), it can be said to have remained fairly constant over time. (Erickson and Goldthorpe, cited in Leisering and Walker, 1998:5)

Such empirical support, as Goldthorpe and McKnight (2004: 1) argue ‘serves to undermine currently fashionable arguments claiming the decline, or even death, of class in the context of the post-modern’ societies of the ‘global era’ together’, thereby contradicting both post-modern and late modern rhetoric of individual liberty and choice (Macdonald, 2000a).

4.3 Considering A Strong Late Modern Form of Social Exclusion

In agreeing with Giddens on a general notion of late modernity to that of post-modernity, there is acknowledgement that there has been some radical changes in the spheres of community and work, involving a change in social relations, and the transformation and separation of the labour markets and the economic crises in structural unemployment respectively (Young, 1999). Concomitantly, the consequence of these two processes are distinct but related, with the outcome of the change in social relations being a rise in individualism and the unravelling of traditionalities of community and family, while the transformation of the labour market has intensified the significance of latent structural inequalities of modernity. This means that in late modernity, there is a move away from modernity’s inclusive society’s emphasis on the injustices of the unequal treatment of people who are the same, to the ‘exclusive’ society of late modernity, built around the twin pillars of new individualism and old structural inequalities, and this accounts for the increased social exclusion of late modernity (Young, 1999).

This means that social exclusion, then, can be related to two specific features of late modernity. Firstly, it is argued here that social exclusion is a phenomenon specifically located within the occurrence of greater relative deprivation occurring from old structural inequalities of late modernity in relation to modernity itself. And secondly, it is also argued that the process of individualism in late modernity has led to the creation of new sources of identity with a greater likelihood of conflicting with each other, and thus in this context social exclusion occurs as a consequence of the expression of individualism in response to the structural inequalities of late modernity.

4.3.1 ‘Old’ Structure

Concomitant with this diminution of the structural constraints, individualisation has been claimed to become the ‘new’ social structure (France, 2007). The emphasis on individual agency present in the accounts of Giddens is, according to Deacon and Mann (1999), a recent phenomenon as social policy from the post-war period has been generally primarily concerned with structural considerations, such as educational disadvantage, spatial segregation, class location, economic restructuring, unemployment, benefit traps and the requirement of a patriarchal capitalist economy. Furthermore, they ascribe this emphasis to the dominance of Marxist empirical schools of thought, and what they term the ‘Titmuss paradigm’, whereby due to the prodigious influence of Richard Titmuss on the development of British social policy in the post-war years, a concern with agency was effectively deemed off limits to the benefit of structural considerations. They argue further that emphasis on ‘universalism’ in welfare that Titmuss orchestrated was like a ‘red rag’ for the agency based accounts of Giddens. Welshman (2004), while emphasising

that Titmuss's approach to social welfare was more ambivalent than that outlined by Deacon and Mann (see also McLaughlin and Baker, 2007), argues that it is important to contrast the nuanced structural concerns of Titmuss to a shift from an earlier and still then latent individualist emphasis in social administration at the time, within which structural consideration were considered anathema to social policy. For example, both the Poor Law and the New Poor Law, with their emphasis of 'pauperism' rather than 'poverty', were concerned solely with the individualistic causes of poverty, an emphasis which was a significant factor in their failure to ameliorate the poverty of their time (Fraser, 2003).

Perhaps even more significant in this respect is that the 'knightly' welfare state which LeGrand (1997; 2003) argues was detrimentally constructed to counter such structural factors in the form of the post-war welfare state, did in fact manage to create a substantively stable and balanced society encapsulating some of the best features of modernity (Mishra 1998: 483), suggesting that an emphasis on structural rather than individual factors can have more beneficial welfare outcomes. This does not mean, as France and Wiles (1997:75) argue, that a 'fairer society' was created in reality, as there is ample evidence that large sections of the population failed to benefit from social citizenship, but rather, the point is that a 'claim to justice' was made as a 'legitimating device'. Similarly, as Powell (2000), cited in McLaughlin and Baker (2007: 55) points out, although equality was not necessarily the only objective of the welfare state or necessarily an objective, it did strongly influence the post-war politics of the UK and elsewhere in Europe. For example Dean (2000) outlines the period from the end of the Second World War until the global economic crises of the 1970s as 'the highpoint of social citizenship in western capitalist democracies'. This

is not to elide the inequalities and exclusion of the citizenship of social policy in the post war period, but it does suggest that it is possible to point to areas where such citizenship had real beneficial outcomes to its citizens (Roche, 1992). Thus, while being careful not to ‘romanticise’ the past in relation to the future (Morrow, 2001), it is also important not to overlook the progressive development that did occur within the welfare state’s shift from focussing on structural rather than individualistic causes of poverty, so that, as Mishra (1998: 482) argues, ‘as a social system which combined efficiency with social justice and democracy, the post-World War II welfare state represents a resounding success, not a failure.’ This suggests that, as Williams and Popay (1998:2) argue, ‘we cannot afford to lose sight of ‘old’ welfare research concerns with the broader problems of inequality and the structural constraints limiting peoples’ opportunities and choice.’

Thus, as Wetherly (2001) argues, that it is important to locate the ‘risk environments’ of late modernity largely within the framework of the development of capitalism. Prominent as a cause in this respect is the transformation and separation of the labour market towards structural unemployment as occasioned by internationalisation and industrial and corporate restructuring in the context of globalization (Parkinson, 1998). These changes are particular relevant to social exclusion in late modernity as the labour market has played an important role in ameliorating the myriad old structural inequalities of modernity, as evident in Hutton’s (1995) observation of a 30-40-30 division in contemporary British society, stemming principally from the functioning of the labour market, and composed of greater insecurity, marginalization and exclusion in the world of work for those in the poorest 30 division of society. This is not to construct economic activity as the equalising mechanism in modernity, but to

observe that changes in its functioning in late modernity have contributed significantly to the risk of occurrence of social exclusion. This is because in the shift in late modernity away from the equality of modernity towards such economic changes have combined with policy changes to reorient the importance of ‘old’ structural inequalities to the social exclusion of specific groups in late modernity. So, for example, the effective ‘power of social class in contemporary society’ with reference to young people in particular is something which Webber and Butler (2007) argue, and this is something in general which is particularly relevant to young people, as will be detailed in the next section.

4.3.2 ‘New’ Individualism

The shift in late modernity away from the equality of modernity as described above has also had consequences in the sphere of community, with the outcome of the change in social relations being the unravelling of traditionalities of community and family. Giddens recognises and ascribes these changes to the ‘new individualism’ of ‘an age of moral transition’, from which ‘positive possibilities’ (1998:36-37) can and do occur. However, I argue that a particular outcome of such late modern ‘new individualism’ has been the social exclusion of some groups, especially those least advantaged.

Although being one of the most widely used terms in social and political science, there is little clarity on the meaning of the word individualism (Delanty, 2003). However, individualism in Giddens’s late modern sense is conceptually distinct from individualization as the former refers to the changed political and economic culture and the latter to the diversification of lifestyles in the late modern period (Beck and

Beck-Gernshein, 2002: xxi), as evident in his direct quotation of Beck to define 'new individualism' as:

...not Thatcherism, not market individualism, not atomization. On the contrary, it means 'institutionalized individualism'. Most of the rights and entitlements of the welfare state, for example, are designed for individuals rather than for families. In many cases, they presuppose employment. Employment in turn implies education and both of these presuppose mobility. By all these requirements people are invited to constitute themselves as individuals: to plan, understand, design themselves as individuals. (Giddens, 1998:36)

Beck's original quote goes on to say further that:

...and should they fail, to blame themselves. Individualisation thus implies, paradoxically a collective lifestyle. (Beck, 1998:28)

It is the last two sentences of these quotes which emphasise for Giddens and Beck the linkage between late modern institutionalized/new individualism and individualisation, as it suggests that individualism is analytically prior to individualisation, meaning that individualisation occurs out of individualism, or that analytically, 'the culture and ideology of individualism interpenetrates – feeds and is fed by – social changes which encourage greater reflexivity and individualisation' (Ball *et al*, 2000:3). The claim that such individualisation via new individualism leads to a 'collective lifestyle' also underpins the optimistically configured nature of Giddens new individualism, in line with the way he optimistically configures changes in late modernity in general as outlined previously. Thus, for Giddens:

The new individualism goes hand in hand with pressures towards greater democratization. All of us have to live in a more open and reflective manner than previous generations. This change is by no means only a beneficial one: new worries and anxieties come to the fore. But many more positive possibilities do too. (Giddens, 1998:37)

Giddens, then, underplays the negative impact of such new individualism, but these should be seen as very important as in general terms, as Kim *et al* (1994: 2) argue,

'individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family'. They argue further that individualism has been an inherent characteristic of societies such as Britain, through its emphasis on liberalism as a basic tenet of society. However, Van Oorschot (2002) has observed how such 'residual' regimes, including Britain over the last 20 years or so, are less close socially and culturally, and this is evidenced from the fact that 'self interest' has become the most important motivation for people paying for welfare in such residual regimes. Also supporting this claim are Buonfino and Mulgan's (2006) and Graef's (2006) observations of a less integrated society with less trust and automatic mutual support, principally caused by changes in the economy. Concomitantly, as with modernity's emphasis on employment it was *production* which provided the main identity site, as the nature of work has changed in terms of lack of stability in comparison to the past, so it has become less possible to construct identity around work (Bauman, 1998). Rather:

In late modern social order, driven by notions of 'consumer choice' and consumer citizenship', the use and display of symbolic cultural goods displaces work as the site within which dynamics of identity construction and belonging are played out. (Hayward and Yar, 2006: 11)

meaning that the changes towards late modernity has precipitated a concern with consumption (Bauman, 1998). This means that whereas in the past the poor could be defined in relation to their labour market position, today the 'new poor' are defined as those with an inability to participate in the sphere of consumption, and exclusion occurs from the lack of social citizenship since they lack the resources to become consumer citizens (Bauman, 1998). Such consumerism, concomitant with the notion of individualisation, has the effect of obviating the broader social context within which social exclusion occurs (Thompson *et al*, 1994), as, in essence:

In a society of consumers, it is above all the inadequacy of the person as a consumer that leads to social degradation and internal exile. It is this inadequacy, this inability to acquit oneself of the consumer's duties, that turns into bitterness at being left behind, disinherited and degraded, shut off or excluded from the social feast to which others gained entry. Overcoming that consumer inadequacy is likely to be seen as the only remedy – the sole exit from a humiliating plight. (Bauman, 1998: 38)

Whether consumerism can indeed meet the material needs of individuals as defined by them is highly debatable, as consumerism tends to beget the desire for further, more expensive consumption (Wang and Wallendorf, 2006). And perhaps, from the nature of consumerism itself as a thoroughly individual activity which sets individuals at cross purposes to each other leading to division and discontents within society (Baudrillard, 1998), means that, in the context of the economic dislocation outlined above, from the rising consumerism of late modernity there is a widening gap between what people are being encouraged to achieve - or buy - and what they can actually get, leading to greater social tension and disruptive social action (Pahl, 2006). Of especial note here is that these deleterious outcomes from consumerism affect in particular many or all of the elderly, the poor, the unemployed, those without transport, single parents, the infirm or those with minimal discretionary income (Edwards, 2000 p. 92). That this list should look very familiar to the socially excluded as defined by New Labour should be of no surprise when the correspondence between consumption and structural factors, especially class, is taken into consideration (Bourdieu, 1984).

This change has also been facilitated by the way the notion of citizenship has been reconfigured away from around notions of equality towards the notion of inequality, through an emphasis on individual rather than collective welfare. There is a similarity

with Tonnies's (1887), cited in Clarke (2007), distinction between *Gemeinschaft*, referring to a situation of moral unity, rootedness and kinship where relationships are tied to social status, close contact and emotional ties within a bounded local territory, and *Gesellschaft*, referring to a state of individualistic, impersonal anomie. Tonnies argued that the advent of modern capitalism, processes of industrialization and urbanization resulted in a shift in the makeup of social relations from *gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft*, with a subsequent passing of 'community'. But in emphasising such individualism within late modern terms, what this means is that in today's society individuals are expected to effect more changes in their own lifetimes than their predecessors, and it is the promise of mobility that occurs from individualisation which allows 'open societies' to maintain a system of firmly established structural inequalities (Leisering and Walker, 1998: 4-5).

It is arguable that the lack of social policy concerned with limiting consumption, with the exception of taxation and interest rates, has contributed to the growth of consumerism (Edwards, 2000: 88), and indeed that policy itself has become 'consumer-oriented' from an 'understanding of a growth in more individualistic and consumerist forms of public identity' (Page, 2007b: 30). So, for example, Wright *et al* (2000: 5) have outlined how the changes in education relating to academic performance and parental choice 'have created a climate which emphasises competitiveness and individualism.' This growth can be seen to have exacerbated the process of social exclusion (Bauman, 1997), especially as a correlation can be calculated between inequality and consumption inequality (Attanasio, 2004). Shaw and Aldridge (2003) argue that important to this change is the way that the notion of citizenship has been changed, towards a 'consumerism' that is built around the

notion of inequality, with welfare users becoming less taxpaying citizens with rights collectively won and guaranteed by the political process, and more ‘individualized’ customers with regular entitlements paid for by fees or insurance contributions (Baldock, 2003). And it has been observed that the way that such consumerism has facilitated a shift away from ‘publicness’ in public services towards private sector values may have encouraged individuals to pursue ‘narrow self interest at the expense of any wider social public interest’ (Haque, 2001: 69; see also Clarke and Newman, 1997). From LeGrand (1997; 2003) this signifies a shift from ‘knights’ to ‘knaves’ in the motivation of individuals, and is a rejection of the importance as delineated in social policy from the post-war period of altruism over self interest (Welshman, 2004).

From such a development, Rodger (2003) observes the growth of what he terms ‘amoral familism’ whereby the concern is with maximising individual material and short run advantage and assuming that everybody else is doing the same, to the detriment of the previous emphasis on ‘institutionalised solidarity’. This is a direct consequence of governments’ being predisposed to ‘socially steer’ social attitudes and public opinions towards negative view of welfare, thereby changing the way that the disadvantaged and welfare recipients are perceived away from redistributive policies that endanger inclusiveness (Rodger, 2003). While Dean (2003) does not wholly agree with Rodger’s notion of ‘amoral familism’, he does concur that there has been the ascendancy of narrowly individualistic discourses of responsibility within policy. This concurs with Taylor-Gooby’s (2004: 16) claim of how the new social risk of late modernity are considered in the context of ‘the extent to which individual behaviour assists national economic competitiveness and the moral issues of

responsibility in the public and domestic sphere', leading to an increased emphasis on the individual negotiating new social rules outside the framework of social citizenship (Jordan, 1996), rather than within an emphasis on social solidarity. What all of these factors suggest is that such changes in modernity towards late modernity have had negative impacts on the social relations within society, wherein the emphasis on institutionalized/new individualism in social welfare has had the effect of encouraging and/or facilitating individualistic behaviour. This in turn has led to opportunities for exclusion based on the realization of such new individualism, through 'representing pragmatic responses by individuals in the struggle for survival in [late modernity]' (Furlong and Cartmel 1997:4).

4.4 Summary

This chapter has considered the theoretical assumptions which have underpinned the weak form of social exclusion adopted by New Labour. Central to policy has been the third way account of Giddens, which posits a transition from modernity to late modernity characterised by an emphasis on reflexive individualisation, or to put it another way, that it is the way that individuals construct their biographies per se which configures the current epoch, and that policies should be oriented towards this change. The manifestation of Giddens's account is evident in policy. The general notion of late modernity provides a useful heuristic contrast to that of post-modernity, in that its explanation of gradual change from modernity is more plausible than a wholesale rupture, and so this also provides a useful framework to conceptualise some of the contemporary changes in society. Here, then, I do accept Giddens's general argument of a transition to a late modern period. However, I reject his claim

of reflexive individualisation being at the heart of the late modern period, because theoretically and empirically, Giddens's notion of individualisation is too optimistically configured in terms of the way it conceptualises social exclusion, particularly the way it fallaciously elides the old welfare concerns of structure. Rather, what appears more apparent is how 'strong' old process of structural inequality *and* a new form of social relations through individualism are at the heart of social exclusion, with old structured inequalities predominating in constituting social exclusion. This account explicitly rejects Giddens's conceptualisation of the late modern period as encompassing reflexive individualisation, which itself may account for the stalling of outcomes in relation to New Labour's weak social exclusion policies. Rather, it articulates 'strong' considerations of social exclusion, encompassing both the social relations and the processes by which people become excluded, to greater or lesser extents, from wider society, as provided here through individualism and structure respectively. The next section provides further evidence for this alternative account of social exclusion in late modernity through the experiences of young people, and rationalises these experiences to provide a strong account of social change.

5. Young People and Old and New Forms of Social Exclusion

This section brings to the fore the thesis's focus on young people, as it is arguable that this is a group for which the transition from modernity to late modernity over the last 25 years or so has been the most profound. These changes are considered in relation to reflexive notions of individualization, which will be seen to be particularly related to consumption. In particular, the contrast between the 'stable' transition of modernity to less stable transition of late modernity is highlighted as a particular characteristic of youth during this period. However, it will be noted that it is disadvantaged groups of young people who typically have the more fractured, less linear transitions which often lead to social exclusion, an observation which delineates in contrast the importance of structural factors and individualism to the social exclusion of young people in late modernity.

The previous section outlined the major theoretical position which has underpinned New Labour's weak social exclusion approach, that of Giddens's Third Way. I argued that the main claim of the Third Way is that there has been a shift in the social economic relations of modernity towards that of late modernity, in which new reflexivity in the form of individualisation is prominent, including in relation to social exclusion. In particular, I delineated that most evident in accounts of late modernity which emphasise reflexivity as the *sine qua non* of the late modern period has been the prioritisation of individual agency at the expense of structural features. I highlighted how this theoretical position has made itself apparent in policy not just in the UK, but also in other countries. In examining the notion of late modernity, I

observed its relevance as a heuristic device to explain a process change in modernity towards a new form of society. Thus, in contrast to post-modern claims, it serves to highlight the present period not as a genuinely new historical configuration, but as an interregnum between periods, which suggests the linkage of new forms of change with older historic forms.

However, I rejected Giddens's claims of reflexive individualisation as an explanation for social exclusion, due to it being overly theoretically and empirically optimistic. In particular, I argued that it fallaciously elides the old welfare concerns of structure, thereby positing individualisation as a weak conceptualisation of social exclusion. Rather, I outlined a distinction between modernity and late modernity centred principally on the description of changes in the social relations between the two periods, and characterised by greater relative deprivation and social exclusion. Thus, what appears more apparent is how 'strong' old processes of structural inequality and a new form of social relations through individualism are at the heart of social exclusion, with old structured inequalities predominating in constituting social exclusion.

The rest of this thesis will focus on young people to explore this thesis of structure and individualism constituting social exclusion in late modern. The thesis focuses on young people because as the group at the crossroads of processes of social reproduction, it is amongst them that we should expect to find the strongest evidence of changes towards late modernity (Furlong, 1998). And it has been argued that young people are the group for which the transition from modernity to late modernity over the last 25 years or so has been most profound (Smith, 2005; Furlong, 1998).

Furthermore, it has been argued that young people have been more exposed to the consumerism effects of late modernity than other groups (Reimer, 1995 p 67), positing young people as an illustrative case of individualization (Gordon *et al*, 2005), especially young people in England (Roberts *et al*, 1994). For the purposes of simplicity, the terms ‘youth’ and ‘young people’ are used interchangeably unless stated otherwise.

5.1 Defining Youth

Although ‘youth’ is generally discerned as a phase in the life-course between childhood and adulthood (Webster *et al*, 2004 p. 2), Muggleton (2005) argues it is a notion which is socially constructed, as it can vary across cultures and over time. With regard to ‘youth’ varying across cultures, it can clearly be seen that the notion of what constitutes a young person can differ not only within society as per McNeish and Loncle’s (2003, Table 6.2) typology of the 4 different ‘concepts of youth’ in European countries, but also within social policy itself. For example, for the purposes of Working Family Tax Credit, a young person is defined up to the age of 18, for Child Benefit this upper limit can be up to 20, while for the New Deal for Young People the limit is set as high as 25. The Connexions Service sets the lower limit at 13. Moreover, Roker and Richardson (2003) argue it is becoming harder to define young people in simple developmental terms, with the boundaries of adolescent type behaviour being extended both downwards and upwards with no fixed beginning or end. Chapter 7 defines young people specifically to this thesis.

5.2 Youth in Modernity

In respect of the claim above that the notion of youth can vary over time, it is certainly possible to observe the significance that modernity through social policy has had in relation to the construction of youth in the UK. This is readily apparent as the consequence of the plethora of education acts from 1870 onwards, whereby such policies facilitated the process of the social separation from adulthood of a specific social world for young people (Hurrelmann, 1989 p. 4). While such policies had as their primary intention the early exemption of young people from the newly industrialised labour market, they also had the effect of giving momentum to the social class differentiation of young people. This meant that while labour market exception gradually became a significant phenomenon for the middle class youth, it was still largely an alien concept to the working class youth (Gillis, 1974). Rather, the economic imperative for working class people at an early age in general overrode any such youth notions, and this existed significantly up to the Second World War. In addition, as Humphries (1981) charts, there existed a cultural bias in perceptions of working class young people's existence in particular as the manifestation of either 'deprivation or depravity', underpinning a notion of working class young people as 'hooligans or rebels' that pervaded up to the second world war. So while it is possible to observe the nascent construction of 'youth' from social policy during industrialisation as a distinct separation from adulthood, in fact up to the Second World War young people were typically differentiated by their social class as economic imperatives overrode such social policy objectives (Baethge, 1989). Education was a luxury which only the middle or upper classes youth could be afforded, and so it is perhaps more relevant to specifically locate the social

construction of youth up to the end of World War 2 (WW2) within the (primarily economic) development of modernity (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006, p. 232).

In the immediate aftermath of WW2 however, this distinction between childhood and adulthood became more discrete, with the period of youth suggesting a ‘transition’ or journey from the one period to the next (Spence, 2005). For young people at this time, the transition between these two phases has been described as ‘linear’, wherein linear describes fairly smooth and straightforward transitions from school to work in which there are no major breaks, divergences or reversals (Goodwin and O’Connor, 2005). This was characterised by first education followed principally by employment, with further education for a limited minority, and wherein the ultimate objective of such transitions was labour market participation. Such an ultimate outcome is not surprising considering that in the immediate post-war welfare state, entering the labour market was seen ‘as the last link that integrated the individual in society, and was seen, therefore as equivalent to taking part in the ‘welfare’ of the society’ (du Bois-Reymond and Blasco, 2003:22) as described in section 4.3.1.

Evidence for such linear transitions is provided on two counts. First Roberts *et al* (1994) observe that in comparison to their German youth counterparts’ prioritisation of education and vocational training, the cultural expectation for young people in Britain was to take a full time job as soon as possible after the age of 16. In addition, Goodwin and O’Connor (2005) observe that not only did most young people generally avoid unemployment or significant breaks in employment in the first two years after leaving school, but that most young people also remained in their first job for a significant period of time after leaving school. It has been highlighted, however,

that such transition accounts have been limited to the ‘masculine realm of employment’ thereby obviating the status of young women in the immediate post-war (Bennett, 1999). In addition, it is also important not to overlook the economic imperatives that overrode this changed notion of youth, configured to a large degree as it was from the post war demand for both skilled and unskilled labour, and this was also the case for education policy (France and Wiles, 1997). In particular, what Humphries (1981) terms the ‘revisionist school of Marxist sociologists and historians’ would argue that the expansion of statutory and voluntary educational and welfare institutions for young people in the post-war era was in order to regulate and reproduce capitalist ‘hegemony’ in society. This means that a somewhat symbiotic relationship developed between the new construction of youth and labour market, as they were both dependent on each other for their respective development in the immediate post war period.

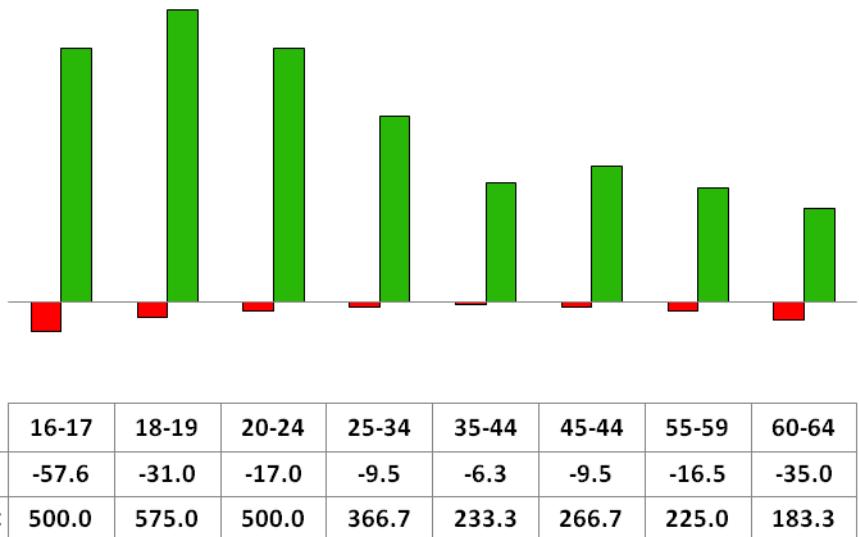
What is apparent is that the prospects for the social mobility of young people during this immediate post-war period increased appreciably in comparison to the pre-war period (Jeffrey and McDowell, 2004). This process was driven by the ‘social integration’ of young people becoming a clear aim of the nascent welfare state (France and Wiles, 1997), and ‘youth’ became ‘much more as a period of life to be celebrated and enjoyed for its own sake’. This meant that young people born in the years during and immediately after the second world war ‘enjoyed the redistribution of social resources brought by the Welfare State which meant that they were healthier and better educated than ever before’ (Spence, 2005: 48-49). In policy, ‘youth’ became defined as more a period of semi-dependence between that of childhood (dependence) and adulthood (independence) (Jones, 2002), as evidenced

by the statutory establishment of youth work following from the 1944 (Butler) Education Act (France and Wiles, 1997). This was supported by codified educational requirements for all young people under 16 also from the 1944 Act (Muggleton, 2005), and increased employment and educational opportunities for those over 16 of all classes, so that the expectations that society had of the majority of young people became fairly stable and uniform (Graham and McDermott, 2006), principally dependent on age status (du Bois-Reymond and Blasco, 2003).

5.3 Youth in Late Modernity

However, since the economic crises and employment restructuring of the mid 1970s (MacDonald, 1998), such stable youth transitions to adulthood have been argued to have become changed and polarised (Graham and McDermott, 2006), so that the social, economic and political conditions of transformation to youth have become radically different from those of a generation ago (MacDonald, 2000). Even where there has been a questioning of the accounts of a somewhat smooth and unproblematic transition during the immediate post war, it has been acknowledged that the transitions now are less stable in terms of outcome and length (Vickerstaffe, 2003). The primary cause of this change has been outlined as the effects of modernity's de-industrialisation in late modernity having a 'disproportionate' effect on young people in comparison to other labour market groups, especially in relation to structural unemployment (MacDonald, 2000a; France, 2007). This is supported from analysis of Graph 5.1 below, which compares changes in employment and unemployment for different age groups in the decade from 1973.

**Graph 5.1 Changes in Employment and Unemployment
1973-1983 by Age Groups (Great Britain)**



Source: Author's own calculations from Foster *et al* (1988:201, Table 9.29)

From Graph 5.1, it can be seen that, while the changes had negative effects on all age groups, they did have a greater proportional effect on young people, especially in relation to unemployment during the period shown, where there was an average increase of 525 percent for those aged 16-24. While it is true that this period incorporates a time of great economic turmoil including two recessions, the essential point remains that it was young people in general who were most affected by decreasing employment and increasing unemployment. Van Reenen's (2001) observation that a particular feature of the youth labour market is its sensitivity to the business cycle, whereby it is more 'cyclically sensitive' than for other age groups, provides a possible explanation for these significant disparity, in the context of the economic changes that happened during the period in question.

These changes in the employment and unemployment of young people were from the rapid collapse of employment opportunities for school leavers and young people due to the virtual disintegration of what could be termed the youth labour market (Fergusson, 2004), as a consequence of employers switching their traditional recruitment pathways away from the youth labour market (Bynner *et al*, 2002). So, while it might have been possible for an unqualified, in terms of certification, school leaver to find regular employment, or even an apprenticeship, immediately after leaving school, this is less so contemporarily. And while it is still possible to observe opportunities analogous to those available to young people in the immediate post war in terms of education, employment and training, whether these opportunities are as stable and consistent as they were in the past is highly questionable.

These changes have contributed to a radical transformation in the context of youth transitions and the form they take which has been underway for the last quarter century (Bynner, 2001). It is also arguable that such changed transition changes for young people have been compounded by reforms of the welfare state (Dean, 2000; Morrow and Richards, 1996; Bosanquet *et al*, 2006), or even wider changes in the labour market by the government. So for example, children born in the 1970s have to rely much more on parents in the context of the curtailment of state support, compared with the 1940s' generation for whom state grants were available (Brannen, 2006: 138). The deregulation of the labour market during the 1980s to increase its supply side and constant changes in the benefits regime meant that young people became under pressure to take almost any job, rather than to complete formal training to achieve skilled employment (Roberts *et al*, 1994). Moreover, the past 'cyclical' nature of government youth training schemes as entailing constant

movement in and out of such schemes served to reinforce the less than linear nature of transitions for the typically disadvantaged youth who were obliged to participate in them (Craine, 2000). Additionally, the general withdrawal of the welfare state over the last quarter century has meant that youth policy is increasingly determined by local power structures and conditions, which in practice means geographical variations (Hansson and Lundahl, 2004).

Overall these changes have resulted in a shift for young people away from dependence on the state to prolonged dependence on parents, meaning that society's expectations of them as young people have changed in the last 30 years or so (The Nuffield Foundation, 2004). In particular, youth policies tend to assume that young people's basic maintenance from the age of 16 will be subsidised by their parents until they reach their mid-twenties, and this assumption means that young people are dependent on systems of moral goodwill rather than legal parental obligations (Jones, 2002). This has led to pressure on young people to participate in full-time education, training or work at the earliest opportunity in order to ameliorate this dependence (Fergusson, 2004).

This means that not only have transitions been lengthened, but they have also been made more complex and fractured (Bradley and van Hoof 2003). So, rather than linear transitions to either education or work, the reality for many young people is that transitions can be 'synchronised', in that they carry out various life roles at the same time, for example student, family, job, parent at the same time (du Bois Reymond and Blasco, 2003), or 'reversible', as exemplified by 'yo-yo' transitions such as when

young people move from work to education to employment and back to education or employment (du Bois Reymond and Blasco, 2003).

In this respect, a number of observations make themselves relevant. Firstly, with the decline of employment, ‘Status Zer0’ (not in education, employment or training), now termed NEET, (see Furlong (2006) for a discussion of the difference between Status Zer0 and NEET), has become for a significant number of young people a reality for a significant period of time; the Learning and Skills Council (2006) has reported that despite policy measures such as the Education Maintenance Allowance and specific strategies by interested parties, the proportion of NEET 16-18 year olds increased by one percent in the year end 2005. A more recent report for The Prince’s Trust by McNally and Telhaj (2007) stated that in England, Scotland and Wales, almost a fifth of young people are not in education, training or employment. And while observing that not all young people who are NEET are involved in crime or drug abuse or are teenage mothers, all of which are costly behaviours, Godfrey *et al* (2002) did relate that NEET had significant resource and public finance costs.

Secondly, although it is well known that changes in labour market structure and educational demands over the past 30 years have prolonged the time young people stay in education (Cassidy *et al*, 2006), where school to employment opportunities exist for young people, they are typically in casual and flexible types of employment, in which the exploitation of young people in terms of pay and conditions is a prevalent feature (Reiter and Craig, 2005). And even for those who explicitly choose the educational route to transition, there is often the need to trade down in their expectations of work in spite of the qualifications obtained, primarily as a

consequence of their direct, negative experience of the labour market (Wallace and Kovatscheva, 1998). More generally, as Quintiti *et al* observe:

Despite the fact that today's young cohorts are smaller in number and better educated than their older counterparts, high youth unemployment remains a serious problem in many OECD countries... In 2005, in all 30 OECD countries, youth were more likely to be unemployed than prime-age adults – i.e. the ratio is always larger than one. (Quintiti et al, 2007:4)

Thus, while education has become a key factor in 'individualised social reproduction', its worth in late modern society can sometimes be contradictory and confusing (Walther, 2005).

5.4 Youth and Reflexivity

In reflexive accounts of late modernity as outlined in the previous section, the immediate post-war period is also an important reference point, as when the 'teenager' was discovered in the late 1950s, they were differentiated not only by their intellectual and ideological autonomy from parents and tradition, but also by their differing conspicuous consumption habits from adults. This established a link between youth and consumption, wherein 'the market system's universalizing construction of youth cultural consumption styles has become radicalized under the social conditions of late modernity' (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard , 2006: 232). In particular, as the growth of the youth labour market in the post-war period increased the disposable income and thus affluence of large numbers of young people, so consumption practices became an important aspect of teenage youth identity, and this was of particular significance in the context of the working class youth becoming the social group with the largest amount of disposable income (Bennett, 1999). In this sense, 'consumerism afforded young people the opportunities to break away from the traditional class-based identities, the increased spending power of the young

facilitating and encouraging experimentation with new, self-constructed forms of identity' (Bennett, 1999: 602). Moreover, the changes in the youth labour market in the last quarter century towards labour market fragmentation represents, in terms of individualisation, the loosening of social structure to the benefit of facilitating new opportunities amongst young people (Roberts, 1993). This posits that changes in late modernity associated with reflexive modernization have intensified the effects of such consumerism for young people, to the extent that not only is it important to young people's sense of self and social status (Morrow and Richards, 1996), but more specifically it is the entity that structures their social reality (Hey, 2005).

Indeed, it is as a consequence of the 'consumption socialisation' that such an emphasis entails, whereby:

The term consumption in this context does not refer primarily to material goods but also ideal forms of assimilation of what the world has to offer. Consumerist socialization therefore refers to processes of experience, dominated by receptive and reflective acts, especially those of learning. Productivist socialisation, by contrast, refers to processes of experience dominated by outward-oriented acts reflected in tangible (visible) results, whose success or failure has implications for others and not just oneself. (Baethge, 1989: 33)

In contrast to claims of structural constraints on young people, 'consumerism' accounts suggest that young people construct their identity in fragmented and individualized ways (Shildrick, 2006). Additionally, it is argued that 'consumption practices now serve as the locus around which exclusion is configured and the excluded are classified, identified and subjected to (increasingly intense) regimes of management' (Hayward and Yar, 2006:24). This point is emphasised in Table 5.1 below, which compares feelings of social isolation with actual money spent. The table presents that young people feeling socially isolated have lower consumption

than those not feeling socially isolated. If we take such social isolation as an indicator of social exclusion in general, as Sletten *et al* (2004) do, then it can be argued that consumption is correlated to feelings of social exclusion for young people. Furthermore, Croghan *et al* (2006: 470) observed that what appeared to be of importance to young people was ‘the self-confidence associated with having the means to finance that style’, and in this sense it was the conspicuous ability to spend which ‘appeared to affect the individual’s sense of self-worth.’

Table 5.1 Money spent in a month on different areas of consumption, by feeling of social isolation

Socially Isolated (%)			
	No	Yes	sig. test
Monthly expenses for...			
a) Clothes, shoes.	405	301	p<0.001
b) CDs	81	74	p<0.001
c) Cinema/video/DVD	106	86	p<0.001
d) Café, snack bar, disco	94	75	p<0.001
e) Mobile phone	191	162	p<0.05

Source: Sletten *et al*, 2004, Table 2a

Croghan *et al* (2006) also argued that the ability to maintain a style identity that other young people accepted as authentic could mean the difference between being popular and being socially ostracised, or bullied. This posits consumerism as an important factor in young people’s lifestyles in general, whereby ‘the social and cultural context that shapes the experience of most young people in contemporary society is profoundly consumerist in nature’ (West *et al*, 2006:460). An obvious effect of this is that the consumption of young people has increased during the last few years, as ‘what was sub-cultural stylisation in the past, has now become mass youth culture’ (Wilska 2005:4). Certainly, from an analysis of the growth of debt over the recent past, it is the consumption of young people that has increased the most in

comparison to other age groups, and the fact that a significant majority of this consumption has been funded by debt in the form of personal loans and credit cards CCCS (2005) suggests that consumerism has played a large part in this increase.

One of the reasons for this is that children are encouraged with greater intensity to become consumers and to consume adult products as something exciting and sophisticated at an early age than before (Quart, 2003), and so it is perhaps not surprising that the evidence shows that young people have similar material aspirations regardless of educational expectations (Easterlin, 2001). In particular, it is style that has become the most prominent cultural medium for youth culture to express its identity aspirations, so youth consumption manifests itself in a hedonistic manner particularly in highly stylized areas such as clothing, music, grooming and information technology, and such consumption is 'highly attached to the individual identity negotiation characteristics of the life stage of youth' (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006:233). Moreover, as Webster *et al* (2006) observe, this relationship between class and consumerism is not structured according to the material base, a fact that may explain the importance of symbolic capital to young people as highlighted above.

It is perhaps apparent at this stage that consumerism delineates 'biographies of choice' (Hey, 2005) and posits a distinctly agency-centred account of social exclusion (Reay, 1998). For young people, their social rights become more contingent upon their conduct as individuals, in the sense of participation in a particular sphere of activity (Vaughn 2000), and in particular, there is increasing focus on the use that young people make of the conditions offered to them in terms of education and

training and welfare (du Bois-Reymond and Blasco, 2003). In this sense, the problem of youth has been ‘individualized’ and ‘privatized’ in that it is for young people to find their own solutions to the problems that confront them (Wallace and Kovatcheva, 1998). The recent construction of the term ‘chav’ illustrates this point, signifying as it does a shift from the ‘underclass’ with its emphasis on (lack of) production, to a ‘flawed consumer’ as an individual whose consumption is somewhat anomalous (Hayward and Yar, 2006). Thus, as Miles (2002: 135) argues, in such late modern accounts ‘the process of commodification appears to have undermined this analysis in the sense that the oppositional force constituted by young people has arguably been incorporated into the dominant order’, and structurally oriented analyses of youth transitions, are in effect viewed as mutually exclusive to the notion of individualization (MacDonald *et al*, 2005). In particular, it is argued that there is a weakening in the relationship between social structure and lifestyle, as ‘the likelihood of working class youth choosing what were previously considered middle-class lifestyles is greater than ever before – and vice versa’ (Reimer, 1995a: 123).

5.5 Individualised Youth in Policy

Perhaps not surprisingly, it is possible to observe a range of social policies for young people intended to manage young people’s transitions in the context of uncertainty and risk and which reflect the Third Way approach (Cieslik and Pollock, 2002), wherein, New Labour, as France argues, has:

... constructed policies that while rejecting the ‘no such thing as society’ mantra of Thatcherism, instigated policies that located the ‘problem of

youth' in the actions of individuals, the failing of communities and the poor parenting skills of working class families. (France, 2007:153)

There have been two main policy initiatives from New Labour, the Connexions service to provide information and advice on a variety of matters to those aged 13-19, and the New Deal for Young People to provide employment opportunities for those aged 18-25. The overlapping of these two policies is a deliberate attempt to acknowledge in policy the blurring of age boundaries (Social Exclusion Unit, 2005). For both these policies, the imperative is on 'emphasising opportunity and securing [young people's] labour market participation' (Bradford, 2005:65), because as Lindsay argues:

From the government's perspective, this emphasis is supported by research suggesting that, for some jobseekers, 'Work First over training first' has produced better labour market outcomes. It is an approach that argues that 'any job is better than no job' in terms of social and economic benefits for unemployed people, but is less concerned with the quality of the initial job outcomes produced by employability policies. (Lindsay et al, 2007: 541)

In recent years there have also been proposals for reform in both education and youth work in *Youth Matters: Next Steps* (DfES, 2006), as exemplified by the imminent raising of the school leaving age to 18, the introduction of Diplomas, the consideration of vocational education and training, and the Educational Maintenance Allowance. In this sense, it is arguable that young people not making a smooth transition have been at the main front of New Labour's social exclusion agenda (Fergusson, 2004 p. 289).

However, it is possible to observe significant continuity with previous policy, as the newer conditionality of the New Deal for Young People provides an 'allowance' that

marginally exceeds that of the Job Seekers Allowance (Fergusson, 2004), meaning that young people are not afforded with the opportunity for independence from the remuneration that such schemes provide (Williamson, 2000). In addition, the differential treatment of young people in relation to adults in the workplace has been facilitated by the government legislation in particular of the minimum wage which set different rates for young people and adults. Moreover, to take the raising of the school leaving age as an example, a policy which has been explicitly linked to the reducing the number of NEET young people (DCSF, 2008), we can see that the emphasis is very much still on the reflexive nature of youth in late modernity, wherein:

... improving workers' skills and preparing young people for the labour market of the future. As globalisation continues to fuel an increasingly competitive international environment, the Leitch Review projects a sharp decline in low skilled jobs up to 2020 whilst the importance of high-tech jobs increases. By 2020 there will only be around 600,000 jobs undertaken by those without qualifications, compared to around 3.2 million such jobs now. And as global economic change continues, people's economic security will be best delivered by ensuring their flexibility. We know that skills are fundamental to creating a workforce that is better able to adapt quickly and effectively to change. Never before have the benefits of remaining in education or training been more apparent. (DCFS, 2007a: 6)

Raffo et al (2007:56) have characterised recent policy initiatives on education in terms of their functionalist nature, wherein 'education is seen as a 'good' and as a prerequisite for the development of economic and social well-being in the UK'. This is evident from the above quote, and a more recent report from the Cabinet Office Strategy Unit (COSU) stated that:

...how children do in school remains the single most important determinant of future success. However, one of the UK's major international weaknesses has been the large number of people emerging from school with few qualifications. (COSU, 2008: 8)

This means that, as Bradford (2005:65) observes, it is the previously mentioned Social Integrationist Discourse (SID) of Levitas (2005) which dominates current policy and practice for young people, especially in relation to the Connexions service, as policy is constituted ‘by developing young people’s employability (through education and training), emphasising opportunity and securing their labour market participation’. As a consequence, Fitzsimmons argues that:

There appears to be mounting evidence that New Labour strategies to combat social exclusion, such as New Deal programmes and Connexions Service, are having a minimal impact on socially excluded people. It has been suggested that this is due to the Government’s lack of attention to the structural constraints experienced by young people, particularly with regard to the youth labour market. (Fitzsimmons, 2007: 51)

5.6 Old and New forms of Youth Social Exclusion

These reflexive accounts of youth and consumption, then, delineate the dwindling of the link between structure and social exclusion, and the alternative articulation of a link between individualisation and consumerism. While the evidence above suggests that the importance of consumerism has indeed proliferated in recent years, the notion that the structural factors should be secondary to that of consumption in relation to social exclusion is less convincing, for reasons outlined below.

Firstly, it has been observed that where consumption is the most important factor in the context of individual collective identity, this can lead to ‘consumer-oriented narcissism’ in which self realization can only be accomplished by material means (Hayward and Yar, 2006; Baudrillard, 1998). In such a context, such symbolic capital may provide a sense of belonging that relates to well-being, but this may be at the expense of excluding those without the resources to attain such symbolic resources

as the awareness by the young people of the constraining nature of poverty to their consumption observed by Morrow (2001) suggests that even where consumption is related as the mode of exclusion, it is relative poverty which is underpinning that exclusion (Webster *et al*, 2004).

Indeed, it should be noted here that the potential for such affluence and consumerism to have exclusionary effects for a significant minority of young people was identified as early as 1960 in the *Albemarle Report* of the same year (France and Wiles, 1997), and was also hinted at in the influential 'youth cultures' studies of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at Birmingham University during the early to mid 1970s (Hollands, 2002). Moreover, there is evidence from numerous studies of an inverse class-based relationship between consumerism and socio-economic status, with lower consumerist attitudes and possession associated with higher class status and conversely higher consumerist attitudes and possessions associated with lower class status (West *et al*, 2006). The consequences of such conspicuous consumption is that there is a transient sense of belonging with few social consequences from the switching of lifestyles (Southerton, 2002), and so identities shift as consumer tastes and predilections shift (Bauman, 1998). And it is the collapse of such stability which has generated new cultures of survival and new strategies of accommodation, negotiation and resistance among working class young people (MacDonald, 2000a), necessitating new survival strategies and cultures of resistance (Jordan and Redley, 1994). In particular, there has been a weakening of communal ties in late modernity as consumption is thoroughly individual and solitary, with no collective consumption (Bauman 1998), leading to mistrust and insecurity which can lead to an intensification of generational

conflict (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). The emphasis on consumerism, then, for young people, has played an important part in the growth of individualism, which has been an important new form of exclusion for young people.

So, in relation to the normative constraints that shape the consumption orientation of young people, definite class-based patterning can be observed (Southerton, 2002; Warde, 1994: 892). All this suggests that, from Reimer, overall:

The hypothesis about augmented individualization during recent years is not strongly supported by empirical material. The prerequisites for choosing lifestyles are still quite structured. If the possibilities for movements in social space and in the lifestyle field are increasing, then they are doing so relatively slowly. (Reimer, 1995a: 138)

Moreover, when the consumption of young people is analysed, it is easy to see spatial division and socially segmented patterning among different youth groups (Hollands, 2002). So for example, Roberts observes that:

Rather than treating social exclusion as a normal accompaniment to unemployment and poverty, we should realise that, in a wider international context, the northern European and American countries are rather peculiar. Their young people who are able to do settle quickly for the best jobs available for them. Risks of unemployment are passed down to those at the end of the queue who are likely to remain for life in these disadvantaged positions. (Roberts, 2001: 140)

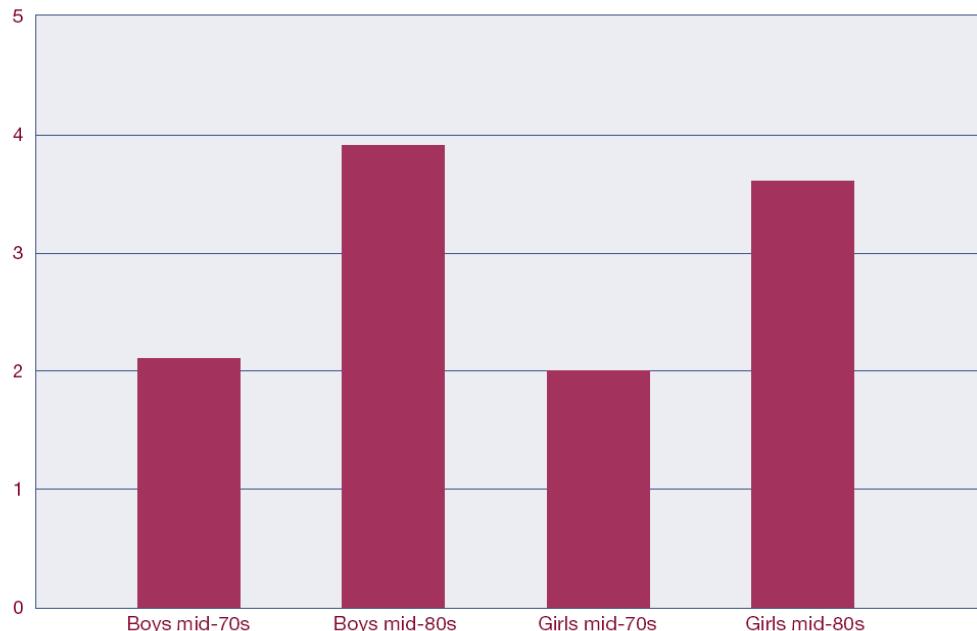
This observation entails in two ways. Firstly, the suggestion here is that social exclusion for young people from unemployment is typically a northern European and American occurrence, which highlights the significance of a deliberate lack of structure in young people's transitions in such late modern societies where the flexibilisation of career histories in general has been prioritised in policy (Isengaard, 2003). Such a view is also supported by Walther's (2006) observation of 'regimes of

youth transitions' in Europe as a whole, as related by Iacovou and Berthoud's (2001) general observation that young people's lives vary enormously between European countries. These variations in some respects (for example, living arrangements) follow systematic North/South patterns, but in other respects (for example, education) do not follow a systematic pattern, and furthermore (Iacovou and Berthoud, 2003) that young people in Europe are most likely to experience poverty due to the absence of protective factors in countries where young people typically leave home without yet having found a job. But of greater interest in relation to social exclusion in particular, this also highlights an important point of note that such a changed complexity of transitions does not really manifest itself for the highest socioeconomic group but only for the lowest socioeconomic group (Baethge, 1989). As an example, Graph 5.2 below compares the odds of being poor for teenagers in the 1970s and 1980s.

As can be seen, whereas teenagers from the mid-1970s were affected by poverty, its long term effects were not as significant as they have been for teenagers from the mid-1980, suggesting that there has been a considerable change in the transmission of poverty between youth and adulthood between the two periods. Together, these factors highlight how the notion of linear transitions has changed for young people from pre-1970s to post-1970s, or in our terms from modernity to late modernity. This change can be directly related to the loss of traditional ladders to mobility such as training on the job and apprenticeship (Jeffrey and McDowell 2004: 134), and these changes:

Graph 5.2 How teenage poverty affects the odds of being poor as an adult:

change over time



Source: Blanden and Gibbons (2006, Figure 2)

...have had a particularly negative impact on working-class young people and have had the effect of further entrenching class divisions and the gaps between those with and without higher level credentials. Indeed, this generation of working-class school leavers in countries such as the United Kingdom and United States may be the first in the post-war era to face fewer opportunities for economic advancement than their parents, at least in the case of young men. (Jeffrey and McDowell, 2004: 134)

Perhaps not surprisingly, there is also evidence that job switching amongst young people is only significantly 'persistent' among 'lower status workers', suggesting that the most fragmented employment trajectories pertain to the least advantaged in terms of income, educational attainment or class position (Fenton and Dermott, 2006). Related to this is Wallace's (1989: 363) observation that 'job turnover' amongst working class young people is typically involuntary, as a consequence of their employment in temporary, casual or part-time employment. Thus, it has been

observed that rather than the complex transitions of youth in late modernity outlined above being ‘purposive’, for a significant minority they were often the outcome of market driven ‘churning’, as the failure of either the youth employment or youth education market to match the initial preferences of young people in the first instance (Fergusson, 2004; see also Bates, 1993).

This suggests that in the long run such early employment can have detrimental effects on young people’s lives as the ‘decisions young people make may haunt them for the rest of their lives (Jones, 2002: 35), whereby low levels of qualifications are one of the main factors that increase the risk of social exclusion (Kieselbach, 2003). For young women in particular, formal education has been identified as a more important driver of employment and participation than it is for men in the long run (Del Bono and Galindo-Rueda, 2006). And even for those disadvantaged young people who choose the educational route, they tend to pay more for their education, as the assumption outlined above of continued basic maintenance from parents until aged around the mid twenties disadvantages those young people in lower income families whose parents cannot afford to provide them with such support (Jones, 2005). This probably explains why graduates from lower income families owe a higher proportion of their debt to bank and credit cards companies, and the concomitant need to service their debts hindered their career development and forced them to accept any job available (Furlong and Cartmel, 2005). Thus, it has been observed that later transitions that young people make have been significantly influenced by their earlier ones, from as early as the age of 12 or 13 (Johnston, *et al* 2000).

Indeed, this may be seen as particularly acute in Britain, which among most other European countries has retained a strong class structure as central to its notion of youth (Brynnner, 2001). While in some instances, young people have been observed to be acutely aware of the importance of, for example, class differences to status and employment (Dean, 2000), this is not always the case, as Roberts *et al* observe in explaining the 'structured individualisation' routes that young people took towards transition:

There was sufficient flexibility...for young people to feel that they were making significant choices and exercising control over their careers. In practice these choices were normally within ranges of opportunity defined by sex, place of residence, family origins and achievements in secondary education, but these links became apparent only if one stood back and viewed the scenes from an external vantage point. (Roberts *et al*, 1994: 50)

Thus, such structured individualisation orients youth transitions as being a combination of an optimistic belief in agency and a dependence on general external factors (Rudd and Evans, 1998), and where there is the making of history by young people, it is not under circumstances of their own choosing (Craine, 2000). At a more general level, it may be argued that such polarisation of actions suggests that young people's transitions towards social exclusion reflects structural rather than personal agency and choice (Jones, 2002), as careers are determined by the social and economic conditions in which young people are brought up (Coles, 1995). So even where individual young people may feel that they have more choice, the pathways that they follow can be seen as strongly influenced by structural factors such as class, locality, gender and ethnicity (Johnston *et al*, 2000:4)

Based on the considerations above, the argument made here is that:

... any conclusion that there has been a wholesale movement away from the standardized biography towards the choice biography is problematic.

In our view, this conclusion is rather simplistic and fails to capture the processual, dynamic nature of orientations. (Brannen and Nilsen, 2002: 520)

Indeed, perhaps the best way to describe the difference between transition pre-1970 and post-1970 is the metaphor of train versus car employed by Furlong and Cartmel (1997: 6-7). Here, the train represents the predetermined routes of modernity from origin to destination, while the car represents late modernity's emphasis on the driver selecting his or her own route or transition, with the impression of being in control over timing and routing without realizing that the type of car is the most significant predictor of journey outcome.

5.7 Summary

The aim of this chapter has been to highlight how for young people, who are the focus of this thesis, the transition from modernity to late modernity over the last 25 years or so has been the most profound of any other group. This has manifested itself in a contrast between the 'stable' transition of modernity to less stable transition of late modernity, from the redefinition of youth away from age towards employment status. Reflexive accounts relate these changes to a shift from production to individualised consumption, which articulates a distinctly agency-centred account of social exclusion. However, the evidence suggests that while complex transitions can be a feature of many young people's lives, it is disadvantaged groups of young people who typically have the more fractured but less choice-based and less linear transitions which often lead to social exclusion, an observation which limits the utility of such individualised accounts. This suggests that it is the way that the structured inequalities of late modernity engenders and feeds into individualism which is at the

heart of social exclusion, meaning that it is old structured inequalities which predominate in constituting strong social exclusion. The next section specifies the linkage between these conceptualisations of structure and individualism and the operationalisation of the research's thesis, questions and outcomes.

6. Specifying Research Thesis, Questions and Outcomes within a Critical Realist Framework

The previous chapter provided further evidence that it is the combination of old structural inequalities and new individualism which are at the heart of the social exclusion of young people in late modernity, with old structured inequalities predominating in constituting strong social exclusion. This chapter provides linkage between these conceptualisations of structure and individualism in social exclusion and this thesis's research questions and outcomes. Both a lack of critical analysis in academia and the ideological limitations of current youth research are shown as making this thesis crucial. These limitations and the nature of social exclusion necessitate research questions concerned with the analysis of the underlying mechanisms configuring social reality, and thus social exclusion, within a critical realist ontological and epistemological framework. The research outcomes emphasise subjective change from understanding away from a weak to a strong form of social exclusion within both social exclusion theory and practice.

The previous chapter rationalised the thesis's focus on young people from the claim that this is the group most profoundly affected by the transition from modernity to late modernity over the last 25 years or so. However, while this was evident in some respects, in general there was further evidence of the fallacy of late modern reflexive individualisation accounts of social exclusion, as the continued importance of old structural inequalities to young people's social exclusion in late modernity made itself readily apparent. Particularly, I noted that while complex transitions can be a feature

of many young people's lives, it is disadvantaged groups of young people who typically have the more fractured, but less choice-based and less linear transitions which often lead to social exclusion, an observation which delineates in contrast the importance of structural factors and individualism to the social exclusion of young people in late modernity.

This chapter provides linkage between these conceptualisations of structure and individualism in social exclusion and this thesis's research questions and outcomes, and in so doing relates most obviously to 'metatheory', in that 'its aim is to broadly suggest both the presupposition of methods, as well as their link to theory and implications for society' (Morrow, 1994: 36). The metatheoretical focus in this sense firstly concerns itself with rationalising specific types of knowledge about the importance of structure and individualism to social exclusion in late modernity. The nature of social exclusion necessitates a methodology concerned with the analysis of the underlying mechanisms configuring social reality, and thus social exclusion, within a critical realist ontological and epistemological framework. These are then explicitly linked to the research thesis and research questions. Finally, I outline that concomitant with this thesis's critical realist approach, the research outcomes are oriented towards change from understanding, and not simply understanding.

6.1 Research Thesis

The further evidence in the previous chapter of the fallacy of late modern reflexive individualisation accounts of social exclusion begs the question of the reason for such fallacy. As suggested in Chapter 4, this emphasis on individualisation should be seen as part of the shift in which individualised rational action has revolutionised

social policy and ‘notions of social reproduction have been rejected for structured individualism’ (France, 2007: 159). Moreover, as Gingrich (2006:10) argues, ‘the dominant perspective in the academic and political literatures is, by far, the rather spontaneous notion of social exclusion as an individual kind.’ Thus, both a lack of critical analysis in academia and the ideological limitations of academia itself are provided as possible reasons for this anomaly by Byrne (1997), who suggests complicity within social science research in general to endorse the thematic of social exclusion as constituting separation from work and to the detriment of offering convincing alternative explanations. This means that, as argued by Brannen and Nilson:

...the individualisation thesis has become so commonly accepted in the social sciences that it is neither tested nor operationalised adequately through appropriate research designs and conceptualisation. (Brannen and Nilson, 2005: 413)

A good example of this is Burchardt, LeGrand and Piachaud’s shifting definitions of social exclusion (Burchardt *et al*, 1999; Richardson and Le Grand, 2002) highlighted in Table 2.2 in Chapter 2 and shown below:

An individual is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically resident in a society, (b) he or she cannot participate in the normal activities in that society, and (c) he or she would like to so participate, but is prevented from doing so by factors beyond his or her control. (Burchardt *et al*, 1999)

An individual is socially excluded if he or she does not participate in key activities of the society in which he or she lives. (Richardson and Le Grand, 2002)

Richardson and Le Grand (2002) admit to a shift from a broader to a narrower conceptualisation of social exclusion in the time between the two definitions, wherein the agency of individuals in social exclusion becomes more prominent. Interestingly, however, when this narrower academic definition of social exclusion was subject to

qualitative testing with people with direct experience of the phenomenon, it was found to be problematic in a number of ways. This was especially apparent with regard to the importance of structural considerations in the constitution of social exclusion, with participants explicitly giving more instances of social exclusion as from ‘beyond the control of individuals’ than ‘from choice’ (Richardson and LeGrand, 2002). This suggested to Richardson and Le Grand (2002) that the narrow conceptualisation of social exclusion did not accurately encompass a crucial aspect of social exclusion as highlighted above, and that this should be reflected in future research.

Similarly, as we saw in the previous chapter, emphasis in youth research in recent years has been on ‘youth transitions’, through which the chief concern has been focussed on ‘economic transition from school into the labour market and the unequal occupational opportunities that befall young people when they progress towards adulthood’ (Heikkinen, 2000: 391). As this emphasis on transitions to employment is policy oriented, its consideration of theory has been weak (Macdonald *et al*, 2001). Furthermore, this preponderance on youth transitions has meant that the notion of structure has been less of a focus than at the time of the CCCS school at Birmingham University up to the mid-1980s which had, *a la* Gramsci, a concern with ‘resistance to structure’ and the hegemonic structures of the period ; rather the notion of agency has provided an increasingly prominent theoretical framework for research concerned with young people, and it is arguable that shift has intensified over time.

For example, within the ‘structured individualism’ approach of Roberts *et al* (1994), the concern with young people’s labour market transitions was related to the

subjective *and* objective individualisation in careers, meaning that both structure and agency were prominent concerns. However, within Ball *et al's* (2000) research, while 'the continuing importance of class, race and gender inequalities' was an objective, the main aim was to highlight the 'reflexive individualism' of young people, and in particular, their 'creative manipulation of seemingly contingent geographical circumstances'.

And in Johnson *et al's* 'snakes and ladders' transition research, emphasis was given over to young people's agency compared to social exclusion, as:

*...centrally our research considers the strategies which young men and women deploy to cope with their apparent economic and social exclusion. (Johnson *et al*, 2000:3)*

In Brannen and Nilsen's (2002) research on lifecourse transitions, they argued that more 'germane' was focussing on 'young people's construction of their identities', as it was not possible to 'disentangle' the relative importance of structural factors which shape pathways into adulthood. In O'Connors's (2006) exploration of gender differences in late modernity, understanding how 'young people reflexively construct the self' within Giddens' framework was the definitive aim. And most recently, in Henderson *et al's* 'Inventing Adulthoods' research project:

*The notion of the reflexive project of self provides a central focus for the Inventing Adulthoods study. The young people in the study (and the adults researching them) each have their own reflexive project of self. The interviews and other research encounters undertaken with young people are records of these ongoing projects, shaped by the way that they order and reorder narratives of self. (Henderson *et al*, 2007:20)*

Where research with young people has encompassed the notion of social exclusion, the notion of structural factors has evidently not been a consideration. For example, MacDonald's (1997) edited anthology of youth and social exclusion was concerned

with how underclass notions can contribute to social exclusion, and his later work was on the ascendancy of youth ‘underclass’ theses (MacDonald, 2000a). What appears to be apparent then, is that for young people, concomitant with the late modern notion of individualisation has been a ‘cultural turn’ in youth studies (Shildrick, 2006), with youth transitions, and thus social exclusion, constituted solely through an emphasis on individualisation and agency (Hollands, 2002). A major criticism of the youth transition approach is that it has ‘connotations of a crude and linear progress from one state to another and thus is unsuited to studying the lives of young people in late modernity’ (Cieslik and Pollock, 2002:8; Skelton, 2002).

As suggested in the previous chapter, Furlong and Cartmel’s *Young People and Social Change* (1997; 2006) books come closest to encapsulating this research’s thesis. Like their books, this research is built around the claim that ‘the life experiences of young people in modern industrial societies have changed quite significantly’ (1997:1) in the transition to late modernity, with Giddens’s thesis of individualisation acting as a focal point of analysis. And the focus here on young people is a secondary and opportunistically from the notion of young people as an illustrative case of individualisation. Central to Furlong and Cartmel’s original claim is that ‘concepts which have long been central to sociological analysis still provide a foundation on which we can develop an understanding of processes of social reproduction in the modern world’ (1997:2), an argument which remains at the core of the later edition. This posits their work within domain of the ‘sociology of youth’, in which the main focus is on identifying the key sociological markers of youth identity in late modernity. As outlined in the previous chapter, there is agreement with them on the continued prevalence of certain structural categories. This research, however, as

a social policy thesis is focussed on the processes involved in the constitution of any such markers, in this case the social exclusion processes. An example of this is their claim made in both editions that:

Although we remain sceptical about the extent to which changes in the youth labour market have affected underlying patterns of social reproduction, we recognize that processes which appear stable and predictable on an objective level, may involve greater subjective risk and uncertainty. (Furlong and Cartmel, 2006: 50)

This thesis turns this claim on its head to argue that (individualised) process which may appear stable and predictable on a *subjective* level involve greater *objective* risk and uncertainty. In the previous chapter, I outlined the metaphor they used of the car representing late modernity's emphasis on the driver selecting his or her own route or transition, with the impression of being in control over timing and routing without realizing that the type of car is the most significant predictor of journey outcome. To build on this metaphor, in this thesis I am focussed on looking under the bonnet of the car to see what makes it go so slow in reproducing social exclusion.

Another important difference between this research and that of Furlong and Cartmel's is that they state in that '...we accept the main thrust of [Giddens's and Beck's] arguments about individualization' (2006:2). As should have become apparent from the previous chapters, I do not accept these arguments, particularly the overwhelming positivity accorded to individualization in terms of the optimistically configured 'collective lifestyle', for two reasons. Firstly, I argue that, as Giddens and Beck both acknowledge, as the process of individualisation has only emerged from and through the new individualism of the late modern period, this means that it is the new individualism which should be the point of concern. This means that, secondly, the specific focus should be on the new change in social relations occasioned within society through new individualism not individualisation, as individualisation is simply

and artefact of new individualism changes. As described in section 4.2.3, I suggest that the negative outcomes of such late modern new individualism on the social relations within society has led to the social exclusion of some groups, especially those least advantaged, wherein the emphasis on new individualism in social welfare has had the effect of encouraging and/or facilitating individualistic behaviour. In particular, as Bates and Riseborough have observed:

Given growing inequalities and tightening social regulations, the form of 'individualism' we have observed seem to reflect an erosion of former social bonds and increasing competitorization and compartmentalization of self, rather than a movement towards the emancipatory reconstruction of self. (Bates and Riseborough, 1993:2)

Indeed, it is such individualism which has been recently identified by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation as a leading contemporary 'social evil', wherein:

...people increasingly look after their own individual or family interests without considering the needs of society or the community. This individualism was seen to have damaging consequences, fuelling selfishness and greed and leading to isolation and fear as people struggle to cope and live fulfilling lives alone. (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2009:3)

And in defining excessive individualism as 'the belief that the prime duty of the individual is to make most of her own life, rather than to contribute to the good of other', the recent Children's Society 'Good Childhood Inquiry' made explicit reference to 'excessive individualism' as a significant cause of inequality, as:

The pursuit of personal success relative to other cannot create a happy society, since one person's success necessarily involves another's failure. (Layard and Dunn, 2009:6)

This contradicts Giddens's positive account of new individualism and individualisation and also implicates the policy process in the process of social exclusion, through the change in social relations its occasions.

This leads to the research thesis that:

**Late modern forms of exclusion based on old structure and new individualism
orient the social exclusion of young people**

There are two Main Research Questions each with subsidiary research questions.

6.2 Main Research Question 1

The main aim of this research is to provide an account of social exclusion which encompasses the processes by which young people become socially excluded, to greater or lesser extents, from wider society in late modernity. I have provided evidence which suggests that it is not individual factors but structural processes through which young people become excluded. In this section, I will outline what I mean in this thesis by structure, and how I theorise its configuration in relation to social exclusion. As outlined above, a general lack of critical analysis in academia has limited the consideration of social exclusion beyond individualised rational action, and I situate this thesis's consideration of structure directly within a critical realist framework.

6.2.1 Defining structure in relation to social exclusion

Social structure can and has been conceptualised in many varied and contradictory ways (Blau, 1981). In a narrow sense, social structure can refer to specific elements of social division within society, such as class, race, gender, age and so on, or even specific socio-economic factors such as education, income, civil status (Reimer, 1995). In a wider sense, it can simply refer to representing a lack of opportunities in

a segmented social system (Benduit and Stokes, 2003), or even more widely, the context within which actors operate (Bates, 2006).

According to Popora (1998) it is possible to discern four different conceptions of social structure within the social sciences. These are:

- i) Patterns of aggregate behaviour that are stable over time [e.g. rationality];
- ii) Law like regularities that govern the behaviour of facts [e.g. structural sociology];
- iii) Systems of human relationships among social positions [e.g. Marxism];
- iv) Collective rules and resources that structure behaviour [e.g. structuration].

Table 6.1 below defines these four conceptions in terms of their theoretical and analytical tendencies.

Table 6.1 Theoretical and Analytical Tendencies of Conceptions of Social Structure

	Rationalism	Structural Sociology	Marxism	Structuration
Objective/subjective reality	Subjective	Objective	Objective to subjective	Duality
Organising basis Of structure	Repetition	Social facts	Materialism	(cultural) Relationships
Dynamic basis of structure	Micro-interaction	Deterministic laws	Exploitation	Rules and resources
Process of change	Reductionist	Holistic	Dialectical	Intersubjective

As can be seen, the four conceptions differ significantly in their explanatory and analytical outlook, and this emphasises the point that social structure is a concept which can and has been conceptualised in different ways. However, as Hollis (2004) observes, what is not obvious at first glance is that all such conceptions seem

broadly committed to some kind of determinism to greater or lesser extents, even those that hold that there is indeterminacy and a random element to individual action, in the sense that they would all claim that it would be possible to predict the outcome from a given set of circumstances from the application of their explanatory framework.

This phenomenon most likely occurs from what Archer (2000: 307) terms the ‘vexatious facts of society’ - that ‘we humans form society through our society, but we ourselves are shaped by it’, which suggests that (paraphrasing Marx):

...the rules of the game constrain players but also enable them to pursue their own end. The players make their own history, in part creating their own rules, but they do not do it in conditions entirely of their own choosing. (Hollis, 2004: 19)

An obvious question from this claim is which are the conditions that players do not entirely choose. In specific relation to social exclusion, I have argued that in contrast to weak, individualised versions of social exclusion, structural inequalities play the important role, meaning that in relation to the question posed:

The seeds of social exclusion are inherent in within the very experience of poverty: increased social isolation, reduced morale, deviant behaviours and even the experience of ostracism that are all linked more or less directly to the limited choice and restricted opportunities imposed by inadequate resources. (Walker, 1995: 116)

In this sense, it is individual’s powerlessness which is at the root of poverty and disadvantage (Beresford and Hoban, 2005), as a necessary condition of the manifestation of structure is a dominant culture, whereby individuals are constrained and dependent. Given that society is nothing other than a system of human relationships governed by laws (White, 1980: 17), social structures, then, reflect the distribution of wealth and power of a specified society, and these social structures

affect different groups unequally (Spence, 2005), to the extent that where an individual or group is subject to the domination of others:

...the consequences of powerlessness that ensues will have an impact upon their capacity to find words to think about their experiences and therefore upon their own sense of identity. (Hoggett, 2001: 48)

Shotter (2000: 74) in particular argues from a social psychology perspective that social structures should be treated as social products which embody 'the *real* politico-moral transactions people conduct between themselves in their actual everyday affairs together, rather than a mechanism-analogue of them' (emphasis in original). As Bhaskar (2000:187) specifically observes, this prioritises making over finding, suggesting that what cannot be made (discourse) cannot be understood (material embodiment) and thus limits the notion of conceptuality to that only which is negotiated by meaning, which can mean that:

...if there are real-socio-economic-political structures causing people in these 'new times' to be out of work, to feel isolated and/or to lose their sense of citizenship, then not to acknowledge this is to fall prey to the very 'rational-invisibility' of disorder to which the 'new (political) realism succumb. An emancipatory politics (or therapy) depends upon, though is not reducible to, a depth of science of society insofar as there really are deep structures at work. (Bhasker, 2000: 187, emphasis in original)

Such a focus orients social exclusion as having a real existence, with underlying causal mechanisms. This corresponds to Bhaskar's (1998a: 207) critical realist notion of a 'relational conception' of the subject-matter of social life, whereby 'society does not consist of individuals, but expresses the sum of the relations within which individuals stand'. Thus, 'society must be regarded as an ensemble of structures, practices and conventions which individuals reproduce or transform, but which would not exist unless they did so' (pg. 216), and wherein the achievement of either reproduction or transformation lies at the heart of social exclusion. Structure, then,

can be defined as relating to the underlying embodiment of the distribution of wealth and/or power in a given society, with the potential to reproduce or transform the conditions of individuals existence (Bhaskar 1998a:218). This means that social exclusion occurs where this underlying embodiment of the distribution of wealth and/or power, or structure, reproduces the disadvantaged and unequal power, or structural inequality, of individuals' existence.

6.2.2 Critical realist methodology of structure

Within Bhaskar's critical realism there is a difference between intransitive objects (those that are extrinsic of human activity) and transitive objects (those dependent upon human activity), and the relationship between the two is one in which the intransitive objects of the physical sciences provide the pre-scientific antecedents out of which transitive objects of the social sciences are constructed by agents. This suggests that there is some 'ontological relationship' between the natural world and the social world, in that:

...both are aspects of the real, awaiting empirical discovery; nature is prior, both in time and in order of ontological dependence; society can only exist because nature is such that human life and social production are possible, and so on. (Collier, 1998: 259)

This means that the social world has a real existence with underlying causal mechanisms, as:

...both knowledge and the world are structured, both are differentiated and changing; the latter exists independently of the former (though not our knowledge of this fact); and the experiences and the causal laws to which it affords us access are normally out of place with one another. (Bhaskar, 1998: 19)

Concomitantly, the overall aim of social science is to proffer a methodology that configures this correspondence between the intransitive objects of the natural world

and the intransitive objects of the social world (Williams and May 1996: 84).

However, there are important ontological differences between the natural and social sciences that make themselves apparent:

- i) social structure, unlike natural structures, do not exist independently of the activities they govern;
- ii) social structures, unlike natural structures, do not exist independently of the agents' conception of what they are doing in their activities;
- iii) social structures, unlike natural structures, may be only relatively enduring.

(Williams and May, 1996: 84)

Thus, these differences highlight that while realists are naturalists, they are not reductionists (Williams and May 1996: 84), with (ii) especially considering that while structures shape events, they do not necessarily determine them (Marsh, 1999). In this sense, it is possible to discern a dialectical relationship between structure and agency (Jessop 1982, cited in Marsh, 1999), or even more specifically the rendering of the dialectic within 'dialectical materialism' (Burrell and Morgan, 2005), whereby as Skeggs argues, even though structures pre-exist our agency:

...we contribute to their reproduction and reformulation: they frame our responses...Identities are continually in the process of being reproduced as responses to social positions, through access to representational systems and in the conversions of forms of capital.
(Skeggs, 1997: 94)

In other words, the context within which actors operate is important for generating events and discourses, and this context is located within an intransitive ontology, independent of our knowledge and construction of it. However, these events and discourses are transitive in the sense that they are produced from and by the means

of knowledge of social actors themselves, and as such are able to be transformed by social actors. From this perspective, of primary significance is social reality as a real entity with a real existence that ‘may be demonstrated by uncovering causal mechanisms through reinterpretation, with different understandings of causes and tendencies’ (Kim, 2005:6), so that even though the social world exists independently of our knowledge of it, the knowledge which people have about their social world affects their behaviour.

Methodologically, then, such realism entails an analysis concerned with exploring hidden structures beyond empirical appearances, but with the important epistemological detail of social structure as a transitive object, created by agents to represent reality, as:

...these underlying structures generate events and discourses but these are irreducible to these events and that they can only be identified through the practical and theoretical work of the social science. (Bates, 2006: 144)

Consequently, social science is interested in the mechanisms which produce direct experiences in the everyday empirical world, as‘ at the ontological level critical realism entails the view that the world has depth and that the real cannot be reduced simply to experience, including of course the simple experience of the subject’ (Clegg, 2006: 306).

6.2.3. Empirical, Actual and Real levels of social reality

From the above, it may have been observed that for Bhaskar, methodically there are different levels of social reality, a stratification necessary to characterize perceptions from reality, as mediated by social action. These different levels of reality are the

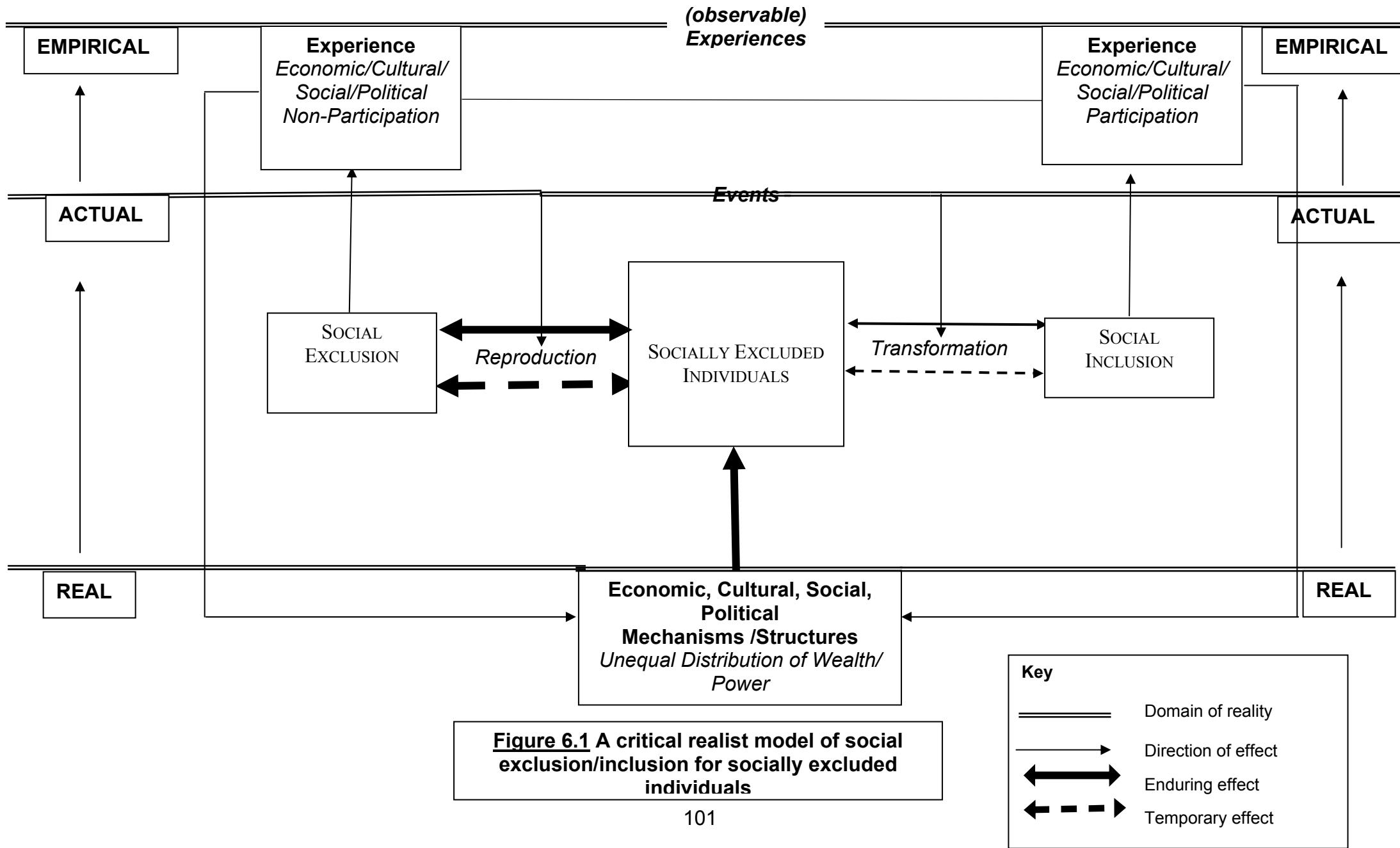
empirical, the actual and the real, incorporating mechanism, events and experiences respectively. For critical realism:

When we are engaged in the work of [social sciences] we are interested in mechanisms, understanding what produces the messy outcome at the level of direct experiences in the everyday world of the empirical. This work involves trying to puzzle out why in some circumstances we have regularities and not in others; in other words, what mechanisms, structures or powers are producing the outcomes. (Clegg, 2006: 316)

Experiences then, while they are epistemically a critical part of social reality, in critical realist terms constitute the ending of the social reality, while it is mechanisms which are the beginning and so which constitute the real objective of social science. This is shown in Figure 6.1 overleaf, which presents a realist model of social exclusion.

From Figure 6.1, firstly, as emphasised above, mechanisms are the starting point and experiences the end point of social reality, or in this case social exclusion, and so this necessitates an emphasis on mechanisms as structuring events and experiences. In between are events which signify the events produced by and reflected in mechanisms and experiences respectively. Secondly, mechanisms are generative in the sense that they present a range of possibilities within limits. So, for example, from Figure 6.1, it is possible for individuals to either reproduce or transform the structures, suggesting as outlined above that the outcome is open rather than closed, and the balance between the two depends on the social circumstances. Such reproduction or transformation may be enduring or temporary to greater or lesser extents, as highlighted by the contrast between the thick lines and the dashed lines.

However, the thick line for reproduction in comparison to the thinner line for transformation orients that, in relation to social exclusion at least, it is reproduction which is generally the outcome of such structures, and so in contrast to interpretative



theories, structures exist as hard and concrete facts which are relatively persistent and enduring, meaning that social reality is not necessarily created and recreated in everyday interaction (Burrell and Morgan 2005: 358).

The notion of reproduction outlined here is similar to that outlined by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) in their model of the transmission of cultural capital through the medium of education, as it deems that fundamental to such a transmission is the perpetuation of existing class differences between individuals and groups. Indeed, Gingrich's (2006) explorations of processes of social exclusion draws explicitly on Pierre Bourdieu's conceptualisation of *habitus*. Within her consideration of *habitus*, social exclusion occurs from the uneven distribution of reproductive strategies of the effective or valued social field, and is perpetuated and intensified (reproduced) by those in the dominant positions denying the legitimate means of accumulating capital in the effective or valued social field to those at the bottom (Gingrich, 2006). This means that it is individuals' conscious or unconscious reaction to their perception of the (structured) world which is important to their social exclusion. A general problem with the *habitus* approach is that it rarely distinguishes between conscious and unconscious action, meaning that it can be difficult to discern when activity is intentional or reflexive (Moon, 2003).

In contrast, the approach taken here argues that there is a difference between perception and reality in the social world, whereby while perceptions are an important part of social reality, they are not its starting point. Rather, perceptions are mediated by the reproduction of the underlying mechanisms and structures which constitute social reality, meaning that social exclusion exists as the manifestation of the

underlying mechanisms and structures which constitute social reality. Nayak's articulation of the 'symbolic elaboration of class signals' exemplifies such an approach, whereby:

...while social class may be rarely discussed directly by young people it continues to be threaded through the daily fabric of their lives: it is stitched into codes of respect, accent dress, music, bodily adornment, and comportment. In short, the affective policies of class is a felt practice, tacitly understood, deeply internalized. (Nayak, 2006: 828)

From the above, then, it is possible to interpret class as a 'structuring absence' in that although it rarely directly figured in individuals' accounts, it was constantly present (Skeggs, 1997: 74). Again, this does not confer a reductionist ontology to the realist methodology as society is to be regarded as 'an ensemble of structures, practices and conventions which individuals reproduce or transform, but which would not exist unless they did so' (Bhaskar 1998a: 216).

I have argued above that structure has a real existence, relating to the underlying embodiment of the distribution of wealth and/or power in a given society, with the potential to reproduce or transform the conditions of individuals' existence (Bhaskar 1998a: 218). This means that social exclusion occurs where this underlying embodiment of the distribution of wealth and/or power, or structure, reproduces the disadvantaged and/or power of individuals' existence. This leads to Research Question 1 as:

How does the reproduction of old structure contribute to the social exclusion of young people?

1a) Do the experiences of socially excluded young people correspond to the disadvantage and/or unequal power of individuals' existence?

1b) Where there is correspondence, how important individually is the contribution of various aspects of structural inequality to the occurrence of social exclusion?

1c) Where there is not correspondence, how are young people experiencing social exclusion?

6.3 Main Research Question 2

The notion of social exclusion offered here relies on a number of concepts, wherein concepts are defined as 'a variable which is part of a theoretical system, implying causal relationships' (Turner, 1953: 610), and the evidence presented in previous chapters also suggests that individualism contributes to the social exclusion of young people in late modernity. Specifically, I have highlighted that the way that the structured inequalities of late modernity engender and feed into individualism is at the heart of social exclusion, constituting a new form of exclusion. This means that individualism, as described in Chapter 4, makes itself apparent as the shift in late modernity away from the equality of modernity has had consequences in the sphere of community, with the outcome of the change in social relations being the unravelling of traditionalities of community and family, the consequence of which is the social exclusion of some groups, especially those least advantaged.

Although individualism in more specific late modern terms is conceptually distinct from individualisation as the former refers to the changed political and economic culture (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002: xxi), and the latter to the diversification of lifestyles in the late modern period, Delanty (2004) explicitly relates Giddens's notion of individualisation as one of many different forms of individualism. As described in section 4.3.2, this means that new individualism is analytically prior to individualisation, and this implicates the policy process through new individualism, rather than individualisation, in the process of social exclusion, as it is possible to observe contradictory trends in relation to the interdependency of individuals in late modernity. On the one hand, while there is considerable evidence that the interdependency between individuals has been intensified as a consequence of the globalised nature of social processes (MacDonald, 2000a), on the other, in relation to social policy the emphasis given towards interdependency is in a limited sense, related almost exclusively to market exchange. This leads to social problems being perceived in terms of psychological dispositions, such as personal inadequacies, guilt feelings, anxieties, conflicts and neuroses, rather than as a result of structural considerations outside of individuals' control, and so circumstances, such as high unemployment, which in the past may have led to government action, or calls for government action, are now construed as determinate only at the individual level through individual action, as we have seen in relation to New Labour's weak social exclusion policy. Thus, there is the manifestation of what Furlong and Cartmel (1997: 2) term the 'epistemological fallacy' of the late modern period between objective reality and subjective perceptions, whereby although social structures continue to shape life changes, the significance of such structures have become

increasingly obscure as ‘collectivist tradition’ weaken and individualist values intensify, and:

As a consequence of these changes, people come to regard the social world as unpredictable, and filled with risk which can only be negotiated on an individual level, even though chains of human interdependence remain intact. (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997: 2)

Also, the notion of interdependence, so important to Titmuss’s conception of social welfare in much of the post-war welfare system (Welshman, 2004), has been realigned towards making the links between individual interaction opaque and less interdependent (Jordan, 1996), so that ‘social exclusion occurs when citizens are denied these social rights or they are not fully realized and, furthermore, in such circumstances citizens are likely to experience generalized disadvantage’ (Percy-Smith, 2000: 4). The effect of such changes has been outlined in terms of less trust and automatic mutual support, less close social and cultural ties, ‘amoral familism’, loss of social solidarity, and self interest, which can be seen as representing ‘survival strategies’ and ‘cultures of resistance’ to such changes (Jordan and Redley ,1994), ‘defensive’ practices of ‘sociality; which may have the ultimate effect of reinforcing exclusion (Hey, 2005; Henderson *et al*, 2007: 13). What all of these factors suggest is that such changes from modernity to late modernity have produced the opportunities for new exclusion based on the expression of such individualism, ‘representing pragmatic responses by individuals in the struggle for survival in [late modernity]’ (Furlong and Cartmel 1997: 4).

This leads to Research Question 2 as:

How does new individualism contribute to the social exclusion of young people?

2a) Does individualism contribute to the social exclusion of young people?

2b) If so, what is the upward linkage from structure to individualism?

6.4 Research Outcomes

The research outcomes relate to both late modern theory and social exclusion theory and practice.

Barnes and Morris argue that:

If policies capable of preventing social exclusion are to be effectively implemented we need to understand the experiences of social exclusion in context and the way in which exclusionary processes operate for different groups. (Barnes and Morris, 2008: 256)

I have argued in the previous chapters that, in the UK at least, policy has been configured around a ‘weak’, individualised version of social exclusion which prioritises Giddens’s Third Way notions of individualisation in late modernity as the defining feature of social exclusion.

This is a limitation which this research intends to address, built out of the claim that such a narrative of late modernity is flawed. It was outlined in Chapter 3 in particular how New Labour’s social exclusion policy is articulated in terms of ‘individualised social reproduction’. The literature review not only highlighted the inadequacy of such accounts, but also drew attention to the importance of structural considerations in the

constitution of social exclusion. Rather, the research aims to provide an account of social exclusion built around an alternative late modern explanation of change. I argue that such an account articulates a more accurate rationalisation of change in society in general, and so provides policymakers and practitioners with a more precise framework within which to consider policies which ameliorate the effects of social exclusion for young people.

Indeed, through such a critical approach, an important linkage between methodology, methods and outcomes can be clearly expressed, in that as Kim relates:

The task for the social researcher in this paradigm is not simply to collect observations about the social world but to explain these through a theoretical framework; this examines the underlying mechanisms structuring individuals' action which can prevent them from reaching their potential. (Kim, 2005: 6)

This means that the analysis of social exclusion in such a way should not be seen as an end in itself, but as the means to an end, in that as Bates (2006: 145) outlines, the very raison d'être of such a critical realist approach is to uncover the structures that underpin society in order to change them. Indeed, this positions the research towards 'interpretation on the humanistic side' (Wolcott, 2001: 34), and also the 'sociology of radical change' found in radical structuralist approaches in particular (Burrell and Morgan, 2005). This does not mean that the critical realist position is more dogmatic than other positions, but rather considers that:

...it is only if the working scientist possesses the concept of an ontological realm, distinct from his current claims to knowledge of it, that he can philosophically think out the possibility of a rational criticism of these claims. To be fallibilist about knowledge, it is necessary to be a realist about things. Conversely, to be a sceptic about things is to be dogmatic about knowledge. (Bhaskar, 1998: 32)

Thus, I make no claim about the politically objective nature of my research, but rather state that as science is always constructed out of internal and external values which includes the broader cultural context, it is arguable that such a paradigm is present in all poverty research (Schram, 1995: xxvii), and thus state definitively that my research is politically subjective in that its aim is change from understanding, rather than simply understanding. A narrower applicability of the research, then, is that the latent emphasis in social policy research in general and social exclusion research in particular on agency has been identified as empirically problematic. This is especially relevant in the context of New Labour's 'weak' form of social exclusion, as it suggests that individualistically-centred policy outcome ignores the importance of structural considerations to the constitution of social exclusion. This research argues that a 'strong' form of social exclusion would provide a more fruitful application of the term.

6.5 Summary

This chapter has specified the linkage between the operationalisation of this research's thesis, questions and outcomes and the conceptualisations of structure and individualism which previous chapters have shown to be crucial to young people's social exclusion in late modernity. The lack of critical analysis in academia and the ideological limitations of present accounts have been shown to both engender and drive the need for the research thesis, and the limited consideration of social exclusion beyond individualised rational action situates this thesis's directly within a critical realist ontological and epistemological framework. For research question 1, I argue that structure has a real existence, relating to the underlying

embodiment of the disadvantage and/or power of individuals' existence in a given society, with the potential to reproduce or transform the conditions of individuals' existence. This entails the separation of the real, actual and empirical of social reality, of which the focus should be on the real – the underlying mechanisms reproducing social reality, and thus social exclusion. For research question 2, I argue that individualism contributes to the social exclusion of young people in late modernity, and more specifically, it is the way that the structured inequalities of late modernity engender and feed into individualism which constitutive a new form of exclusion. The research outcomes relate to both late modern theory and social exclusion theory and policy, but I make no claims about the politically objective nature of my research, but rather state definitively that my research is politically normative in that its aim is change from understanding, rather than simply understanding. This is especially relevant in the context of New Labour's 'weak' version of social exclusion, and this research argues that a 'strong' version of social exclusion would provide a more fruitful application of the term. The next chapter outlines how data was collected and analysed within this critical realist framework.

7. Data Collection, Analysis and Ethical Considerations

This section outlines the specific data collection and analysis methods used for the research. Data collection and analysis, informed by a pilot study, occurs in a tripartite framework corresponding to the critical realist domains of the empirical, actual and real outlined in the previous chapter. This encompasses a modified form of the Diary: Diary Interview Method (DDIM). Data analysis is concerned primarily with establishing linkage between important conceptual themes identified in previous sections, and makes a crucial distinction between the descriptive, analytical and critical levels of analysis which are used. Finally, pertinent ethical issues such as access, data protection and risk from harm are discussed.

In the previous section, both the lack of critical analysis in academia and the ideological limitations of present accounts of social exclusion were shown to engender the need for the thesis within a critical realist methodology. Such a perspective views social exclusion as having a real existence, with underlying causal mechanisms relating to the underlying embodiment of the disadvantage and/or power of individuals' existence in a given society, with the potential to reproduce or transform the conditions of individuals' existence. This entails the separation of the real, actual and empirical domains of social reality, of which the focus should be on the real, the underlying structures which reproduce social reality, and thus social exclusion.

In this section, I align this critical realist account of social exclusion with research methods which are not simply descriptive but critical in nature too. This is carried out

through a tripartite framework for data collection and analysis built around the separation of the empirical, actual, and real of social reality, and using in-depth qualitative research methods, moving from the descriptive to more critical data analysis. Attention is also given to important ethical factors concerned with research with young people, and this includes issues of access, payment and data protection.

Data collection and analysis methods described below were informed by a pilot study carried out between April 2007 and July 2007. For the pilot study, a similarity in relation to the main research was attempted in terms of sample frame. The pilot study provided the opportunity to test the data collection and data analysis procedures, and contributed to the improvement of the data collection process, especially in relation to the questionnaire. Where relevant this is highlighted below.

7.1 The Empirical, Actual and Real: A Tripartite Critical Realist Framework

The previous chapter outlined a critical realist methodological approach for this research entailing the separation of the real, actual and empirical domains of social reality, of which the focus should be on the real, the underlying structures which reproduce social reality, and thus social exclusion.

An obvious empirical question from such a perspective is when you would know that a structure has been reproduced or transformed for an individual (Rustin and Chamberlayne, 2002). In relation to poverty and social exclusion, this is typically done indirectly by measuring either the potential that people possess or directly through the outcomes that have occurred in pursuit of their well-being (Ringen, 1995;

McKay, 2004). Table 7.1 below highlights the relationship between direct and indirect conceptualisation's (i.e. definition) and methodological (i.e. measurement) approaches to poverty and social exclusion.

Table 7.1 Correspondences in Direct and Indirect Approaches to the Study of Poverty and Social Exclusion

	Indirect measurement <i>Lack of resources commanded</i>	Direct measurement <i>Lack of goods commanded</i>
Indirect definition <i>Equality of opportunity</i>	Narrow definition/Narrow measurement	Narrow definition/Broad measurement
Direct definition <i>Equality of outcome</i>	Broad definition/Narrow measurement	Broad definition/Broad measurement

(Adapted from Ringen, 1988; 1995)

As can be seen, the only theoretically and methodologically consistent approaches are those encompassing both indirect/direct definition and measurement, or equality of opportunity/lack of resources commanded and equality of outcome/lack of goods commanded. However, the limitations of an approach focussed on equality of opportunity has already been highlighted in section 3.3 with reference to New Labour's weak conceptualisation of social exclusion, meaning that a methodically consistent but strong approach necessitates a focus on equality of outcome. Moreover, as highlighted above, the consideration of a strong definition of social exclusion necessitates a methodologically approach which also encompasses a focus on 'real', deeper underlying mechanisms. For this reason, the value of detailed qualitative research in uncovering the complex causal relationships at play within given social milieux comes to the fore (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 143), as 'qualitative research is particularly appropriate for examining process through its

attention to context and particularities' (Holland *et al*, 2006: 1). This orients using multiple data types to investigate the research question (Olsen, 2004), entailing data methods which combines both a subjective and objective approach to the data (Hassard, 1988).

7.1.1 Data collection

There are a number of qualitative data collection methods which could be used for this purpose. Dauite and Lightfoot (2004) argue that the narrative method can be seen as particularly appropriate data collection process for young people, through its emphasis on storytelling in a less formal way than interviewing, occurring as a consequence of its emphasis on openness, less direct and less concrete questions, and open interview method (Breckner and Rupp, 2002). However, the narrative process foregrounds participants' subjective focus, and so in a very basic sense the narrative process is specifically located within the interpretivist tradition of qualitative research (Freeman, 2004: 69), which limits its utility to this research's critical objectives outlined above. Similarly, biographical methods are limited in general as all narratives approaches are by their preoccupation with coherence within respondents interviews (Holloway and Jefferson, 2000), and more specifically, by their emphasis on subjective narrative life history experiences as outlined above. A number of youth studies have used ethnographic based participant observation methods (Craine, 2000; Bates 1993; Riseborough, 1993). Such methods have a particular advantage in that they allow for observance of activity by the researcher in situ, as opposed as to from an account given by participants, and so the account is first hand, not second-hand. Hodkinson (2005: 134) argues that in relation to youth research specifically, such ethnographic based research is particularly appropriate 'in the case of groups of respondents who are structurally marginalised in respect of

class, ethnicity, sexuality, gender or some combination thereof.' However, a specific concern with participant observation is that it entails a degree of immersion within research participants' sphere of influence which, bearing in mind the target group of the research, would prove difficult. Also, although ethnography has a specific concern with structure, it defines structure in a narrow sense, referring to the social structure or configuration of the group under observations and not in relation to wider society as a whole which is the more general concern of this research (Hodkinson, 2005).

As a way of countering these limitations of ethnographic passed participant observation, especially in counter-culture communities, the Diary: Diary Interview Method (DDIM) has been used by Zimmerman and Weider (1977). According to them, the DDIM is a good approximation of participant observation, as it emphasises the role of diaries not as 'intimate journals' but as an observational log maintained by subjects over some period of time according to a set of instructions.

The DDIM is a two stage data collection process. In stage 1, participants are asked to maintain a 2 week diary of their activities, broken up into time spheres. In the second stage, the diary is converted into a question-generating/data-generating device, whereby the diary narrative is used to formulate questions to ask of the diarist, in order to 'clarify the detail of everyday life in the scene [and] in the process, discover the structure of relevancies that inform, render sensible, and give value to such activities' (Zimmerman and Weider, 1977:490). Schrodt *et al* (2006) have observed that a noteworthy outcome of this stage of the DDIM is that it can facilitate

the emergence of concepts not expected beforehand, specifically how concepts related to structure influence interaction.

This research uses a modified form of the DDIM as its method of data collection. The modification occurs with the addition of a further follow up interview stage, giving a tripartite framework for data collection built around the separation of the empirical, actual, and real of social reality as described in the previous chapter. These stages and discrimination are shown below in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Tripartite critical realist framework for data collection and analysis

Critical realist domain of reality	Data collection Stage	Analytical method
Empirical	1. Diary	Descriptive
Actual	2. Diary: Interview	Heuristic -analytical
Real	3. Follow up Interview	Critical analytical

This modified DDIM approach has been chosen because although it is similar to that of life history-method, its emphasis on the diarist as surrogate observer ‘affords at least the possibility of gaining some degree of access to naturally occurring sequences of activity, as well as raising pertinent questions about their meaning and significance’ (Zimmerman and Weider, 1977: 485); as:

Former uses of the general ‘life history’ method have yielded descriptions of an ensemble or similar or analytical identical situations in which the subjects are loaded, treated as those subjects’ particular situations, rather than their cultural or socially structured situations from which descriptions of ‘culture’ or ‘social structure’ could be obtained [from DDIM].
(Zimmerman and Weider, 1977: 486)

Zimmerman and Weider make the point that with a target population much younger than the researcher which can often make participant observation impractical or

unfeasible, DDIM allows for descriptions of cultural and or socially structured situations from which assumptions of culture and social structure can be obtained. Zwije-Koning and de Jong (2005) have identified a number of limitations of diary based research, such as the conscious or unconscious change of behaviour it may engender, and the potential that participants might self censor themselves. But they also note that the most obvious advantage of diary based approaches is their accuracy. In particular diaries, according to Bolger *et al* (2003: 580) provide a 'dramatic reduction in the likelihood of retrospection, achieved by minimizing the amount of time elapsed between an experience and the account of this experience'. Moreover, Kan and Pudney (2007) have observed that diary data in numerous forms have been used to understand the changing ways in which different group of individuals structure their daily life.

The DDIM as a good approximation of participation observation methods in particular, provides the potential for descriptions of socially structured situations, through the opportunity it makes available of gaining some degree of access to the naturally occurring environment of 'difficult to observe' settings, such as in family settings (Schrodt *et al*, 2006; Leach and Braithwaite, 1996), and prison settings (Schmid and Jones, 1993). McDowell (2001), speaking from practical research experience, suggests that representing the mundane details of everyday lives of marginalised young people rather than focusing on any 'spectacular' behaviour may be a better way of capturing the social context circumstances and restricted opportunities that face them. Moreover, through offering the possibility of developing a 'thick description' of the profile of the structure, relations, attitudes and dynamics within local communities, ethnographic-based approaches like the DDIM appear to

provide the distinct opportunity of delving below the surface of events and facts to seek to reveal underlying (Maginn, 2007). Finally, and in contrast to the interpretivist based narrative and biographical approaches, the DDIM approach seeks to explicitly clarify the detail of everyday life, which as highlighted in the previous chapter, is an important process in discovering the underlying structures that give value to such everyday life, and so is important to the data analysis processes as described below.

The data collection stages in Table 7.1 are described in detail in subsequent chapters, but an important point here is that although there is discrimination between the stages of data collection in terms of the critical realist domains of reality, in actual fact they are linked together. So for example, the diary that participants were asked to keep formed the basis of the subsequent diary interview. And questions for the third stage of data collection were primarily built out of the initial analysis of the data collected from stage 2, and to clarify points arising from this stage. This should become clearer from the detail below and in subsequent chapters.

7.1.2 Data analysis

Figure 7.1 below outlines the linkage in the processes of data collection and data analysis. This shows that while there is an observable logical discrimination between data collection and data analysis stages, the two processes are intimately connected, in that data analysis is not something that was done solely at the end of the data collection process, but rather that, data collection and analyses at stages 2 and 3 were dependent upon data collection and tentative data analysis of prior stages that had been carried out. This means that the final data analysis at stage 3 incorporated previous analyses in a more comprehensive manner.

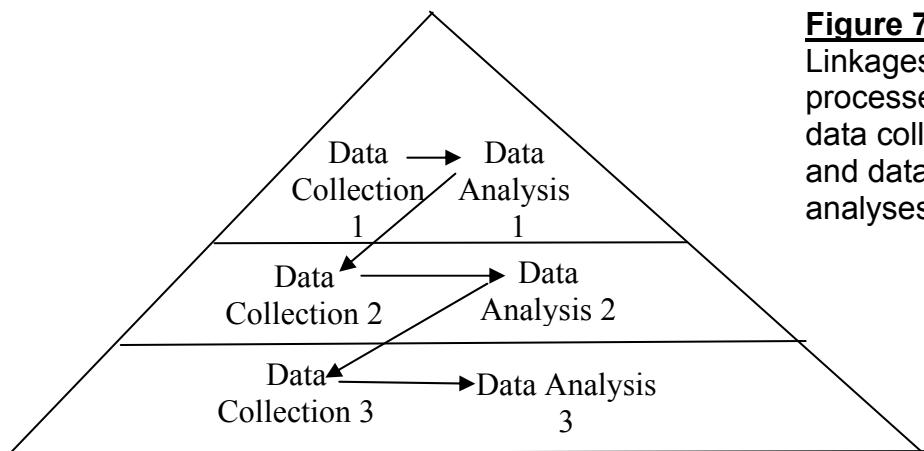


Figure 7.1
Linkages in the processes of data collection and data analyses

The analytical framework for the tripartite data collection stages in Table 7.1 above go from the descriptive to the critical. This means that data collected from the diary are principally dependent upon participants' unreconstructed perceptions of the world, within defined limits. This is because the data is concerned with the empirical, that is the surface level appearance of events, or participants' perceptions of their reality; as such data are distinctly descriptive, it will be analysed as such, as it relates to the explicit reasons given by participants.

In contrast, data collected from the diary interview is analysed in a heuristic-analytical method, in which theoretical knowledge and previous empirical findings are used explicitly to guide the research procedures, and objective aspects of young people's situations and previous experiences are made use of to facilitate understanding of their explanations and to stimulate further questioning in the interview (Wooley, 2009: 20). Such an approach presupposes that the empirical is not reducible to the actual, that is experiences do not necessarily correlate to the actual events which orient social reality and thus social exclusion.

This limited expansion of the data beyond the descriptive account of participants is built upon in the third stage of data collection, the follow up interview, where critical analysis means that the submerged nature of the real mechanisms structuring social reality as outlined above particularises analysis to be concerned with uncovering precisely these underlying reproducing dimensions. And since these dimensions cannot be directly observed, this means that, importantly, the terms of our knowledge have to be theoretically grounded (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006:489), so that any attempt to remove the researcher from the picture falls down due to the fact that data are already tainted with an analytical or interpretative cast in the very process of becoming data (Wolcott, 1994:16). As outlined in section 6.2.3, the critical realist domains of the empirical, actual and real relates to the embodiment of a difference between surface appearances and depth reality, necessitating the expansion of the data beyond a descriptive account to one where the researcher offers his or her own explanation of the data. From a critical realist perspective, what this means is that epistemologically, personal documents are ‘mere surface scratchings’ (Plummer 2001: 4) as they do not embody the real underlying mechanisms of social reality. Rather, as Freeman (2004: 69) argues ‘sometimes it can be extremely valuable to look beyond intended meanings and pursue the possibility of different ones altogether’. In this sense:

The interest is not only in what the author himself or herself may have meant by a particular utterance but what the text itself means: we want to understand what is being said and what this something may be about. This greatly expands the interpretative field. For in moving beyond the subjective meaning, localized in the person of the author, we immediately have before us a much larger range of possible interpretations, emerging in line with the essential openness of discourse itself. (Freeman 1993: 34)

This is in contrast to the interpretivist approach which posits an ‘insider’ rather than an ‘outsider’ viewpoint (Mason, 2002), and so does not explore the material realities

of the discourse (Ward, 2005), which is an essential component of this research.

Moreover, such a critical approach confronts the post-modern focus on interpreting a study, rather than the traditional theory-oriented classical approach (Creswell, 1998), wherein, within such accounts there is a widespread assumption that:

...participants are ‘telling it like it is’, that participants know ‘who they are and what makes them tick’- what we might call the ‘transparent self problem’ -, and are willing and able to ‘tell’ this to a stranger interviewer – what we might call the ‘transparent account problem. (Holloway and Jefferson, 2000: 3)

‘Critical’ then, can be seen as synonymous to Wengraf’s (2001: 6) ‘depth’, wherein depth means ‘to get a sense of how the apparently straight forward is actually more complicated, of how the ‘surface appearances’ may be quite misleading about ‘depth realities’.

Following Crouch and McKenzie (2006), this approach marks itself out as contra grounded theory approaches, in that it delineates that social context of participants cannot be produced solely out of the personal experiences which arise out of the data. Rather, such an analysis strategy requires that:

To give those experiences sociological meaning is to comprehend them in the context of the social conditions within which they arise, it is to attempt to explain those experiences ‘vertically’ by addressing crucial questions about the necessary conditions under which experience is possible at all. As the ‘system elements’ of social life are rarely more than hinted at in respondents accounts, the emergent analysis and interpretation of these accounts require reference to relevant social circumstances to be grounded in extant sociological (including, of course, theoretical) knowledge. (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006: 490)

The use of such predefined theoretical concepts for analysis is similar to the analytical techniques for both template/thematic analysis and analytical induction. So, as with the procedural precepts of thematic analysis, the starting point for predefined

concepts outlined above is the substantive content and philosophical orientation of the study (Crabtree and Miller, 1992). And as with the procedural precepts of analytic induction of ‘reformulation and redefinition’ (Bryman, 2001), the emphasis in the analysis will be on identifying and generating explanatory accounts of how relevant these conceptual themes are to the young people, towards a theoretical understanding of the concept of social exclusion as previously outlined. However, whereas thematic analysis is ultimately concerned with generating context dependent explanation through coincidental case analysis (King, 1998), analytical induction is concerned with single case analysis identification of common and therefore essential features of a phenomenon, towards providing general explanation of a particular phenomenon.

Despite its general orientation though, Katz (2001:14) observes that there is consensus that analytical inductions explanations ‘are likely to work better the better they fit with subjects’ perspectives’. This would appear to contradict the importance of the critical analytical approach as outlined for this research, in that the establishment and thinking of conceptual themes essentially occurs from the theoretical framework established by the researcher. In contrast to this contradiction, thematic analysis has been developed and utilized largely as a realist methodology, concerned with uncovering ‘real’ beliefs, attitudes and values and so on of the participants in their research (King, 1998:118). Furthermore, thematic analysis enables analysis of data to go beyond its semantic content concerned with simply describing the surface to a more latent level concerned with identifying underlying ideas, assumptions and conceptualisations which give it its particular form and meaning (Braun and Clarke, 2006), intonating that ‘thematic analysis is a method that

work both to reflect reality and to unpick or unravel the surface of reality' (Braun and Clarke, 2006:81). So while thematic analysis and analytic induction are very similar analytical techniques, thematic analysis provides a consistency between methodology and methods that is very relevant to the context of this research.

Table 7.3 below maps the data collection processes to the research questions. As can be seen and in Figure 7.1, some data collection processes and analysis overlap in terms of the research. However, despite the variety of data collection methods data analysis methods delineated in the table, they are all oriented to the Research Questions, highlighting the consideration given in the research towards methods and analysis in relation to Research Questions.

7.1.3 Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis

Due to the volume of data which the stages of research generated, Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis (CAQDAS) in the form of NVIVO 7 was used to store data and help to identify initial themes, as 'the particular value of CAQDAS programs in qualitative data analysis is considered to be their usefulness for data management and supporting coding processes' (Wickham and Woods, 2005). Lewins and Silver (2006) have identified a number of CAQDAS programs with key similarities in basic functionalities, but outline NVIVO 7 as the '[t]he best attempt of all the software in unifying and simplifying the organisation of data i.e. the application of attributes e.g. socio-demographic variables/values to both whole documents and parts of documents' (pg. 32), and so it was for this reason that it was initially chosen. For the pilot study, NVIVO was learnt from scratch using a simplified manual (Richards, 2006), and it was also due to the ease of use and learning that was

experienced from this process that its choice was confirmed as the CAQDAS program for the analysis.

Table 7.3 Mapping of Research Questions to Data collection Processes, Data Analysis, and Principal Outcomes

Data Collection Processes	Data Analysis	Analytic Focus	Relevant Research Questions
1. Diary	'Empirical Experiences of Social Exclusion: 'What/Where/How/Who/Why' Diary Descriptive'	i) Describe the social exclusion experience of participants ii) Consider correspondence/dissonance with conceptual dimensions of structure iii) Consider the contribution of individualism to social exclusion	1a 1b, 1c 2a
2. Diary Interviews	'Actual Experiences of Social Exclusion: Diary Interviews Analysis'	i) Clarify in detail the social exclusion experience of participants ii) Explain correspondence/dissonance with conceptual dimensions of structure iii) Describe the contribution of individualism to social exclusion	1a 1b, 1c 2a, 2b,
3. Follow-Up/Future Interviews	'Real Experiences of Social Exclusion: Follow Up/Future Interviews'	i) Clarify in more detail the social exclusion experience of young people and ii) Establish dissonance or correspondence with conceptual dimensions of structure iii) Explain the contribution of individualism to social exclusion	1a 1b, 1c 2a, 2b,

7.2 Ethical Considerations

7.2.1 Overarching Practical Considerations

The context of the research made relevant for consideration in particular two important differences between the researcher and participants, that of 'young people' and social exclusion'. These include issues related to young people, initial access to participants, participation and non-participation, data protection, confidentiality and anonymity, risk and harm, and informed consent. These issues were addressed in the submission to the University's ethical research panel, from which approval for the research was given.

7.2.2 Payment

The research's in-depth tripartite design should be seen as particularly intensive for participants, as it required their active participation over a significant period of time. In addition, the requirement to keep a log of activities in a diary for two weeks was relatively obtrusive in comparison to interview based research (Sullivan, 1996). For these reasons, payment was made to participants at each stage of the research process which they participated, with a sliding scale for each stage. For instance, Stage 3 involving the semi-structured interview was paid more than Stage 1 as it entails more of participants' time, but less than Stage 2 as it entailed less of participants' time. For taking part in all the stages, including the sampling questionnaire which is discussed in the next chapter, participants earned £65. Table 7.4 below shows the payment made for each stage.

Table 7.4 Payment made for Research Participation

Stage	Process	Payment (£)
Sampling	Questionnaire	5
1	Diary: Week 1	15
	Week 2	15
	Bonus for Completion	10
2	Diary Interview	10
3	Follow-up Interview	10
	Total	65

These payments were based principally on the ‘reimbursement’ model of payment, from a view that payment represents recompense for the inconvenience that the research process may cause and that payment may encourage people to participate in research that will generate useful knowledge, (Grady , 2005; see also McDowell (2001) for a specific example in relation to young people). As such, the prominent ethical concern that ‘money may unduly induce subjects to participate in research by compromising the voluntary nature of their decisions or their willingness to explore the risks and benefits of the study’ (Dickert *et al*, 2002:368) does not really apply in this case. The process for payment was negotiated and agreed at the outset so that this did not cause problems (Howarth, 2002). All monies paid out was signed for.

It was stressed to participants that payment for participation would only occur at the completion of each stage, and so failure to complete the diary log would mean that no payment was made. This, was intended to provide an incentive for participants to complete the diary

7.3 Summary

This section has outlined the specific data collection and analysis methods, and also the ethical concerns of the research process. This has been considered in relation to the critical realist domains of the empirical, actual and real in the previous chapter. Qualitative research methods focussing on the direct measurement of social exclusion provide a theoretically and methodologically consistent approach which also underlies New Labour's weak conceptualisation of social exclusion. This leads to a tripartite framework centred on critical realist the domains of reality and built around a modified form of the Diary: Diary-Interview Method research method as the main mode of data collection. This functions as a good approximation of participation observation methods, and so provides the potential for descriptions of socially structured situations. Data analysis through thematic analysis reinforces the importance of the linkages which occurs from the critical approach by making a crucial distinction between descriptive and critical levels of analysis. A number of relevant ethical issues have also been highlighted, and these were considered in particular in relation to participants' status as 'young people' and 'socially excluded'. The latter, and to a lesser extent the former, of these two consideration was also important in necessitating sampling to be carried out, as described in the next chapter.

8. Sampling Frame: Methods and Profile of Research

Participants

This chapter establishes how participants were chosen for this study. The use of a piloted questionnaire is described as the method to enable the sample frame to be narrowed down to a sub sample of 8 young people. The use of the notion of 'at risk' for this process is described in detail, as well as its limitations. The final sample of the 8 chosen participants is summarised collectively, followed by brief individual pen portraits, in order to provide an initial picture of the nature of participants' social exclusion.

The previous chapter outlined the specific data collection and analysis methods. This entails in-depth qualitative research methods in a tripartite framework of data collection and analysis specifically related to the critical realist domains of the empirical, the actual and real. This leads to a modified form of the Diary: Diary-Interview Method research method as the main mode of data collection, with a crucial distinction between descriptive and critical levels of analysis. A number of relevant ethical issues were also highlighted, and these were considered in particular in relation to participants' status as 'young people' and 'socially excluded'.

These categories provide an initial sample frame for the research, but in itself is too vague to specify research participants. This chapter describes the sampling process which was carried out to enable a narrowing of the sample frame both in terms of numbers and informing in a more meaningful way the individual nature of potential

participants' social exclusion. This entailed a self completed questionnaire administered through two youth centres to enable the selection of 8 young people for participation in the research process.

In the first section below I describe how potential participants were accessed through youth centres in deprived localities. This leads on to a definition of young people for this research. Then, I conceptually rationalise how the notion of 'at risk' was used to enable further 'informant sampling' from the 31 completed questionnaires down to 8 participants. Following this, for those selected there is a brief overall profile, followed by individual pen portraits, both from the questionnaire data. These relate how the 'at risk' factors delineate, on the balance of probabilities, social exclusion comparatively and individually amongst participants.

8.1 Sampling Process

8.1.1 Initial Sample Frame

Participants for the research were accessed in two localities in Birmingham, using 'gatekeepers' in the form of a refurbished Connexions Centre (henceforth Centre A) for locality A and a Youth and Community Centre (henceforth Centre B) for locality B. A comparison of the localities together with a comparison of Birmingham as a whole is shown in Table 8.1 below.

As can be seen, significantly, both localities have a higher proportion of people aged 15-24 than Birmingham as a whole, a characteristic itself which orients the localities towards social exclusion (SEU, 2005), especially if when young people in these

localities reach working age, there are not enough jobs for them (Buchanan, 2006), as indicated by the economic inactivity data for ward locality B. Both localities have percentages of UK and Ireland born residents which are higher than the Birmingham average, and so can be crudely described as predominantly ethnically white in nature.

Table 8.1 Comparison of Key Ward Statistics for Ward Localities A, B and Birmingham (%)

	Birmingham	Ward Locality A	Ward Locality B
UK and Ireland Born	85.8	93.7	96.0
Economically Active	60.4	63.7	58.4
Economically Inactive	39.6	36.4	41.6
YoungPeople (15-24)	15	18.3	21.3
Long Term Unemployed	2.0	2.1	2.5
No Qualifications	37.1	36.7	49.5
Indices of Multiple Deprivation, Index of Multiple Deprivation Rank ¹	19.80	16.25	5.05

¹ Rank refers to a comparison with other wards. The lower the rank, the more deprived a locality.

(Sources: Birmingham City Council, 2005; National Statistics, 2000)

Locality B displays considerably more social exclusion characteristics than locality A, especially in terms of un/employment, education and indices of multiple deprivation (the lower the figure the more deprived the ward). However, locality A is still below the average index of multiple deprivation rank for Birmingham, and so is more deprived than average for Birmingham. Furthermore, it can be discerned as pocket of deprivation with significant social exclusion from the fact that it is in a regeneration area, with both Neighbourhood Renewal Fund and Single Regeneration Budget 5 schemes operating there.

These ward locality characteristics provided an initial reference point to potentially socially excluded people, which is further enhanced by the nature of the work of both the Centres in the localities. The Youth and Community Centre in locality B works

under the remit of the Birmingham City Council Youth Service which, while ostensibly a universal service for all young people, the context within which youth work in general operates has changed over the recent years towards greater emphasis on targeting services at particular groups (Merton *et al* 2004). This means that Birmingham City Council's Youth Service resources are now increasingly focussed in line with the Government's priorities on tackling both the causes and symptoms of social exclusion (Birmingham City Council (BCC), 2006: 40). Moreover, the Connexions Centre in locality A was previously a Youth and Community Centre, but has recently been refurbished, with the specific aim of preventing risk taking behaviour and encouraging positive behaviours in 'at risk' socially excluded young people living in area.

8.1.2 Defining Young People

As outlined in Chapter 5, the notion of what constitutes a young person can vary within society, and also within policy itself. A good example of this Birmingham's Youth Service provision, which is outlined as providing a universal service for young people aged 13-19 and some 11-25 year olds (BCC, 2006). From this then, for the purposes of this research 'young people' could be defined as broadly as from 11 up to 25 years old. However, whether young people below the age of 16 would have a wide enough variety of experiences and social interactions necessary for this research is a concern, and so the lower age range limit has been set to 18. For example, from the pilot study, both participants were 17, and the emphasis in their accounts was on schooling, with minimal accounts of employment or other factors. Furthermore, although according to Kirby (2004: 25), under the Gillick ruling, participants under 18 who have sufficient understanding to be able to make up their own mind in decisions may be deemed competent and therefore able to give their

own consent, this lower age limit curtailed the need for parental consent for those under 18 as is the norm with most research.

8.1.3 From sample to sub-sample

While the nature of the localities in terms of their relative deprivation and the nature of the work of the two Centres provided a sample frame of potentially socially excluded young people, the potential participants such a sample frame provided was much too wide for the research. This was both in terms of numbers of young people using the Centres, and in terms of informing in a meaningful way the individual nature of potential participants' social exclusion, so in order to overcome these limitations further 'informant sampling' (Punch, 1998) was carried out. This was done through a self completion questionnaire administered by the Centres to selected users who they thought would meet some but not necessarily all of the criteria of social exclusion as set out in the questionnaire itself and as discussed at a prior meeting. In Appendix A, there is a copy of the Questionnaire, as well as the Research Information Leaflet and Consent Form given to participants.

The questionnaire was designed with the primary function of intensifying the sampling process from 'sample to sub sample' (Ball *et al*, 2000), thereby enabling the identification of particularly at risk respondents and selecting them for subsequent stages of the research. This means that it functions as a starting point towards the more discrete discrimination of social exclusion carried in the latter stages of data collection in a qualitative manner (see for example Case, 2006). The process of using such 'at risk' factors to identify socially excluded young people is common, especially in relation to specific projects geared specifically towards marginalized young people (see for example Millbourne, 2002, p.331). However, the factors

identified here are not meant to be read as a comprehensive list of ‘at risk’ factors, as there is limited consensus on the scope of problems or boundaries which make up social exclusion (Ball *et al*, 2000). Rather, this questionnaire draws heavily on the format and content of other questionnaires designed for young people in general (DfES, 2005; Livingstone and Bober, 2005) or specifically concerned with risky behaviours in young people (Fuller, 2005; ESYTC, 2003).

8.1.4 Method of selection

As the function of the questionnaire was to identify respondents particularly ‘at risk’ of social exclusion and select them for the research, the questionnaire was analysed within the notion of ‘at risk’ of social exclusion, defined here as factors which, on the balance of probabilities, are likely to contribute to social exclusion (see Bullen, 2000; Allard, 2005). This relates that where an individual is shown to be experiencing an ‘at risk’ factor, there is a greater likelihood of them experiencing social exclusion than someone without the risk factor, and logically that the more risk factors an individual has the greater is the likelihood of experiencing social exclusion. This stratification process for research participants is similar to the ‘gatekeeping tool’ described by Dickens and Woodfield (2005) for the *Safe in the City* action research project.

The circumstances of interest in the questionnaire are specific factors that delineate individuals as ‘at risk’ of social exclusion, such as educational underachievement, unemployment, criminal activity, drug and alcohol use, teenage parenthood and single parenthood (Rustin and Chamberlayne, 2002), membership of an ethnic minority (CRE, 2006) children in care (Stein, 2006), living in workless household, truancy (Macnicol, 2005; McVie and Norris, 2006), exclusion from school (Wright *et al*, 2005), as well as those relevant to the strong conceptualisation of social exclusion

outlined in Chapter 2, such as lack of economic, social, political and cultural participation, for example in relation to internet usage at home (Livingstone and Boder, 2005). Parental occupation has also been identified as an important risk factor in social exclusion, and although young people can give good representations of their parents' occupations, to avoid possible problems Fuller (2005) identified with this method, whether pupils are in receipt of free school meals and number of books in the home are used as proxy indicators of income and thus parental status. Subsequent to the pilot study, changes in terms of wording were made to Q4 and Q5. There was the addition of a question regarding the sex of participants as this would be important for sampling decisions.

Empirically, these 'at risk' factors used in the questionnaire constitute both proxies for social exclusion and actual experiences of social exclusion, but with greater emphasis on 'direct' events as opposed to 'indirect' proxies, a methodological consistency outlined in the previous chapter. It is acknowledged that a substantial limitation of this approach is that as a fairly blunt tool of analysis concerned with risk factors, as such factors do not distinguish between those who actually are and are not socially excluded. Also, although poverty, stress, and isolation increase the likelihood of these negative outcomes, research also shows that in spite of these risk factors, most children do grow up in relative good health (Terrion, 2006: 155), meaning there is the potential for 'false positives' (Smith and McVie, 2003; Feinstein, 2006). This potential is acknowledged but ameliorated somewhat through the 'balance of probabilities' principle which underlines all of the factors, which means that the occurrence of an 'at risk' factor is very strongly associated with the likelihood of experiencing the social exclusion that is associated with it (Feinstein, 2006: i).

For the purposes of this analysis, two important considerations are made in relation to these 'at risk' factors. Firstly, some of these 'at risk' factors orient to '*indicators*' of social exclusion in that they relate to an outcome of social exclusion (for example Q10 relating to books at home) and some orient to '*drivers*' of social exclusion in that they relate to factors which cause or generate social exclusion (for example in relation to Q2 regarding ethnic group) (Bradshaw *et al*, 2004; ODPM, 2004). Secondly, and linked, is that some 'at risk' factors can be drivers as well as indicators (for example Q11 regarding drug use). Middleton *et al*, make this distinction between drivers and indicators clearer in their explanation of the importance of free school meals to educational achievement:

Poring over data from hundreds of Ofsted inspection results, looking for trends in school improvement, we noticed one correlation in the data that overshadowed almost everything else. If you wanted to know how a pupil would perform then, basically, you need only to focus on their parents' income. Surprisingly, gender, local authority, intelligence quotient, state school type - all these fell a long way behind in their explanatory power. Where a child was lucky enough to be born to better-off parents then he or she would - broadly - do well. Where a child was born to poorer parents, especially at the level where free school meal eligibility kicks in, then - broadly - they can expect fairly low levels of attainment. (Middleton *et al*, 2007: 11)

This distinction between drivers and indicators is important, then, as it suggests that some 'at risk' factors (drivers) are concretely prior to others (indicators), notwithstanding 'problems in determining the direction of the relationship between the driver and social exclusion, or whether it is the driver itself or a factor associated with the driver that produces the exclusion' (Bradshaw *et al*, 2004: 6). However, this distinction between 'at risk' factors does make it possible to discriminate at an analytical level between drivers and indicators in terms of their importance to social exclusion, with drivers hierarchically prior to indicators. This discrimination is shown in Table 8.2 below.

Table 8.2 Type, Hierarchical Classification and Priority for Inclusion of ‘at risk’ Factors within Questionnaire

Type of ‘at risk’ Factor	Hierarchical Classification	Priority for Inclusion
Driver	A	1 st
Driver/Indicator	B	2 nd
Indicator	C	3 rd

From this ‘at risk’ hierarchy, it would be possible to measure social exclusion in two ways, as outlined in Capellari and Jenkins (2006). It is possible to add the separate A/B/C classifications together into an average to provide a summary single scale ‘at risk’ indicator; or it is possible to total the classifications separately into a hierarchical ‘sum score’ count of ‘at risk’ indicators. Capellari and Jenkins note that both approaches yield similar measures of social exclusion, so analytically there is little to choose between them. But the former approach can be characterised as a fairly blunt approach as it would not intuitively take into account the empirical differences in classification outlined above but would simply provide a raw score count of the number of times a person is potentially socially excluded (Hobcraft, 2000). The latter approach, on the other hand would enable for more subtle comparisons of differences between drivers and indicators in the classification of ‘at risk’ factors between individuals. Thus, analysis of this data in general works on two principles. Firstly, that drivers and indicators differ analytically in terms of their importance to social exclusion, with drivers hierarchically prior to indicators. Secondly, the subsequent hierarchically A/B/C classification of risk factors is more important as a predictor of social exclusion than the overall number of risk factors, meaning that the higher the classification of risk factors a young person has, the greater the likelihood of being socially excluded (see for example Hobcraft, 2000; Tyler *et al*, 2004).

Analysis was stratified to capture this conceptual and concrete classification between drivers and indicators.

So, as Table 8.2 also shows, the highest priority for inclusion to subsequent stages of the research was given drivers of social exclusion (hierarchical classification A), next priority to driver/indicators (hierarchical classification B), and last priority to indicators (hierarchical classification C). Such stratified analysis for participation was intended to include socially excluded participants in its most concrete sense, rather in a more abstract way. Intuitively, this difference resonates with the indirect/direct distinction outlined in section 6.2.1, with the latter approach oriented as more direct and therefore more methodologically consistent in relation to this research.

Table 8.3 below classifies the 16 questions related to at risk factors on the questionnaire into either drivers, drivers/indicators or indicators of social exclusion, and their thresholds for inclusion.

As can be seen from Table 8.3, eight questions relate purely to drivers, 5 relate purely to indicators, and 3 relate to both drivers/indicators. Those factors which relate purely to drivers have been classified further as belonging to the highest at risk hierarchy of A, those relating to drivers/indicators as belonging to the next highest at risk hierarchy of B, and those belonging simply to indicators to the lowest at risk hierarchy of C.

Table 8.3 ‘At Risk’ Type, Hierarchical Classifications and Thresholds for Inclusion, and Priority for Inclusion for Questions on Questionnaire

Question	Type of ‘at risk’ Factor	Threshold for exclusion	Hierarchical Classification	Priority for Inclusion
2	Driver	Any excl. ‘White British’	A	1 st
4	Driver/Indicator	2 years+	B	2 nd
5	Driver/Indicator	‘No examinations /GCSE/GNVQ’	B	2 nd
6	Driver	‘Yes’	A	1 st
7	Driver	‘Yes’	A	1 st
9	Driver	‘Yes’	A	1 st
10	Indicator	‘No/Don’t Have’	C	3 rd
11	Indicator	3 or less	C	3 rd
12	Indicator	‘Very few (1-10)’; Fuller, 2005	C	3 rd
13	Driver/Indicator	‘Yes’	B	2 nd
14	Driver/Indicator	>‘About once a week’; Fuller, 2005	B	2 nd
15	Driver	‘Unemployed’	A	1 st
16	Driver	At the Working Tax Credit rate for young people (Fahmy, 2001), equivalent to <£133 per week for a single person in April 2007 (Nottinghamshire City Council, 2007)	A	1 st
17	Driver	‘Yes’	A	1 st
18	Driver/Indicator	‘Own/One Parent’	B	2 nd
19	Driver/Indicator	‘Yes’ – but depends on Q1 (age of participant) and Q18 (who participant lives with)	A	1 st

Table 8.3 excludes questions 1, 3 and 8. Questions 1 and 3 relate to the demographic characteristics of individual (age and gender), but Question 8 is related to suspension from school for a short time; this is a dummy question linked to Question 9 about permanent exclusion from school. After discussions with the

Centres, it was felt necessary to distinguish between temporary suspension from school and permanent exclusion, as they reported that young people often confused the two terms. So Question 8 is to enable participants to distinguish between the two terms, and so is not analysed, as it is Question 9 which is the focus of analysis.

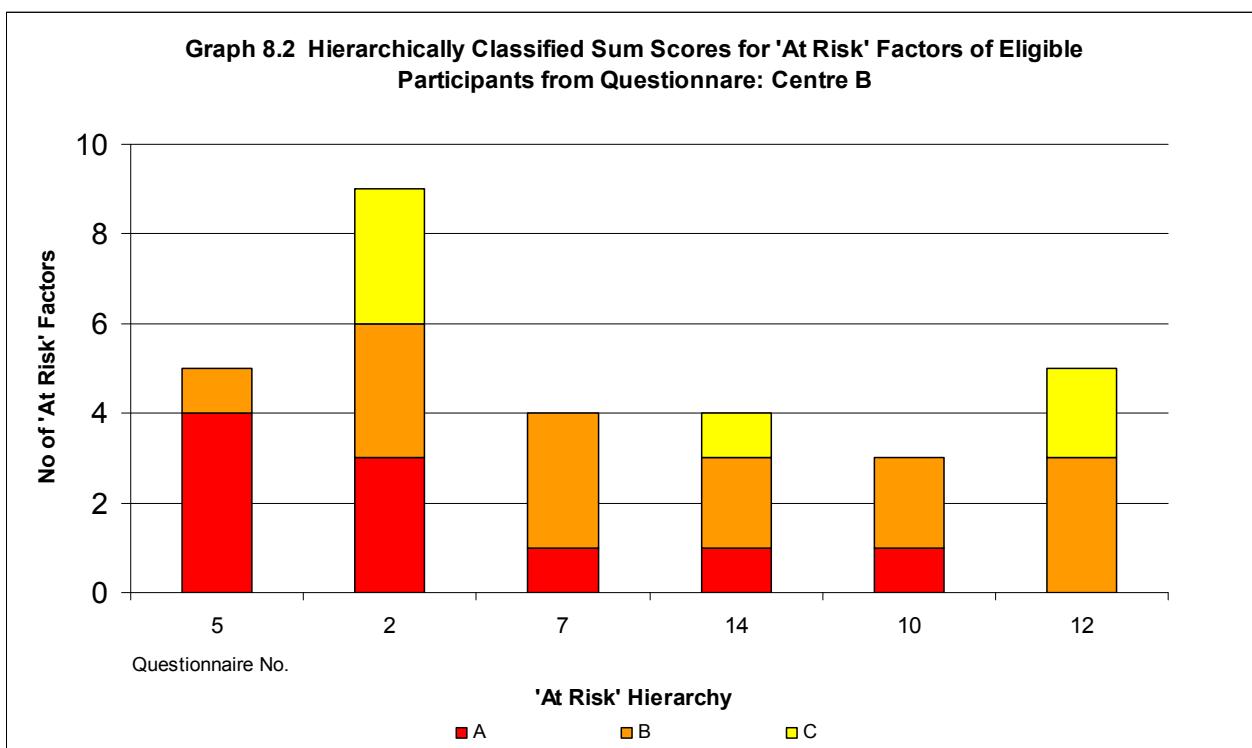
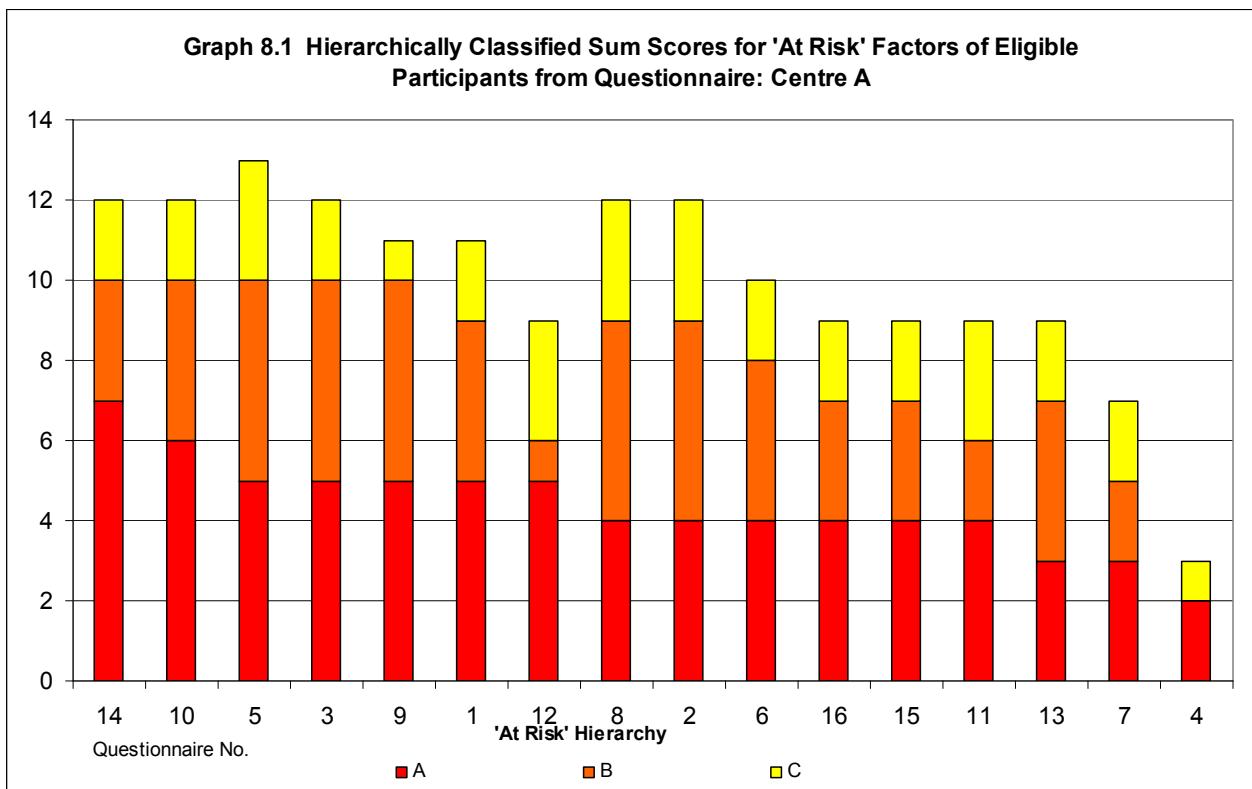
8.2 Sampling Frame

8.2.1 Overall eligible questionnaire responses

Questionnaires were distributed by the Centres, after explanation of the research process to them. Decisions on who to include in the questionnaire process was left to the Centre's themselves, as it was felt that they would best know who would meet the criteria as described to them, and taking into consideration the nature of the Centres' work as set out in [●](#). In total 31 questionnaires were completed by participants at Centres A and B, 16 from Centre A and 15 from Centre B. Graph 8.1 and 8.2 below show the questionnaire responses of eligible participants from the two Centres. These responses have been hierarchically classified into sum scores count of 'at risk' factors.

The most immediate difference between the two graphs is the variation between the numbers of eligible participants from the two Centres. This is because there was a particular problem with the completed questionnaires provided by Centre B, namely that the majority of the participants were under 18, and so did not meet the age criterion as set out in section 8.1.2 above. This affected 9 out of Centre B's 15 completed questionnaires, meaning that only 6 were eligible for participation.

However, From Centre A, all 16 questionnaires met the age criterion and so all were eligible.



Another important difference between the two Centres' sample frame is the sum score count of 'at risk' factors for participants, with eligible participants from Centre A having an average sum score count of 10, compared with an average of 5 for eligible participants from Centre B. The nature of the work of the two Centres provides a probable reason for this difference. As outlined in section 8.1.1 above, Centre A in Locality A is a refurbished Connexions Centre, with the specific aim of preventing risk taking behaviour and encouraging positive behaviours in 'at risk' socially excluded young people living in area. However, Centre B in Locality B is a Youth and Community Centre, which has the ostensible function of providing a universal service for all young people. The two Centres, then, can be seen to target different groups of young people in terms of their risk profile, which relates why, for the purposes of this study, Centre A's sample frame had a higher 'at risk' profile than Centre B's.

8.2.2 Chosen Participants

The first part of the criteria outlined in section 8.1.4 above that it is the type rather than the number of 'at risk' factors which was the priority criterion for inclusion to the next stage of the research is illustrated in Graph 8.1 above. In questionnaires 10 and 5, although questionnaire 5 has more overall risk factors than questionnaire 10, because questionnaire 10 has more 'A' classified risk factors its priority for inclusion is higher. The second part of this criterion is exemplified with reference to questionnaires 14 and 10 in Graph 8.1 also, in that although they both have the same number of risk factors and the same number of 'A' classified risk factors, questionnaire 14 has greater priority for inclusion as it has more 'A' classified risk factors than questionnaire 10. Both Graph 8.1 and Graph 8.2, then, represent the

priority for inclusion given to participants for the next stage of the research, with those towards the left having higher priority than those towards the right.

It was intended that 4 participants from each Centre would be chosen for subsequent stages of the research, and priority was given to the first four eligible participants, as shown to the left of Graphs 8.1 and 8.2. However, for Centre A, one of the first 4 priority participants, questionnaire number 10, was unable to take further part, so the four chosen participants from Centre A were numbers 14, 5, 3 and 9. Similarly for Centre B, one of the participants, questionnaire number 14, declined to take further part, so the chosen participants were numbers 2, 5, 7 and 10. Unbeknown to me at the time, participants 7 and 10 from Centre B were twins, and they both agreed to take part. However, as can be seen, they have different 'at risk' profiles, and this difference will be something that is explored in detail in later analysis.

Table 8.4 below summarises the sampling and data collection processes undertaken by participants.

Table 8.4 Data Collection Process

Process	Number of Participants	Cumulative Stages of Data Collection
Questionnaire	31	1
Diary	8	2
Diary Interview	8	3
Follow-up Interview	8	4

As can be seen, the process of data collection was intensive for the majority of participants, involving 4 active process of data collection, three of which were purely qualitative. This differs from the majority of qualitative-based research which normally entails one research stage, typically a semi-structured interview with 30+

participants. However, as Creswell (1998) argues, there is usually a trade off in research between intensity and number of participants, with the more intensive the research the less number of participants required. Thus, the intensity of this research is the main reason why only 8 participants, 4 from each Centre, were chosen to take part in the research from stage 2 onwards, as this intensity precluded the necessity for the numbers typically associated with less intensive qualitative research. Furthermore, such an intense research process can be seen as corresponding to the critical perspective of the research, whereby such an intense research process allows for a greater depth of investigation, wherein as outlined in the previous section, depth means 'to get a sense of how the apparently straight forward is actually more complicated, of how the 'surface appearances' may be quite misleading about 'depth realities'" (Wengraf, 2001:6).

8.3 Participants' Profile

8.3.1 Overall Profile

Table 8.5 below matches the questionnaire number for participants from Graphs 8.1 and 8.2 with the anonymised pen names for chosen participants as and where suggested by them.

Table 8.5 Questionnaire Numbers, Pen Names and Number of 'At Risk' Factors for Chosen Participants

Centre A			Centre B		
Questionnaire No.	No. of 'At Risk' Factors	Pen Name	Questionnaire No.	No. of 'At Risk' Factors	Pen Name
14	12	Ashley	5	5	Mikealae
5	13	Larry	2	9	Lance
3	12	Sharon	7	4	Rod
9	11	Gemma	10	3	David

Graphs 8.1 and 8.2 only provide a score for all eligible participants at risk factors, they do not delineate in any way which at risk factors pertain to participants. This is shown in Table 8.6 and also summarised below.

The age range of chosen participants was two years, with the youngest being 19 and the oldest 21, meaning that the 8 participants had a similar age profile. Six of the participants were male and two were female. Both chosen female participants came from Centre A, meaning that there were differences gender wise between participants from Centre to Centre.

In terms of drivers of social exclusion, all of the participants had received free school meals. Three of the participants belonged to a minority ethnic minority, while the remaining five were of White British ethnic origin. Five out of the eight had truanted whilst at school, and three had been permanently excluded. Also five participants reported themselves as unemployed, meaning that three worked. The average income of all participants was £95 a week, with six having an income below the £133 a week, meaning that at least one of those who worked had an income below the at risk indicator. Only one participant reported having lived in care. None reported having children.

In terms of drivers/indicators of social exclusion, seven out of the eight had lived in their locality more than three years, with four having lived in the same locality all their life. Relevant drug use and consumption of alcohol were both reported by five of the participants. Six participants either lived on their own or lived with one parent. Table 8.7 below shows the highest qualifications gained by participants.

Table 8.6 'At risk' Profiles of Research Participants from Questionnaire

Question	At risk factor	Name, Age, Sex								Total	
		Centre A				Centre B					
		Ashley	Sharon	Larry	Gemma	Rod	Mikealae	Lance	David		
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Male	Male	Male		
		21	20	19	19	20	20	20	20		
2	Member of ethnic minority	✓			✓		✓			3	
4	Living in locality 2+ years		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	6	
5	'No examinations /GCSE/GNVQ as highest level of examinations passed or taken	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		6	
6	Receipt of free school meals	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	8	
7	Truanting from school	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			5	
9	Permanent exclusion from school	✓	✓	✓						3	
10	No internet use/Don't have internet access at home		✓	✓				✓		3	

11	Less than 3 of listed social activities undertaken	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		5
12	None or Very few (1-10) books at home	✓		✓				✓		3
13	Use of drugs known to be illegal	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			5
14	Alcoholic drink once a week or more		✓	✓	✓				✓	5
15	Unemployed	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		5
16	Income less than £133 per week for a single person	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		6
17	Lived in care	✓								1
18	Live on own/ in one parent household	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		6
19	Have children of own									0
Total		12	12	13	11	4	5	9	3	

As can be seen, half of all participants had gained no qualifications, while two out of the remaining four had qualifications up to GCSE/GNVQ standard, which is the basic standard. This means that six out of the eight participants could be said to have been excluded on this measure, which might be considered very high. This also makes relevant the observation made above by Middleton *et al* (2007) in relation to the correlation between receiving free school meals and low educational attainment, and so to a certain extent affirms the theoretical adequacy of the differences between the at risk factors used in the questionnaire.

Table 8.7 Levels of qualifications of participants

Highest Qualifications	Number
A Levels/BTEC	2
GCSE/GNVQ	2
None	4

In terms of indicators of social exclusion, three out of eight participants did not have the internet or had not used it more than twice a week at home. Five had done less than three of the social activities listed, and three had very few (less than 1-10) books in the house.

8.3.2 Individual Pen Portraits

Below are individual pen portraits for participants. This provides a more detailed picture of the nature of chosen participants 'at risk' profile. The names used below are their anonymised pen names.

i) Centre A

Sharon

Sharon is a White British female aged 20 years old who has lived in the locality for 4 years. She lives on her own, and is unemployed.

In terms of at risk factors, Sharon has five As (receipt of free school meals, truanting from school, permanent exclusion from school, unemployment); five Bs (length of time living in locality, leaving school with no exam qualifications, use of drugs known to be illegal, drinking alcohol once a week or more, and living on own); and two Cs (no internet access at home, less than three social activities undertaken).

Ashley

Ashley is a male aged 21 years old of mixed ethnicity. He has only lived in the locality for 1 and a half years. He has no children and does not drink alcohol at all. He also uses the internet regularly at home.

In terms of at risk factors, Ashley has seven As (member of an ethnic minority, receipt of free school meals, truanting from school, permanent exclusion from school, unemployment, low income of £93 per week and having lived in care); three Bs (highest level of qualifications as GCSE/GNVQ, use of drugs known to be illegal and living on own); and two Cs (less than 3 listed social activities undertaken and no books in the house).

Larry

Larry is a white British male age 19 years old who has lived in the locality for 6 years.

In terms of at risk factors, Larry has five As (receipt of free school meals, truanting from school, permanent exclusion from school, unemployment, and an income of £45 per week); five Bs (length of time living in the locality, no examinations passed or taken, use of drugs known to be illegal, an alcoholic drink at least once a week and living in a one parent household); and three C (no internet access at home, less than three social activities undertaken and very few books at home).

Gemma

Gemma is a female aged 19 years old of mixed ethnic origin. She has lived in the locality all her life, but on for question 19 relating to where she lived she marked 'other' and wrote 'were ever (sic) sutes (sic) me at the time'. She is unemployed and so is in receipt of benefits, and has an alcoholic drink every day or almost every day

In terms of at risk factors, Gemma has five As (member of an ethnic minority, receipt of free school meals, truanting from school, unemployment, and an income of £45 per week); five Bs (length of time living in the locality, GCSE/GNVQ as highest level of examinations, use of drugs known to be illegal, an alcoholic drink every day, and her living circumstances); and one C (less than three listed social activities undertaken).

ii) Centre B

Mikealae

Mikealae is a male aged 20 years old. He has only lived in the locality for 1 year.

His highest level of education was A' Levels/BTEC, and he is currently employed.

He lives with both parents and has never been in care. He marked doing 6 out of the seven activities listed, has one shelf's worth of books in the house, has used the internet at home and has an alcoholic drink a few times a year.

In terms of at risk factors there are four A's (Bangladeshi ethnic origin, receipt of free school meals, truancy, and level of income (£115/week) and one B (use of illegal drugs).

David

David is a male aged 20 years of white British ethnic origin. He has lived in the locality all his life. He is employed, and has never truanted, been in care or used drugs. In terms of leisure activities, he has a drink once a month, uses the internet at home and listed doing four out of the seven activities.

In terms of at risk factors, there is one A (receipt of free school meals), and two Bs (length of time living in the locality and alcohol consumption).

Rod

Rod is the twin brother of David, and so has a similar profile to him. One difference between the two is that while Rod indicated that he lived in a one parent family,

David indicated that he lived in a two parent family and this difference will be explored during the diary interview.

In terms of at risk factors, there is one A (receipt of free school meals), and three Bs (length of time living in the locality, GCSE/GNVQ as highest level of qualifications, and living in a one parent household).

Lance

Lance is male aged 19 years of white British ethnic origin. He has lived in the locality for all his life. He has never been in care, truanted, or used drugs He has an alcoholic drink a few times a year.

In terms of at risk factors, there are three As (receipt of free school meals level of income, and currently unemployed); three Bs (length of time living in the locality, no qualifications gained and living in a one parent household); and three Cs (no internet access at home, none of the activities listed as having done, and no books in the household).

8.4 Summary

This chapter has provided a procedural and analytical outline for the use of a questionnaire as a sampling tool, the main function of which was to facilitate the selection of 8 young people as participants for the in-depth tripartite data framework collection and analysis process detailed in the previous chapter. From the initial sample frame from the localities and Youth Centres, which also provided the

definition of young people used in this research, a sub sample of 8 individuals were chosen, using the hierarchical classification of ‘at risk’ drivers and indicators as the sampling method tool. As such, it is acknowledged that a substantial limitation of this approach is that it is a fairly blunt tool of analysis concerned with at risk, however this is ameliorated somewhat by the fact that the data collected here only serves as sampling tool towards the more discrete discrimination of social exclusion carried in the latter stages. From the participants chosen, a notable factor is that the characteristics of the young people in terms of the risk factors differed greatly between the two Centres. Nonetheless, it was noticeable that overall, the risk factors for all participants was relatively high and that there were varied risk factors for different participants, suggesting high but varied experiences of social exclusion amongst participants. These ‘at risk’ characteristics are explored in more detail in the next section, from the data collected from the first stage of the tripartite data framework, participants’ diaries.

9. Empirical Experiences of Social Exclusion: Diary Descriptive

This chapter builds on the brief profile of participants in the previous chapter to present data from participants' diaries as the first stage of the tripartite critical realist framework for data collection and analysis, the focus of which is on participants' empirical experiences of social exclusion. This is done by individually setting out the main features of participants' diaries, and then examining differences and similarities. This allows for a descriptive account of participants' lives to be built up, and it will be seen that while there is some correspondence with structure within participants' diaries, this is overwhelmed by the dissonance, from the apparent pre-eminence of individual agency to participants' social exclusion.

The previous chapter detailed the sampling process for selecting 8 young people as participants for this research, through an emphasis on the 'at risk' characteristics of individuals. From the brief collective and individual profiles of the 8 selected individuals, it was noticeable that overall, the risk factors for all participants are relatively high and that there are varied risk factors for different participants, suggesting contrasting experiences of social exclusion amongst participants.

This chapter explores these experiences in more detail, from the data collected from participants' diaries. As set out in Table 7.3 in Chapter 7, this chapter relates particularly to Research Questions 1a, 1b, 1c and 2a, which are:

1a) Do the experiences of socially excluded young people correspond to the disadvantage and/or unequal power of individuals' existence?

1b) Where there is correspondence, how important individually is the contribution of various aspects of structural inequality to the occurrence of social exclusion?

1c) Where there is not correspondence, how are young people experiencing social exclusion?

2a) Does individualism contribute to the social exclusion of young people?

The diary is the first part of the modified Diary: Diary Interview Method. The diary is also the first stage of the tripartite critical realist framework for data collection and analysis, concerned with the empirical, that is participants' perceptions of their reality, or the observable experiences as set out in Figure 6.1 in Chapter 6. This means that this chapter is primarily, descriptive, concerned with relating the events from the diaries as described by participants. The first section details the process of data collection and analysis, and the way analysis is built around the diaries' structured questions of 'What/Where/How/Who/Why'. In the second section, the events of participants' diaries are detailed, and this is particularly linked to RQ 1(a) above.

Following on from this, the third section highlights differences and similarities between participants' diary accounts, and this relates particularly to RQs 1(b), and 1(c), to highlight correspondence and/or dissonance with the thesis's notion of structure, and also 2(a) relating to the notion of individualism .

9.1 Data Process and Analysis Methods

9.1.1 Diary Collection Process

Following selection as a research participant, meetings were organised with the four individuals from each Centre, at which the research process was explained and the chance given for relevant ethical issues to be discussed. A date was also agreed for the period of diary completion. Diaries were completed by all participants simultaneously for 14 consecutive days from early to mid-July 2007.

As with Zimmerman and Weider's (1977) Diary:Diary Interview process on which this data collection is based, participants underwent training on how to complete the diaries, and were given a sample diary entry to highlight what was required within the diaries. In order to make the process more relevant to this particular field setting and age profile, participants were given the choice of either completing their diaries on paper, or completing them on the computer via a data memory stick provided to them, of which five took this option. All diaries for the week were received by email or collected within three days of the 7th or 14th date of the process, as required for participants to receive their bonus.

In Appendix B a completed diary sample can be found, together with the Research Agreement signed by participants for further research participation. The diary is

formatted in terms of structured questions of 'What/Where/How/Who/Why' and the timing of events to guide what participants wrote, as from the pilot study, participants stated a preference for a timed over an un-timed format, despite the fact that it took them twice as long to fill in, as it was easier for them to complete entries with this format. Also, comparative analysis of unstructured/structured pilot study diaries showed that the structured format provided the most productive and relevant data. And for greater accuracy, the diary is divided into a continuous sequence of slots that total the 24 hours in a day, as this constitutes 'round the clock' evidence of daily time use (Kan and Gershuny, 2006). Such a structured diary also leaves less scope for systematic bias in diary records, and so the analysis is less likely to be prone to systematic distortion than is the case for 'stylised estimates' of time use, concerned with asking how frequently they are engaged and to report the usual time they spend in certain activities (Kan and Poudney, 2007). Furthermore, this daily log was outlined to participants as not 'event contingent' (Smith, 2007), but concerned with all their normal everyday interactions. Such a daily log diary process can considerably reduce the problem of retrospective recall which other recall methods have (Reloufs *et al*, 2006). Also, the days chosen within which the diary was written was not chosen to represent a specific period, but rather a typical two weeks incorporating naturally occurring events (Baker, 2006).

To overcome limitations observed for diary collection periods that are too short (Harvey *et al*, 2000) or too long (Gershuny, 2004), the diaries in this research are longer than a week but restricted to 14 days. Daily monitoring by researchers has been shown to be important for good response rates for daily diaries with young people (Wilkins *et al*, 2007), and Wiseman *et al* (2005) advised that as participant

enthusiasm is dependent on the level of trust between diary keeper and fieldworker, researchers should regularly review diary entries and interview respondents directly to understand reasons for any discrepancies. Consequently, there was daily communication with participants through a text message to remind them to complete their diaries in order to ensure that the diary was maintained for the required length of time, and also to the necessary format (Baker, 2006).

It is perhaps obvious to state that not all diaries were filled in to the same extent, with some diaries filled in more extensively than others, and that not all participants followed the format *in toto* as set out in the diaries. This is something that undoubtedly affects any analysis of the diaries, and also limits the validity of any comparison. Nevertheless, the data that each participant's diary produced was extensive enough to enable descriptive analysis to be carried out as set out below.

9.1.2 Diary Analysis

Coding of the diaries was carried out using NVIVO 7, for reasons of functionality and simplicity as set out in Chapter 7. The themes which emerged from the analysis were established by subsequent analysis of the data built around the way the diaries are distinctly categorised into a structured format of 'What', 'Where' , 'Who', 'How' and 'Why' questions, and so overall coding was related to these 5 categories. These categories were subcategorised principally *in vivo*, meaning that sub-categorisation that occurred was principally from respondents' language as related in the diary text (Lewins *et al*, 2006). This is because the main aim of this part of the analysis is descriptive, meaning the intention is principally to *describe* the content of participants'

diaries. Overall, there were 66 coding subcategories used, and the number used for each structured diary question is shown in Table 9.1 below.

Table 9.1 Count of Structured Diary Questions' Subcategories

Structured Diary Question	Number of coding Subcategories
What	44
Where	2
How	7
Who	7
Why	6

As can be seen, the largest number of coding subcategories occurs for 'What', and the smallest for 'Where'. The large number for 'What' is perhaps not surprising, but the small number for 'Where' occurs from the fact that as emphasis in this context is on identifying whether the activities of participants were carried out either close to (*inside locality*) or far away (*outside locality*) from where they lived, and so coding for 'Where' does not specify the particular location for an activity, but is within these two themes. Although young people make distinctions of place that can often be in relation to people and groups of people rather than in the characteristics of place (Scourfield *et al*, 2006), this difference between 'inside' and 'outside' locality should be seen as occurring from the restricted perception of geographical space within a limited domain which young people can have, and this is most evident in areas of the most intense social deprivation (Green *et al*, 2005). This means that for young people in deprived areas, 'outer' spaces are often restricted to their 'home area' and 'locality', home area being defined as 5-10 minutes walk from home, and locality as their public estate (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001).

Taking this into consideration, for the purposes of this research ‘inside locality’ is defined as a place where walking took less than 15 minutes from where the participant lived or where participants did not take a car, taxi or bus to go, and ‘outside locality’ is defined as a place at least 15 minutes or more walk or where the young people took a car, taxi or bus to go. Also for clarification, where reference is made to ‘early night’ and ‘late night’, the cut off point between these is 12 midnight respectively, and for ‘early waking’ and ‘late sleeping’ the cut off is 9am respectively.

For descriptive purposes, percentages are predominately used, with score counts used where deemed more illustrative. Where diary excerpts are used, these are done so as written. As per the previous chapter, the anonymised pen names are used.

9.2 Individual Empirical Experiences of Social Exclusion

9.2.1 Mikealae

Mikealae marked in his questionnaire that he worked and in his diary work this was an event that occurred many times. However, this is not the most frequent activity that he did, as most of the remainder of his diary was spent with friends, followed by family members. His time with friends was spent visiting them and generally socialising with them, by mainly going to their houses, or just going around with them in the local area and not doing anything in particular, and individual occasions of going to the cinema, going to the local youth club, and going to a nightclub. Additionally, Mikealae had the most number of instances (4) of going shopping than other participants. Some of these activities had been planned beforehand, but the

majority of decisions about activities he did (over 75%) were either made at the time, or planned shortly beforehand through the use of phone or mobile texting.

Principally due to the fact that he did not work in the same locality as he lived, his time was split equally between being inside the locality where he lived and outside of it. Partly as a consequence of this, buses were the main mode of transport used by Mikealae (43%), and although he did make the occasional use of friends' cars, where activities were in his locality he tended to walk.

Mikealae marked down that he was ill for a couple of the days while keeping his diary, so there were a couple of days where he spent time alone in his room. Indeed, when not working and not ill, whilst at home he spent the majority of his time in his room, and this would typically be alone. The most recurring activity he did while being alone in his room was talking on the phone to friends, especially at night which was one of the main reasons why most of the time he went to sleep late (58%). The time that he spent with his family is mainly through watching TV together. But overall, contact with his other family members was limited.

Outside of the house and work, there was an instance of a half day spent doing voluntary work by Mikealae, and despite working, he also spent time job searching. He indicated getting into a fight at a nightclub, for which he spent time in the local hospital. He also spent at least a full day on an unrelated ongoing legal matter, which necessitated going to see his solicitors before a subsequent court appearance.

The most significant reason given by Mikealae for doing the things that he did was because he related that he wanted to do them himself (39%), but this is closely followed by other people making him do things (30%), particularly friends as shown from the example below:

'Because my mate asked me to go over to his.' (x4)

'My mate called and told me to go to his house and watch the game with him.'

Indeed, out of all participants, Mikealae had the highest instances of other people making him do things. In terms of his work, the typical reason given by Mikealae was:

'It's my job.' (x7)

Additionally, both boredom and tiredness were given by Mikealae as important reasons for doing the things that he did, together accounting for nearly a third (30%) of all activities. Overall, though, the range of activities that Mikealae did suggests an active social life, with a good balance between his work and leisure activities, and this is supported by the fact that it is his own individual agency which he outlines as the predominant reason for doing things in his diary.

9.2.2 David

Like Mikealae, David outlined in his questionnaire that he worked, and so the most frequent activity that occurred was working, and the majority of his time (24%) was spent with work colleagues. Unlike Mikealae, David worked in his locality and so the majority of time for all activities he walked (55%); there were no instances of him

catching a bus, as all the other times he got lifts from friends or usually his girlfriend. This was because his two other major activities apart from work are playing sports (football) and spending time with his girlfriend.

In contrast to Mikealae, after contact with work colleagues, it was contact with other family members which was indicated by David as occurring the most, and this is supported by the proportion of times (15%) he indicated that conversation with other family members about specific events happened. Whilst at home, there was only a small amount of the time (10%) outlined as spent specifically in his bedroom; probably one of the reasons for this is that his bedroom was shared with his other brothers, as where time was spent alone, this typically occurred as due to the fact that there was no-one else in the house. Whilst at home, phone calls to his girlfriend also represented an important amount of his time, with the remainder of his time spent either watching the TV or playing on the computer. There was also a single instance of specifically visiting friends, but time with friends was almost exclusively through going to football.

A small majority of David' activities was spent inside the locality as opposed to outside (56% v 44%), and this is largely as a consequence of where his work is located. Otherwise, he spent a large amount of time outside the locality mainly because of the time he spent with his girlfriend. Most of the activities he did with his girlfriend were arranged via phone or text shortly beforehand or decided upon at the time, and this was the case for the majority of activities he does, with only 17% of activities being pre-arranged.

The main reason (87%) given by David for the things that he did centred on his own free will, as characterised by the expressions below ('No1' refers to 'no-one'):

No1 made me do this it was my own free will

No1 made me do this it was all my own will,

Was all my own will

Where he spoke of not doing things at his own free will, this was exclusively in relation to work:

Didn't do it at my own will

Wasn't at my own will

Not at my own will

Like Mikealae, David also indicated that in general, he felt that he was making the decisions about the activities that took place, except in relation to work, which limits the consideration of the notion of structure.

9.2.3 Rod

Rod, David's twin, worked full time 9am-5pm weekdays in a warehouse job, and so the majority of his time was taken up with this. As his workplace was well outside the locality, buses were the main mode of transport that he used. In describing what he did at work in his diary, there is very little difference from day to day for Rod, and the example below is a typical entry for a 10 of the 14 workdays for him.

These entries for his working time for all days are very similar, suggesting that what he did from day to day was similar in content and outcome, and that his work was important to how a significant part of his day was structured. With the exception of

I woke up at 7.30am i had breakfast and then left my house at 8.05 to go to work.	My work place is called [name withheld] distributors it is about half an hour away from where i live.	I got there by 33 bus. it was arranged because that is where i work.	There was me, other colleagues and also my manager.	I did this because that is what my job is.
I had a break at 11.20 and then started work again at 11.45. Then at 1.30pm i had another break until 2.00pm.	This happened in the staff room.		There was me and a few other work colleagues.	I did this because i needed a break and some thing to eat.

going to work, there were no specifically pre-planned events by Rod, and most of the planning for events was done shortly before hand on the phone or by text messaging. Perhaps surprisingly considering his age, there were no instances of late nights from Rod, but rather the majority of time he woke up early to get to work (71%), suggesting that his commitment to his job in terms of punctuality at least was relatively high. Indeed, bearing in mind that Rod had left school without any examinations taken, this significance of work to his daily life would suggest that he had overcome this identified 'at risk' factor.

Also principally as a consequence of the where his workplace is situated, the great majority (81%) of his activities took place outside the locality, but there are also other leisure activities that he does, such as going to the cinema, and three instances of

shopping, which both took place outside the locality. Other leisure activities took place mainly inside the locality, especially in relation to visiting the local youth centre, Centre B.

A significant proportion of Rod's time was spent with his girlfriend, either going out to the cinema or going to her house outside the locality. When visiting his girlfriend and doing leisure activities that took place inside the locality such as going to Centre B, playing football and visiting friends, he walked. When at home, Rod spent most of his time on the phone talking to his girlfriend, followed by playing video games on his X-box, simply relaxing and watching TV. He also on one occasion had a driving lesson.

Surprisingly perhaps, most instances of events for Rod were spent with family members (29%), followed by work colleagues (27%) and alone (18%). This however does not reflect the proportion of time with family members, but rather reflected the varied way that his time was used, as work was typically followed by going home and then going out and then going back home again. Indeed, this high instances of contacts with family members is not reflected in time spent specifically talking with other family members; rather it reflected time spent doing things together with the family like eating and watching TV, as while at home only a small minority of the time (13%) was spent in his bedroom. A possible reason for this is that like his brother whilst at home, his bedroom was shared with his other brothers who lived in the house.

In terms of reasons for doing things, the main reason given by Rod centred on his own personal reasons, as shown below:

'I did this because i had finished work and wanted to go home and then go out.'

In terms of reasons for going to work, the typical reason given is shown below:

'I did this because that is what i have to do in my job.'

This suggests that despite his high level of commitment towards his job as indicated above, his enthusiasm is somewhat functional. Outside of work, tiredness and boredom accounted for over a third of the reasons Rod outlined for doing activities (22% and 13% respectively). Tiredness is probably to be expected considering his 9-5 work schedule and the additional travelling that this entailed, but boredom is perhaps a little surprising for the same reasons.

In summary, work was the most important aspect of Rod's diary during the week as this took up most of his time. The broad range of activities which he did, though, suggests that his diary events are not evidently limited by his social exclusion, and if anything, the importance of work to his existence would suggest that he had overcome at least one of the at risk factors which had been identified from his questionnaire, that of leaving school with no examinations.

9.2.4 Lance

Despite being unemployed, the majority of Lance's time was spent doing voluntary work at Centre B. This was something that he did for 9 out of the 10 working days which the diary took place, and so was his main activity (30%). He also used the

Centre in a recreational capacity on one occasion. As a consequence of this the majority of his activities (61%) took place inside the locality.

With the exception of contact with people at the Centre for his voluntary work, the majority of the activities that Lance did were alone (25%), as the next main activity was playing video games on his X-box at home, typically in his room, as well as watching TV. Mainly as a consequence of this, over a third of the time Lance went to sleep late at night, and over half the time woke up late in the morning.

Of the activities that took place outside the locality, skate boarding was the main one, for which Lance went as far away as 8 miles across town. For this Lance usually took the bus but sometimes was able to get a lift off friends, but most of the time because the activities were mainly inside the locality, he walked. Lance also played football on several occasions and went to the zoo with friends. He also spent time at friends' houses, as well as sleeping there overnight on a few occasions.

Contact by Lance with family members was limited, as the only person from his family he spoke to during the time was his nan, and these appeared to be very brief conversations, as shown below:

'spoke to nan bout getting a new bed'

'Had conv wid my nan'

Indeed, in one diary entry, he describes his brother as a 'nob', a misspelling of the term 'knob', a derogatory slang term for a fool/idiot.

Lance also had one instance of searching for a job, and also had a job interview during the period. This was facilitated with the help of a worker from Centre B, who went to the interview with him. The interview was located well outside his locality. This was a pre-arranged event, as were 33% of his activities, but the majority were not, whether being arranged just beforehand by phone or text message or decided at the time.

Less than half of the activities (44%) that Lance did he related were done because he wanted to do them. Of the remainder, one-fifth was related to boredom and tiredness, while just over a quarter (28%) was indicated as occurring due to other people making him do them:

'David made me'

For the most part, he described his voluntary work attendance at Centre B as something that he wanted to do:

'cause it something I like doing'
'something I like to do'

However, at other times this attendance is described as occurring from coercion from other people, particularly the Centre manager, in relation to finding employment:

'Did this cause I told [name withheld] will try to get a job'

And this was also the case in relation to the job interview he attended:

Late Morning 8am-12pm	Got up at 11ready for interview	Nature centre Cannon hill park 45 minz	Bus [name withheld] arranged it	Me n [name withheld] No1 in charge Role was to attend interview	To get a job Pressure from [name withheld]
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From Lance's diary entries, then, it is possible to observe where the risk factors from his questionnaire were impacting on his activities. His apparent reluctance towards employment, though, suggests that it is his individual agency which is contributing to his social exclusion, not structure.

9.2.5 Sharon

Sharon lived on her own, but over the 14 day diary period she hardly spent any time in her house. Rather, for 9 of the 14 nights she stayed and slept at friends' and relatives' houses both inside and outside the locality. This was usually with her friends, and friends were second in relation to who she had most contact with. Despite living on her own it is family who she had most contact with, and visiting members of her family itself, whether her auntie, father or more often her mother, was the most frequent activity (15%). On the occasions that she did visit her mother, this was spent looking after her younger brothers and sisters while her mother went to stay with her boyfriend, and this was done over a three day period. As her mother lived outside the locality, most of the things she did overall occur outside the locality (52%), although there are other things that she does outside the locality, such as going to the park and going to the pub. Most of these activities, especially the ones with her family, were planned in advance (75%), and the remainder were decided on the spot.

Examples of activities that Sharon did inside the locality included food shopping, going to the Centre and also visiting friends. There is also one instance of searching for jobs. For the majority of her activities she walked, but there were also instances of car usage from a friend, catching a bus and using a taxi.

Like Mikealae, Sharon was also ill for periods of the time which her diary was written, but this was typically for half days rather than full days. On one of these occasions that she was sick, she made an explicit reference to it being caused by a hangover, and there was a high frequency of occurrences of drinking in the diary, something which was highlighted as a risk factor in her questionnaire. As a corollary to her drinking, there are frequent late nights and late waking up, and also sleeping late into the day.

Sharon rarely gave an explicit reason for doing things, but where she did the two reasons given by her were her own personal self and boredom, and these were given equally. In lieu of explicit reasoning for doing things as set out in the diary, Sharon indicated her feeling of personal choice in other ways, especially in relation to looking after her brother and sister as shown below:

I got to spend some quality time with my siblings which is a bonus as I haven't seen them for a while.'

So while the direct reasons Sharon gave are limited, her indirect reasoning provides strong indications of personal choice in general in the activities that she does,

suggesting from her diaries that social exclusion from structure is not a prevalent factor in her daily activities.

9.2.6 Ashley

Ashley was unemployed and living on his own, and the majority of his time was spent simply 'relaxing' in his terms. This entailed staying in his flat and not doing anything in particular. The next most significant event was job searching in a variety of locations, all outside of the locality. Ashley stated that he was on New Deal, and so for instance, on two occasions he spends almost the whole day going to two different locations to do job searching, as shown below.

Afternoon 12pm-4pm	1. In town/Biscom 2. Looking for Jobs 3. Booked session being lazy for 6 months and getting flat on new deal 4. End session	1. Biscom 2. Birmingham City Centre
Evening 4pm-8pm	1. Go to Lisa's 2. Sorting CICS cards 3. Arranged to go and sort out CICS 4. Sorted	1. Lisa's 2. 2. Yardley 3. Faraway

There were also other occasions when he did other individual job hunting. As most of these events were planned well in advance, overall Ashley's activities were planned in advance (61%) as opposed to being arranged shortly before hand or at the time. As a consequence of this, there were, in comparison to other types of contacts with people, a relatively large number of instances when contact was with

people from welfare support agencies, such as his Connexions PA and Tenant Advice and Support Scheme. For instance, there were more instances of contact with such organisations than with other family members, and for all participants, Ashley had the greatest contact with such agencies.

Ashley also went out on a number of occasions to places like the pub, the cinema and also to eat. These were usually with his girlfriend, who was the person he did most activities with (37%). As his girlfriend had a car, this was his main mode of transport, but due to the high instances of job searching outside of the locality, there were also frequent uses of buses. Overall most of these activities, including the job searching, were outside the locality meaning that the majority of his activities (63%) occurred outside the locality. This was also the case for visiting family members, including his mother, who all lived outside the locality, but instances of contact with family were limited.

In terms of activities that occur inside the locality, Ashley spent considerable time waiting for repairs to be carried out on his housing, such as fixing the intercom, and doing decoration himself to his flat. He also visited Centre A on several occasions for a variety of reasons. Less frequent activities included watching TV, playing football, shopping and going to the zoo. His sleeping pattern mainly entailed waking up late (67%), regardless of whether he went to bed early or late.

The main reason outlined by Ashley for doing the activities that he did was personal choice (71%). But in relation to job searching activities, there is an emphasis on other people making him do them, as shown below:

'Condition of JSA'

'Have to complete as part of New Deal'

'No the system broke me I don't want to do anymore job search'

Overall, there is a high degree of individual agency expressed for his activities, and his high level of job searching further suggests active attempts to overcome his unemployment. However, there is a dichotomy in relation to the reasons why he does things, in that, like Lance, the notion that some one else is making him do activities related to job searching is very much evident. This apparent reluctance towards looking for work foregrounds the notion of his agency over structure in his social exclusion.

9.2.7 Larry

Larry's diaries were the least complete diaries of all, as from Week 1 Day 4 onwards, he did not fill in what he did between 4pm to 12am. Nevertheless, there were some definite trends that emerged.

Like Ashley, Larry was unemployed but it did not appear that he was on any particular job scheme. He did spend time searching for jobs himself, and this was either on the internet at the local library or at Centre A.

But the most frequent activity in his diary was simply going around the locality with friends doing nothing in particular, usually drinking alcohol. As a consequence of this, he relates in his diary numerous occasions of being drunk, and also of being ill

due to drinking alcohol. His drinking also affected his sleeping habits as it led to him sleeping throughout the day on a few occasions.

Apart from going around the locality, visiting Centre A was his next most significant activity, and this was mainly in order to use the phone in relation to other matters such as money and legal concerns as detailed below. These were the only time that he indicates using the phone. Less frequently, he also played football, watched TV, went shopping, used the internet and visited family. Most of these activities are inside the locality, as are 85% of all Larry's activities overall, and walking was the main method of getting to these activities.

There is no mention of contact with his mother who he lived with, and there was very limited contact with other family members who live locally. Overall, it was friends who Larry had the most contact with (55%), followed by being alone (36%).

Larry also reported an ongoing legal matter, which was unspecified but necessitated him going to court on one of the days. There was also an instance of going to the bookmakers.

Larry only indicates on a few occasions what the timeframe for decisions about activities is, so this could not be analysed meaningfully. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Larry's diary is the reason given for the activities done, as shown in Table 2 below. As can be seen, personal choice is the reason given least, and boredom the reason given the most. Additionally, tiredness and stress are also significant reasons, and stress is most typically given as a reason for his drinking.

Table 9.2 Reason for doing activities – Larry

Reason	Percentage (rounded)
Me	11
Stress	15
Some One Else	19
Tired	26
Boredom	30

Indeed, overall Larry has the highest percentages of boredom and tiredness than any other participant (excluding Sharon for reasons outlined above). There are also incidences of stress reported by Larry.

Perhaps of all the participants so far, then, Larry's diary entries highlight the relevance of the 'at risk' factors from his questionnaire to his daily activities. This means that his experience of social exclusion from his diary is relatively pronounced, although the relevance of drinking alcohol to his activities means that this could be ascribed to his individual agency rather than structure.

9.2.8 Gemma

The most striking aspect of Gemma's diary is the fact that of the fourteen nights of her diary, she only spent one night sleeping at home. The rest of the nights she spent sleeping at friends' houses. In her questionnaire, Gemma marked 'Other' for the question 'Who do you live with now?', and had written 'were (sic) ever sutes (sic) me at the time' as an explanation for this, and the reason for this is partly related in her diary as shown below:

Cuz I don't like home
 Yes my mom fell unwanted
 I don't need to hear the arguments so I stay where I can till I
 get my own place

Thus, as a consequence of not wanting or not being able to go home, this dominated what happened in the rest of her diary. For instance, most of her time was spent with friends (63%), and this entailed going out extensively and going to parties.

Additionally, most of the things that she did were decided upon on the spot (29%) or arranged just beforehand by phone or text (57%). This also relates largely to trying to arrange accommodation for herself for the night, as shown typically below:

Night 8pm-12am	Rang [name withheld] asker her if I could stay over	Met [name withheld] at my nans she drove me down her house in redich	Lift in [name withheld] car	Me and [name withheld]	A laff and a place to stay
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It is also striking how far in terms of distance she went to secure accommodation for the night, as on this occasion going over 10 miles ('redich' refers to Redditch, a town approximately 10 miles from Gemma's locality). This is one of the reasons why her time was almost split equally between inside (55%) and outside (45%) the locality.

Her contact with close family members was limited, but when she did go back home, she went to church beforehand, and there is the hint that she only did this in order not to have to arrange ad hoc sleeping accommodation again:

'Being part of the family without upsetting Mom'

'Because I don't like living with other people.'

Smith (1999) has observed that young single homeless women make 'extreme efforts' to stay off the streets in comparison to young men, as seen here in Gemma's diary.

Gemma spent most of the rest of her time watching TV, playing on the computer, fishing and going to the library. She also spent time job searching and having to sign on. But it was her drinking which is the most frequent activity, whether around the locality or more often at friends' houses. This led to frequent late nights and also sleeping during the day.

Overall, Gemma outlines that the majority of activities are carried out from her choice (35%). There are, however, significant activities related as carried out due to stress (21%), boredom (21%) and tiredness (18%). In relation to stress, Gemma has the highest incidences of all participants, and the examples below highlight the kinds of reasons given by her:

'Just fed up of reality needed a pick me up'

'Need to talk about things'

Gemma's lack of permanent accommodation could be seen as a major factor in the things that she does and the reasons why she does things in general. For instance she spends a lot of time outside the locality, and this is partly as a consequence of her having to find accommodation and stop out at friends' houses. This also contributed to her drinking, which is a major activity in her life. Perhaps consequently, factors such as stress, boredom and tiredness are very significant

factors in the reasons for things she did. These factors could be seen as partly ameliorated by the fact that it was personal choice which she identified as the predominant reason why she did things.

9.3 Reliability of diary data

The diary data above has provided a descriptive account of participants' social exclusion, and also provided some theoretical adequacy for the diary as a data collection process. For example, Table 9.3 below suggests that overall there is a strong relationship between mode of transport used and where participants went in relation to whether they went inside or outside of locality.

Table 9.3 Comparison of Participants' Mode of Transport and Location of Activities (%)

	Mikealae	David	Lance	Rod	Ashley	Larry	Gemma	Sharon
Walk	39	56	63	22	31	77	53	46
Inside Locality	50	56	61	19	38	86	55	35
Other (Bus, Car, Taxi)	69	44	38	79	69	23	47	55
Outside Locality	50	44	39	81	63	14	45	66

Whilst this may be as expected, the relationships between 'walk/inside locality' and 'other/outside locality' does provide evidence for the overall reliability of participants' diary entries and the coding system used for the diaries.

As touched on briefly above, not all diaries were filled in to the same extent and not all participants followed the format *in toto* as set out in the diaries, but overall, the

diaries of participants highlighted both correspondence and dissonance with this thesis's notions of structure and individualism in the experiences of social exclusion between individuals, and these are explored below.

9.4 Correspondence with structure and individualism

9.4.1 Consumerism

One surprising factor is the apparent unimportance of consumerism to participants' in general with the exception of Mikealale, as evident from the lack of emphasis on shopping and spending. This suggests that consumerism as described in Chapter 5 is not as important to these young people as expected, but this should probably be borne in mind in the context of the income level of participants' in general, whereby low income was a risk factor for all but two participants from the questionnaire.

9.4.2 Transport

Similarities in terms of the modes of transport used by participants supports this, as the fact that none of the participants drove might be seen as anomalous (although one of them was learning to drive), considering that according to the Department for Transport (2006) 34% of young people aged up to 20 hold a full car driving licence. So at least two of the participants in this sample might be expected to be able to drive. Again, this anomaly might be related to the relatively low income, considering the cost of driving as a whole, especially insurance for young people, and this is investigated further in the diary interviews.

9.4.3 Contacts

Table 9.4 below shows the number of different contacts that participants had in their diaries.

Table 9.4 Number of different contacts for participants, by in work/out of work

	In Work			Out of Work				
	Mikaelae	David	Rod	Lance	Ashley	Larry	Gemma	Sharon
No. of different contacts	5	5	4	4	5	3	3	5
Average no. of different contacts	4.6			4				

As can be seen, those in work had a higher average number of different types of contacts than those out of work. This difference has been explained in terms of those out of work limited to the ‘strong ties’ of bonding social capital, while the ‘more extensive’ but weaker bridging social capital available to those in work (Putnam, 2000; Green and White, 2007). For instance, for the unemployed Larry and Gemma, apart from being alone, contact was limited to family and friends, while for the employed Mikealae, David and Rod, work colleagues provided an additional contact. Reliance on the weaker bridging social capital has been described as a potentially beneficial to individual’s economic and social position (Clarke, 2007), positing those participants in work being as less socially excluded, and vice versa. However, as evident from Rod’s monotonous description of his work schedule above, whether work improved participants’ qualitative experience is questionable, as participants’ overall response to working was very functional, suggesting an obligatory rather than an enthusiastic outlook towards it as a whole. So rather than work ameliorating participants’ social exclusion as posited by social capital, there is a question of

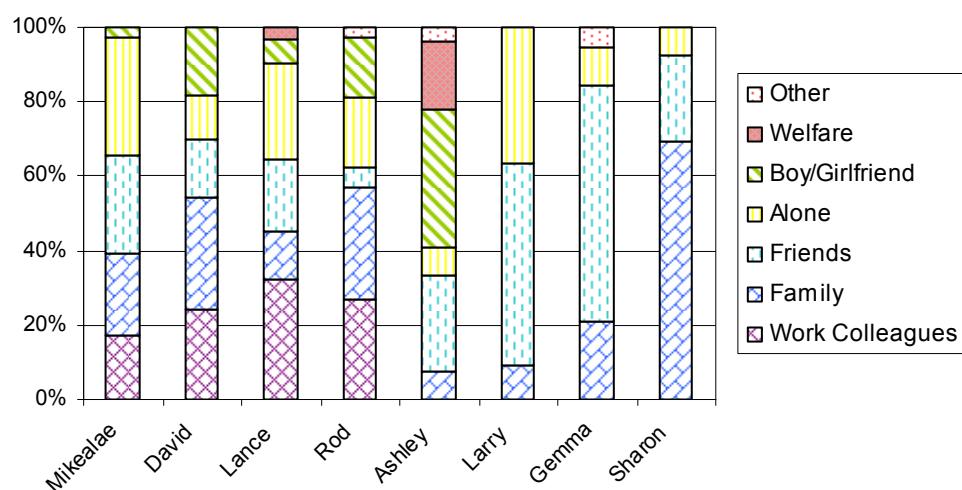
whether participants' individual work experiences are more akin to social exclusion in terms general well-being, and this is explored in subsequent chapters.

9.5 Dissonance with structure and individualism

9.5.1 Leisure

Overall, there are wide differences in terms of who participants spent their time with, as shown in Graph 9.1 below.

Graph 9.1 Differences between Who Participants Spent Time With (%)



On the one hand, time spent alone is a significant factor for most participants, and this could be seen in as evidence of the 'individualization of leisure time' (Weller, 2005). Additionally, there is a wide range of differing activities undertaken by participants overall, so it would be quite hard to say that there are similarities in relation to participants' activities. One similarity that did occur was that 6 out of 8 of them used some kind of youth facility at least once during the two weeks for a variety of reasons, and this might be related to the boredom that some of them related, as outlined above. Overall, however, there is great divergence in terms of activities, and

such divergence has been argued as signalling social differentiation vis-à-vis the erosion of readily identified social division towards individualisation (Cheng *et al*, 2007), rather than the reproduction of structure.

Moreover, for most participants, ‘friends’ is the important group for spending time with, particularly for Larry and Gemma, two of the highest ‘at risk’ participants. If we take the decision by participants to spend such a large amount of time with friends as an active choice as indicated in the diaries, this suggests that the social immobility that occurs from the ‘socialisation gap’ (i.e. social exclusion) of poorer personal and social development from hanging out with friends (Margo *et al*, 2006) can be related to large degree to participants active decision making and thus their agency.

9.5.2 Locality

There are also differences in terms of time spent inside and outside the locality, with no general trend in relation to participants. Accordingly, these differences affect the type of transport that participants use, with those going outside their locality using more types of transport than those staying inside it. Overall though, the general fluidity with which participants moved between areas suggests that the locality was not something which oriented their social exclusion to a great degree. This corresponds to Giddens’s argument of the declining significance of space, wherein, as Clarke (2007) argues, the notion of the locality acting as a structural reference point for communities is less evident than it once was, or that the locality has become much less spatially orientated than in the past.

Similarly, an interesting feature is the importance in general of mobile phone technology, in the form of either speaking or texting, to individuals’ planning and

participation of activities. In relation to texting, Harley *et al* have observed that the pragmatic arrangements that such technology allows:

...belie the changes in social behaviour that are behind them. The ability to communicate one's presence whilst in transit allows mobile phone users to change arrangements in an ad hoc fashion like never before. (Harley *et al*, 2007: 235)

This feature was more pronounced for some than others, Gemma and Mikealae in particular, which suggests that there is a sense in which their outlook is flexible and open to change at any time, as supported by the high incidence of decisions about what activities to do made 'on the spot' by participants overall. This posits the use of such technology as enabling participants to resist traditional passive submissive identities towards accessing 'multiple enriching identities' (Foley *et al*, 2007), suggesting an ability to transform their existence as and when required, and so counters the notion of structure being examined here.

9.5.3 Drinking

Drinking is an at risk factor for five of the participants, and it was very noticeable from the diaries that for some participants, Larry, Gemma and Sharon, drinking represented a significant activity. From these participants, it is Gemma who indicates the greatest instance of drinking (11), representing drinking on 8 out of the 14 days. Moreover, the number of times in which she explicitly describes herself as 'pissed', 'drunk' 'parrletic' (sic) and 'recked' (sic) as a consequence of drinking suggests a self reported level of intoxication which could be described as 'binge drinking' (Institute of Alcohol Studies, 2007). Additionally, the informal social contexts in which she typically drinks, as in with friends in the open, also provides support for this, as drinks in such contexts have been measured to be on average double the alcohol content of

a standard drink in licensed premises (Gill *et al*, 2007). These factors could also be applied to Larry and Sharon.

Moreover, as these three are also the individuals who had the least number of different types of contacts, as shown in Table 9.2 above, it is possible that the social networks of these out of work participants was 'connecting young people more to marginality and deviancy than to the mainstream society' (Heikkinen, 2000: 393), although whether there is a link here between drinking and the lack of contacts is not clear. What is clear is that for all three of these participants, their drinking had an effect on their well-being, as demonstrated by the excerpt below of Larry's diary.

Afternoon 12pm-4pm	Home been sik	Toilet home	Heavin	Me	Too much drink the night beofre
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As can be seen, drinking contributes to his illness, and this is the case for the other participants too, and it is probable that it has other negative effects uncharted in the diaries. It is possible to construct an individualised account of this drinking and its effects, whereby it could be argued that such drinking is an individual choice of participants, and as such the social exclusion that accrues from it is simply the manifestation of the expression of agency. Such an individualised explanation would be contra the notion of the significance of structural factors as argued in this thesis, and is something that is explored extensively in the diary interviews.

9.5.4 Agency

For most participants, individual agency is given as the main reason why they did the things that they did. This is shown in Table 9.5 below.

Table 9.5 Reasons for doing activities – All Participants (%)

Reason	Overall Percentages (rounded)
Me	59
Some One Else	15
Boredom	10
Tiredness	10
Stress	4
Don't Know	1

As can be seen, overall personal agency accounts for nearly two-thirds of all responses in this respect. However, this varies from participant to participant, as can be seen from Table 9.6 below.

Table 9.6 Reasons for doing activities – By Participants (%)

	Mikealae	David	Lance	Rod	Ashley	Larry	Gemma	Sharon
Me	40	87	44	64	71	11	35	50
Some One Else	30	13	28	0	29	9	6	0
Bored	15	0	4	14	0	30	21	50
Stress	0	0	0	0	0	15	21	0
Tired	15	0	16	3	0	26	18	0
Don't Know	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0

Personal agency, then, with the exception of one of the participants (Larry), is the most significant reason given for doing things, although its relative importance differs

between participants, with David indicating its importance nearly twice as often as Lance. Also important is the notion that someone else is making them do the things that they did. Boredom and tiredness are also given as reasons for doing things by the majority of participants (6/8 and 5/8 respectively). Indeed, for some participants, they are as, if not more, important than other factors, and the same could also be said for instances of stress, although this is only in relation to Gemma and Larry. Overall, however, although a variety of reasons are given for the things that participants do, it is personal agency which participants predominately express, wherein as Bauman observes:

...individualization' consists in transforming human 'identity' from a 'given' into a 'task' – and charging the actors with the responsibility for performing that task and for the consequences (also the side-effects) of their performance: in other words, it consists in establishing a de jure autonomy (although not necessarily a de facto one)...Modernity replaces determination of social standing with compulsive and obligatory self-determination. (Bauman, 2002: xv)

9.5.5 Individualism

In general terms, Kim *et al* (1994: 2) argue that 'individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family'. In more specific late modern terms, Bates and Riseborough (1993) argue that individualism reflects an increasing '*competitorization and compartmentalization of self*' rather than a movement towards the emancipatory reconstruction of self and society'. In relation to the latter of these claims, although there is an apparent rupture of familial bonds for a number of participants, notably Gemma, all participants with the exception of Lance have strong social bonds with some other entity, if not all others. In practice this means that where social bonds with family are ruptured, there are strong friendship bonds (as with Mikealae, Gemma, Larry), and where friendship bonds are weak, there are

strong familial bond (as with David, Rod Sharon), or strong ties with a girlfriend (Ashley). Thus, the former of these expressions of individualism is not noticeably observable in the diary accounts, and the overall evidence for individualism is limited.

9.6 Summary

This chapter has presented a detailed descriptive account of the main features of participants' individual diaries. The diaries suggest varied individual experiences of social exclusion for participants, and some recurring themes that do emerge are in relation to work, locality, and the importance of different contacts to different people. However, the overall tenor is towards social exclusion in general as a limited factor in participants' daily events and activities. Instead, there is an overall trend of dissonance with social exclusion as mediated by structures, as there is limited correspondence in participants' daily events and activities, and, overall it is participants' agency which emerges as the way that participants as young people are experiencing life in general and social exclusion in particular. This dissonance is *contra* the conceptualisation of social exclusion argued in this thesis, as such a notion is the opposite of structure; rather it supports notions of 'individualisation' as relevant to social exclusion in late modernity. Similarly, on balance, evidence for the existence of individualism is limited. The next chapter explores in more detail whether this observed primacy of agency over structure in relation to social exclusion was also relevant in participants' diary interviews.

10. Actual Experiences of Social Exclusion: Diary Interviews Analysis

This chapter presents analysis from the second stage of data collection, the diary interview. Developing the tripartite critical realist framework of analysis, focus shifts from the domain of the empirical to that of the actual - the events produced by and reflected in mechanisms and experiences. The dominant themes from the previous chapter of dissonance with the notions of structure and individualism and the pre-eminence of personal agency again make themselves apparent. However, correspondence with structure also emerges as relevant in numerous ways, and individualism also comes to the fore, suggesting that while individualised factors are pertinent to participants' social exclusion, this is not as simple as suggested by their empirical experiences, as an emphasis on their actual experiences make structural factors relevant to their social exclusion in important ways.

The previous chapter provided a descriptive account of the main features and content of participants' diaries, from which two notable observations were apparent. Firstly, although the diaries suggest varied individual experiences of social, the tendency was towards social exclusion as a limited consideration in participants' daily events and activities. As a corollary, while it was possible to observe correspondence between participants' social exclusion and notions of structure, there was actually greater dissonance of participants' experiences in these terms. Similarly, evidence for the existence of individualism was limited. Rather, it was participants' personal agency which emerged as the way that they as young people

were experiencing life in general and social exclusion in particular, and this supports notions of ‘individualisation’ as relevant to young people’s social exclusion in late modernity.

This chapter presents analysis from the second stage of data collection, the diary interview. As the development of the tripartite critical realist framework, analytical focus shifts from the domain of the empirical to that of the actual - the events produced by and reflected in mechanisms and experiences. As such, the intention is to clarify in more detail the activities and events described in participants’ diaries.

As set out in the Table 7.3 in Chapter 7, this both builds on the analysis in the previous chapter relating to Research Questions 1a, 1b, 1c, and 2a, and generates data in relation to 2b:

1a) Do the experiences of socially excluded young people correspond to the disadvantage and/or unequal power of individuals’ existence?

1b) Where there is correspondence, how important individually is the contribution of various aspects of structural inequality to the occurrence of social exclusion?

1c) Where there is not correspondence, how are young people experiencing social exclusion?

2a) Does individualism contribute to the social exclusion of young people?

2b) If so, what is the upward linkage from structure to individualism?

This chapter first outlines the processes of data collection and analysis, from which similarities as well as important differences with the previous stage are highlighted. Then, analysis of the diary interview data is provided, outlining the important themes from participants' interviews. The chapter concludes by locating the diary interviews in the wider context of the research process.

A point of distinction is made between participants 'diary', which refers to the diary and diary analysis in previous chapter, and participants' 'diary interview' or simply 'interview', which refers to the semi-structured interview that is the focus of this chapter.

10.1 Data Collection Process and Analysis

10.1.1 Diary Interview Process

As the second part of the modified Diary: Diary Interview Method, the diary interview is specifically linked to data collected in the previous diary stage. In this second stage, the diary is converted from a data-generating device into a question-generating device, in order to clarify the detail of participants' everyday activities in their diary. This means that parallel to the differences in participants' diaries, while the interviews followed a general format, the questions differed markedly from participant to participant.

In order to ensure the most accurate recall of events, interviews were held within 2-4 weeks of the completion of diaries. The average length of the **diary interviews** was 50 minutes, with a variance of 40 to 71 minutes. Interviews took place at the Centres which were the bases for the research. As the interviews centred principally on the events and activities in the diary, each interview participant was given a typed copy of their diary to refer to during the interview. Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed as verbatim as possible, and this accounts for the non-standard spelling found in some of the excerpts.

10.1.2 Interview Analysis

As with the previous analysis, coding of the diary interviews was carried out using NVIVO 7, and the coding explicitly categorised the data into the structured format of 'What' 'Where' 'Who' 'How' and 'Why' questions used in the diaries. These categories were sub-categorised principally *in vivo*, meaning that themes which occur are principally from respondents' language as related in the diary interview (Lewins *et al*, 2006), wherein a theme can be described as 'capture[ing] something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represent[ing] some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set' (Braun and Clarke, 2006:82).

This is because as the second stage of the tripartite critical realist framework of analysis, focus in this chapter shifts from the domain of the empirical to that of the actual - the events produced by and reflected in mechanisms and experiences. This means that as set out in Table 7.2 in Chapter 7, data analysis moves beyond descriptive accounts towards a more heuristic-analytical method, in which theoretical knowledge and previous empirical findings are used explicitly to guide the research

procedures, and objective aspects of young people's situations and previous experiences are made use of to facilitate understanding of their explanations and to stimulate further questioning in the interview (Wooley, 2009: 20). Such an approach presupposes that the empirical is not reducible to the actual, that is experiences do not necessarily correlate to the actual events which orient social reality and thus social exclusion.

Taking up where the previous chapter left off, this chapter begins by articulating where participants' empirical accounts reflected dissonance with the notion of structure as described in this thesis.

10.2 Dissonance with Structure

10.2.1 Limited social exclusion

Dissonance in participants' empirical accounts was particularly evident from the overall trend towards social exclusion as a limited consideration in their daily events and activities. During the interview, participants were asked whether they considered themselves as socially excluded or in poverty, and their responses affirmed that seen from the diaries. Indeed, in affirming this consideration, some participants made an explicit distinction between their position and others in refuting the significance of poverty to them:

I don't see myself as poor but I don't see myself as rich either I'm just like the average person
Lance

Poor well kind of not poor poor but on the dole yes so kind of poor yes...poor is when there's a big family and that there's about seven of them and they can't really just got enough to share and some days they'll have like I mean sometime I have to have beans on toast for dinner if

we've got to get something new for the house like what's broken down like a kettle but apart from that we're alright

Larry

... at the end of the day it's England you know what I'm saying there ain't no true poverty in England you get me it's a rich man's country like you know what I mean you don't have to trek like four or five miles for some dirty water that's going to kill you you know what I mean you just walk to a tap man no matter how poor you are you've got a tap there that's going to give you clean water ...there's no real poverty out there in England so no I wouldn't say I live in poverty you get me

Ashley

Thus, none of the participants felt that poverty described their lives, which suggests that they did not feel that the problems they were experiencing were particularly unusual or noteworthy, despite the fact that their experiences confronted the objective problems of social exclusion (i.e. of growing up in a poor, high crime, high unemployment locality) (Macdonald *et al*, 2005:880). Moreover, these excerpts reveal a generally narrow view of poverty amongst participants focused more on absolute than relative poverty, which itself could account for its lack of relevance to them, as has been highlighted elsewhere (Sutton *et al*, 2007).

Furthermore, the notion of being social excluded was denied by participants, as the different things they did were accorded to simply being different, not necessarily from being socially excluded:

I see myself as different cos I do my own kind of things what other people might think are weird or don't like if that's the answer

Lance

We're just different to most people like that's them and we're different this is how it is everybody's different nobody's the same I think

Rod

Such accounts orient personal agency as the basis for social exclusion, which is strengthened by the claims of other participants of social exclusion as being flexible in occurrence:

No maybe from what's going on around these areas that's because I choose to cos I don't choose to mix myself in stupidness like that you know what I mean it's just dumb round here like you know ...

Ashley

I feel like I've got a bit more freedom to do I can do what I want if I want to do it if I don't want to do that it's ok ... I feel like I can dive in whenever I want to dive in retract whenever I want to retract

Gemma

Such a perspective of social exclusion as something which you 'can dive in' reinforces the emphasis which emerged in participants' diaries of the importance of agency as the way that they as young people were experiencing life in general and social exclusion in particular, further evidence for which is found below.

10.2.2 Personal agency

If, as suggested by the responses above, it is possible to 'dive in' and 'retract' out of social exclusion, this orients social exclusion as predominantly incumbent on personal agency in two ways. Firstly, it suggests individuals as actively constructing their own biography, and relatively happy doing this in general. Ashley suggests that this is indeed the case in the following excerpt:

...I wouldn't change nothing about myself you know where I'm coming from not one thing would I change about myself not one thing would I change about my life you know what I'm saying I like where my life's at and I like the way it's moving forward but steadily moving forward you know it's not moving fast but it's just steadily moving you know ... so I wouldn't change nothing not one thing not one thing

Ashley, then, delineates a highly individualised biography, and this was also present to greater or lesser extents in the responses of the majority of participants, with the notable exceptions of Larry and Rod. For example, David described himself as 'very independent', and Gemma described herself as 'well independent'.

The second way in which participants' responses above orients social exclusion as incumbent on personal agency is that it suggests that social exclusion can and does occur from things that individuals choose to do. A suggestion of this is found in Lance's description of the reason why he no longer signed on:

Do you sign on?

I used to

Why don't you now then?

Cos they tried making me do something I didn't want to... They tried making me go some course which I blankly turned round and said I don't want to do it can you put me on something else

What was the course?

It was a reading and writing course

Literacy?

Yes

Tell me why you didn't want to do that?

Cos myself I think I'm ok with it but they said I wasn't at a certain level so So because of that you couldn't sign on or you stopped signing on or they told you to stop signing on?

I stopped signing on well it's a bit of both I stopped and they told me I can't sign on no more

Until you do the course maybe?

Yes

From this excerpt, the agency manifestation of social exclusion works on two levels.

First, from his questionnaire he indicated that he left school with no qualifications, so it is arguable that the course suggested to him would have ameliorated this risk factor, meaning that his refusal could be seen as contributing to his social exclusion. Also, his subsequent refusal to sign on meant that his income was reduced, which again would have contributed to his social exclusion. In the interviews, there were

other examples of participants' apparent agency contribution to their own social exclusion.

10.2.3 Drinking and Drugs

For example, as described in the previous chapter, drinking was identified as having an effect on some participant's well-being, and thus their social exclusion. For Larry in particular, it became apparent during his interview that specifically binge drinking as defined in the previous chapter was either directly or indirectly associated with most of the things that he did, especially those that contributed to his social exclusion such as exclusion from school, gambling, an ongoing court case and incomplete probation. As he described:

Hangover that's what I do wake up have and bath and everything and go drinking and wake up stay in bed all day again and then wake up get something to eat and back doing the same

Drinking was also an important activity in the activities of Gemma, who often drank to get 'hammered' or 'wrecked', and Sharon. Additionally for both, drug taking was or had been a significant activity in the past and one which contributed to their social exclusion. This was particularly relevant for Ashley, for whom 'getting lean' (high) was a major contributory factor to his criminal activity. These all reinforce the notion of social exclusion as occurring from things that individuals chose to do.

10.2.4 Expenditure

All of the activities listed above cost money, which some participants indicated that they spent considerable amounts on. For instance, Larry stated that he could spend up to £10 a day on alcohol, and that £70 out of his £90 giro could be spent on gambling. Similarly, Sharon stated that she spent around £30 a week on cannabis,

while Gemma's expenditure was similarly skewed by her daily drinking. For other participants there was other expenditure which could be described as profligate, such as both Rod's and Lance's purchases of games consoles, both of which would have been close to £200, and the auxiliary expenditure necessary in the form of games. Moreover, Rod bought his console on credit, which would have been even more expensive. Taking into consideration their income at risk status, such expenditure supports the suggestion that participants contributed to their own social exclusion.

10.2.5 Schooling

Ashley, Sharon and Lance all experienced exclusion from school related to behavioural issues, while Larry's schooling was incomplete ultimately due to a lack of alternative schooling, but initially from his drinking problem. For all these participants, the premature end to their schooling was preceded by periods of truanting. In the cases of Ashley, Sharon and Lance, violent and anti-social behaviour characterised their exclusions, as typified by Sharon's reflection below:

Because of my attitude and because one of the days I had bit of a problem with one of the teachers and I ended up getting in a lot of trouble throwing stuff around and throwing my weight around and generally they'd just had enough then and says well you've got to go so I got kicked out

As implied above, Sharon did not disagree with the decision to exclude her, and neither did Ashley even more strongly, suggesting that exclusion was a reasonable decision. This suggests that individual behavioural factors had a significant effect on some participants' social exclusion, through engendering school exclusion. Furthermore, from the interviews it was apparently that those who had had the least troubling school experiences (i.e. had not been excluded or had extended periods of truancy) also had some of the least markers of exclusion, and vice versa, especially in relation to working and income. Additionally, 7 out of the 8 participants, the

exception being Ashley, referred to their schooling as something which they would have liked to have changed in their life, and this regret was typically couched in terms of ‘doing better’, which is similar to findings made by Lloyd (1999), suggesting that participants were accepting an individual responsibility for their educational failings.

10.2.6 Friends

In participants’ diaries, overall ‘friends’ was who most time was spent with, and it was argued that the social immobility that occurs from the associated ‘socialisation gap’ (i.e. social exclusion) of poorer personal and social development from hanging out with friends can be related to large degree to participants active decision making and thus their agency. In the interview, this notion was somewhat reinforced from the importance of friends which participants designated, especially in relation to some of the negative things that they had done. For example, Mikealae recounted the influence that friends had on him to take drugs:

Ok tell me about the circumstances in which you took drugs?

Peer pressure mainly peer pressure when I was younger obviously when you hang around with a group of lads you’re like you don’t know what it’s like and you try it and it’s like that...

The significance of friends to similar negative activities was also highlighted by Ashley in relation to his crime, Gemma to her drug taking and her general anti-social behaviour, and Larry to his drinking. This significance of friends combined with the apparent importance to some of the negative things which contributed to their social exclusion suggests that there is indeed a socialisation gap occurring, which occurs from the personal choices that participants made.

So participants’ interviews denote dissonance with the notion of structure, and indeed, some of the features relating to dissonance in the diaries were actually

reinforced in the interviews, such as in relation to the emphasis on personal agency vis-à-vis time spent with friends and the significance of drinking. This concomitantly reinforces notions of ‘individualisation’ as relevant to social exclusion. However, in the diaries there was also limited correspondence with the notion of structure, and this was also explored in the diary interviews.

10.3 Correspondence with Structure

10.3.1 Finding work

In her diary, Gemma had indicated that she had spent half a day handing out her CV to local employers. During the interview, she explained that this was something she had been doing for several months, without success. In addition she had applied for many different jobs, such as waitressing, cleaning and supermarket jobs, but it was a source of frustration that she was unable to find a job:

... it's not that I don't wanna work I do wanna work but there's just not like the jobs that are coming up ain't what I want and I've applied for them anyway and I still don't get them it's like what I've applied for Sainsbury's and everything ... it does irritate me it's not like I've got nothing to put on a CV my CV is quite good so I just can't understand what it is...

Likewise, both Larry and Sharon stated that they had had negative experiences of searching for jobs, and in both cases these negative experiences had rendered them almost resigned to not finding a job:

... when I go and look for a job it's never comes up if I had the job then I'd do it but it never happens and then I just go out and muck about and then it's the same routine so it don't happen

Larry

These negative experiences were not restricted to those out of work, as those in work recounted similar experiences. David and Mikealae both stated that previous voluntary work was important to them attaining their present jobs, and the previous job that Lance had had was also through an initial voluntary placement, suggesting voluntary work as an important way for participants' to acquire employment.

Indeed, for none of the participants who worked was their current job something which they had actively planned to do; rather, as typified by Mikealae below, their employment was borne out of desperation from prolonged unemployment:

This one was one of my old work colleagues from [name] found out about it cos I was looking really desperately needed a job ...I was unemployed for like about between two three months yes two three months and I really wanted a job I was like I've got no income I need to get something I don't want to get onto the dole

This sense of desperation was an underlying theme in other participants' accounts, and could account for the generally functional attitude towards work which characterised their diaries. Mikealae also indicated that his previous negative experiences of looking for work may have been a contributory reason why he had turned down another less secure job elsewhere:

...I had a job offer in London a couple of months ago and I was going to actually move out but ... it's a big it's a huge step as well cos if I don't like it then that's just a waste cos if I move away from my this job and go over there and I don't like that job then come back here I'm unemployed so I just thought about everything and I thought you know what I just I didn't take the job up so

This suggests that his previous negative experiences of finding work may have made him less socially mobile, and less prepared to take risk with his employment situation.

There was also an issue around the type of work available to participants. In Lance's diary, it was observed that he felt pressured by other people to find work, and in section 10.3.2 above, Lance's apparent unwillingness to take a literacy skills course resulted in him being unable to sign on, both of which were seen as evidence of his agency contributing to his social exclusion. However, Lance was adamant that he did want to find a job, and this claim is supported by other job searching activities that Lance did describe as having undertaken. When asked why there was an apparent reluctance to do job searching as indicated in his diary, a specific reason related to the type of jobs available was given:

Like I was looking for a job the last couple of weeks and [name] kept making me go in to look for factory and that kind work which I don't think I'd be able to do that cos I can't stand being indoors so I ended up looking for like zoos and animal parks and that kind of stuff and [Name] was trying to make me get a job in for example [Name] I come in one day and [Name] sat me in front of the computer and got me on Job Centre Plus and got me to phone up to get me to phone up to two numbers which I didn't phone because they was warehouse work so

Elsewhere, he described having applied for other outdoor type jobs in the past and having been turned down due to lack of experience. So his refusal to do the course in section 10.3.2 above may be attributed to the lack of relevant type of work he was expected to search for and ultimately take up.

For some participants', these negative experiences of job searching also related to the agencies which were charged with finding them work, something which has been indentified elsewhere as important to young people (Lloyd, 1999). Sharon, Ashley and Gemma were particularly scathing about these types of services, with Gemma contrasted what she had expected to happen with her disappointment with what actually happened:

Like now they said we got a college thing for you and then you'll get a job pretty much sure I've got five weeks left on mine and they says you'll have a job before the end of the five weeks and I says alright then so I'm thinking ok they're going to teach you how to do this this this and train you up a bit or something and they sat me at the computer for what was it nine til five I was sat at a computer looking for jobs...

It is these negative experiences of searching for work which Ashley stated he was referring to when he wrote in his diary that 'the system broke me'. So, despite the inclination to find work, both a lack of availability of work in general and the type of work that participants' were interested in were evident as contributing to the unemployment status of participants, suggesting that they as young people were not less committed to the idea of work as employment than other groupings (Crompton, 2006). Rather, despite being proactive in trying to find work (Furlong and Cartmel, 2004), there were issues such as the unavailability of jobs or the type of training provided to enable them to get employment which impacted on their employment status.

10.3.2 Experiences of work

Linked to this were often disrupted experiences of working, in terms of both the number of jobs undertaken and the types of work undertaken. All of the participants indicated having had numerous jobs, as for example Sharon, who stated that she had done 'absolutely everything', encompassing waitressing, hairdressing, working in shops and cafes, and cleaning, evidence of a 'crap job' cycle (Lloyd, 1999). At present, she was signing on, something that she had done quite a few times in the past. However, she described that she had become more circumspect in terms of the job she wanted to do, from a realisation that such work was not meeting her needs, especially in terms of satisfaction, which had led to a change in her attitude towards the type of work she was looking for:

Well I used to just look for anything anything what was going and then I found that I was going for jobs that I didn't really want to do that I didn't like and stuff like that so I weren't enjoying it so I though well do something what I like to do something with people ... I'm looking for jobs like within catering bar work and like shop assistant anything that involves a lot of people

Sharon experiences had led her to shift her perspective from simply finding a job towards finding a job that she enjoyed, and this could be one reason why she was experiencing such a sustained period out of the labour market.

Even where participants described themselves as relatively happy with the work that they were doing, this was not a job which they had necessarily chosen to do, but rather had stumbled upon it due to circumstances. David, for example, had had other jobs and aspirations, and had applied to be a fireman, but subsequent to not having a response to his application, took his present job after a period of voluntary work. Again, this could explain their rather functional attitude towards work which was observed in their diaries. This suggests that notions of active choice in employment for participants' was limited, even where participants had explicitly stated that this was the case in their diary interview.

Rod also had a rather functional attitude towards work, despite his high level of commitment in his diary to his job in terms of attendance and punctuality. It became apparent that, as with Mikealae and Dave, his present job was not his first choice, but rather was something that he described as a 'dead end job' in a factory which he had obtained as a direct consequence dissatisfaction with his previous job. However, it also became apparent that Rod was not happy in his present employment, and did not really get on with the people he worked with:

...where we work ... you have to watch your back like not watch your back like it just seems that everyone argues it just seem ...they wind me up and if I get wind up I don't want to have to lose my temper with anybody so I just walk away

This suggests that work does not necessarily increase social networks, and thus social inclusion, but can work the other way and increase social isolation.

10.3.3 Schooling and Educational Attainment

Participants were well aware of the significance of educational attainment to their future prospects, and this was mainly linked to the opportunities they perceived it would provide; for those who had low or no educational attainment, this awareness was stark, as exemplified by Lance:

Ok If there's one or two things in your life from the past or present that you could change, what would it be?

Finishing school...cos I would have had better grades and I would have been able to get a decent job

In Table 8.7 in chapter eight, six out of the eight participants were socially excluded in terms of their educational qualifications, and in the diary interview this came to the fore, as five of the participants (Sharon, Rod, Lance, Larry and Ashley) made reference to problems with literacy and/or numeracy. Personal agency from participants' disrupted schooling was the main apparent reason outlined in section 10.2.5 above for the differences in educational attainment, as the relatively high number of exclusions indicated that individual behavioural factors were significant in engendering social exclusion through school exclusion. This was also supported by the fact that in general, those who had not been excluded or had not had extended periods of truancy were also those who had done the best in school, in this case Mikealae and David. An exception to this correlation was Rod, who did not truant but whose educational attainment was nonetheless low. This was because

Rod's low educational attainment stemmed not from behavioural factors but from problems with literacy and numeracy, which was something he felt was compounded by the lack of assistance he achieved to help him overcome it:

... I asked for help I said will we be having any help in lessons nope he just says cos I couldn't read not cos I couldn't read I can read it's just like if I didn't understand it the problem is that I don't understand things but never got no help ... so I got in there and I just forgot and I screwed I didn't screw up I just forgot everything I just tried my best but it didn't work out

A noticeable point from this excerpt is the fact that although Rod is adamant about the lack of assistance he received, he nonetheless apportioned blame to himself for his low grades. A recent report by the government's chief adviser on schooling outlined the fact that many schools are not identifying the special needs of some of their pupils (Steer, 2009), and Rod's account is further supported by his brother David, who despite achieving the best good grades of all participants and relatively good grades in general perceived that 'teachers weren't bothered'. Both Gemma and Sharon recounted that bullying had a direct influence of their negative behaviour at school, especially the fact that it was not properly dealt with, and this sense of a lack of adequate assistance to overcome problems at school was also present in the accounts of Larry and Lance. This suggests that for some participants, school experiences and thus attainment were mediated by specific factors such as bullying and quality of teaching which were an antecedent to their individual negative behaviour,

In both Sharon's and Lance's case, there were attempts at home schooling by their parents/guardian for one and two years respectively post-exclusion, which suggests an individual and familial commitment towards education in general. But this was something which they both gave up after a while, due to a perceived lack of school

interest in their home schooling (see Coles *et al* (2004) for a similar case story), and a lack of progress in their attempts to get back into mainstream schooling. In Larry's case, he perceived no follow up attempt to keep him in education, so he simply drifted out of education. So while there were attempts post-exclusion from some participants to continue schooling in some form, these attempts were not matched by other relevant authorities.

The two who were not excluded in terms of educational attainment were Mikealae and David, but even they expressed some disappointment at their educational attainment, a disappointment couched with reference to their employment status in general. Mikealae in particular highlighted that his educational attainment affected the type of job that he could reasonably expect:

*... I could have probably been proud of them and actually been I don't know actually do what I wanted to really do ... cos obviously when you put them down on a CV they don't look as good as someone with As and Bs and A*s and stuff like that so yes compared to that comparing a C to an A* and Bs and Cs who would they want to go for even though I've got the most experience they'll he'll focus on the grades...*

From the above, it is obvious that Mikealae felt that the grades he attained at school were exerting a detrimental effect on his employment prospects. And David, whose grades were by far the best of all participants with 9 A-C GCSEs, was also made reference to the fact that his employment chances would have been improved if his grades had been better, bearing in mind what was said previously that his present job was not something he had chosen to do, but rather had necessarily stumbled upon it due to circumstances.

There seemed to be a double bind in terms of the how qualifications affected participants. On the one hand, low or no qualifications were either insufficient to secure employment or only to secure ‘dead end’ employment, as in Rod’s case. On the other, while grades at the higher level were often sufficient to secure employment, there could still be periods of unemployment, and even where it secured employment, this was not necessarily in the type of employment desired by participants.

10.3.4 Income

As described above the notion of being in poverty or socially excluded was not something which was seen as important. However, 7 out of the 8 participants had an ‘at risk’ income level, and almost all participants had received free school meals the whole time while at school, the exception being Larry who had only received it for the last 3 years of his schooling, suggesting a general an ongoing level of income poverty in the family while growing up.

In the interviews this made itself apparent through a general reliance on other family members to supplement income in the form of small but occasional borrowing to get through the week. There were also instances where participants identified that a lack of income had restricted what they could do, for example both Ashley and Mikealae identified that they were unable to take driving lessons due to a lack of income, which is significant in the context of modes of transport in the diaries discussed in section 9.3.1. Moreover, in talking less directly about their socially excluded status and specifically about their income, participants were more willing to identify their income as inadequate, as exemplified by Lance who described himself as ‘stinking poor’ and his family as ‘like everybody else, not rich, not poor’.

The need to provide significant amounts of their own income to supplement the family income was highlighted by both Mikealae and Rod. For Mikealae, around 50% of his income went towards the household, as he was the only person in the house with an employment income. Both his parents were pensioners, his elder sister was unemployed, and he had a younger brother and sister at school and college respectively. According to Iacovou and Berthoud (2006), Pakistani and Bangladeshi fathers and mothers are substantially less likely to have a job than their counterparts in 'conventional' families, and larger families have even lower employment rates. Mikealae stated that the fact that his income was the main one in the household did not make him feel pressured and that 'I'm actually kind of happy...it's coming out of my pocket', as it was something that his brothers before him had done, so it was something he had been expecting to do from an early age. However, there was an underlying pressure on him to have a job *per se*:

...lets say if I don't have a job that's when I would feel pressure cos I'm thinking how would the whole house run without my kind of input into the house... [there's pressure] to have a job yes and something that I like because for instance if I lose this job ... I'd have to quickly look for a job even if I don't like it I might have to go into it just for the income for now till I look for a stable job that I like and that I want to get into so in terms of that yes I would be pressured

The overriding emphasis in the above is on having a job, and fortunately for Mikealae he was presently in a job that he liked, but there is a obvious tension with having 'something that I like', and it may well be that this is being overridden by the family income imperative to have a job.

This is also possible to observe in relation to Rod, who outlined how the money he had to contribute to the house had recently increased due to the fact that his father

had been made redundant. He described how not contributing to the house had been an important factor in one of his brothers having to leave the family home:

*...my older brother moved my older step brother moved out because he wouldn't get a job he didn't want to work and don't see him anymore
...both of them my parents said if you don't find a job cos you've got to start paying your way you know what I mean when you're an adult if you don't find a job you can't live rent free nobody can and then he moved out
...he's living with somewhere else now*

It is possible there were other extenuating circumstances in his brother moving out, but for Rod, the fact that he was unable to 'pay his way' was an important factor. This could explain why, he remained in his job despite his high level of dissatisfaction.

It also became apparent that the main reason why he was not happy in the job was the net wage that he received. Rod worked for 40 hours a week, but due to his age of 20 was only legally entitled to the then National Minimum Wage rate of £4.45 per hour, which gave him a net income of £165 per week, an income he described as both 'ridiculous' and 'inadequate', and led to frustration and anger, as related below:

...I'm picking up £165 it's not fair you know what I mean ... I'd just like a bit more money like I'm working really hard and I'm thinking at the end of the week I get my payslip and I'm like is that it again and £165 ... lots of people I know all my mates are on like two hundred and something and I'm thinking I'm working in a big factory and I'm like on that kind of money it's rubbish

Rod's readily apparent frustration at his wage rate led him to state that he had been looking for another better paid job. His frustration is perhaps intensified by his awareness that his friends and his brother were earning more than him. The inadequacy of the minimum wage was something which was also stated by Sharon and Mikealae. For Sharon, it was something which restricted the type of job that she

applied for, as living on her own, she had calculated she needed to earn an income above the minimum wage, and this meant that there were certain jobs that she did not want to apply for, due to the ‘benefits trap’ effect. For Mikealae, the minimum wage had actually led him to give up a job, as it’s ‘crap’ nature combined with negative working conditions led him to conclude that it simply was not worth continuing to work.

10.3.5 Locality

In the previous chapter, the general fluidity with which participants moved between areas suggested that the locality was not something which oriented their social exclusion to a great degree, meaning that the notion of the locality acting as a structural reference point for communities was less evident than it once was. One possible reason for this fluidity was an awareness in general about some of the negative features of the locality that they lived in. For example, for locality B, both Rod and Lance stated a general lack of facilities for young people, and they had both been victims of violent crime in the locality, Lance on more than one occasion, meaning that neither felt totally safe in the locality. Indeed, for Rod, the fear of gangs was a prevalent issue in the locality, and this affected the way he behaved in the locality. For locality A, Gemma described living in the locality as ‘sink or swim’ and Larry was clear that the locality was ‘holding’ him back, such as in relation to finding a job. Furthermore, Gemma and Sharon highlighted the ready available of drugs in the area as something which had contributed to their own drug use, and Larry noted that the proximity of betting shops had facilitated his gambling habit.

However, these negatives were ultimately inconsequential to participants when they weighed up the overall utility of living in the locality. So for example, both Rod and

Lance were clear that their locality was somewhere they were happy to be living and would like to continue to live in the future. Their reasoning was couched in terms of their familiarity with the locality from living there and the friends and relatives that lived there. This was similar to the reasoning provided by Sharon and Larry, who both said they felt 'safe' living in the locality as they knew most people there. Indeed, for Sharon, one of the main drawbacks of living in locality A was the fact that most of her family lived elsewhere, as apart from this she was relatively happy in the locality. The importance of feeling safe in the locality is perhaps best typified by Mikealae's explanation of an incident which occurred when he was in a different locality. In his diary, Mikealae had made reference to an ongoing legal matter and he described in more detail in the interview:

This court case was a previous fight like we had we went to shopping in Solihull you know Touchwood ... we were walking past and a group of like White lads turned around and started giving out racist abuse started giving out Paki this Paki that so obviously my friends just flipped at them and I was like look don't need to fight and they ended up fighting and we all ended up fighting and obviously the police came and because we were the Asian lads and we came from another place we got arrested they didn't and now they're taking us to court for it so

To contextualize this event, Mikealae lived in a locality where he had been 'born and bred', which he viewed as his 'natural surrounding', and which he felt totally safe to walk around at 2am in the morning. However, this feeling of safety was displaced when he went to 'another place', both in terms of the assault and in terms of the response from the police. He went on to explain that this has happened before, so when considered in relation to the safety that the locality afforded him, this makes tangible the concept of feeling safe as described by him and other participants.

A notion of familiarity was also a reason given by participants for their affinity with their locality, and this notion was best encapsulated by Ashley. Ashley had only recently moved to locality A after leaving prison, and prior to this he had lived in localities which he described as ‘joined together’, meaning in terms of their inner city location and characteristics, and he described himself as happier in these localities, as he was more familiar with the ‘real life’ that people were living in those localities.

The general fluidity of place observed in the diaries, then, was superficial when compared to the way it was superseded by the strong ties to participants’ locality, and these strong ties occurred from a combination of safety within and familiarity with the locality.

10.4 Correspondence with Individualism

In participants’ diaries in the previous chapter, the overall evidence for notions of individualism was limited. However, it was observed that there were apparent dislocations of familial bonds for a number of participants, and in the interview, this was explored in more detail.

10.4.1 Evidence of individualism

The family circumstances of participants varied, but with the exception of Larry and Lance, a characteristic that participants shared was being brought up in large families. For some, this was large biological families, as in the case of Mikealae and Gemma, while for others it was in step families as in David, Rod’s and Sharon’s case, and four out of the eight were brought up in single parent families, which is a very high

proportion. These large families were also for some typified by large age spreads of siblings, such as the 16 year age spread in Ashley's family. Iacovou and Berthoud (2006) have outlined how large families tend to be much worse off in terms of income than smaller families. And where families are so large, an obvious problem is space, as typified by Rod's observation that at one point in his childhood, up to 10 people were living in a three bedroom house, something which he described as 'cramped'. Whereas Rod described how he simply 'learnt to get on with it', such cramped living circumstances may have been important in orienting family relationships, as suggested by Ashley:

... I got quite a good relationship with my mom especially since I moved out as well you know when we you're all living in the house cos there was quite a few of us all living in the house all living on top of each other you know

The suggestion from Ashley is that living in such cramped conditions was problematic in terms of building relationships with other family members. The excerpt above from Ashley at section 10.2.2 suggested the prominence of his personal agency. A crucial aspect of this agency narrative is the fact that he described himself as 'completely comfortable' living alone and wanting to be alone. As an example of this, he stated that he had a strong sense of monetary self-reliance:

Yes if I need money I've got people I can go to mainly my mother I go to but I don't really like going to people and asking them for handouts cos I've never been that type of person you know cos I've never needed and if I've felt I needed something I'll go out there and get it myself you know but now that I'm not doing anything like that now it's like oh do you know what I mean

This excerpt reinforces his strong sense of self-reliance, and reference is also made to the fact that this has been an enduring feature of his life:

OK so how long have you lived on your own then?

Since February but I'd class myself as living on my own for a long time because then there's care and then on top of all that care it's jail on top of that I've done about fours years in jail altogether as well you know so I'd class it as even longer than that I'd say about five and a half years personally

This strong sense of self-reliance can be seen as stemming from the fact that he perceived he had *de facto* been living alone for a long time, despite the fact that *de jure*, it had only been for a couple of months.

Similarly, Gemma's relationship with her family was observed as being the most fractured in the diaries, as she spent most of the time sleeping away at friends' houses. It was observed in her diary that she had gone a week without having contact with any of her family, but Gemma described this as something that normally happened. The reason given by Gemma for this related particularly to her relationship with her mother, and she described her and her mom as having a 'clash of personalities', to the extent that they had been falling out since she was the age of 12, and she had been running away from home since this age 'to get away from her'.

In contrast, she stated that she had a really good relationship with her dad, who also lived with her mom, but her bad relationship with her mom had led her to accept self-exclusion from the house as the best alternative:

What about your dad what does he think about the problem with your mom?

My dad's like he can't really do nothing because that's her opinion and feelings towards me so it's like I'd rather them work at their relationship for the rest of the family than be at each other's heads so I'd just rather exclude myself like go far away and that's it really

On the one hand, this suggests that Gemma's acceptance of a lack of social bond and or/ interdependence with other family members leads to selfless detachment from her family. On the other hand, this detachment serves to reinforce her social bonds with her friends, which as we have seen in section 10.2.6 above is something which contributes to her exclusionary behaviour. However, this is also important to Gemma identifying herself as 'well independent', especially in comparison to other family members, and she contrasted her high level of independence to the rest of her family, as her leaving home early was cited as an important reason for this difference between her and other family members.

Family conflict, which has been identified as a major reason why young people leave home early (Ravenhill, 2000), was also the reason why Sharon, who lived alone, left home at the age of 16. Like Gemma, she also related her strong sense of independence from moving out:

I don't think I'm dependent on my family because since when I moved out I moved out when I was sixteen I've never been I mean I've been home I've never moved back in I've never wanted anything off my mom do you know what I mean I think it's more with nan when I'm feeling down it's just like someone to talk to I mean as far as stuck in my flat going about my shopping and that I can always deal with I always do all of that myself ...

In the above, Sharon is clear as to her relatively high level of independence, and she states that since she moved out at 16, '...I've never wanted anything off my mom', and this is supported by the activities that she carried out in her diary.

For Lance, it was noted in his diary that he had limited contact with other family members, with the only other family member he spoke to being his nan. In his interview, he explained that he had lived with his nan since the age of 6 months, and

despite the fact that his mom 'lived just round the corner' contact with her was limited to when she infrequently came to the house. He did not have contact with his dad even though he also lived in the locality. His relationship with his half brother who also lived with his nan was summarised as such:

So it's you and him how old is your brother?

Eighteen I think seventeen eighteen

And what does he do?

Rob

Can you be a bit more specific?

He's a thief I don't like him

...

So what kind of relationship would you say you have with your brother?

None

Do you speak to him?

Speak to him but I don't like him

These circumstances explain why it was observed in his diary that contact with his family was limited, and the majority of his activities in his house he did alone. So it is arguable that Lance's aloneness occurred not specifically from his choice, but from his family circumstances. And this was seen to reinforce his sense of individualism from not only other family members but also other individuals, as when asked about how he perceived other people thought about him, he asserted that 'it's every man to their own if they hate me they hate me and if they like me and it's up to them really'. For others, the consequence of such individualism was more evidently negative.

10.4.2 Consequences of individualism

Ashley described that the main effect of this *de facto* living alone in care was that it 'expanded my horizons of crime', from being 'in different circles with different types of people that you wouldn't normally really be around'. Ashley's account is supported by Barn *et al's* (2005) findings, which showed that Caribbean and mixed parentage young people in care were amongst those who were experienced the worst

outcomes, both during their time in care and after leaving care, in relation to risk taking behaviour such as criminal activity and drug taking. His inclination towards crime was also influenced by the comparison he made of himself to those around him. This account suggests that a significant contributor to Ashley's agency narrative was the individualism which manifested itself while living in care, and which contributed to his social exclusion through the criminal activity that it occasioned.

It was observed in Gemma's diary that 'binge drinking' was a frequent activity, and in her diary interview she stated that while not always the case, she sometimes drank to get 'hammered' or 'wrecked', and she explained in her diary interview that her current drinking was directly linked to the ongoing problems she was having with her mom:

It's like you come out of such a tense environment and then everyone's like having a good time so it's like woo forget about her and I like seeing people enjoy themselves I like enjoying myself and where other people go and do something relaxing I'll go to a party cos you get like I love music and it makes you like you know it just changes the mood don't it depends on what music you listen to rapid changes in you

Her drinking then, as described in section 10.2.3 above, can be seen as relief from the stress which her situation was occasioning, similar to that as described by Sharon's above. And she later described her previous drug taking as occasioned by the fact that 'I had a lot of things going on in my head'.

Sharon detailed how she found it 'difficult', 'lonely' and 'bored' living alone in the flat, and if anything that she felt 'trapped by the flat', and she spent 9 nights out of 14 away from her flat, meaning that most of her time was spent out of her house. Elsewhere, she described possible reasons why she had been away from the flat so frequently:

... I don't know I find it easier to be out of the house and with other people cos it takes my mind off being in the house ...I've been stopping away from home a lot like for days and days and then going home and stopping at home for a couple of days and then going off but I think that's just because I feel when I'm out of the flat I can escape from everything wots going on around me from when I'm in the flat I feel bogged down from everything that's going on with the flat and with normal normal life like...

The reason given by Sharon for her staying out so often is related to stresses that she is experiencing as evidenced by her use of terms such as 'escape' and 'bogged down', and so her reasoning for her being out of the flat so often relates to it taking her mind off her problems.

In Larry's diary, the significance of drink to his daily activities was evident, and it quickly became apparent during his diary interview that drink was either directly or indirectly associated with most of the negative things that he described, such as exclusion from school, gambling, his court case and his incomplete probation. Larry stated that he started drinking at the age of 14, and at present his emphasis was on binge drinking to get as drunk as possible. And the reason he drank to the level that he did was to enable him to 'deal' with some of the situations that he was going through in his life. He had been living with alone with his mom for four years through a complex set of circumstances, involving the breakdown of his mom's previous relationship, a 'mental breakdown' by his mother culminating in an attempted overdose, and the legal responsibility for his younger half brother being given to his brother's dad's family. As a consequence of these changes, his life had transformed from a relatively stable and well off family environment to an unstable and much less well off one, as unlike most of the other participants, Larry did not receive free school meals the whole time he was at school but only after his first three years there. At present though, neither he nor his mother worked, as his mother was effectively

housebound due to her breakdown, and they both received state benefits. Thus, drinking was to counter the stresses that he encountered:

And how often do you think about these things do you think about them often?

The ones that I said first I always think of like when I'm off the drink at night time it's hard to sleep and then they like go round my head all the time

For Larry, then, there was an ongoing trauma at some of the things that he had experienced, and it was only by drinking that he felt he could cope with these problems, similar to other participants as described above.

10.5 Summary

This chapter has presented findings from the diary interview which, corresponding with to the second stage of the tripartite critical realist framework, has seen a shift from the realm of the *empirical* to that of the *actual* - the events and/or experiences which underpin participants' socially excluded status. As with the previous chapter, participants' interviews revealed apparent further dissonance with the notion of structure relevant to this thesis. In particular, it was possible to observe participants' social exclusion as occurring predominately from personal agency, from the apparent way that individuals actively constructed their own biography and evidence that social exclusion can and does occur from things that individuals choose to do, such as in relation to their drinking and drugs, expenditure and friends.

However, the labour market emerged as a particular site of correspondence with structure, as both a lack of availability of work in general and the type of work that

participants' were interested in were evident as contributing to the unemployment status of participants. And the work experiences of the majority of participants were punctuated by mixtures of desperation, disruption and disappointment, which also suggested that notions of active choice in employment was limited, even where they had explicitly stated that this was the case. Moreover, their negative experiences of schooling, and thus attainment and subsequent work experiences, were mediated by specific factors extrinsic of individual behaviour, such as bullying and quality of teaching. Other sites of structural correspondence were also observable in relation to income, living circumstances, and locality.

Correspondence with the notion of individualism also came to the fore in the interviews. This was particularly evident in relation to family relationships and family circumstances, as the data revealed ways in which dislocation in these spheres engendered a sense of independence in participants', either from *de facto* or *de jure* living alone, and presaged exclusionary experiences and/or behaviour, which in some instances led to further exclusion.

Overall, the data suggests that while individualised factors are relevant to participants' social exclusion, this is not as straightforward as suggested initially, as from their actual experiences, structural factors appear to counterbalance the dissonance provided by empirical, agency based accounts of social exclusion in important ways. The next chapter explores in greater detail whether it is these individualised or structural factors which form the real basis of these the events and/or experiences which have been shown to characterise participants' socially excluded status.

11. Real Experiences of Social Exclusion: Follow Up

Interviews

This chapter draws on data from the final part of tripartite critical realist framework of data collection and analysis, a semi-structured follow up interview, largely centred on the clarification and articulation of data from the previous diary interview. Analysis in this chapter moves from the domain of the actual to that of the real – that is, to a focus on the deep underlying structural processes which this thesis argues configures young people's social exclusion. From this analysis, the previous interview's emergent significance of structural factors over individualised factors becomes even more apparent to participants' social exclusion.

Analysis of participants' empirical experiences of social exclusion in the Chapter 9 posited a double dissonance from this thesis's conceptualisation of structure and individualism, with participants' agency manifested itself as the principal way that young people were experiencing social exclusion in particular and life in general. In the last chapter, the analysis of participants' actual experiences of social exclusion revealed apparent further dissonance, as it was possible to observe participants' social exclusion as occurring predominately from personal agency

However, the analysis in the last chapter also identified emergent correspondence with structure, especially in relation to participants labour market circumstances, income, schooling and educational attainment, living circumstances, and locality. Correspondence with the notion of individualism also came to the fore, through the

dislocations in family relationships and family circumstances, and this to a certain extent related to some, but not necessarily all, of the negative, things that participants did.

Overall, the analysis of actual experiences suggested that the predominance of agency is not as straightforward as initially suggested from their empirical experiences, as the emergent relevance of structural factors appear to counterbalance such accounts of social exclusion in important ways.

This section is concerned with analysis of semi-structured follow up interview data as the final part of the tripartite critical realist framework. This means that the analytical focus in this chapter develops the more critical approach of the previous section. As set out in the Table 7.3 in Chapter 7, this builds on the analysis in the previous section relating to Research Questions 1a, 1b, 1c, 2a, and 2b:

1a) Do the experiences of socially excluded young people correspond to the disadvantage and/or unequal power of individuals' existence?

1b) Where there is correspondence, how important individually is the contribution of various aspects of structural inequality to the occurrence of social exclusion?

1c) Where there is not correspondence, how are young people experiencing social exclusion?

2a) Does individualism contribute to the social exclusion of young people?

2b) If so, what is the upward linkage from structure to individualism?

Before the analysis begins, the processes of data collection and analysis are outlined, with similarities as well as important differences with previous analyses highlighted. Distinction is required where reference is made to participants' 'diary', which refers to the diary analysis in the chapter before last; 'diary interview' which refers to the first semi-structured interview analysis in the previous chapter; and 'follow up interview', which refers to the second semi-structured interview which is the focus of analysis in this chapter.

11.1 Data Collection Process and Analysis

11.1.1 Follow up Interview Process

Data collected in the semi-structured follow up interview had the primary objective of clarifying in more detail queries and issues arising from the previous analysis. This means questions asked of participants were linked to an initial analysis of data from their diary interviews, in order to clarify in more detail pertinent queries and issues. So as with the diary interviews, although the follow up interviews followed a general semi-structured format, the questions differed markedly from participant to participant.

All but one of the follow up interviews took place between 7 and 8 weeks after the diary interviews, the exception being Ashley's interview which took place approximately 15 weeks after due to contact problems. All interviews took place at the Centres which were the bases for the research. The average length of the follow up interviews was just under an hour, with a variance of 40- 82 minutes. Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed as verbatim as possible, and this accounts for the non-standard spelling found in some of the excerpts.

11.1.2 Data Analysis

As with the previous analyses, coding of the diary interviews was carried out using NVIVO 7. For this analysis, questions were categorised and asked in thematic blocks, and data were categorised accordingly. Where new themes emerged, these were categorised accordingly, especially for the part of the follow up interview concerned with participants' future outlook.

Previous stages of data analysis have gradually built up a more detailed picture of participants' social exclusion through the use of a tripartite critical realist framework of analysis. In this final stage, focus moves from the domain of the *actual* to that of the *real* – that is, a concern with the deep underlying structural processes which this thesis argues configures young people's social exclusion. This necessitates an analytical focus which, building on the previous analysis's, encompasses a more critical perspective, where the submerged nature of the real mechanisms structuring social reality focuses analysis to be concerned with uncovering precisely these underlying reproducing dimensions. Such an approach both confronts the transparent account problem of the first stage's descriptive method and develops the second stage heuristic-analytical method's limited expansion of the data beyond the

descriptive account of participants. This is done by looking beyond intended meanings and pursuing the possibility of different ones altogether (Freeman, 2004), to get a sense of how the apparently straight forward ‘surface appearances’ may be quite misleading about ‘depth realities’ (Wengraf, 2001).

The diary interviews analysis finished by highlighting that structural factors appeared to underpin participants’ actual experiences of social exclusion in important ways. This correspondence became even more apparent in the follow up interviews in a number of themes.

11.2 Labour Market

In the previous analysis, both a lack of availability of work in general and the type of work that participants’ were interested in were seen as contributing to the unemployment status of participants, despite their stated inclination to finding work.

In the relatively short period between the two interviews, there had been some significant changes for all participants, mostly in their labour market status, as summarised in Tables 11.1 below.

It is possible to argue that these changes highlight the transitory and dynamic nature of participants’ existence, and thus the individualised nature of their life in general, in that there are some relatively significant changes in such a short period of time.

However, taking all these changes as a whole, the fact that 6 out of 8 participants had some kind of change in their labour market status, reinforces the rather fragmented and disrupted nature of participants work experiences as observed in the previous chapter, and suggests correspondence with structure in a number of ways.

Table 11.1a Changes in Participants Circumstances between Diary Interviews and Follow Up Interviews - Centre A

Mikealae	David	Rod	Lance
1. Taken new 2 nd job	1.Taken new 2 nd job in factory 2.Looking to move out	1.Passed driving test 2.Offered new job but said no	1.Secured new work placement in type of job wanted

Table 11.1b Changes in Participants Circumstances between Diary Interviews and Follow Up Interviews - Centre B

Sharon	Ashley	Larry	Gemma
1. Got back with boyfriend	1. Obtained Construction Skills Certifications Scheme (CSCS) card – necessary for working in labouring/manual jobs 2. Offered new 9 month computer course – but not able to take up if working, so looking for work	1. Court Case dropped , given probation 2. Less drinking/gambling	1. Taken p/time temporary work in 3 different jobs 2. Less partying, more other activities 3.Less drinking 4. Living more permanently with a friend

11.2.1 Work Experiences

In the previous analysis the work experiences of the majority of participants suggested that the notion of active choice in employment was not linear as empirically described, and this was again evident in the follow up interviews of Mikealae and David, who had both taken new second jobs to complement their previous part time work. For both, their new jobs were very different from the jobs they had at the time of their diary interview, and their reasons for taking the second job were very different. David's, new job was manual work in a factory, and this was contrary to the type of work he had indicated he wanted to do in his diary interview.

However, he had also talked about moving out of the family home, and this had been partly achieved in the interim, as he had ‘moved in’ with his girlfriend’s family, with a longer term view of setting up home together. He was clear that in this respect ‘it’s the money that I want’ in order to facilitate his desire to move out fully and get a new place, as he found his present living conditions rather cramped and overcrowded, as:

It's hard to do what you want to do...you get a bit tired of...Didn't really mind it [when younger] but it's like when you're getting older you just want to be independent and do your own thing and stuff

Mikealae’s new second job was in retail, which was somewhat surprising as he had described in his diary interview how a bad experience in a similar job had made him aware that retail work was ‘kind of work [I] didn’t want to do’. However, the previous analysis had shown that there was pressure for him to be able to contribute to the family income. Perhaps as a consequence of these contradictory pressures, it was evident that he was not exactly enamoured with his new job:

...I am happy that I've found a job and I'm not just doing nothing but it is like not what I want in terms of like retail I don't mind going into retail but there are some shops that I do mind working at and I don't mind working at but you can't you know beggars can't be chooser if you said it ...

The new job, then, was something necessary from the fact that he was a ‘beggar’ not a ‘chooser’, suggesting that as indicated in the previous analysis, his family circumstances, not his own circumstances, was the important factor in his ‘need’ for a second job. Thus, rather than orienting a sense of excitement, his new job if anything intensified Mikealae’s disillusion and disappointment with work specifically and life in general. Indeed, this sense of disappointment with labour market outcomes was also reflected in relation to the type of work that participants reasoned they could or should expect to progress to, as outlined by Rod:

...it's just your first time job just get into like realising what you've got to do in life you've got to work in life everybody has to get used to it even if it's a crap job for your first couple of weeks you just get into there so you know what I mean so you get used to it... but I wouldn't want to stay in a crap job all my life I want to better myself through life till I'm at the stage where I'm happy

Rod was clear that while a 'crap' job may be sufficient at the start of his working life, it would not be sufficient at a later stage, and it may be that it is this real dislocation between expectations and reality which partly accounts for Mikealae's and other participants' sense of disappointment, as he had been working for a number of years yet unable to take up a more meaningful job.

It was also observed in the previous analysis that participants' work experiences typically consisted of temporary and insecure work at low pay, and this was reflected in Gemma's experiences in the interim between the interviews, whereby she had taken on three other jobs, but what all these jobs had in common was that they were all temporary and part-time, and so were very unstable. While this was not an issue for Gemma, it was for Rod, who turned down a job offer because of the fact that he was not sure of the security it offered:

I had an interview but I turned the job down...It was a courier type of job where you do driver's mate delivering stuff and everything but it was too close to Christmas and I thought they'd lay me off after January and I couldn't afford to be out of work

In the context of Rod's disillusionment and anger with his current job as described in the previous chapter and in section 11.2.3 below, this is an unexpected decision, but it would appear that he had consciously balanced the security and low pay of his current job with the insecurity and higher pay of his offered job, and decided that security was the important factor. This is perhaps not surprising, considering the

varied work experiences of many participants as described in the previous section, and the problems virtually all of them had with finding a job in the first place.

This is also supported by the fact that most participants had had previous jobs in the past, or generally numerous jobs in the past, and these experiences had often been characterised by negative experiences of the labour market, either related to pay, which will be explored below, or bad conditions, as detailed by Gemma in relation to her first job. Gemma went on to recount how this negative first experience of work had affected the way she perceived work in general, although she had still been looking for work. This negative experience of work is similar to that outlined by Rod and Mikealae in the previous analysis, and suggests that for some young people initial work experiences work can serve as a negative factor in terms of its effect on individuals attitude towards work in later life.

11.2.2 Qualifications

In the previous analysis, the negative schooling experiences of participants such as bullying and lack of assistance to overcome problems were implicated in the level of qualifications that they attained. Boredom was also identified in the follow up interviews as an important contributor to some participants' negative experiences of schooling, with Larry in particular relating it as a reason for his disaffection with school:

The lessons I just didn't really bond with the lessons unless I enjoyed it and then I'd like want to do it ... I used to play up or just skip it and just go and get drunk

This was something also highlighted by Sharon and Ashley as contributing to some of the negative things that they did while in school, which in turn directly contributed

to their exclusions from school. One manifest outcome of this was the low levels of literacy and numeracy of a number of participants, which was relevant when looking for work, as detailed by Larry, who described his reading and writing as 'not at my level', meaning that:

I don't know when it comes to applications forms and stuff like that cause trouble and that that's why I probably never get the like job interview and everything

Similarly, Ashley, Rod and Lance made reference to the fact that their literacy problems affected they type of jobs that they could reasonably apply for.

And for those with relatively good qualifications, this was often a secondary requirement to experience when looking for a job, as described by David:

It's mainly when you want to get a job it's like you need experience but you can't get experience because you haven't worked in that sort of kind of thing before and you want to get other jobs but there's someone who's got better experience than you and you think why have I done this subject to get the grades when I can't get the job and it's a bit of a waste of time thinking about it

This reinforces the double bind observed in the previous analysis, whereby low or no qualifications were either insufficient to secure employment or only to secure 'dead end' employment, and even relatively good qualifications meant periods of unemployment, or employment not necessarily in the type desired by participants.

11.2.3 Minimum Wage

The National Minimum Wage (NMW) was a very live factor in the previous analysis, especially for Rod, and this was also the case in the follow up interview. He stated that he was on the verge of leaving his job because of the 'ridiculous' money the

NMW gave him. Furthermore, he also stated that he ‘wouldn’t have taken the job if [I] knew about the minimum wage, but would have ‘worked my butt off at school’.

Rod’s gross income had increased by £6 per week at the time of the follow up interview, as the NMW for 18-21 year olds had risen to £4.60/ hour. He stated that he would like to be on at least £6/hour, as this would enable him to have a decent standard of living, as on his present income, he was not able to do certain things, such as save any money, or indeed afford a new car or insurance on a new car, as he had passed his test as outlined above. The NMW was also seen by Rod as important to the decisions that people made about whether to work, as he stated that people were put off working because they did not want to work for the ‘pittance’ money that the NMW would give them, and gave an example of a friend who had left the week before because he had ‘had enough’. This was also highlighted by David, who was unequivocal that he would not apply for a job that was at the minimum wage rate, and Sharon, who from her experiences had calculated that she could not live off the minimum wage, and so had not applied for certain jobs. However, the actual experiences of both Mikealae and Rod suggests that if there was a necessity to take a job at the NMW, this is what some participants would do, suggesting that active choice in this respect is circumscribed by circumstances. Interestingly, both Rod and Sharon independently came up with £6/hour as a reasonable minimum wage rate.

11.2.4 New Deal/ job training

Most of the participants had had experiences of job placement schemes such as the New Deal, or used job centres, and there was also almost universal negativity towards these schemes and centres. Criticism was divided into two main types. On the one hand, participants were critical of the types of jobs that such schemes and

centres provided, with Lance in particular stating that their main focus was to 'find me a job any job as long as I get a job that's their job done', and this was echoed by Mikealae, David and Rod. On the other hand, they were critical of the training provided by these schemes and centres, with Gemma particularly scathing on this point:

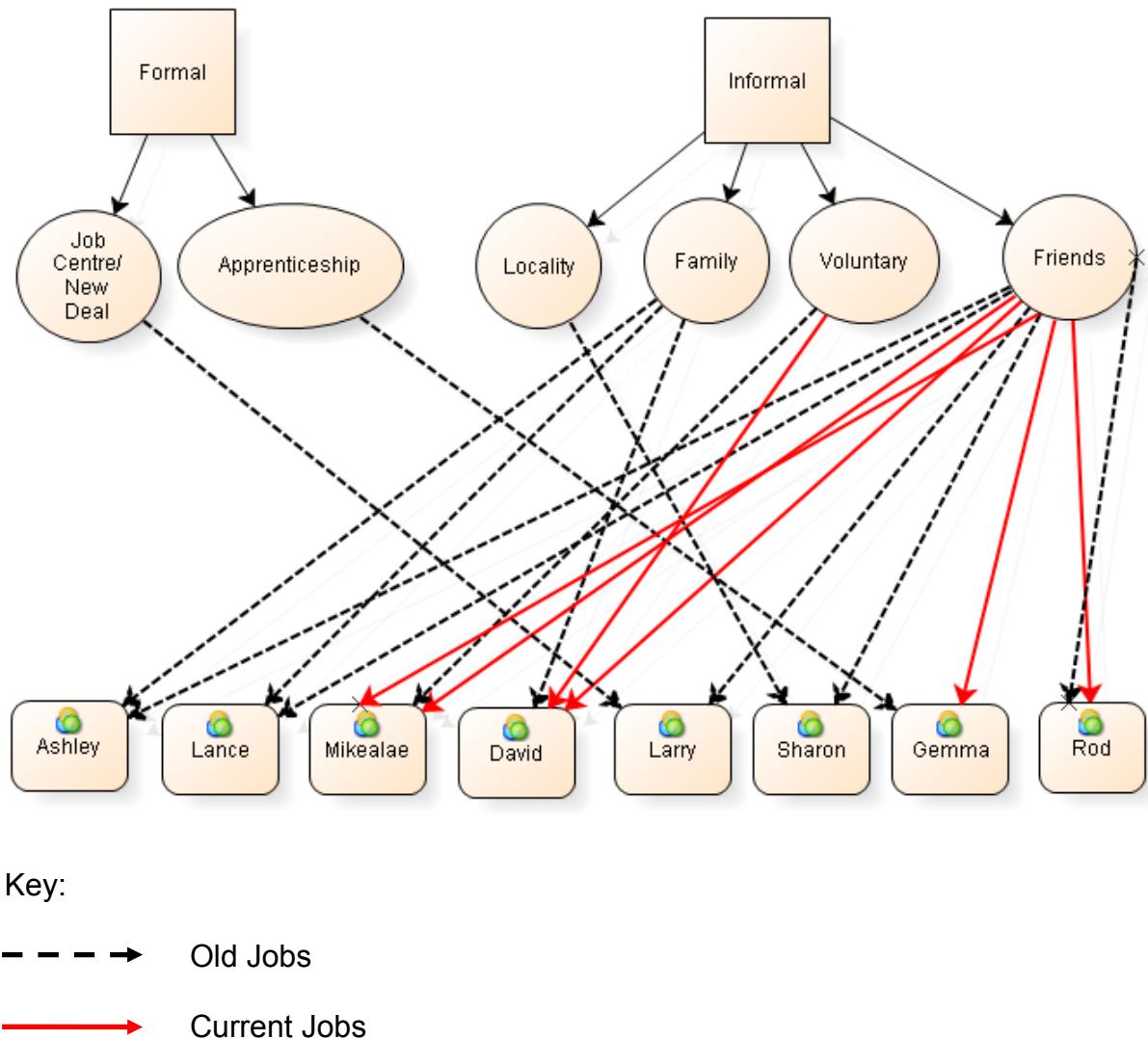
I can't stand it it's ridiculous it's appalling I don't like it actually it don't help nobody ... You have to travel somewhere to sit on a computer ...that's all they do make a CV make a cover letter and it's done there and...just to sit on a computer and I could do that at home

These experiences support Furlong and Cartmel's (2004) claim that there is no evidence of skill gains through the New Deal, and were grounded in the fact that such training rarely if ever led to a meaningful job, as shown in Figure 11.1 below. This shows that for most participants, informal sources rather than formal sources are the main way in which they found jobs, through their networks of friends or family, and this was especially the case for current jobs, where informal networks were very important. Indeed, with the exception of Larry, use of Job Centres to find employment was non-existent for participants, and other research has shown how on a rough count, friends, neighbours and family members account for over two thirds of all jobs obtained by young people (MacDonald *et al*, 2005:882).

In spite of this reluctance to use such job placement schemes and agencies, the flurry of activity in the short period of time between the interviews in the majority of participants' labour market experiences actually lends weight to the evidence in the previous section that most participants were proactive in trying to find work. Indeed, this reinforces the point that in the main it was negative structural employment related factors (such as the unavailability of jobs, levels of pay, initial experiences of

working and quality of out of work training) which most affected participants' labour market status.

Figure 11.1 Sources of Employment – Formal v Informal



11.3 Income

Participants related that while growing up they were often not aware of problems with the family income, as their family typically tried to ameliorate these circumstances,

particularly at Christmas time, even if this meant getting into debt, as outlined by

Sharon:

... she always seems to get herself into a loan ... like she goes to Shop a Cheque or Prov[ident] and it was always just for Christmas and cos we don't I mean it's the same with the kids now they don't have a lot but then when it comes to Christmas she goes out of her way to buy the Playstations 2s and bikes and absolutely everything once a year ... gets herself into debt so for the whole year after that she's paying off that debt and then as soon as she's paid off that debt Christmas'll come and she'll do it again and she's done that for twenty years

Other participants also highlighted the way that Christmas was used by their parents as a tool to compensate for their inability to provide during the rest of the year. This was only through the use of catalogues, loans and credit cards, meaning that debt was a prevalent factor the rest of the year, and so affected what they could have during this time. Moreover, Gemma, described how missing out in this way had caused arguments in the family, and that she herself had felt 'embarrassed in a way angry in another and jealous in another way'. This was because there was pressure from friends to buy things and have the latest equipment, especially mobiles and computer games. Ashley described feelings similar to Gemma, in that the fact that his family was poor meant that he never had money, and when he did ask his mom she was unable to give him any money. However, he did not become fully aware of how poor his family was until when he was older, and realised how his mom would often go without in order that the rest of the family should eat:

When I was older you start spotting those types of things when you're younger you don't know you know what I'm saying but as you start getting older you realise it you know you realise that's why I never really ask my mom for too many things you get me if I need something I try and go out there and get it myself you know what I'm saying

In Ashley's diary interview, crime presented itself as the most dominant activity in his past, starting from a very early age, and in his follow up interview, he explained that

crime was used as a way to both provide for himself and also to get what he wanted, connected to his family's disadvantaged status:

Yes I just stopped asking man just thought ...that's my mom you get me she's struggling I don't want to ask her for money like ... so I just go out and make my own money you know what I ...cos if I had money then I wouldn't have done it well not often I probably would have done it with my friends for a ...but more time now I was out there like getting money to have money ...so if I had the money then I wouldn't have done so much crime

So while Ashley did admit that there was an element of pure criminality to some of the things that he did, he was also certain that the majority of his criminal activity was underpinned by his and his family's poverty, as he was 'getting money to have money', and he outlined in general that poverty made people want to go out and make money by any means, as it imbued them with a 'nothing to lose mentality'.

This general state of not having money makes real the disadvantaged financial status indicated by participants' receipt of free school meals, suggesting that its impact on them was felt throughout the year in many ways, and runs counter to participants' general denial of the relative poverty and social exclusion found in section 10.2.1

11.4 Locality

The fact that most of the jobs that participants' got were through informal sources such as friends and family firmly rooted within the locality, as shown in Figure 11.1 above, reinforces the generally strong ties with the locality which participants related in their dairy interview. Ashley in particular reemphasised the importance of safety within and familiarity with the locality to participants, by stating that as an ethnic minority he felt more comfortable living in ethnically diverse areas, as in the past

when he had lived in less ethnically diverse areas, he had like Mikealae in the previous analysis, experienced racism. This was why he preferred to live in a similar locality, as he felt more comfortable somewhere where he would not have to experience racism.

However, also emerging from the follow up interviews was the importance of the locality to some of the negative things that participants did, and a less unequivocal view of its beneficial characteristics. For example, despite being positive about the locality in his diary interview, in his follow up interview Mikealae was very clear that he would not like his children to grow up there in the future:

It's just the atmosphere I know that they might fall into traps that I've fallen into and stuff like that it's just the I would like to give them a better kind of living condition like you know how [name of locality] is you've got trash on the floor and you've got kids on every corner there's all possibilities of getting into fights and crime stuff like that I wouldn't like my children to grow up in that environment

Mikealae's criticism of the locality also made specific reference to the fact that it was easy for him to get hold of drugs with 'one phone call', and this contributed to his previous taking drugs. As outlined in Larry's diary interview, gambling was a significant contributory factor to his social exclusion, and had been since the age of 12. Larry described that he had been banned from one betting shop in the locality, but that as there was another betting shop very close by so he was still able to continue his gambling. The ready availability of drugs was also emphasised by Gemma, who had an overwhelmingly negative view of the locality, describing it as contributing to 80% of negative the things which had happened to her, and was very critical of the effect the locality had on encouraging people to do things that they did not want to do:

Basically it's either you give in to like peer pressure like what I did or you do what I've done now and get yourself out of that routine ...it's ah come and hang out come on we'll go to the party ah you're weak you are if you don't go to the party it's just like craziness and drugs and everything's there go just have a go like it's alright...

This emphasis on behaving in a certain impacted the most on those who in her words were 'weak', and perhaps not surprisingly, Gemma was clear that she did not want to live in the locality in the future.

As described above, almost all of the different localities that Ashley had grown up in were characterised by significant crime and social deprivation. This was something that he saw as having 'a lot to do with things that happen to you more so than anything else', as:

... I just grew up watching everybody around my area doing it you know what I'm saying and then it was like the normal to go round and do these types of things you know where I'm coming from that's what everybody's doing that's what everybody expects ...I reckon the poverty in those areas contributes to the lets go out there and make money man you know what I'm saying cos I'm poor now you know what I'm saying and it's then nothing to lose thing I've got nothing to lose I've got no money I've got nothing if I go to jail I'll go jail it's where half of my friends are anyway ...

Growing up in these areas, then, meant growing up watching people do 'normal' negative things, which were taken up by other people growing up, himself included. Ashley did not blame the people living in the areas, but rather the conditions which necessitated the need to act in this way in order to 'get by'. He was not very confident about the opportunity for change in such areas, as in his experience there were many people who had managed to do this; the only way possibility for such change would be to confound the 'nothing to lose' mentalities in the localities, as this had been important in changing the way he perceived the negative things that he did:

...like before I got locked up I didn't have nothing to lose it was oh if I got locked up I'm just locked up you know I haven't lost anything like ... didn't have a flat or anything you know but now if I get locked up I reckon ... my flat now I'd lose that that would get taken off me I'd just lose that and everything inside the flat so then if I come out here I'd have to start from scratch so now I'm starting to build up things that are I've got to stay out for this you know where I'm coming from I've got things to lose if I get locked up I ain't going to have that there no more you know what I'm saying

And he argued that the best way to confound such mentalities was by dispersing people that lived in such localities into other better localities, rather than concentrating them in poor areas.

The negative characteristics of participants' localities also made itself apparent from the lack of positive things to do for young people living there. In the diaries, boredom was highlighted by some participants as an important reason why they did some negative things, and in the follow up interview it was reinforced by Rod in relation to the number of young people hanging around in gangs in the locality, and also by Gemma to the negative things that she had done in the past:

... I used to vandalise things and smash up loads and paint on peoples' houses stuff like that just stupid things dangerous things throwing people in canals when they're drunk or drugged off their head and stuff like that ... it's like you sit there I'm bored then somebody will come up with this stupid idea of let's go and get some fireworks and fire them at each other yes ok if I wasn't bored then I wouldn't have agreed to it or I wouldn't have suggested it it's one of them and it's the excitement of oh my god you could get burnt here so yes

Although some of this boredom was referenced to a sometimes malevolent streak in young people, as indicated above most participants highlighted that such boredom principally occurred from having nothing to do, whether in terms of work or leisure facilities, and concomitantly such facilities were argued as important in ameliorating boredom within the localities.

11.5 Welfare Agencies

11.5.1 Youth Centres

In this context it is perhaps not surprising that it was youth centres which participants identified as one of the most important needs for young people within localities. As highlighted from the diary analysis in Chapter 9, six out of the eight participants used some kind of youth facility at least once during the two week period, and this was tentatively related to the boredom that some of them indicated. In the follow up interview, this connection between youth centres and ameliorating participants' boredom was underscored, as David in particular related how having things to do provided by Centre B helped him overcome boredom and thus enabled him to resist doing negative things:

Youth centres more activities just more things to do keep them occupied take their mind off being stupid on the streets bring them in take them on residential and stuff they'll come some more come back here and do more stuff that's how I did it I get into trouble a few times and come to the [Centre B] and went on a few residential did voluntary work and then led to a job that took me out of all the crime and stuff

Other participants also highlighted numerous other ways in which youth agencies, and particularly the Centres in this study had assisted them to overcome numerous problems. These included practical skills, such as work training and advice, as well as emotional skills such as counselling, the importance of which was highlighted by Gemma in relation to Centre A:

I used to think that it was my fault that my mom didn't like me it was my fault why people just pick on me I used to always try to fit in fit in but like I've been speaking to [name] here it's just like counselling and that when you need to talk and she's made me realise there's no point blaming yourself just let go move on but like I'm learning that little skill it's a nice little skill to have...

Indeed, the importance of youth centres is perhaps best exemplified by the contrast between Ashley's palpable sense of the failure of welfare agencies further below with his positive reflection on Centre A:

...this place is the one place where I can say yes they've actually done something for me you know what I'm saying that was actually useful you know what I'm saying

And the need for support services is exemplified by Larry's account of how swift changes in family circumstance was the catalyst to his socially excluded status:

First my mom took ill and that then she took an overdose it's my brother's dad he's just an alcoholic all the time and then my brother got took off and I ain't seen him like five six years just all that it was all at once just everything and I was close to my nan in that time as well and she just I used to live with my nan and she passed away as well so it just all ripped me apart it was just all going on at once it was just mayhem

These events left Larry to feel that 'in the last six years everything's come at me', and perhaps the most significant event was his mom's nervous breakdown, still an ongoing problem meaning that he was effectively her carer. The notion of continued stress was an important aspect in his rationalisation of why he was unable to deal with things:

Can I ask you something some people might say your mom's problems you're using that as an excuse what do you think of that?

Well I've heard it all my life they all say it ...my mates my mates say you just can't keep using it as excuse but they don't understand really how it I mean from their point of view I can see what they're saying must think I'm using it as an excuse but it's not cos it's still happening so it can't be an excuse and it has happened some people are stronger I don't know it always bring me down it brings me down proper

You knew exactly what I was going to say then didn't you?

Yes I've heard it before loads of time I mean in some ways I have got to stop using it as an excuse and I just got to get on with it cos I know there's a lot more people that have gone through a lot more stuff than me in life

Larry, then in rejecting the notion that he was making excuses, highlights the way that without adequate support services, the expectation on an agency-based response to problems can act to reinforce individual's socially excluded status.

11.5.2 Other welfare agencies

However, this general positivity towards youth centres was in contrast to negative perceptions of other welfare agencies, as suggested in the previous analysis which outlined specific failures of the educational system and for employment services in 11.2.4 above. For example, both David and Rod stated that despite repeated appeals to the relevant housing authorities, there were no opportunities of the family being given a larger house for their large family, and this was something which had made them both generally less amenable towards other such services and more motivated to move out as quickly as possible. And Larry's story of how he had been given probation again exemplified the way in which participants' were being failed by agencies they were involved with. In the previous analysis, Larry had explained that he was expecting to go to prison when his outstanding court case returned to court, but this did not happen for a specific reason:

*...it was close he was actually going to send me down but they come up with a they had a drink course going on so they said they said I never went well on my other probation I got a drink course but never went so they didn't have no they messed up a bit I think they never had it on file so I got to start a drink course...Cos on my last order it said I got to do a drink course but and then the judge goes has he been offered a drink course and they no so if they'd said yes I'd have gone straight down
So it was their mistake then?*

Yes

The agency failure here in Larry's case works in two ways; firstly, the failure to maintain an accurate record of him as a service users, and secondly a failure to ensure his attendance on the course. Larry described how other services had been

similarly useless, and Ashley was particularly scathing of a number of agencies that he had been in contact with from an early age:

... social services are a load of rubbish you know what I'm saying they take you they put you in homes but you go into these homes and people are like girls thirteen pregnant and that people like smoking heroin smoking crack and all that robbing and burgling every night ... prison service is a load of rubbish as well they don't do nothing for you you just go there sit there wait for your release date they release you out of the gates that's that probation's exactly the same thing it's come in sign your name and go you don't even see your probation officer you know what I'm saying so they don't sort you out with no courses and that so...

Ashley's palpable sense of the failure of agencies was most likely exacerbated by his experiences of other agencies as detailed above for him and other participants. Indeed, in the previous analysis, the omission of agencies was highlighted as important in engendering Ashley's sense of individualism, as it had meant that he had had to grow up *de facto* on his own, and family circumstances were also implicated in this process.

11.6 Individualism

11.6.1 Evidence of individualism

In the previous analysis, correspondence with the notion of individualism was particularly evident from dislocations in family relationships and family circumstances, which was seen to engender a sense of independence in participants' that presaged exclusionary experiences and/or behaviour, which in some instances led to further exclusion. In the follow up interview, this linkage was reinforced in a number of ways.

For example, Sharon left home at 15, and felt that she had largely grown up to rely on herself from this period onwards, as a consequence of which, she had grown up more individualised than other people:

I never really had a lot of support from like I said from growing up from my mom and from my family I think as I've got older and I've got to about seventeen I've had a lot of support off my nan but as far as family goes there's always been me so it's always just been like me myself and I... I'd probably say a little bit more individual than other people cos there was stuff in my younger childhood what people most people haven't gone through and will probably never go through in their whole life ...

This process of having to take on individual responsibility at an early age was something that she found quite 'scary' and problematic, as best emphasised by her experiences of living on her own in her flat:

... I just feel like there's a kind of whole world out there like outside the flat and there's so much to explore and so much to do but I always kind of feel like like I need to stay in the flat it don't hold me back as such cos it's my house so I love it there but I don't know I just think sometimes like when I'm down and that I'll sit there and feel like the walls are just kind of bringing in on me and when the bills do get bad or I do get behind I do feel trapped by it cos I do wish sometimes that I could just get up and just go back to my nan's just leave the flat go back to my nan's and just leave it all behind but obviously I know I can't do that so I just feel sometimes that it does kind of trap me into a little world of I don't like anymore I'm staying in

This explains why, with her flat acting as a symbolic representation of her problematic early individual responsibility, she spent so much time away from her flat in her diary, which as we saw led to negative activities such as excessive drinking and drugs, wherein:

...I just kind of seen them as an escape I could go out with my mate's get drunk get stoned and it was a way of escaping from home and everything else

Similarly, Gemma highlighted how leaving home early and having to do to deal with problems on her own was a significant contributor factor to the individualism which manifested itself:

... personally it's just like it's made me stronger if anything so ...it's just made me want more for myself than it's made me a bit selfish actually I just want more for myself I just want I don't know

The significance of such individualism to her drinking and drug taken seen in the previous analysis was also reinforced in her follow up:

Like the stress of just like home school like everywhere you go your safe place was meant to be home that was your foundation then the secondary home is school pretty much isn't it and like them two places were like a nightmare for me it was just like yes forget this my safe place was out on the street getting stoned or round my mates getting stoned...Yes that's all it was really it was just like I met up with people who were like oh my life is so crap blah blah blah ok have a stone go on get stoned so like it did help for a bit and it was just like this ain't for me

Her substance abuse, then, was simply a symptom of wider problems she was having, particularly the fact that there were no other 'safe' places to go apart from the streets, re-emphasising the notion of her actions as a symptom rather than a cause of her social exclusion. This was something which was perhaps exacerbated by the ready availability of such substances in the locality, as identified by participants previously. And the claim of Sharon and Gemma that their use of illegal substances was facilitated somewhat by having 'something to gain' has similarity to Ashley's claim that his negative behaviour was occasioned by having 'nothing to lose' in section 11.3 above.

Although Lance did not leave home early, the fact that his reliance on his family was minimal was something that he felt had been important to his sense of

independence, but it was also something he felt meant he had missed out in certain ways:

...I've benefited from growing up to looking after myself and not looking after anybody else and sometimes I do wish that I had somebody to grow up look after them as well as looking after me kind of thing

This excerpt from Lance also hints at the negative psychological effect of such individualism, and it was possible to observe in concrete terms ways in which missing out in this way had impacted on his relationship with other family members, particularly his mother:

... my mom asked me to help move something out of her room into my room and I was thinking why should I help you when you ain't done anything for me kind of thing if you get what I'm saying...it's the kind of relationship I have with my mom ... she ain't done nothing since I've been like she might have done something when I was younger which I can't remember but I can't remember anything up to date probably has but I don't know

As seen from the above excerpt, Lance's perception of having missed out on a relationship with his mother had in turn affected the way he responded to her. At a wider level, it was also possible to observe the way that this affected his relationship with other people, as he described how and why he refrained from accepting assistance from other people in general:

So you don't like to accept help from people?
No...because if I accept help from people I myself I think that like I owe them something and I don't really want to owe anybody anything kind of thing

Lance's sense of individualism worked not only to stop him giving assistance to other people, including family members, but also functioned to stop him accepting assistance from others. Such strong indicators of desistance and resistance by Lance can be seen as an important expression of individualism by him, and this

occurred to a large degree as with other participants from having been pushed out and missed out in terms of familial relationships, which were largely related to family circumstances.

11.6.2 Causes of individualism

The evidence and consequences of individualism above build on the diary interview analysis in relating that for a number of participants, apparent dislocations of familial bonds was relevant to having engendered participants' sense of individualism. In the follow up interview, it was specifically participants' relatively large family sizes and age spread of siblings which emerged as the most relevant catalyst for such dislocations of familial bonds, through the push it gave towards sources of support other than family at times of problems, as described by Gemma and Mikealae below:

It becomes a bit of a nightmare after a bit because you want say like you have an argument with your brothers and sisters cos it does happen you've got nowhere to go and then like that's where my escape was just going out and that's where I end up meet people cos I meet people in a foul mood like it's and then that's where I got sucked into all that so

Gemma

And what about say if there was a problem in the family and you wanted space for your own could you have that in the house or not?

Not really no... probably just go for a walk or something just to go out and just chill with your mates or just go out by yourself and just get yourself some your own time just have time for yourself

Mikealae

This possibly explains why friends in particular were the most important contacts for participants in the diary analysis, as Rod related that with up to 10 people living in a three bedroom house:

I used to hate it because ... everybody'd be arguing and everything about it and there was no room absolutely no room to move around or anything

...

Similarly, Ashley, who was the second youngest of 5 children, with an age range from 23 to 7 years, a spread of 16 years, described the house he lived in as one in which 'dog eat dog', meaning:

It's just if you want something in my house you've got to stick up for yourself you know what I mean...sometimes you have to fight a lot of the times especially with two me and my older brother Leon just constantly fighting everyday over something stupid you know...

Living in such an overcrowded house, then, meant a constant need to fight for things, similar to what he perceived as necessary for living in the locality. Also, it meant that he did not get the time and attention that he wanted from his mom, and Sharon also outlined that being the eldest of six siblings meant that she 'never got any peace or time on your own without having something to do with the kids.' This result was that she not only felt that she had been 'pushed out' but also 'missed out' while growing up:

...slowly as every child come down the line the oldest one has got pushed out so with me being the first I was the first one to be pushed out then there was [name] then there was the other two lads then there's the baby then there's the smaller baby ...I think I missed out on a lot to be honest I wouldn't say on my childhood I'd just say things that other kids may have done ... I think I've missed out on that because I so wanted to be an adult and I had to kind of be an adult for my mom and everyone else and I never really done normal stuff if that makes sense

The notion of having 'missed out' was also evident in relation to family income when growing up. 7 of the 8 participants had received free school meals the whole time while at school, suggesting an ongoing level of income poverty in the family while growing up. This was affirmed by David, Rod, Sharon, Ashley and Sharon in the follow up interview, who made reference to having missed out on things like holidays and school trips.

Hirsch (2007) has observed that in general few children in deprived areas get help with homework from a parent on a regular basis and some got no help at all, and when children do get help, this is commonly restricted in time. For Sharon, the fact that she received no help at home with her school work was explicitly linked to her family circumstances, and in particular the lack of time available to her mother:

She didn't really help me with my work to be honest cos with the other kids and that like I mean I don't know I think she should have cos it is important but she'd ask me how it was and I mean I could tell her she'd say have you done your homework and I could turn round and say her yes I've done it but she wouldn't ask to see it or what have I done she'd never question it so I could tell my mom what she wanted to hear and that'd be it she'd hear it...I think if she'd helped me with homework and stuff like that I would have got further in school cos I would have had to do it but cos I never had to do it

This is similar to Ashley's account, who despite being told to do his homework by his mother, never had to do it as it was never checked, and although David recounted there was encouragement to do well, in general he 'just got on with it myself'. This makes the fact that 4 out of the 8 participants were brought up in relatively large, single parent households also relevant, as the notion of 'missing out' does not mean to imply that parents did not care about their children's education, but simply that they lacked the resources, either temporally, educationally or financially, to provide a 'conducive environment' for their children Hirsch (2007).

These accounts suggest that the push towards individualism could be engendered by a lack of both material and emotional resources within the family, as such a lack of resources meant a necessary reliance on self to overcome problems.

11.7 Future Outlook

Participants were varied in their outlook towards the future, but in general this generally entailed work and/or education, family and children. There were important

differences in terms of the detail to which they had thought about it, with some sketchy in their outlook, while others, such as Ashley, very specific:

What for the future I've got to do this course this ...after this course I'm looking to get a job ain't it you know fixing and building computers and that ...and then I'm going to do while I'm doing that I'm going to do another night course now for my networking to learn how to network computers you know what I'm saying ... after that I'm going to do my night course get my network professional done and then going to get a job doing that ...then I can just start building things and then start looking to get my car and that in between that time as well you know then maybe start moving out of my flat as well ... so I'm just looking towards the future now

Ashley's account here is fairly detailed, and has a fair degree of optimism, but this was not the case with all participants, with all less detailed than this and in general, also less optimistic, with Larry in particular worried that something else bad might happen in his life. For some other participants, particularly Rod and Lance, there was the fear that their literacy and numeracy problems would hold them back in the future; despite this Rod was unwilling to countenance going back to study to improve his levels of literacy and numeracy, as he was still contemplating his negative experiences of school and work. Further education was also explicitly ruled out by David and Sharon, with Gemma additionally stating if she had to choose between the two she would choose work. Mikealae did indicate a willingness to continue to higher education, but the costs implications of this on him and his family was something which had restricted the probability of this happening, suggesting that as Jones (2002) observes, financial disincentives can prevent poorer prospective students from applying to universities.

Indeed, out of all participants perhaps the most optimistic were Gemma and David, and this could be related to the fact that as seen from Table 11.1 above, they were

the participants who had effected the most significant change in the interim between the interviews.

Interestingly, Gemma and David were also the two who identified the importance of other people in helping them to achieve their goals, such as the reference made by David to the help he would need:

I think other people are important to my future cos you'll need help further on in life and you want them there for you

What kind of help do you think you'll need then?

Jobs on the side work done for you like if you need to lend money stuff like that just the little bits

For David, then, other people were identified as important to his future, and this somewhat contradicts his highly individualised account throughout his follow up interview , and this was also the case with Gemma. For other participants, there was almost wholly emphasis on the importance of their own agency in achieving their future goals, as characterised by Larry:

Well it's always down to the person ain't it I mean people can lead you in the directions and I think you can be told but it's down to me to do it there's only one person that can do something...like I said they can tell you where to go and give you good advice and that but it's you that's the only one that can do it really

This emphasis on own individual agency was a theme evident in most other participants' accounts, and is something consistent with the tenor of their diaries and interviews.

11.8 Summary

As the final part of this research's tripartite critical realist framework of analysis, the focus in this chapter has moved from the domain of the *actual* to that of the *real* –

that is an analytical focus encompassing the submerged nature of the real mechanisms structuring social reality.

Participants' follow up interviews emphasised in particular that it was negative structural employment related factors (such as the unavailability of jobs, levels of pay, initial experiences of working and quality of out of work training) which impacted the most on their labour market status and thus social exclusion. The locality also emerged as an important site of social exclusion, as a picture emerged of its microeconomic structure normalising some of the negative things that participants did, notwithstanding episodes of malevolence. And participants' disadvantaged financial status runs counter to their general denial of the relevance of poverty and social exclusion found in previous analysis. This perhaps explains participants' positivity towards youth agencies in particular, and their negative towards other welfare agencies, a negativity built out of their general experiences.

There were high levels of individualism, which served to reinforce participants' exclusion from their family and other potential sources of support, and so posit some of the negative things that participants did as a symptom rather than as a cause of their circumstances. Indeed, it was family circumstances which emerged as the highly significant as notions of having been 'pushed out' and having 'missed out', suggesting important unmet material and emotional needs amongst participants. However, perhaps not surprising, there was a generally fairly individualised future outlook amongst participants, with emphasis on work, which is something which is consistent with the general tenor of their diaries and interviews.

Overall, then, the follow up interviews facilitated a better understanding, clarification and articulation of important themes, and in so doing enable participants' real experiences of social exclusion to be analysed. What this has meant in terms of the analysis in this chapter is that the emergent significance of structural factors over individualised factors highlighted in participants' diary interviews in the previous section has become even more apparent in the follow up interviews. The next section discusses these findings in the context of this research thesis's claim that late modern forms of exclusion, based on old structure and new individualism orient, the social exclusion of young people.

12. Structure and Individualism – Strong Forms of Social Exclusion in Late Modernity?: Discussion of Findings

12.1 Introduction

The central thesis propounded here is that in the present late modern period, old forms of structural inequality and a new form of individualism are central to the occurrence of social exclusion. I have argued that social exclusion has a real existence, with underlying causal mechanisms which relates structure as the underlying embodiment of the real distribution of disadvantage and/or power in a given society, with the potential to reproduce or transform the conditions of individuals' existence. Individualism also contributes to social exclusion, but only as mediated through the reproduction of structure. This considers that it is structured inequalities which predominate in constituting strong social exclusion in late modernity.

This is in contrast to Giddens's weak, individualised account of late modernity which articulates a distinctly agency-centred account of social exclusion. The particular focus on young people is from the claim that they provide an illustrative case of individualisation, compared to other groups of people. However, the evidence suggests that complex processes that lead to social exclusion only relate to specific disadvantaged groups of young people, an observation which limits the utility of such individualised accents, and provides the basis of this thesis's structural focus.

The findings from the data analysis set out over the previous three chapters have had as their main focus identifying how such late modern old forms of structural inequality and new forms of individualism engender social exclusion in young people. The research's thesis is:

Late modern forms of exclusion based on old structure and new individualism orient the social exclusion of young people

This discussion will explore this thesis by reference to its two main research questions. For ease of analysis, these are broken down into their subsidiary parts.

12.2 Social Exclusion and Structural Inequality

The first main research question is concerned with the structural process which this thesis argues underpins young people's social exclusion:

How does the reproduction of old structure contribute to the social exclusion of young people?

12.2.1 Correspondence with structural inequality

The first subsidiary question's main emphasis is on evidence of actual correspondence between structure and social exclusion, and in this respect is perhaps the most fundamental to the thesis:

1a) Do the experiences of socially excluded young people correspond to the structural inequality and/or unequal power of individuals' existence?

Peace (2001: 25) notes that 'causes can be identified as structural when they describe factors or elements over which individuals have limited control'. Perhaps the context in which participants disadvantage makes itself most apparent is in relation to their generally low educational attainment, taking into consideration the fact that nationally only about a quarter of students receiving free school meals gain five good GCSEs or equivalent, compared to over half of the overall population (Teach First, 2007). Thus, the high aggregate illiteracy and innumeracy levels amongst participants can be accounted for by the high levels of deprivation, namely free school meals (Chitty, 2002). However, at the heart of this low attainment were generally disrupted and dissatisfied school experiences, even where participants had done relatively well, which brings into context the observation from OFSTED (2007: 64) that 'too often children and young people from deprived backgrounds, or who are disadvantaged in other ways, experience poorer provision and make less progress than their peers.'

Readily apparent in the negative work experiences of participants was the double bind effect of their low or no qualifications status, whereby low or no qualifications were either insufficient to secure employment or only to secure 'dead end' employment, and even relatively good qualifications meant periods of unemployment, or employment not necessarily in the type desired by participants. Together, these suggest that formal qualifications are necessary, but no longer sufficient in

themselves (Stauber, 2007), which further worked to provide a mismatch between participants' expectations and reality. This highlights the point that it was structural disadvantage such as participants' low levels of educational attainment which affected their labour market status, as well as structural employer related issues (such as the unavailability of jobs, low levels of pay, undesirable types of work available, negative initial experiences of working and poor quality of out of work training). This double bind also provides support of a change in relations from modernity towards late modernity, through the change it signifies in the employment circumstances of young people from much of the post-war period.

Additionally, the frustration evident within participants' labour market experiences in these areas, especially in terms of levels of pay and simply finding work, highlighted their lack of power in this sphere in two ways. Firstly, while participants typically rejected the notion of being young as important to their negative work experiences, the fact is that the discriminatory framework of the minimum wage for young people is highly institutionalised, as it is set in statute, and de-powering, as Rod found out when he tried to renegotiate his wages with his employer, which led to his strong sense of disillusionment with his work.

Underpinning the inadequacy of in-work income was the issue of the minimum wage, as for those in receipt of it, it was a factor which contributed to their low income and thus a sense of unfairness with their circumstances; for those who did not work, it acted as a disincentive to work, usually from their experiences of working. Within these different outcomes, however, was a prevailing de-powering effect of such low income, because, as Bartley argues:

The amount of money a person earns at any one time may be regarded in two ways. It buys things, some of which may be important for health. But money also acts as an indicator of where that person is in the structure of power, and thereby of opportunities and life chances in their own society. It may be the power to influence what happens to you from day to day that we need to examine more closely. (Bartley, 2004: 97)

Thus for those participants, and others who were expressing a desire to leave home, the likelihood is that the NMW compounded the disadvantage which they already experienced. Moreover, it also serves to reinforce the familial bonds that young people have, as the increasing delay in achieving economic independence redoubles the importance of family relationships to young people's life chances and demonstrates how going from youth to adulthood is 'inextricably bound up' with the lives of others, particularly family members (Scott, 2005).

Secondly, the palpable awareness of their own inability to effect changes in their own unemployment status led to a reliance on other agencies, such as Job Centres, but as Smith (2005: 108) argues, 'it is here where clients' lack of power becomes apparent and the façade of working in partnership is revealed.' So, where participants challenged the obligation to undertake training and employment in tasks and fields which they saw as irrelevant, and which did prove to be irrelevant as it rarely led to a job, the outcome was sanctions which worked to further intensify their exclusion. Rather, the least troubling course of action was to accede, regardless of their apparent uselessness and also the frustration that it engendered.

This was something which also made itself apparent in terms of the pre and post-exclusion provision provided to participants and their parents, whereby the lack of resources provided for them contrasts with France's observation that middle class parents:

...are able to negotiate at school level with head teachers and classroom teachers, over how their children are defined, for example as 'a problem' or as 'having problems', and ensuring that they get the extra resources they needed to increase opportunities. (France, 2007: 90)

This means that participants' general contempt, as Smith (2005: 109) further observes, was grounded in 'dealing with an irrational bureaucratic system that purports to assist clients but frequently frustrates their ambitions and erodes their self confidence.' Indeed, such frustration is also something which could be related to many participants' reluctance to engage with other similar agencies as a consequence of 'service fatigue and 'more of the same' failure (Dickens and Woodfield, 2004). For some participants, especially the outstanding case of Ashley, it is arguable that such welfare agency failure contributed directly to the reproduction of their social exclusion, something which grounded their attitudes towards other agencies. In contrast, participants' perceptions of youth centres were more positive, from their reflections that such agencies had enabled them to transform their existence away from social exclusion.

The failure of such agencies also accounts for participants' reliance on their locality as a resource to rely on, as most of the jobs that they got were through informal sources firmly rooted within the locality such as friends and family, rather than formal sources. Strathdee (2005) has argued that social networks for young people's employment, based around the ties of family and kin have declined, thus reducing traditional patterns of entry to employment. This research does not support this. Rather, the continued relevance of such local networks to employment was very evident, and explicitly supports the notion of the importance of old structural factors. But as shown, such local jobs were typically in low paid, insecure, temporary and

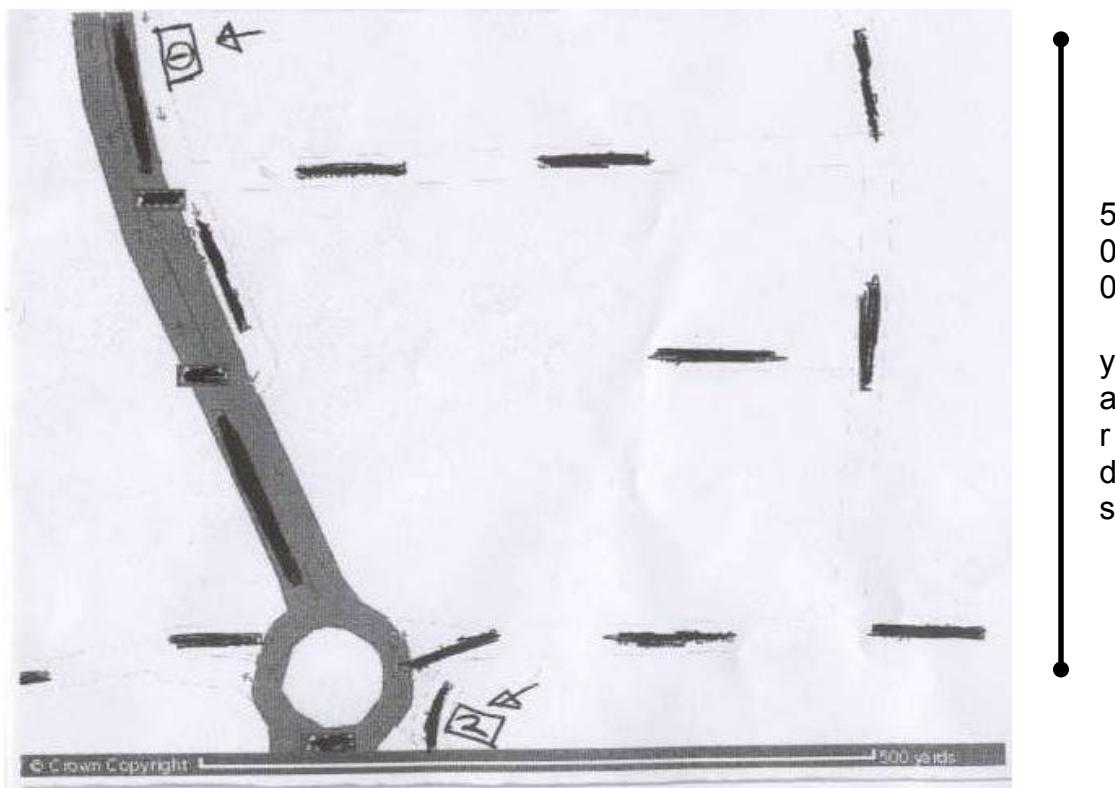
informal employment, which in effect typically led to the reproduction of their own disadvantaged status, and ultimately bred frustration and anger in participants. Safety within and familiarity with the locality were also important in orienting strong ties with the locality in general, as evident from some participants' experiences of racism in other localities.

These strong ties and reliance on the locality were evident despite its strong negative characteristics, as the importance of the locality to some of the negative things that participants did also made itself relevant, especially through watching people do negative things that had become 'normalised'. Neighbourhood disadvantage has been associated with both higher internalised (withdrawal, somatic complaints, and anxiety/depression) and externalized behaviour (delinquency and aggression) (Schneider's *et al*, 2003), both of which were present in the interviews. The micro economic characteristics of the localities were important to this normalisation, as there was a perceived surfeit of negative and concomitant deficit of positive things to do in the localities for young people, leading to boredom, and these micro economic characteristics were, to a large extent, predicated upon the localities' deprived socio-economic nature.

A good example of this is that as outlined in section 11.4, Larry described that he had been banned from one betting shop in the locality, but he was still able to continue his gambling as there was another betting shop very close by. Walking around the locality, which has what the city council calls a 'precinct' as its shopping area, meaning that it was much smaller than a high street, I observed that there are indeed two betting shops within approximately 500 yards of each other, as shown in Figure

12.1 below from the boxes marked '1' and '2', supporting Larry's claim of ease of access to such facilities.

Figure 12.1 Proximity of betting shops in locality B



Indeed, exploratory work carried out on the location of betting shops in one major urban area suggests that they are more prominent in more deprived parts of cities (Rigby, 2009). This suggests the structural characteristic of the locality was, to a certain extent, predicated upon its deprived socio-economic nature, which in turn facilitates some of the negative behaviours which participants undertook.

This means that the price of this somewhat necessary reliance on the locality for important economic and social functions was to live in an environment which socially,

structurally and materially normalised, or contributed to the reproduction of, some of the negative things that they did, as:

Neighbourhoods that concentrate disadvantaged may generate disorder because of limited opportunities, lack of social integration and cohesion, lack of formal services, and a normative climate conducive to unconventional behaviour... Young people who see little chance to succeed may be less likely to stay in school and more likely to engage in illegitimate activities, thus increasing the level of disorder in the neighbourhood... Disadvantaged neighbourhoods also have fewer resources like good schools, parks, and medical services, which may indicate to residents that mainstream society has abandoned them. Persons feeling abandoned on an island of disadvantage may believe it safest to suspect everyone and trust no one. (Ross et al, 2001: 572)

The fact that participants were evidently aware of the these detrimental conditions of the locality, just as they were aware of their negative labour market status, was an important factor in their sense of frustration and anger; moreover, such normalisation also has linkage to notions of powerlessness through the notion of 'structural amplification' (Ross et al, 2001), whereby:

When resources are scarce, everyone competes for an inadequate pool of resources, some individuals will take whatever they can get by any means, and the consequences of losing the little one has will be devastating. ... but all realize the harsh truth that poverty breeds desperation, which in turn justifies mistrust ... Th[is] zero-sum world view regards the total amount of wealth, power, or prestige as limited, so that one person's gain implies another person's loss. People with few resources compete for a limited pool of resources. People with power and wealth presumably reached that position by exploiting others. People generally appear to be selfish and willing to exploit others for personal gain. Victimization and exploitation appear inevitable, with dire consequences for the victims. (Ross et al, 2001: 570)

The notion of being in poverty or socially excluded was not something which was seen as important in either participants' diaries or in the diary interview. But in talking less directly about their socially excluded status and more about their income, participants were more willing to identify their income as inadequate. Those in receipt of benefits described it as inadequate for their needs, while those working

gave instances where their income was inadequate to what they could do, learning to drive being an obvious example. For most participants, this meant getting by on their income, as apparent through the reliance on other family members to supplement income, which again reinforced their family ties. For those participants who had already left home, this was an especially salient issue, as according to Aassave *et al* (2005), it is by far the most important driver behind youth poverty, as young individuals having left home are on average three times more likely to be poor than those who still live in the parental home. This general state of not having money makes real the disadvantaged financial status of participants and their families, as indicated by participants' receipt of free school meals, and runs counter to participants' general denial of the relative poverty and social exclusion.

12.2.2 Specific contributions of structural inequalities

Having highlighted how structural inequality in general contributed to participants' social exclusion, this research question is concerned with how the inequalities identified specifically contributed to social exclusion:

1b) Where there is correspondence, how important individually is the contribution of various aspects of structural inequality to the occurrence of social exclusion?

From research question 1a above, the main forms of structural inequalities evident in participants' accounts were:

Labour market
Welfare agencies
Schooling/Qualifications
Locality
Income
Family context

There is obviously more linkage between some of these factors than others, and this can make discerning how important the specific contribution of each very difficult.

From a materialist perspective, it is income which makes itself most apparent, and we have seen how income was inadequate for both the needs and wants of participants at both a personal and a familial level.

An important reason for this was that the chance of achieving economic independence through work was not something which was really feasible at their wage rate. Two ways in which participants tried to overcome this was working longer hours and/or having multiple jobs, but this is not really effective in terms of avoiding poverty (Gardiner and Millar, 2006). Indeed, the most likely way that single young people avoid poverty is the contribution of others' income to the household (Gardiner and Miller, 2006). But again, as we saw, this was not something that participants could rely on, and often their income was the main or only income. At the time of the diary interview, the NMW for participants' age was at £4.60, which for a 37 hour working week would give a wage of £170, well below the government's own proxy for poverty of 60 per cent of median income for 2006/07 of £226 (Adams *et al*, 2008). This wage, however, would have been generous when considered against what the

NMW wage of £125.80 would have been for those under 18. Both these figures have since increased, but are still significantly below the 60 percent proxy, and this foregrounds both the inadequacy of in work income itself, as well as the marginal labour market status of participants. For those in receipt of welfare benefits, the level in 2006/07 was £45.50, which is only 20 percent of the 60 percent proxy figure above, and there was no entitlement to housing benefit to pay rent if individuals lived with parents or close relatives.

The marginal labour market status of participants was self-perpetuated in a number of ways. So, initial negative experiences of working in badly serviced, low paid work either led to the continuation of such type of employment, or unemployment which ultimately led to further experiences of working in badly serviced, low paid work. Thus, the labour market contributed to their social exclusion through the income, type of work, availability of work and experiences of working that it provided. This suggests that while unemployment was an important consideration for participants, as Furlong and Cartmel, (2004:2) argue, ‘the main difficulties faced by these young men stem from labour market insecurities and the lack of opportunities for a decent quality of life rather than from the privations of unemployment per se.’ The overall level of activity in the majority of participants’ labour market experiences lends weight to this claim, as it highlights the fact that it was these structural inadequacies of the labour market itself, rather than the participants own negative behaviours, which reinforced the exclusionary effects of the labour market.

As we saw, the main types of jobs that participants were likely to get were localised jobs, and so there is linkage between the nature of the locality and their labour

market experiences. While this reliance was important in enabling young people to work, it was something which reinforced their disadvantaged status as such local jobs were typically in low paid, insecure, temporary and informal employment. To test this assumption, we can explore the likelihood that they would have got similar jobs if they had lived in a more affluent locality. This is done in relation to locality B in the research and a neighbouring locality, locality C, in Table 12.1 below.

According to The Index of Multiple Deprivation for 2007, locality B was the 8th most disadvantaged ward in Birmingham, while locality C was the 2nd most affluent ward in Birmingham. The most immediate difference from Table 12.1 between the two wards is the variations in the types of businesses. In locality B, there is an emphasis on the service sector, particularly public sector education and private caring businesses, and a complete lack of manufacturing employers. In contrast, in locality C the largest employer is a manufacturing company, and there is greater variety of employers. This difference is significant because public sector jobs typically pay below private sector jobs (ONS, 2008), and caring occupations average pay is 60% that of average pay (ONS, 2008a), while manufacturing jobs pay on average higher than service sector jobs, typically at or above average earnings (ONS, 2008b). This means that in both absolute and relative terms, the types of jobs typically available to participants in locality B were low paid in comparison to more affluent locality C. And it also suggests that participants would have been more likely to get higher paying jobs if they lived in a more affluent locality, and so reinforces the linkage between their disadvantaged status and the locality. The fact that even those participants with relatively good educational qualifications found it hard to secure employment also reinforces this point. On a wider level, it also reemphasises the importance of the structure of the local labour market to participants' labour market outcomes.

Table 12.1 Largest employers in neighbouring localities by type of business, 2007

Locality B

Nature of Businesses		Number of Employees (rounded to nearest 10)
	Youth & community services	220
	Junior & infants school	250
	Grounds management	200
	Special needs school	140
	Contract cleaning services	110
	Leisure Activities and Adult Education	100
	Secondary school	90
	Primary school	60
	Foster Care Service	60
	Care Home	60
	Care Agency	60
	Primary school	50
	Early Years care	50
	Security	50
	Restaurant	50

Locality C

Nature of Businesses		Number of Employees (rounded to nearest 10)
	Vehicle accessory manufacturers	1,500
	Supermarket	1,000
	Plastic mouldings & leather products	390
	Automotive roof systems	380
	Licensed hotels	280
	Retail publishers outlet	200
	Gas Metre manufacturers	180
	Garden product warehousemen	165
	Paper wholesalers	150
	Nursery provision for children & young adults with special needs	130
	Freight forwarders	120
	Manufacture & sell plastic automotive components to car industry.	110
	Estate Agents & Valuers	90
	Industrial bearing distributors and manufacturers	80
	Printers	80

Source: Birmingham City Council, 2007

Of course, and obvious question to ask is if the opportunities provided by a neighbouring locality are so much better, then why do participants simply not move to such places. Green and White (2007) have highlighted 'bounded horizons' as important to constraining the labour market behaviour of young people, whereby a reluctance to travel outside of their immediate locality plays an important restricting role in labour market entry and advancement. This suggests that it is participants' place attachment and aspirations *per se* which confines their labour market opportunities, and so posits personal agency as the principal factor. But as we have seen in the research, there are important structural reasons constraining young people's labour market perspectives to their locality, not least of which is the fact that it is here through informal sources that they find most of their jobs. This also brings to the fore the contribution of welfare agencies in young people's social exclusion.

Participants' generally negative perspective towards welfare agencies was heightened when talking about those charged with helping them to find work. These perspectives were grounded in experience, as shown in Figure 11.1. The failure of such agencies has important effects in constraining young people's wider opportunities beyond the locality as:

Besides the community ties, most young people also get access to different resources through their formal ties... to various welfare institutions. Formal social ties are weaker than informal ties both in their intensity and intimacy, but they tend to be more able to provide young people with the 'bridges' to new life spheres and people. Formal ties are important because not all community ties are likely to be supportive. Instead of being a buffer against stress and difficulties, some community ties might function more as constraints which limit the life chances of the young. When the personal community is a risk, it is important to have access to the compensatory and complementary social support provided by the formal societal ties. (Heikkinen, 2000: 390)

What this means is that the failure of welfare agencies in relation to participants is a failure to provide opportunities for them to overcome the structural disadvantages which we have seen compounding their social exclusion. Indeed, it is arguable that in some instances, such a failure actively contributed to participants' social exclusion, as detailed by Ashley in relation to living in care in section 11.6.2.

Another crucial factor underpinning participants' labour market status was their generally low level of educational qualifications. Indeed, as Hobcraft (2000:45) observes, there is 'the extraordinary explanatory power of qualifications in relation to many social exclusion measures'. Something that made itself highly relevant in the research was the effect of such low qualifications on participants' income and low labour market status, as in the absence of formal qualifications, participants relied on informal job search process where employers did not demand educational qualifications as a pre-requisite to entry. However, this often led to less than formal working environments i.e. low paid, insecure employment.

Underpinning participants' low level of educational attainment were often negative experiences of schooling, either through learning problems or bullying, and typically resulting in exclusion. Indeed, the fact that 7 out of the 8 participants highlighted their schooling as something which they would have liked to have changed in their life highlights the importance that participants gave to this factor, and signifies it as perhaps the most important factor underpinning their social exclusion. This is also supported from the experiences of Rod and his twin David, who from their different qualifications had different outcomes in their employment, David towards transformation and Rod towards reproduction. However, the double bind observed

for participants in the relationship between their qualifications and work experiences suggest that this is only part of the story, and that there are also structural labour market issues at play as highlighted above.

Moreover, to assume that qualifications *per se* are the most important factor underpinning participants' social exclusion as argued by Furlong (2000) would be to overlook the importance of family context to participant's social exclusion. Figure 12.2 below shows how the pathways to these forms of structural inequalities occur from participants' family context. As can be seen, family events, situation, structure and circumstances feed into family context in specific ways, occasioning particular primary contextual outcomes, which in turn occasion other intermediate events/factors and ultimately structural disadvantage.

The interesting point to note from Figure 12.2 is the fact that the family context permeates through to all the other markers of structural disadvantage which have been highlighted above. This means that the effect of family circumstances make themselves apparent in enduring and multifarious ways, with one event impacting on activities in other spheres.

For example, differences in qualifications were highlighted above as orienting differential reproduction and transformation respectively. However, this was only an initial differential, as the family context was later seen to have been important in engendering notions of independence in David, which oriented him towards exactly the type of manual work which his brother was doing, albeit with slightly higher pay, suggesting a move back towards reproduction. The other noticeable feature of

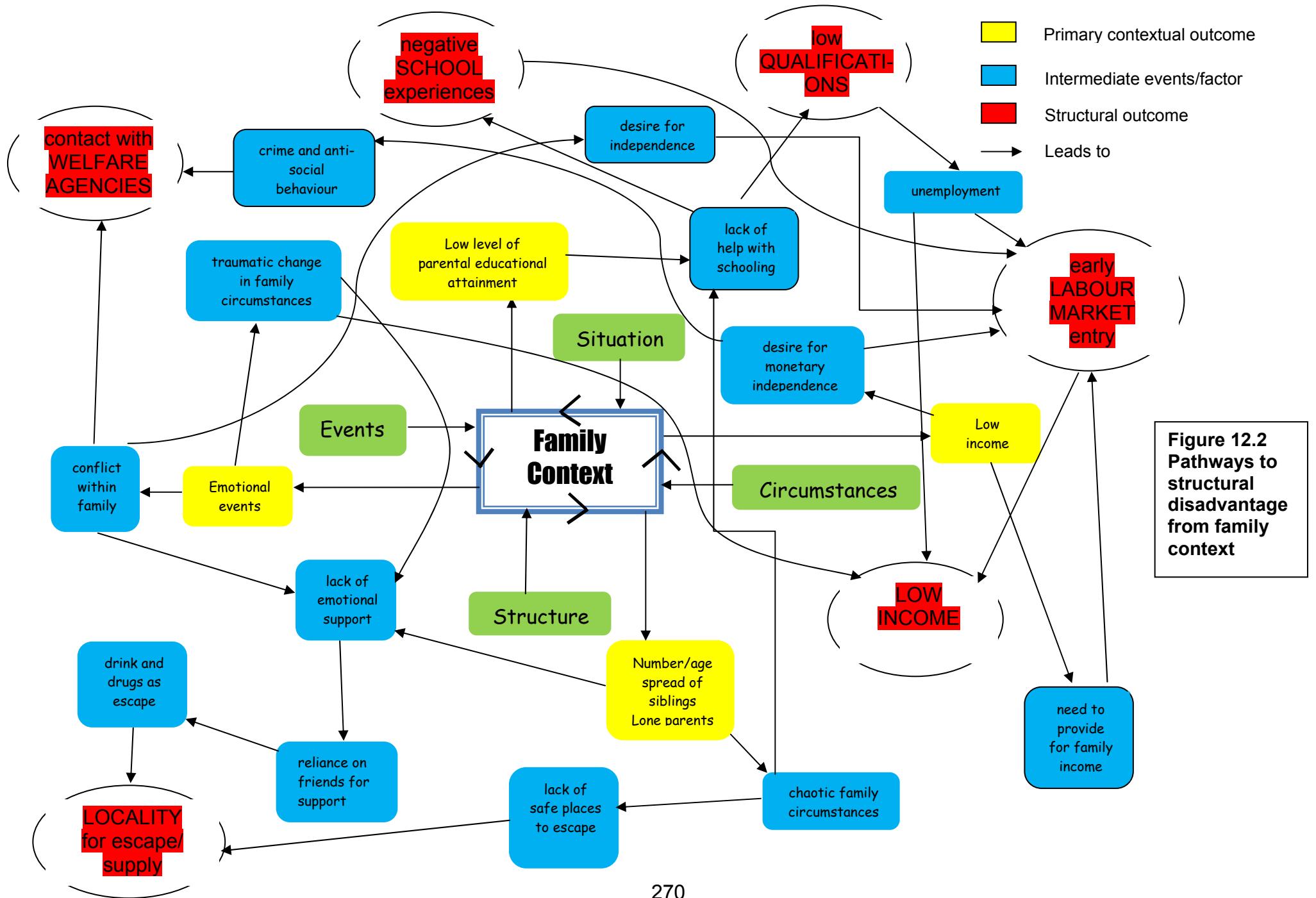


Figure 12.2 is the general orientation towards early labour market involvement from these family circumstances, an orientation which we have seen facilitates a marginal labour market status, especially in terms of low income. Indeed, low income is both a primary and a structural factor for participants, highlighting its importance to both causes and outcomes of family circumstances. The experiences of Rod and David are again illustrative of this point.

This is not to suggest what Lucey *et al* term a 'deficit model' conception of working-class families, wherein:

*...since middle-class children do vastly better in school than working-class children, the everyday practices of working-class families must somehow be lacking that which ensures success in middle-class families. (Lucey *et al*, 2003: 289)*

This is because we saw the efforts participants' families went to shield and protect them from these contexts, through providing a 'safety blanket' (Green and White, 2007: 35), in numerous ways, such as in terms of securing employment, and in attempting to shield participants from missing out in relation to others, through providing at Christmas. However, the ways in which family situation precluded the possibility of such family support, particularly for extended periods of participants' youth, suggests that:

Family relationships do not in and of themselves create classes and class relationships, but they play the major role in reproducing them and the family is the major transmission belt of social advantage and disadvantage. (Crompton, 2006a: 661)

At the same time, it is not to limit the importance of parental responsibility, as there is certainly a debate to be had on this issue (Such and Walker, 2005). Rather, it is a rejoinder to the assumption that all young people can turn to their parents for support

in a multitude of ways (Smith, 1999) and indeed in extended ways. A good example of this is fact that the idea of going to university and working were mutually exclusive to Mikealae as his contribution to the family income was very necessary. For middle class young people, this would not be an issue, as the extended support provided to them, rather than by them, would enable them to do one or both. In both circumstances, there is the greater likelihood of the reproduction of outcomes from family circumstances.

Overall, then, it has been possible to identify individually how the structural factors outlined above contribute to social exclusion of participants, and it is the family context of participants which makes itself apparent as the most important above all others.

12.2.3 Subsidiary Research Question 1c

Subsidiary research question 1c is concerned with factors other than the structural ones highlighted above which are occasioning social exclusion for participants:

1c) Where there is not correspondence, how are young people experiencing social exclusion?

Throughout the data, participants' empirical accounts foregrounded dissonance with the structural factors highlighted above. This detailed social exclusion as a limited consideration in their daily events and activities, as the different things they did were accorded to simply being different, meaning that social exclusion was posited by participants as a predominately agency-based phenomenon, occurring from the way that individuals were actively constructing their own biography. A good example of

this was the apparent importance of drinking and taking drugs to some of the negative things that participants' did and thus their social exclusion. However, as we saw gradually through the real and actual analyses, this agency categorisation was not so straightforward, with such factors being more a symptom than a cause of social exclusion.

Such agency-based descriptives reflect, according Thompson *et al* (2003:33), 'a feature of a process of individualisation characteristic of late modern societies in which there is an increasing reliance on individual resources.' They continue that within this process, young people are increasingly embracing a 'can do' philosophy, from which the notion of choice becomes intertwined with that individual action, and wherein 'If you think you can choose, then you also believe it is up to you to decide; and you are seemingly not at the mercy of forces beyond your control' (Brannen and Nilsen, 2005:423). This was perhaps most evident in relation to their futures outlook, as despite their generally downbeat outlook through the data, there was almost wholly emphasis on the importance of their own agency in achieving their future goals. Indeed, as Stauber (2007: 37) states, '...choice represents a meta-principle of self-determination and participation in late modern societies.' As such accounts are analogous with Giddens's notions of reflexivity and individualisation in late modernity, it supports Labour's weak conceptualisation of social exclusion which has underpinned its policy.

However, in the data we saw that the ascription of choice to individual action from participants was not as straightforward as suggested by their empirical experiences, as structural factors appeared to underpin participants' actual experiences of social

exclusion in important ways. A good example of this is in relation to their employment experiences, where the emphasis from participants was on having chosen to pursue a particular path, as most evident in David's accounts, where he was adamant that the notion of choice underpinned his present employment. But as we saw, his employment choice was something that was rather stumbled upon, as a consequence of other more desired options closing off to him, meaning that, as Colley argues:

Such findings suggest that we need to be cautious in interpreting young people's positive perceptions of choice once they have entered particular career pathways. It may sometimes be a psychological protection they construct retrospectively, having experienced powerful structural constraints upon their choices at an earlier stage. (Colley, 2005: 4)

Thus, there were powerful educational, locality, income and family context constraints on participants' labour market circumstances, and these were more important than their 'choice' of career. This brings to the fore the notion discussed in section 5.6 of 'structured individualisation', which orients youth circumstances as being a combination of an optimistic belief in agency and a dependence on general external factors (Rudd and Evans, 1998), and which is similar to the more recent notion of 'bounded agency' propounded by Evans (2002). A limitation of such accounts, though, is in highlighting the fact that although 'frustrated agency and struggle characterized the day-to-day experiences of many of the young people', the importance of these to daily interactions are downplayed, as there was 'little sense of fatalism' in their research participants' account. Here, congruence with the notion of 'resilience' can be intoned, as in one of its least contested and most simplified forms, it refers to 'a capacity for adaption along appropriate developmental pathways, despite disruptions' (Edwards 2007:256), and wherein 'resilience research is accused

of being too actor centred, ignoring any structural forces' (Mohaupt, 2009:64). The limitations of the notion of youth 'transitions' also comes to the fore, as within this notion 'change is perceived as the natural order, namely is normal and common, whereas stability represents a more unusual condition' (Stauber, 2007:35), wherein the experiences of participants suggests that going from youth to adulthood, especially in their working life, is not as linear as the notions of transitions posits.

As we have seen from the data, however, the daily mismatch between choice and success does have a pervading effect on participants, to the extent that it actively contributes to their social exclusion in many ways, either through the negative outlook it engenders or through some of their negative behaviours. This is not to similarly downplay the individual responsibility of such behaviours, and this was not something that participants wanted, but as Colley suggests:

... young people who find it impossible to make clear career decisions, despite what they perceive to be helpful career guidance interventions... may be left with a sense of guilt that, despite the best efforts of adults, they still could not 'make a choice'. Not only may guidance be ineffective for such young people – but current policies emphasising individual responsibility for employability may even leave them with a sense of their own inadequacy, since they are neither choosers nor chosen. (Colley, 2005: 5)

Thus, what separates those less advantaged from those more advantaged is not a deficit of aspirations, as we saw in relation to their futures outlook, but the means to achieve them (Hey, 2005). This means that the emphasis on individual responsibility works to rationalise failure at the individual level, thereby obviating the fact that social and material constraints are all at work in the processes of choice (Ball *et al*, 2002), which 'may be expected to have an even greater effect on psychological well-being, as individuals may be most likely to blame themselves for a

lack of success' (Cassidy *et al*, 2006:17). Indeed, in the absence of such structural explanatory mechanisms Bettie has observed that:

...a discourse of individualism and meritocracy help[s] render institutionalized class inequality invisible and consequently [leaves] white working-class students feeling like individually flawed "losers"... (Bettie, 2000: 25)

Whenever there is a gap between the extent of formal rights and the material ability to fulfil them, there is, as Bauman observes:

...resentment breeding a cognitive dissonance is inescapable...as in our liberal democratic society, it is the individual that is instructed, nudged and expected to close that gap through his or her own effort and by using the resources they individually command. (Bauman, 2008:5)

Here then is the transformation from the inclusive society of modernity to the exclusive society of late modernity as argued in Chapter 4 in which, as Young (1999:23) argues, 'the frustration of expressive demands' of late modernity together with the relative deprivation in the material world leads to:

...the rise of a culture of high expectations both materially and in terms of self-fulfilment, one which sees success in these terms and one which is far less willing to be put upon by authority, tradition or community if these ideals are frustrated. (Young, 1999: 23)

From such an outcome, it is perhaps not surprising that such 'reflexivity losers' (Hey, 2005) adopt strategies and tactics for survival (Thompson *et al*, 2003) which mean that:

...[they] do exercise 'choice', but it is neither the compulsion of individualization produced as 'homo economicus' – nor the 'project of the self' who is 'making one's life a work of art...this is a practice of a defensive self, not so much the pleasure of self-pampering as the desperation to be flamboyantly individuated in a culture that knows its own predominant forms of knowledge are not dominant. (Hey, 2005: 866)

We have seen in the data these adoptive practices by participants as symptoms of social exclusion, such as drinking, drug taking and crime, lead to further, intensified experiences of social exclusion. This suggests that in the dichotomy between 'troublesome youth' and 'troubled youth' (Batan, 2005), it is the latter rather than the former which is most relevant to participants. Thus, these strategies and tactics that are adopted by individuals do occur from a fatalism of experiences, which goes beyond the 'epistemological fallacy' that the structural inequalities that they face can only be ameliorated at an individual level (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997; 2006), to an ontological factuality that individualised traits are indeed the way that they are expected to counter such structural forces. Dissonance between structural factors and the occurrence of social exclusion, then, is only through an emphasis on individualised factors which obviate the importance of structural inequality to social exclusion, and in so doing necessitate the adoption of strategies and tactics which lead to the reproduction rather than the transformation of social exclusion.

12.3 Social Exclusion and Individualism

The second main research question is concerned with the relevance of individualism to social exclusion:

How does new individualism contribute to the social exclusion of young people?

12.3.1 Correspondence with individualism

This subsidiary question's main emphasis is on a first line exploration of whether individualism has relevance to the notion of social exclusion:

2a) Does individualism contribute to the social exclusion of young people?

As outlined in chapter 6, this thesis posits that analytically, 'the culture and ideology of individualism interpenetrates – feeds and is fed by – social changes which encourage greater reflexivity and individualisation' (Ball *et al*, 2000: 3), thereby producing in late modernity the opportunities for 'an increasing *competitorization* and *compartmentalization* of self' (Bates and Riseborough. 1993:2), and leading to exclusion based on the expression of such individualism, as 'representing pragmatic responses by individuals in the struggle for survival in [late modernity]' (Furlong and Cartomel 1997:4).

In relation to increasing competitorization, in Chapter 5 it was outlined that notion of consumption had been delineated as 'attached to the individual identity negotiation characteristics of the life stage of youth' (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006:233), meaning that 'the social and cultural context that shapes the experience of most young people in contemporary society is profoundly consumerist in nature' (West *et al*, 2006: 460). This seemed evident for Ashley, who indicated that some of his criminal behaviour occurred simply from 'greed', and for some other participants the constrained nature of their consumption was a site of considerable tension within the family, meaning that such conflict could be seen as having been initiated out of a

perceived lack of consumerism in comparison to others. Also, in some instances, participants indicated that they spent considerable amounts on activities like drinking, gambling and drugs which contributed to their social exclusion, and which sustains the notion of ‘flawed consumers’ contributing to their own social exclusion (Hayward and Yar, 2006). These support Reason’s (1998:157) assertion that ‘participation is an epistemological imperative’. However, as apparent throughout the interviews, such activities were active by participants only in the sense that they were viewed as a way to alleviate their deleterious circumstances, and this in part related to some, but not necessarily all, of the negative, individualised things that they did. And in Ashley’s specific circumstances, there was also an element of him alleviating his inequality in his actions. This suggests that while consumption *per se* did not necessarily shape the individual identity of participants, there was an exclusionary nature to their relatively low consumption (Webster *et al*, 2004), and this was because their low consumption was underpinned by their relative disadvantage, which posits participants’ consumption initially as a symptom of their social inequality, and then as a cause of their further social exclusion.

In relation to the notion of compartmentalization, the importance of local social bonds to participants’ work opportunities would seem to negate the significance of this notion of individualism. However, such erosion of social bonds was particularly evident in relation to the strong sense of independence from their family of some participants. This sense of independence typically occurred from family circumstances in which participants were either *de facto* or *de jure* living alone. For example, we saw how *de facto* living alone contributed to Ashley’s social exclusion and presaged exclusionary experiences and/or behaviour, which in some instances

led to further exclusion, and also less directly contributed to his enduring sense of individualisation. For Lance, similar circumstances worked not only to stop him giving assistance to other people, including family members, but also functioned to stop him accepting assistance from others, which also most likely contributed to his exclusion in the sense that it closed off possible sources of assistance. Layard and Dunn (2009:6), in their recent report for *The Children's Society*, made reference to the growth of excessive individualism, defined it as the belief that the prime duty of individuals is to make the most of their own life, rather than to contribute to the good of others. Here, however, we see a different type of excessive individualism, in which the action of participants can be seen in terms of an insularity, similar to what Lucey *et al* (2003) have termed 'going it alone', defined by:

... a painful separation which wards off the anger, the pain and loneliness with a defence that [he/she] needs no one, can do it all by [his/herself]. Actually, underneath all this pain may be a powerful anger that ... parents have nothing to give ... or a fear that there is nothing to stop [him/her] falling apart other than [-] 'outer armour'. The going alone protects ... from the pain and the anger. (Lucey *et al*, 2003: 295)

While such emotional stress and anger towards others family members was certainly evident in the account of Lance, in Ashley's case it was more a resignation of circumstances, but the outcome was still the same in terms of engendering the notion of 'going it alone', wherein individualism served to reinforce participants' erosion of social bonds from their family in particular (Wyn and White, 2000).

Both Gemma and Sharon were *de jure* living alone, and had been from an early age, as a result of different types of conflict within the family. For both, the outcome was the gradual acceptance of a lack of social bonds and/or interdependence with other family members leading to the distinctly strong sense of independence. In Gemma's

case, this manifested itself in her self-exclusion from the family home and ultimately homelessness, meaning that there was also a ‘painful separation’ for participants from such compartmentalization.

For participants, then, there was evidence of both competitorization and compartmentalization. This meant that their individualism contributed to their social exclusion through exclusionary activities and or events initially as a symptom of their social circumstances, such as homelessness, and then as a cause of their further social exclusion. The stressful, painful separation that such individualism induced suggests that rather than the active fulfilment of choice, there were other causes of such competitorization and compartmentalization, and this leads on to the second subsidiary research question, how individualism relates to structure.

12.3.2 Linkage from structure to individualism

Having established that individualism contributes to the social exclusion of participants, this research question is concerned with linkage between individualism and structure:

2b) If so, what is the upward linkage from structure to individualism?

As suggested in the question, there is the assumption that social structure is analytically prior to individualism, and so individualism is mediated through the reproduction of structure.

We have seen in the data how participants' strong sense of independence from their family was very important in engendering *de facto* and *de jure* living alone, and this occurred from a combination of perceptions of having been 'pushed out' or 'missed out' on certain things especially, but not only, within the family. While both these notions occurred at social, emotional and material levels, the way they occurred were not necessarily the same, as shown in Figure 12.3 below, which shows the proximal and distal contributions of these social, emotional and material factors to participants' social exclusion. This means that the closer to the notion a factor is, the more important it is to the notion.

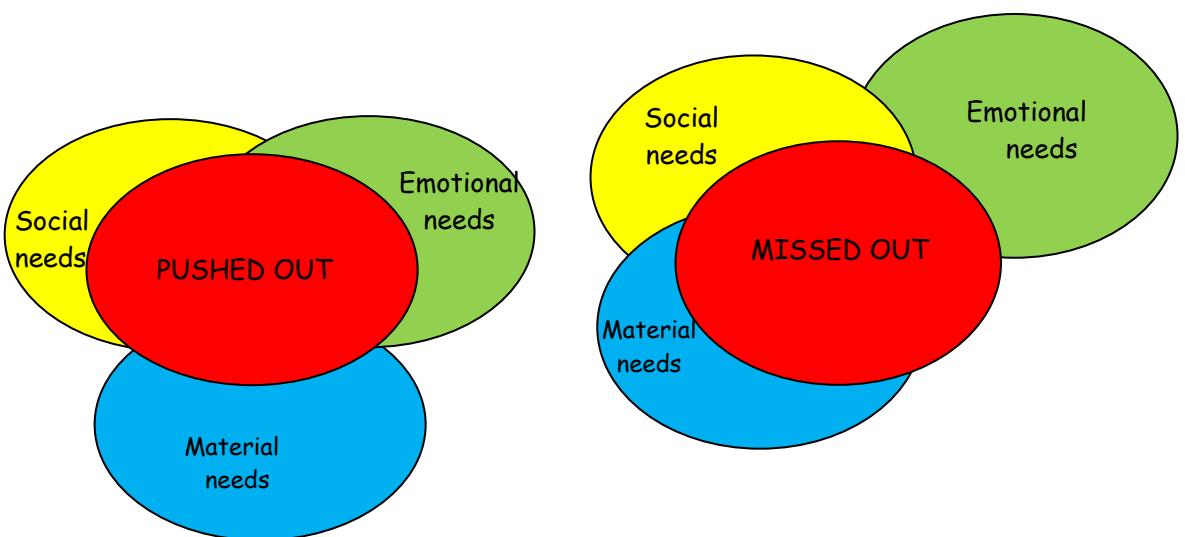


Figure 12.3 Reasons for being 'pushed out' and 'missed out'

As can be seen, within the notion of being pushed out, social and emotional factors were more proximal and so more predominant. This is because they mainly occurred as a consequence of the participants' family size and/or structure. So to take Sharon as an example, from living in a large family the potential for social interaction between her and her mother became reduced as other family members came. And

while there was social contact between her and her siblings, this was typically in the form of a carer's role, not necessarily through normal sibling's interaction. This also impacted on her emotional needs, as while growing up she did not feel that she had the support of her mother. While there was close linkage between social needs and emotional needs in being pushed out, family structure as well as family size could predicate, as Lance did not grow up in a large family but the fact that he grew up with his nan meant that he felt unable to interact emotionally with her. Material needs played the smallest part in being pushed out, from the interactional nature of pushed out.

Being pushed out was seen as important in engendering a desire for independence. Leaving the family home was the ultimate outcome of this state, as particularly experienced by Sharon. I have already highlighted above how leaving the family home early is generally associated with a higher degree of poverty and compared to other events, as young individuals having left home are on average three times more likely to be poor than those who still live in the parental home (*Aassave et al*, 2005:1-5). Thus, there is a large economic disadvantage built out of being 'pushed out' and the likelihood is that such economic disadvantage had social exclusionary effects, as we have seen above. The lack social and emotional support provided by the family while growing up was also important in engendering exclusion in participants, either through leading to social bonds with others which engendered negative behaviours, or through necessitating coping mechanisms, such as drug taking and drinking, which reinforced their exclusionary status.

In terms of missing out in figure 12.3, this was referenced back to when participants were young and mainly in the form of material needs in comparison to their friends such as school trips. Over time, as the family circumstances changed in terms of becoming larger and/or changing in structure, so the material disadvantage made itself more apparent, and also more enduring, meaning that participants missed out in terms of their social needs.

An example of this is the way that many participants felt that they had missed out on educational support from their parents, simply due to the fact that their parents did not have the time to provide this kind of assistance, mainly due to other younger family members pushing them out. From this, participants felt that they were on their own in terms of their education, thus engendering a sense of individualism. Individualism in general has been outlined as a positive thing for young people, but in this instance, this meant that their school work was not monitored, which ultimately led to their low attainment.

Here, the difference between the material resources of participants' parents and other better off families also makes itself relevant in terms of the 'capital used by families to obtain positional advantage for their children' (Reinoso, 2008), whereby the inability of participants to call on such capital, whether financial or otherwise, may have been an important factor in the impetus towards individualism. In this respect, the fact that all participants were recipients of free school meals while growing up has particular relevance. Also, this was most likely compounded by the family makeup of participants, wherein at least half of participants grew up in single parent household, whose income is typically one of the lowest groups.

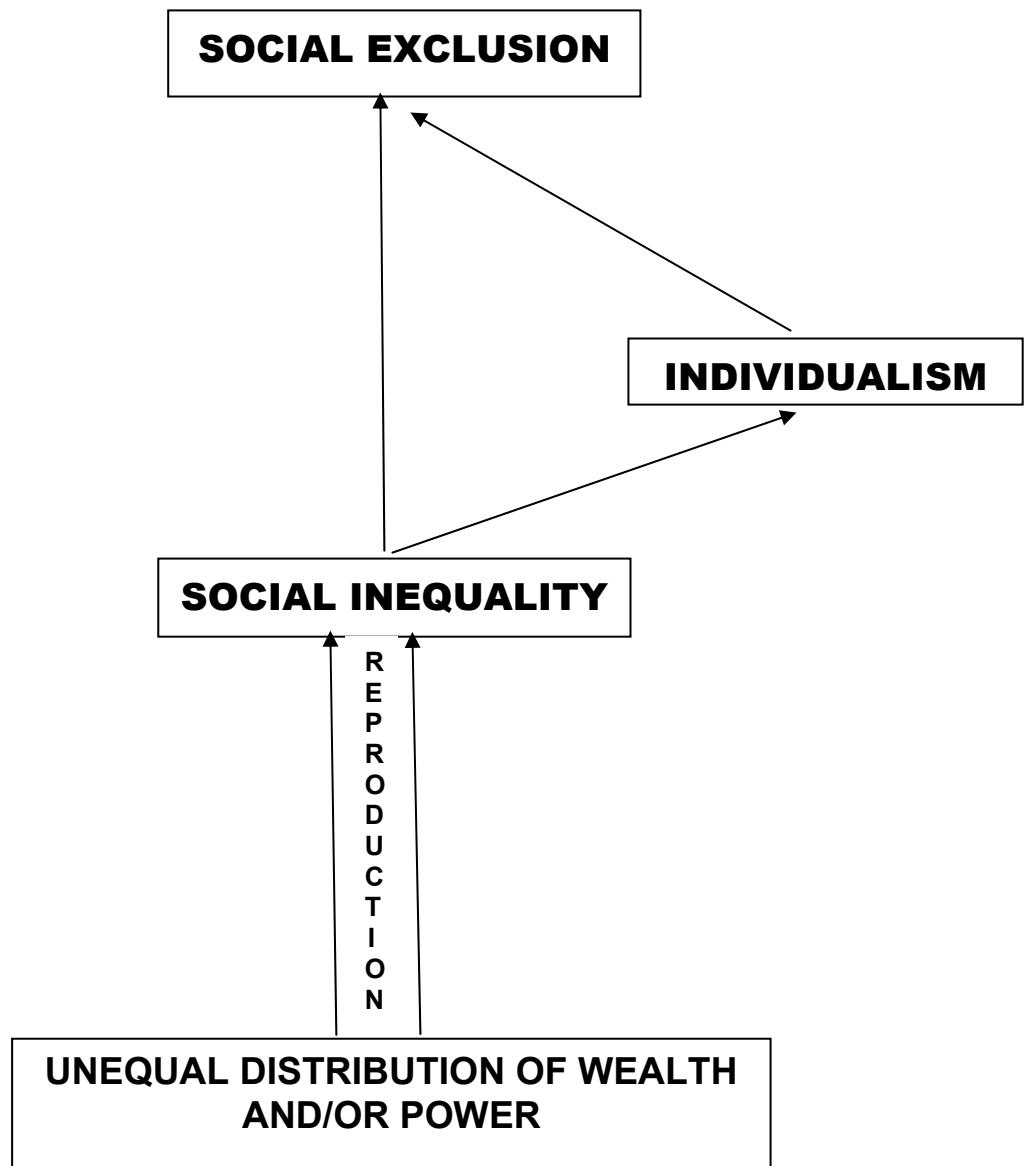
Overall, the sense of independence induced from participants' material living conditions was stronger than the family bonds, suggesting that the push of living circumstances was stronger than the pull of family. Also, the importance of the failure of welfare agencies should also be implicated in the notion of having 'missed out', as in the case of Ashley it provided an importance reference point to his notion of *de facto* living alone. But it was their family circumstances which was the main site of these notions, in numerous and various ways. This is not to suggest that participants' parents did not care, but simply that within the family there is:

... the importance of a structural ... 'push factor', the forces that drive youths out of their parents' homes in spite of unfavourable external circumstances. ... It can thus be hypothesised that 'inadequate housing conditions in parents' home' may be an intervening variable, having an intermediary role; where present, they encourage youths to leave their parents' homes earlier even though external opportunities are unfavourable. (Mandic, 2008: 632-633)

This meant that individualism exerted a stronger negative 'push' influence on participants than the positive 'pull' of family relationships, and the negative effects of this prevailing outcome was social exclusion rather than social inclusion, as shown in Figure 12.4 below.

This means that the upward linkage from individualism to social exclusion is that individualism works to configure participants' initial social exclusion into a reproduced, intensified form of social exclusion.

Figure 12.4 Simplified operationalisation of social exclusion in relation to structure



12.4 Summary

The consideration of the research questions above has shown that the overriding theme has been that of correspondence with the notion of structure. This has occurred from the observed correspondence between a number of structural factors

and participants' social exclusion, as considered in Research Question 1a, and it is this correspondence which lies at the heart of the reproduction, rather than transformation, of participants' structural inequality. At a wider conceptual level, these findings also reinforce the relevance of the shift from poverty to social exclusion outlined in Chapter 2 as the five dimensions highlighted previously of relativity, agency, dynamics, spatial and multidimensionality made themselves relevant to greater or lesser extents. More specifically, the data emphasised what Batan (2005) terms the 'interacting social dynamics' of social exclusion, wherein:

...although each dimension can be analysed as a distinct set of relationships within its own logic, these dimensions cannot be separated in their effects within concrete social relationships...the interacting social dynamics not only identifies the diverse ways on how a particular young person becomes excluded and marginalized but more so, how historical and structural forces (family structure, access to education, labour market, globalization, political situation etc.) condition their social space. (Batan, 2005:6)

These structural factors exert varying degrees of influence on social exclusion, but it is family context which emerges as the most importance site of reproduction, as considered in Research Question 1b.

Where there was dissonance with the notion of structure in participants' social exclusion as per Research Question 1c, such dissonance only occurred through the fallacy of precluding the importance of structural inequality to social exclusion. This leads to an ontological reality of an emphasis on individualised factors and in so doing necessitates the adoption of strategies and tactics which lead to the reproduction rather than the transformation of social exclusion. On the one hand, this highlights the general limitations of a number of key concepts in relation to youth,

such as 'structured individualisation' and 'transitions'. On the other hand, it also highlights the limitations of specific theories centred on the agency-based nature of participants' social exclusion, the most notable of which is Giddens's individualisation, which has been the theoretical fallacy around which New Labour's weak conceptualisation of social exclusion had been built.

The importance of individualism as mediated by notions of competitorization and compartmentalization also contributed to participants' social exclusion, as per Research Question 2a, through exclusionary activities and or events initially as a symptom of their social circumstances, and then as a cause of their further social exclusion. Furthermore, the evident painful separation that such individualism occasioned restricts the consideration of it as the active fulfilment of choice, and the notions of 'pushed out' and 'missed out' draw attention to fact that there was a strong negative structural 'push' influence on participants the negative effects of which is social exclusion rather than social inclusion. This means that in relation to Research Question 2a, the upward linkage from individualism to social exclusion is that individualism works to configure participants' initial social exclusion into a reproduced intensified form of social exclusion.

13. Conclusion

This research thesis is:

Late modern forms of exclusion based on old structure and new individualism orient the social exclusion of young people

In the previous chapter, I outlined how the research findings sustain this thesis's claim that the combination of structural inequality and individualism are relevant to the social exclusion of young people in the present late modern period. Explicitly, it is the reproduction of participants' structural inequality which delimits their social exclusion. In this concluding chapter, I will appraise the implications of these findings for our current understanding of social exclusion.

The title of this thesis states that it is a critical realist account of social exclusion, which as described in section 6.4 means that my aim is not simply to understand but for change from understanding. This is the primary focus of this chapter, with particular emphasis on how the research contributes to our further understanding of social exclusion, interspersed with suggestions for changes in social exclusion policy. Firstly, though, the research process as a whole is reflected upon, with a specific focus on the strengths and limitations of the methodology.

13.1 Methodological Considerations

The research has been carried out within a critical realist methodology, defining social exclusion as the underlying embodiment of the reproduction of structural inequality and individualism. This rationalised an in-depth tripartite framework for

data collection and analysis, focussed on the underlying mechanisms reproducing social reality, and thus social exclusion, as shown in Table 13.1 below.

Table 13.1 Tripartite framework for data collection and analysis: analytical frameworks and summary of findings

Data collection Stage	Critical realist domain of reality	Analytical Framework	Summary of findings	
1	Diary	Empirical	Descriptive	<p>a) The importance of participants' agency/individualisation emerged as the way that young people were experiencing social exclusion in particular and life in general</p> <p>b) Social exclusion has a limited consideration in participants' daily events and activities</p> <p>c) evidence for the existence of individualism was limited</p>
2	Diary: Interview	Actual	Heuristic - analytical	<p>a) Importance of individualised factors to social exclusion not as straightforward as suggested by their empirical experiences</p> <p>b) Emerging significance of structural factors to underpin actual experiences of social exclusion in important ways</p> <p>c) Tentative correspondence with the notion of individualism</p>
3	Follow up Interview	Real	Critical analytical	<p>a) Limited relevance of individualised factors to participants social exclusion</p> <p>b) Significant correspondence between structure and the socially excluded position of participants</p> <p>c) High levels of individualism, which served to reinforce participants' social exclusion</p>

As shown in Table 13.1, there are significant differences between the data collections' analytical frameworks and their findings, and this difference in the data analyses makes perceptible the importance of the in-depth tripartite framework for data collection and analysis. This suggests, for instance, that a solely *empirical-descriptive* analytical framework would have circumscribed the gradual emergence of the underlying mechanisms reproducing social reality, and thus social exclusion, seen in Table 13.1 above, as:

...if we only listen to these discourses, we risk ignoring the silences ... as the full stops at the end of sentences whereby discourses are insulated from other potential discourses... Silence about the structural side of the dynamic does not mean it is unimportant in people's lives. Rather structure and context form part of the taken for granted aspects of life that are omitted from people's narratives and accounts provided in the research encounter. (Brannen and Nilson, 2005: 418)

That such descriptive frameworks do indeed lie at the heart of much qualitative research on social exclusion explains the general orientation described in Chapter 6 away from structural factors and towards agency and individualisation (see for example Woolley, 2005). On the other hand, a solely *real-critical* analytical framework of analysis would not have enabled the successive limiting relevance of agency/individualisation to become apparent, and so would have restricted an explanation of why such accounts of social exclusion are so prevalent. Thus in combination, the intensive, comprehensive nature of the tripartite critical realist framework for data collection and analysis enabled a more complete picture of the real, underlying domain of social exclusion to emerge.

The sample frame used in the questionnaire to identify participants for the tripartite research framework was built around the notion of 'at risk', defined in section 8.1.4 as factors which, on the balance of probabilities, are likely to contribute to social

exclusion. These had specific thresholds for inclusion in the research as socially excluded, as seen in Table 8.3. From the research process, we saw that this approach was useful as a starting point for notions of social exclusion, as in the main, the ‘at risk’ factors presumed as important to social exclusion in the questionnaire, such as locality, were indeed highly relevant in the research findings. Indeed, such thresholds are widely used in research on poverty, with income thresholds an important reference point for theory and policy. However, there were also occasions when such classifications did not accurately relate the acute nature of participants’ social exclusion, such as relating locality and qualifications as driver/indicators, when their significance was much greater. This firstly brings to the fore a weakness in the sampling process used in the research, meaning that the hierarchical classification criteria used in Table 8.3 to select participants was most likely not weighted in the most accurate manner. Indeed, it is possible that had different weighting criteria been used, then different participants might have been chosen for the research. Whether this might have made a difference to the overall findings is unclear, but it does suggest that while the emphasis on such ‘at risk’ thresholds can provide a reference point to the concept of social exclusion for research purposes, their real utility is as a heuristic device to enable the greater exploration of specific aspects of social exclusion.

An obvious question to ask at this stage is whether those participants chosen were indeed socially excluded, or simply suffering from poverty as working class young people? As Steinert observes:

Sociology has shown some inventiveness in producing names for these people: the marginalised, the subculture of poverty, the excluded, the underclass, there may be more. (Steinert, 2003:50)

Hence, in a similar vein it would be just as easy to label the experiences of this group of young people as simply ‘normal’ features of contemporary working class life. Their social exclusion made itself apparent in a number of ways, though. Firstly, their disadvantage did not just encompass income, but as seen in Table 8.6, was below the social norm on a range of other non-material factors used in the questionnaire. Indeed, the diaries and interviews highlighted additional non-material disadvantage in participants’ daily lives which went beyond what could be expected of ‘normal’ working class life, their experiences of living in the locality being a case in point. Secondly, going from the ‘widely adopted’ Goldthorpe class schema, ‘class positions are seen as deriving from social relations in economic life or, more specifically, from *employment relations*’ (Goldthorpe and Knight, 2004:1). This means that in this highly influential schema of class, ‘working class’ essentially entails the actual availability of jobs for people to work in, but as we saw in the interviews, this was not necessarily the case for a number of participants. Thus, whereas in the past, being working class typically entailed low income but *security* of employment (Byrne, 2005), for most participants their experiences now was low income and *insecurity* of employment amongst other things, which as we saw in the research led to significant further disadvantage in other spheres of life. Thus, there is a sense of ‘farewell to the working class’, but not in the way envisaged by Gorz (1982).

This contrast between the working class of the past and the present reinforces a major difference difference between modernity and late modernity, and thus poverty and social exclusion, detailed in section 4.3 as the radical transformation and separation of the labour market, which in turn has led not only to detrimental changes in the non-material circumstances of individuals. This is not to romanticise the past in

terms of the post-war welfare state as detailed in section 4.3.1, but it does highlight that participants' disadvantage as qualitatively different from that which could be ascribed to normal features of poor working class in modernity, towards the wider encompassing social exclusion of late modernity.

Moreover, while a threshold for social exclusion in general is appealing, the nature of social exclusion as broader than poverty and relating to non-material factors, as described below, means that such a threshold would have to incorporate many more features of economic and social life than are currently used in poverty research. This is especially the case if, as in this research, the focus is on measuring social exclusion *directly* in terms of participation rather than *indirectly* in terms of potential participation, as such a direct measurement brought to the fore non-material aspects of social life, such as access to welfare service, which would be very hard to encapsulate in thresholds. Furthermore, such a distinction would immediately bring a categorisation similar to that in poverty between the absolute and the relative, with the danger that the immediate focus would be on the absolute rather than the relative, as has essentially characterised debates on poverty and which would be a paradox considering that relativity lies at the heart of social exclusion, as detailed below.

Methodologically, then the intensive, comprehensive nature of the tripartite critical realist framework for data collection and analysis enabled a more complete picture of the real, underlying domain of social exclusion to emerge. The sample frame used, then, highlighted that while providing a threshold for social exclusion can have use as a heuristic research device, it is neither desirable nor feasible for the development of

the concept. Further explorative work building on these thresholds is required for the nature of social exclusion to be really understood.

13.2 Understanding and change for social exclusion

I argued in Chapter 2 that social exclusion is qualitatively different from poverty by being inescapably ‘social’ in essence, as it is made up of a broader analysis of the causes and conditions of disadvantage than poverty, additionally encompassing both the social relations and the processes by which people become excluded, to greater or lesser extents, from the wider society. In particular, in Table 2.1, I outlined five ‘value-added’ dimensions to social exclusion (relativity, multidimensionality, dynamics, spatial and processes) which have been argued to distinguish it from poverty. These dimensions act as the reference point in considering how this research contributes to our understanding of social exclusion, and possible changes from such understanding.

13.2.1 Relativity

In Chapter 2, a deliberation of the term social exclusion made the observation of an apparent similarity between poverty and social exclusion, which has led to the questioning of whether social exclusion is a genuinely new concept, or simply the reformulation of ‘old’ poverty.

Inevitably, the similarity with Townsend’s relative deprivation in particular has led to the questioning of whether the notion is a genuinely new one, but I argued that one of the most prominently asserted empirical distinctions between poverty and social exclusion is that whereas poverty principally refers narrowly to income and material resources, social exclusion has a wider direct focus on lack of participation and lack

of opportunities to participate. Thus, social exclusion's 'value-added' distinctiveness primarily occurs from the consideration of individuals' relative participation in wider society, encompassing concerns with access to employment and family networks, and to public and private services, so that in this sense, social exclusion is defined as inescapably 'social' in essence. This means that, according to Burchardt *et al* (2002:6), 'a genuine new development' occurring from the focus on social exclusion has been that:

...it allows the phenomena of interest to extend beyond non-participation due to lack of material resources...measures of social exclusion attempt to identify not only those who lack resources, but also those whose non-participation occurs in different ways: through discrimination, chronic ill health, geographical location or cultural identification, for example.
(Burchardt *et al*, 2002:6)

This contrasts with the principal focus of a concern with poverty as to highlight the way that low income acts to limit what people are able to and/or want to do. As shown in the data, participation due to a lack of material resources was an important entity to participants' disadvantage, such as being unable to learn to drive and limiting considerations of going to university as in Mikealae's case. Thus, an indirect (in terms of income) measurement of poverty can and does provide an illuminating insight into disadvantage, in the sense that lack of income can be identified as relevant to lack of participation in particular activities. However, as we also saw in the data, there were also instances where the direct measurement of participation, i.e. what participants actually did, was affected by more than their low income, more as a reflection of social than economic processes, through the significance to participants' disadvantage of non-material factors such as discrimination (Mikealae), chronic ill health (Larry), geographical location (Gemma, Ashley) and cultural identification

(Rod). This reaffirms this empirical indirect narrow/direct wide distinction set out more clearly in Table 7.1 in Chapter 7.

What this means is that for these participants, while their disadvantage may have an origin in economic processes, i.e. poverty, as exemplified by the importance of family circumstances to participants social exclusion, this disadvantage generally extends beyond this economic dimension, to incorporate the social relations and the processes by which people become excluded, to greater or lesser extents, from the wider society. This extension of their disadvantage beyond material resources is what elevates their status as more than poverty, and by extension as more than simply being working class, wherein features such as lack of participation and isolation were both prevalent in the data, which by their very nature suggest exclusion from wider society as a whole. In this sense, this does not mean that low income and lack of participation are effectively unconnected and so should be considered separately when developing policy. Indeed, the research highlights that the issues of low in-work income and dealing with the material inequalities which families face are important to the government's wider social exclusion agenda in terms of abolishing child poverty by 2020. Rather, this means that 'poverty' is to be viewed as part of a specific form of social exclusion (Berghman 1995:20), whereby the notion of relativity makes it apparent how social exclusion itself is more of a social process than an economic process, occurring from a breakdown or malfunctioning of the social relations which characterise the existence of those less disadvantaged.

13.2.2 Multidimensionality

Building on the non-material factors identified as important to social exclusion, multidimensionality refers more specifically to the interaction of these factors in a way that concentrates and exacerbates the experience of disadvantage. As was evident from the data, an important feature of participants' social exclusion was the way that these factors interweaved among themselves to create multiple spheres of social exclusion, meaning that lack of participation in one sphere was evidently influenced by the lack of participation in another. The conceptual view of an interrelationship between different elements of exclusion has been argued as problematic, as observed by Folwell, who observed that:

...the key dimensions of social exclusion in London are, exclusion from the labour market, exclusion from adequate housing, and age related exclusion, but [that] none of these characteristics have anything to do with one another. (Folwell, 1999, cited in Church, et al, 2000:19)

This research confounds this assertion, as most evident in relation to family circumstances as detailed in Figure 12.2 in the conclusion, which highlights the way that both material and non-material factors facilitate exclusion in enduring and multifarious ways, with one event impacting on activities in other spheres. In theoretical terms, the acknowledgement of such multidimensional linkages opens up the scope of analysis for social exclusion, suggesting in particular the necessity for a shift away from the 'uni-dimensionality' of poverty research (Vorbura 2000), through which poverty is explained by poverty. Rather, the research's multidimensional account suggests that lack of participation may arise not only from a variety of causes, but also that these causes can themselves exacerbate a person's disadvantaged position further - and may have material, social and cultural consequences for all aspects of a person's life which go beyond the original cause.

The government could argue that it has made a number of policy initiatives which emphasise the need for multiagency work in relation to social exclusion, such as for instance the Poverty and Social Exclusion (National Strategy) Act (1999), the Every Child Matters framework and the Children Act 2004 which make it a priority for agencies to tackle social exclusion in a more cohesive way. However, the initial evidence of such practice from these initiatives is sketchy (Carlisle, 2006). This means that there is a need for greater emphasis towards co-ordinated activity to counter the multidimensional aspect of social exclusion, and this calls for greater state involvement to counter some of the deleterious effects of such social exclusion in general. To some, this might seem counterintuitive as such failure of institutions suggests a need for greater emphasis on individual actions vis-à-vis notion of risk society and individualisation. But as we have seen in this research, such accounts, through the epistemological fallacy that they encompass, engender the ontological factuality that compounds social exclusion. An obvious rejoinder to this multidimensional account is that it could obscure the real causes of social exclusion, in highlighting its many different causes, and thus can obscure the economic inequalities that are inherent in any description of poverty (Oyen, 1997). This is considered below with reference to processes.

13.2.3 Dynamics

The notion of dynamics from the data is another factor which both confounds the ‘normal’ categorisation of participants, and contributes to the ‘value-added’ nature of social exclusion. As described in Chapter 2, dynamics refers to the way that social exclusion can change over time (Walker 1998), and perhaps explains the contrast

sometimes made of social exclusion as a 'process', transitory and transitional in nature rather than as a fixed state (Jarman, 2001).

According to Room (1999) poverty analysis has typically conceptualised disadvantage in a static analysis, concerned with snapshots of poverty and focussed on showing the number of people in poverty at a particular time. Indeed, it has been argued that this static analysis of poverty, typically through cross-sectional analysis, in which poverty is deigned to occur in a 'stable state', has contributed to the notions of the underclass, in that it has delineated poverty as 'the biographical end of the road' (Vobruba 2000:604). With the concept of social exclusion, however, the time horizons of poverty have been claimed to be wider (Hills 2002), and encompassing transitory, intermittent or permanent poverty (Walker 1995), as was seen in the data. This evidence from the data in particular can be used to countermand notions of the underclass, whereby:

...the underclass only makes sense if there is some degree of stability in its membership, because the underclass are defined as those unable to participate in the labour market at all. There could be a fairly large group of people who are out of work at any one time, but no substantial group of people who are usually out of work. In that case, there would be no underclass: only a working class, some of whom are temporarily out of work. (Smith, 1992:5)

This countering of the underclass notion was particularly evident from participants' labour market experiences, which was shown to be transitory rather than static in nature and participation. This was something which was made particularly relevant in the time between interviews, positing longitudinal analysis rather than cross sectional analysis as an important research tool in the respect (Berghman 1995), and as undertaken to a limited extent in this research.

Thus, the application of the term ‘underclass’ would ignore one of the most significant observations from the data, wherein a defining characteristic of participants’ experiences was their daily struggle against some of the most deleterious conditions of their existence. So in terms of the static vs. dynamic dichotomy, a distinction needs to be made between the nature of social exclusion and the nature of socially excluded participants. In terms of the nature of social exclusion itself, there appears to be an element of stasis, as for most participants there was little change, or little or few prospect for change, in their circumstances in the future, and so social exclusion can appear to refer to those ‘permanently marginalized’ (Steinert, 2003: 4). This is where the notion of normality can and often does make itself apparent, such as in relation to typical notions of the underclass. However, this is despite the fact that, as the data typically shows in relation to the nature of socially excluded participants, the activities and expectations of participants were fairly dynamic, encompassing numerous activities designed to counter their social exclusion. So this difference between social exclusion and socially excluded participants highlights that the notion of dynamics is ‘value-added’ in the depressing sense that it makes apparent how difficult the transition from social exclusion can be, especially if people are expected to rely on your own resources, and so also confounds weak versions of social exclusion focussed on personal agency.

13.2.4 Spatial

The spatial analysis of poverty has also been used to present notions of the underclass (Green 1991), suggesting that spatial exclusion has the potential to become a kind of ‘deficit theory syndrome’, whereby it may be used to define communities or neighbourhoods by the resources they lack (Morrow 2001). Indeed,

it is arguable that the previous 'value-added' features of social exclusion outlined above provide support for this notion, as the 'relative' disadvantage of participants and depressing context of 'dynamics' could suggest that poor people begat poor areas.

However, the analysis in this research has shown that increased inequalities between areas is not necessarily a consequence of the type of individuals living there, but that factors incumbent on the locality are important contributory factors to spatial exclusion. In particular, the micro economics of the localities in terms of the low quality of jobs available (not just in terms of low wage provided but also low satisfaction and low future prospects) and the facilities available were relevant to highlighting how such a spatial dimension has contributed to the exclusion of important networks for employment and social activities, and these micro economic characteristics were, to a large extent, predicated upon the localities' deprived socio-economic nature.

Arguably, such spatial exclusion has been an increasing concern of government policy since 1997 (Alcock, 2003), and some have argued that it has been central to the social exclusion discourse in the UK (Wallace, 2007), as evidenced by the plethora of Area Based Initiatives that have been introduced such as the New Deal for Communities, the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund and Sure Start. However, such an identification of 'poor spaces' (Berghman, 1995:15) as opposed to poor individuals has implications for policy, wherein this suggests that a necessary precondition in this respect is that '[policy] cannot be focussed on only persons and groups, but has also to take account of the whole community.' This is because it can and does explicitly offer a social exclusion analytic of disadvantage not located in the individual, but in the nature of neighbourhoods.

13.2.5 Processes

The main focus of this thesis has been on the structural causes of social exclusion, towards a strong account of social exclusion. As detailed in Chapter 2, poverty debates in British social policy has been characterised by a latent individualism propounding individual agency as primarily responsible for an individual's disadvantage. Moreover, as mentioned above, a consideration of the multidimensional aspect of social exclusion could lead to the obfuscation of its real cause. Following Veit-Wilson (1998:45), I detailed that 'weak' and 'strong' versions of social exclusion differ respectively in their emphasis on the extent to which attention is given to the process by which people become excluded. I argued in Chapter 3 that New Labour's specific articulation of the individual causes of social exclusion makes itself readily apparent in policy, which is a 'weak' conceptualisation not far removed from previous Conservative governments' analyses of poverty, something that can also be said in relation to its overall emphasis on equality of opportunity over equality of outcome. This conceptualisation restricts the old welfare concerns of structure, thereby marking individualisation as a weak form of social exclusion. This means that New Labour's claim of a substantial departure from the previous government's emphasis on poverty is not as distinct as has been delineated, and this something that affects the effective utility of the concept of social exclusion.

Implicit in this policy prescription is the emphasis on dealing with problematic families within a 'deficit' approach. Indeed, this emphasis is also very evident in the most recent strategy for supporting families, wherein from a specific concern with socially excluded parents, there is 'A new emphasis on building resilience' (HM Treasury/DfES, 2007). As described in the previous chapter, the notion of resilience has

limited relevance to socially excluded young people as it can serve to contribute to the epistemological fallacy which they experience.

The findings from the data highlighted limitations in this weak configuration of social exclusion. Specifically, as shown in Table 13.1 above, through the in-depth tripartite critical realist framework for data collection and analysis, there was the gradual limitation of the notion of agency/individualisation and the concomitant manifestation to participants' social exclusion of structural factors and individualism.

The epistemological value of this tripartite framework, which explicitly matches the critical realist *empirical*, *actual* and *real* domains of reality with the development from descriptive to critical methods of data collection and analysis, is apparent in the progression in the data analyses from dissonance to correspondence with structural inequality and individualism. This makes two points relevant in relation to the process of social exclusion.

Firstly, the fact that agency and individualisation were empirically readily apparent can in part explain their prevalence in much late modern social theory, namely Giddens' 'individualisation' as outlined in Chapter 4, and also the emphasis given towards it in late modern social policy. Conversely, that structure and individualism emerged only from critical analysis reflects the underlying nature of the real domain of social reality, congruent with the critical realist perspective. This makes relevant what Bhaskar (1989) terms the 'epistemic fallacy' of the empirical domain of reality, wherein there is 'the belief that statements about being can always be analyzed in terms of statements about our knowledge (of being)' (Williams, 1999:806). Social exclusion simply reflects that epistemic fallacy, as apparent from the strategies and tactics that were adopted by participants to deal with their social exclusion.

The structural origin of social exclusion is further reinforced in the research by reference to voluntary exclusion, which Burchardt *et al* have identified as empirically problematic due to the way social exclusion is typically conceptualised, wherein:

Social exclusion is almost invariably framed in terms of the opportunity to participate, yet existing indicators measure actual participation or non-participation. We neither know whether the (non)participation is regarded as problematic by the individual, nor whether he or she has other options. (Burchardt *et al*, 2002:41)

However, as we saw in the research, the ‘options’ available to participants were very limited, suggesting the notion of voluntary exclusion as largely irrelevant to participants. Furthermore, the overall failure of social welfare agencies in this research, and the implications of this failure to their further social exclusion, subverts the prevalent concern in social exclusion with ‘troublesome youth’ over ‘troubled youth’ in late modernity, towards ‘troublesome youth’ being analytically prior to ‘troubled youth’. This is notwithstanding acknowledged incidences of malevolence, as the adoptive practices by participants, such as drinking, drug taking and crime emerged as symptoms of social exclusion, which led to further, intensified experiences of social exclusion. Such findings suggest that a narrow conceptualisation of social exclusion does not accurately encompass the structural content of participants’ social exclusion as highlighted above, and that this should be reflected in future research on social exclusion, as highlighted in Chapter 6 when rationalising the research process.

Porter (2000:80) argues that ‘the way in which ‘social exclusion’ is treated in the context of EU and UK social policy discourse appears to have taken the ‘social’ right out of the concept’. This is evident in the way that changing patterns of identity are deemed more significant to policy than forms of collectivity, leading to more

individually tailored welfare service (Page, 2007a; 2007b). An emphasis on social as argued above, rather than individual, is necessary to capture the inescapably ‘social’ essence of social exclusion, and should move policy and theory away from the evidently flawed emphasis on its weak form towards its analytically and conceptually stronger form.

Together, then, these dimensions can be seen as configuring the relationship between poverty and social exclusion in similar ways, whereby it is possible to observe not only a sense of continuity with the notion of poverty, but also that they add value to considerations of the wider nature of poverty. More specifically, this analysis of these five dimensions can be seen as supporting the relevance of social exclusion as a progressive development of poverty, particularly in relation to the importance of non-material dimensions of well-being. Empirically, these research findings highlight the need for a strong rather than weak conceptualisation of social exclusion, which in turn sustains this thesis’s claim that the combination of structural inequality and individualism are relevant to the social exclusion of young people in the present late modern period.

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Appendix A

Research Information Leaflet

Consent Form

Questionnaire

research process will be stored in locked storage at home.

The results will definitely be published as part of a PhD thesis, and may be published elsewhere in the future.

→ Will Any of this Affect my Care or Receipt of Services?

The research should not affect the services you receive from the Centre, as it is an independent study.

→ What Happens if I Change my Mind and Decide to Withdraw from the Study?

You are free to change your mind and decide to withdraw at any time. Again, this will not have negative consequences for you.

→ What if I Have any Questions or do not Understand Something?

Questions will help you to understand the research better, so feel free to ask at any time. Remember, if you do not understand something, it may be because it hasn't been explained properly!!

→ What Happens at the End of the Study?

At the end of the study, there will be a group discussion of the findings. This will be an opportunity for you to comment on the research and its findings

→ If you have any Concerns about the Study and Wish to Contact Someone Independent you can Telephone:

[names]

University of Birmingham

Edgbaston

Birmingham B15 7TT

[phone]

Young People & Everyday Living in Modern Society Research



Essential Information for Participants

Who is Carrying out the Study?

Clive Sealey

Institute of Applied Social Sciences

University of Birmingham

Edgbaston

Birmingham B15 2TT

[phone]

[email]

What is the Study About?

The study is looking at what young people do in their everyday lives. This could include activities such as work, training, family life and family relationships.

What Will I Have to Do?

 There is one thing that is definitely asked of you for this research:

1. Fill out a questionnaire on your individual circumstances

Following this questionnaire, you may

also be asked to:

2. Keep a diary for 2 weeks, logging all activities that you do during this time
3. Attend a discussion of the contents of your diary
4. Attend a further discussion to explore what your future intentions are

What are the Benefits of Participating in the Study?

 The study aims to help those who work with young people, for example youth workers, to understand better what things are important to young people in modern life. This should allow them to consider better policies and practices for you as a participant, and young people in general.

Is There any Risk for Me if I Agree to Participate?

 The research does not aim to cause you physical harm. However, there may be

some instances when there is risk of harm in social factors such as personal values and beliefs. In all such cases, there will be opportunity for you to discuss this with me and choose if you want to continue with the research.

Will the Study Cost Anything?

 The study will not cost you anything

You will be paid for taking part in each stage of the research. This will be discussed in more detail at a later date.

What if I Do Not Want to Take Part?

 You are free to choose to take part in the research, and there will be no negative consequences.

What Happens to the Information?

 The data you provide will be stored electronically with encryption where possible, and any written documents used in the research process will be stored in locked storage at home.



**University of Birmingham
School of Social Sciences
Institute of Applied Social Studies**

CONSENT FORM.

Title of Research Project:-

Young People and Everyday Living in Modern Society

Name of Researcher:-

Clive Sealey

Address and Telephone Number of Researcher:-

Institute of Applied Social Sciences

University of Birmingham

Edgbaston

Birmingham B15 2TT

[phone]

[email]

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the 'Essential Information for Participants' Leaflet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. YES/NO
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without having to give any reason, and without my care or legal rights being affected. YES/NO
3. I agree to take part in the above study. YES/NO
4. I understand that I will be paid £5 for completing this stage of the research. YES/NO

Name of Research Participant

/ /
Date of birth

Signature

Date

If under 18 please ensure that your Parent/Guardian also reads and signs below.

5. I have read the terms above and agree with them in full. YES/NO
6. I give permission for my son/daughter to take part in this stage of the research, and any further stages as set out in the 'Essential Information for Participants' Leaflet. YES/NO

Name of Parent/Guardian

Signature

Date

Instructions

Make sure you have read the Information Sheet and filled in a Consent Form before you complete this questionnaire.

There are 5 pages and 19 questions in total to be answered.

Please try to answer all of the questions as honestly as possible.

Please read the instructions for each question carefully.

Most of the questions can be answered with one tick ().

Some of them require that you write answers in, or that you tick more than one answer

To ensure quick payment for your participation, please write your email and a contact phone number (preferably your mobile) below. This information will not be used for any other purpose.

Email: _____

Mobile Contact Number: _____

About You

It would help to know a bit about you.

1. What is your date of birth?

Please Write ____ / ____ / ____ e.g. 27/ 8/ 1985

2. What is your ethnic group? (Please One)

A. White

British

Irish

Other

Please Write _____

B. Black or Black British

Caribbean

African

Other

Please Write _____

C. Asian or British Asian

Indian

Bangladeshi

Pakistani

Other

Please Write _____

D. Mixed

Please Write _____

E. Other

Please Write _____

3. Are you... (Please One)

Male

Female

4. How long have you lived in the Kingstanding area?

Please Write: _____ Months _____ Years

5. Have you passed any of the examinations below, or are you waiting to hear about the results of any of these qualifications? (You may as many as you need)

GCSE/GNVQ A'Level/ BTEC City and Guilds No examinations passed/taken

University Degree Other

Please write _____

6. Did you get free school meals or free school meal vouchers? (Please One)

Yes No

7. Did you ever stay away (truanted/wagged/skived) from school without permission from your parents? (Please One)

Yes No

8. Were you ever suspended for a short time from school? (Please One)

Yes No

9. Were you ever permanently excluded from school? (Please One)

Yes No

About Your Social Life

We would like to know about the things you do in your social life.

10. Do you use the internet at home more than twice a week? (Please One)

Yes

No

Don't have internet access at home

11. In the last 6 months have you done any of the things listed below? (You may as many as you need)

Been to the cinema

Gone to watch some sports

Been to see play/musical/dance

Been to gig or concert

Visited art gallery or museum

Done voluntary or charity work

Been a member of a club or group

Done none of these

12. How many books are there in your home? (Please One)

None

Very Few (1-10)

Enough to fill one shelf (11-50)

Enough to fill one bookcase (51-100)

Enough to fill two bookcases (101-199)

Enough to fill three or more bookcases (200+)

13. Have you ever tried any drugs that you know to be illegal? (Please One)

Yes

No

Don't Know

14. How often do you usually have an alcoholic drink? (Please One)

Never

Only a few times a year

About once a month

About once a fortnight

About once a week

about twice a week

Every day or almost every day

About Your Personal Circumstances

We would like to find out about your current personal situation.

15. What are you currently doing? (Please One)

Employed College University Work Based Training

Self Employed Unemployed Other Please Write

16. What is your average weekly income for the following ?

Please write in numbers

Employment/Training £_____

Benefits (i.e. JSA, Income Support, EMA) £_____

Parents £_____

Other (please state) _____ £_____

17. Have you lived in 'care' at any point in your life? (Please One)

Yes No

18. Who do you live with now? (Please One)

I live on my own I live with one parent I live with both parents

I live with my partner Other Please Write

19. Do you have any children of your own? (Please One)

Yes

No

Further Research

We may want to contact you in the future for additional research purposes. We will also pay you for this.

Please indicate below if you would/would not be interested in taking part again in the future.

Yes, I would be interested in taking No, I would not be interested in taking part
part again in the future again in the future

Thank you for filling out this questionnaire.

You will be contacted soon to arrange payment or possible further research.

Clive Sealey

[\[email\]](#)

Appendix B

Completed Diary Sample

Research Agreement

Week 1 Day 7

Date:	What?	Where?	How?	Who?	Why?
	<p>What?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) What did you do? 2) What did you talk about? 3) How did it start? 4. How did it finish? 	<p>Where?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Where did it happen? 2. Where is this place? 3. Is this place close or far away from where you live? 	<p>How?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How did you get there? 2. How was this activity arranged? 	<p>Who?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Who was there? 2) Who was main person(s)? 3) Who was in charge? 4. What was your role? 	<p>Why?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why did you do this? 2. Did someone make you do this? 3. Did you do this by your free will? 4. Was there pressure for you to do this?
Late Morning 8am-12pm	<p>8.00 Up and ready for church my mom sent me a text and well I can come back home so I'm meeting her at church</p>	<p>When I was at Sam's in Redditch not far from Birmingham 45 min drive away</p>	<p>Anyway Sam drove me back now been to church and me and M8 are doing the garden</p>	<p>Me Sam mom sisters 1 brother 1 dad Being part of the family without upsetting Mom</p>	<p>Because I don't like living with other people. Yer in away my mom My free will would go far away and never come back Yer I love the rest of my family</p>
Afternoon 12pm-4pm	<p>1.22 Jon and me are doing the garden well I'm on a 10 minute break it's very hot</p>	<p>Mom's back yard</p>	<p>Petrol strimmers Lawn mower Hedge cutters Garden fork Shovel Wheelbarrow and more</p>	<p>Me my family and Jon my mate</p>	<p>So my mom will chill out</p>

Evening 4pm-8pm	6.30 Me and Jon had a much ernt Sunday roast and got back to work the garden looks tons better, but not as good as it will look	Moms house garden		Family and jon and Me
Night 8pm-12am	8.00 We are still working but we have had a cace of beer drope roud for us been as we are just putting cutting away in the bags are drink a cupple	Moms house and garden		

Late Night 12am-4am	12.39 Bath and Bed finshed for today now my body is acking	Moms		Family and me jon went home I houer ago	Tired
Early morning 4am-8am	Sleep	Sleep	Sleep	Sleep	Sleep



**University of Birmingham
School of Social Sciences
Institute of Applied Social Studies**

Research Agreement

Title of Research Project:-

Young People and Everyday Living in Modern Society

Name of Researcher:-

Clive Sealey

Address and Telephone Number of Researcher:-

Institute of Applied Social Sciences

University of Birmingham

Edgbaston

Birmingham B15 2TT

[phone]

[email]

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the 'Essential Information for Participants' Leaflet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I agree to take part in the other stages of the research as set out below.
3. I agree to be paid the following amounts for each stage of the research:

Week 1 of Diary completion	£15
Week 2 of Diary completion	£15
Completion Bonus for completing all 14 days of Diary on time	£10
Dairy Interview	£10
Further Future Interview	£10

4. I agree that this money will only be paid after each stage and following their agreed satisfactory completion.
5. I agree that I will sign separately for each payment that I receive.

Name of Research Participant

Signature

Date