

INSTITUTE OF APPLIED SOCIAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

GOING NOWHERE?

Rural youth employment, social capital and
migration in Britain

Martin Culliney

A thesis submitted for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the lack of literature on rural youth employment prospects. Using data from the British Household Panel Survey and fieldwork conducted in the West Midlands, I ask *to what extent is rural location a labour market disadvantage for young people?* Social capital, identified as a pertinent concept in the few previous studies, is operationalised in terms of two constituent elements: norms, affecting youth earnings, and networks, determining one's ability to find work – more so in rural areas than in urban, due to the relative absence of big business, and nepotistic recruitment practices. Transport is also a more significant barrier to employment for rural youth. I find that rural youth earn less than urban counterparts despite rural wages being higher overall. This pay penalty is a distinctly *rural youth* disadvantage, and can last well into adulthood for those who do not relocate to urban areas. In conclusion, I argue that investment in rural jobs and public transport or vehicle lease schemes would improve rural youth employment prospects. If such investment is not forthcoming, relocation schemes might extend opportunities to those willing to migrate for work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 – Background.....	4
1.2 - Research design	5
1.3 - Contribution	7
1.4 - Thesis structure	10
CHAPTER 2: RURALITY AND RURAL EFFECTS?	14
2.1 - Chasing shadows? Trying to define the rural.....	14
2.1.1 - Background	14
2.1.2- Services and sparsity: beyond settlement population as a single criterion?.....	16
2.1.3 - Travel-to-Work Areas	19
2.1.4 - Mosaic	21
2.1.5 - LLSOAs and LADs	23
2.2 - Area effects	25
2.2.1 - Introduction	25
2.2.2 - Contagion vs. competition	27
2.2.3 - Against area effects.....	30
2.2.4 - Endogenous poverty	32
2.3 - Reflections.....	33
CHAPTER 3 –RURAL YOUTH DISADVANTAGE, SOCIAL CAPITAL, CLASS AND GENDER.....	36
3.1 - Recent evidence of rural disadvantage.....	36
3.2 - Youth unemployment: Generation NEET?	41
3.3 - Rural youth disadvantage as distinct	44
3.4 - Gender.....	48
3.5 - Social class.....	50
3.5.1 - Introduction	50
3.5.2 - Marxism, land and property.....	51
3.5.3 - Wright and Goldthorpe: debates around exploitation and history	52
3.5.4 - Class and rural locations	55
3.6 - Social capital.....	57
3.6.1 – Introduction.....	57
3.6.2 - The ‘canon’	58
3.6.3 - Strong and weak ties	62

3.6.4 - Social capital and young people.....	65
3.6.5 - Social capital in rural areas	70
3.6.6 - Social capital and new technology	73
3.7 – Summary	78
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN.....	80
4.1 – Primary data	83
4.1.1- The rationale for interviews.....	83
4.1.2- Study areas.....	86
4.1.3- Sampling.....	87
4.1.4 - Access and the role of gatekeepers	89
4.2 – Secondary data	91
4.2.1- The merits of microdata.....	91
4.2.2- Potential datasets	93
4.3 – Ethics	97
4.4 - Model specification and operationalisation	101
4.4.1 – Introduction.....	101
4.4.2 - Rural/urban location	103
4.4.2.1 - Social class: measurement	105
4.4.2.2- Social class: hypotheses	106
4.4.3 - Social capital.....	108
4.4.3.1 – Introduction.....	108
4.4.3.2 – Norms and Trust.....	108
4.4.3.3- Networks.....	111
4.4.3.4 - Social capital: hypotheses	113
4.4.4 – Time.....	114
4.4.5 – Outcomes	116
4.5 - Summary	117
CHAPTER 5: CROSS-SECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS WITH RURAL AND URBAN YOUTH	118
5.1 - The study areas	120
5.1.1 - Rural 1	120
5.1.2 - Rural 2	122
5.1.3 - Rural 3	124
5.1.4 - Urban 1.....	124
5.1.5 - Urban 2.....	125

5.2 - Data and methods.....	125
5.2.1 - Sampling.....	125
5.2.2 - Observer effects.....	129
5.2.3 - How data were analysed.....	132
5.3 - Findings	135
5.3.1 - Opportunities.....	137
5.3.2 - Barriers.....	142
5.3.3 - Aspirations	150
5.4 - Summary	155
CHAPTER 6: ROUTES TO EMPLOYMENT - LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS OF FIELDWORK DATA.....	157
6.1 - Methodology.....	158
6.2 - Sampling and attrition.....	159
6.3 - Findings	161
6.3.1 - Opportunities	161
6.3.1.1 - Education	162
6.3.1.2 - Finding work through personal networks.....	166
6.3.2 - Aspirations.....	168
6.3.3 - Barriers.....	170
6.3.3.1 - Transport.....	171
6.3.3.2 – Relocation.....	178
6.3.3.3 – Competition for vacancies.....	183
6.3.4- Outcomes.....	184
6.3.5 – The dividends from qualitative longitudinal data	191
6.4 - Summary	192
CHAPTER 7: THE RURAL YOUTH EFFECT.....	196
7.1 - Descriptive statistics.....	197
7.2 - Social capital indicators.....	201
7.3 - The underlying dimensions of social capital	206
7.4 - Youth earnings and inactivity: the rural effect	214
7.5 - Summary	225
CHAPTER 8: THE PAY PENALTY PERSISTS: LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS OF MIGRATION AND LABOUR MARKET OUTCOMES.....	227
8.1 - Data	228
8.2: Descriptive statistics on rural/urban migration	231

8.3: On analysing longitudinal data.....	236
8.4: Who is more likely to migrate? Survival analysis	237
8.5: Earnings.....	241
8.5.1: Rural/urban earnings 1991-2008/9.....	242
8.5.2: Linear Mixed Models: the effect of rural/urban location and origin on earnings	246
8.5.3: Earnings according to rural/urban origin and current location: following the 1991 youth cohort	250
8.6: Summary	255
CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS	257
9.1 - Introduction	257
9.1.1 – Chapter outline.....	257
9.1.2 – Why should we care about rural youth employment?	258
9.1.3 - Contributions of this thesis	259
9.2 - Is rural location a labour market disadvantage for young people?	261
9.2.1 - Do rural job markets offer more limited opportunities?	262
9.2.2 - How are aspirations influenced by location?.....	264
9.2.3 - How far are barriers to participation real or perceived?	267
9.2.4 - How are outcomes in education and employment affected by location?.....	270
9.2.5 - Findings: limitations	272
9.2.6 – Summary: rural youth labour market disadvantage	274
9.3 - How do the findings relate to broader national and global contexts?	276
9.4 - Policy recommendations.....	284
9.5 - Conclusion	289
REFERENCES	292
Appendix chapter 4A: Descriptive statistics for Local Authority Districts.....	308
Appendix chapter 4B: Fieldwork materials	312
Appendix 6: Fieldwork phase two participant profiles	318
Appendix chapter 7A: Descriptive statistics for original BHPS 6032 rural/urban categories	321
Appendix chapter 7B.....	326
Appendix chapter 8: Descriptive statistics	329

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Youth unemployment and young people not in employment, education or training (NEET) feature persistently in academic, policy and media debates in Britain (Roberts 1995, Bynner and Parsons 2002, Bainbridge and Browne 2010, Spielhofer et al 2010). These issues have been particularly prominent since the 2009 recession, with the number of young people out of work stubbornly high even amid tentative signs of economic recovery. At any time over the past 30 years, at least one in seven young people have been out of work and education in Britain (House of Commons Work and Pensions Select Committee 2012:10). Although Britain is a densely populated, heavily urbanised nation, there are still a sizeable number of rural residents. While they tend to be older (Lowe and Speakman 2006, Hardill and Dwyer 2011) and more affluent, recent evidence has drawn attention to rural disadvantage, often overlooked (Burgess 2008a, 2008b).

Research and mainstream discourse have paid little attention to the circumstances of rural youth in the labour market (Hendry et al 2002). The limited literature on this topic indicates that youth unemployment is higher in urban settings, as larger conurbations usually contain more severely deprived areas (Cartmel and Furlong 2000). This could be taken as justification for rural youth being ignored by research. However, these studies highlight a different yet significant set of obstacles for young people outside of the larger towns and cities (Cartmel and Furlong 2000, Spielhofer et al 2011, CRC 2012), arguably amounting to a rural youth disadvantage.

This is important to consider given the New Labour government's pledge that eradicating inequality of opportunity caused by location would be a policy goal (Social Exclusion Unit 2001:8). Furthermore, while many personal stories of disappointment and frustration are behind unemployment statistics, one must recognise the bigger picture: if young people are denied opportunities due to where they live, a pool of talent is being squandered, and it is in the national interest to ensure that all young people are able to fulfil their potential and contribute to the economy. For these reasons, youth employment prospects in all areas, including the rural, are worth investigating.

This thesis centres on the research question *is rural location a labour market disadvantage to young people?* I find that being in – or even originating from - a rural location *does* present distinct labour market disadvantages to young people, in terms of both opportunities and outcomes.

Rural youth struggle with the cost and availability of public transport. The lack of variety in rural employment, the relative absence of big business in rural areas, along with the nepotistic recruitment practices of small firms (who tend not to formally advertise vacancies) all disadvantage those without access to the crucial networks. Therefore, as rural youth are more dependent on personal contacts to find work, and private vehicles to reach work, they are disadvantaged in terms of employment opportunities.

Rural youth are more likely to be in temporary jobs and more likely to be in jobs without promotion prospects compared to urban youth. They are more likely to be in manual occupations, and receive lower pay, despite rural earnings overall (for all ages) being higher. Furthermore, young people of rural origin suffer a pay

penalty which can last until they enter their thirties and forties if they do not migrate to urban areas. When combined, rural origin and rural location produce a disadvantage in terms of labour market outcomes.

The decisive factors are social capital and mobility. If someone has the appropriate contacts, or is able to travel or relocate for work, then the disadvantages of rural location can be overcome. For those outside of the vital networks, or unable to commute or migrate for employment, rural location has a negative effect on opportunities and outcomes. This study has four specific aims:

- 1) To assess how location affects the job opportunities available to young people. Are they expected to leave their local area to pursue employment?
- 2) To examine how aspirations are influenced by location. Does living in a remote location create narrow horizons?
- 3) To consider how far barriers to participation are real or perceived. Are poor transport links and limited personal contacts bigger obstacles in rural areas?
- 4) To explore how labour market outcomes are affected by location. Do rural youth outperform urban peers in these respects?

I address each of these points using a mixed method design, incorporating cross sectional and longitudinal analysis of primary and secondary data. In this opening chapter, I begin by discussing the background to the research in further detail. I then offer a brief overview of the research design before expounding the unique empirical and theoretical contributions made. The final section outlines the structure of the thesis, summarising the content of each chapter.

1.1 – Background

9.6 million people live in rural areas in England, with this figure comprising 19.1% of the total population (Burgess 2008b). The definitions upon which this figure is based are open to dispute (see chapter 2). England is densely populated (as is Britain, albeit to a lesser extent – see chapter 6) and heavily urbanised, yet a significant minority live outside of the larger towns and cities. Among OECD nations, only Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands have a lower proportion of rural areas (Costa et al 2006:25). Rural Britain is known to have an ageing population (Lowe and Speakman 2006, Hardill and Dwyer 2011), so young people in such areas are a minority within a minority.

Historically, rurality has held connotations of ‘backwardness’. As Western nations urbanised during the industrial revolution, these emerging metropolises represented progress while the countryside symbolised a bygone, atavistic era. Marx and Engels reflected this in *The Communist Manifesto*, observing that ‘the bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life’ (1848:249). Marx believed that urbanisation, as a key component of rationalising production under capitalism, was a necessary precondition to class consciousness engendering the Communist revolution, and that this progress was hampered by rural areas being left behind.

Today, Britain purports to extend the same benefits to rural residents as to others – the NHS, education and other services of the welfare state are, in

principle, available nationally. The degree of accessibility to these is a central focus of this project. However, these services are available in principle. Correspondingly, rural levels of education and health are consistent with national standards. Much of the countryside here has shifted to a post-productivist economy, and indications are that those employed in rural districts generally work in the same industries as urban counterparts (Cherry and Rogers 1996:110; Taylor 2008:123). The difference between rural and urban life in Britain is less striking than in other countries, including Western nations with similar levels of education but vastly different geographies, such as Canada, Australia and the USA.

Despite high population density and national welfare provision rendering the rural/urban disparity less pronounced than elsewhere, it remains a concern that location can be a determinant of life-chances. The relative lack of existing research into whether rural youth are disadvantaged compared with urban peers leaves this issue relatively unexplored. Concentrated deprivation is far more prevalent in urban Britain, yet as will be seen, solely studying such areas risks overlooking predominant experiences of disadvantage. The primary purpose of this study is to ascertain how far rural location is an advantage or disadvantage to young people.

1.2 - Research design

This investigation uses a mixed method design. I report on fieldwork conducted in rural and urban locations throughout the West Midlands between November 2010

and November 2011. I also use data from the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) in conjunction with conditional access regional identifiers to compare labour market outcomes for young people in rural and urban Britain. The cross-sectional element to this design is obviously crucial for rural/urban comparisons, and employing quantitative and qualitative methods maximises both breadth and depth. Using secondary data makes analysis of larger samples possible, with respondents spread across a wider area – all of the United Kingdom in this case. Adding primary data to this allows for further exploration of the key issues. Existing sources are not tailored to the specific purposes of particular projects, so a bespoke research instrument for further data collection is essential for ensuring complete coverage. It also brings flexibility to adapt according to different respondents' circumstances.

It has been suggested that the study of youth labour market participation needs a longitudinal approach (Bynner and Parsons 2002; Scottish Executive 2005:55). Young people move in and out of education and training, work in temporary jobs, and commonly have spells of economic activity, whether voluntary or enforced. It was therefore crucial to integrate a temporal element into the design of this research. Follow-up interviews were conducted with participants in rural and urban locations between 5 and 12 months after initial meetings. This was intended to monitor how their plans had changed over the observation period, and whether location (or other factors) had been a determinant in this regard. I also use all 18 waves of data from the British Household Panel Survey to examine rural/urban migration patterns and earnings differences between 1991 and 2008/9. Interviewing rural and urban youth illuminates the effect of location on opportunities and aspirations, but incorporating a longitudinal dimension is

necessary to gauge any differences more accurately. Static analysis of secondary data also reveals interesting differences, yet tracking trends over time puts these emerging patterns into better perspective. This is especially important for studying youth, where development over time and transitions into adulthood are of particular interest. Equally, comparing rural/urban differences over time improves the reliability of findings, enabling the identification of trends beyond mere synchronic snapshots.

1.3 - Contribution

The priority of this thesis is to directly address the research question by fulfilling the study objectives listed above. These are referred to at appropriate junctures as they guide the empirical investigation. The focus on social capital clearly precludes this project from being labelled atheoretical. Similarly, the emphasis placed on existing research in guiding the enquiry might cause some to perceive this study as one where 'the literature acts as a proxy for theory' (Bryman 2008:8). I would dispute this view. Although previous research informs the research question above all else, theory is discussed throughout, from the chiefly contextual early chapters to the empirical chapters that follow. Theoretical contributions are made, particularly on social capital and its application to youth employment and location, as mentioned below. However, these are secondary to the main purpose of this work: to determine the extent to which rural location is an advantage or disadvantage to young people's labour market prospects in Britain. I use a range of methods and sources to achieve this.

This study makes an original contribution to the literature on youth unemployment through placing emphasis on rural youth, often neglected in previous research (such as Bainbridge and Browne 2010). With one-fifth of England's population residing in rural areas, this oversight by prior research creates inaccurate accounts of youth employment. This thesis serves as a corrective to the dominant approach taken by extant work in this field by looking beyond urban locations.

Rural and urban youth employment opportunities and outcomes have been compared using primary and secondary data. There have been calls for longitudinal research into young people's relationship with the labour market (Bynner and Parsons 2002; Scottish Executive 2005:55), precipitated by the episodic labour market participation characterising many youth careers. This thesis has drawn on both quantitative and qualitative longitudinal data to answer such calls. Follow-up interviews with rural and urban youth have highlighted issues arising from location which would have remained undetected without a research design incorporating both cross-sectional and longitudinal components.

Using data from BHPS waves 1-18 produces an observation period stretching from 1991 to 2008/9. Following original sample members during this period reveals fluctuating pay disparities which would remain hidden through adherence to synchronic analysis or the use of fewer data points. This approach has also enabled analyses of rural/urban migration patterns, confirming that rural out-migration is likelier to occur among younger people, and that rural in-migration is more common among older respondents – although I show that the age gap is narrower than expected. For the first time, conditional access geographical location variables are used to compare rural and urban youth. The longitudinal

and comparative design shows how rural *origin* when combined with rural *location* creates a lasting pay penalty. This disadvantage can be mitigated by migration. The treatment of origin and location as separate variables, along with the 18 year observation window, amounts to a new development in the study of young people in the labour market.

BHPS wave 17 (2007/8) contains numerous social capital indicators, vital for the study of rural youth employment given the importance of informal networks for obtaining work in rural areas, as indicated by previous research (Cartmel and Furlong 2000, Mathews et al 2009, Spielhofer et al 2011). I operationalise social capital as two constituent elements, norms and networks, finding that networks are not significant predictors of outcomes once in employment, but that norms have a clear, positive effect. Furthermore, the fieldwork findings corroborate past research by illustrating the importance of networks to those looking for work. The mixed method design shows the multidimensional nature of social capital with regard to youth employment. This is a unique theoretical contribution.

In this thesis, primary data complements the quantitative secondary data analysis by examining youth transitions between unemployment, education and work. I report on initial and follow-up interviews conducted in several rural and urban locations. This facet of the research was topical, with high youth unemployment and severe cuts to public services beginning as the research took place. It is also crucial that young people's perspective is acknowledged by research at a time when policies assisting youth, such as the Educational Maintenance Allowance, have been abolished, and as youth frustrations at a perceived dearth of opportunity have surfaced recently in the summer 2011 riots.

Giving voice to rural youth, a minority within a minority rarely recognised in policy, media and research, is a significant contribution of this project.

1.4 - Thesis structure

In Chapter 2, I consider different definitions of the rural. I discuss the official classificatory schemes used by the Office of National Statistics, and the Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs. I also introduce and dismiss alternative frameworks, namely Travel-to-Work Areas and Mosaic. I argue that a combination of the two official classificatory schemes offers the best solution for this project. Finally, I discuss the debates around area effects, positing that it would be erroneous to claim person-level outcomes are solely determined by surroundings, yet if any inequality of opportunity stems from location, this should be rectified as a matter of priority.

Chapter 3 discusses rural disadvantage, highlighting the poverty beyond urban districts which is often camouflaged by the relative affluence of rural areas overall. Youth unemployment and NEET are also assessed, and the argument for taking a longitudinal view in this project is put forward. I cite the limited literature looking at rural youth, arguing that the overall scarcity of apposite research and specific limitations of existing contributions warrant further investigation of this matter. In the second part of the chapter, I introduce the concept of social capital and explain how it applies to rural youth and the labour market, and consider how social class and gender might also interact with location in influencing employment opportunities and outcomes.

Chapter 4 delineates the research design, explaining how this project draws on primary and secondary research using qualitative and quantitative data, combining cross-sectional and longitudinal formats. It then specifies the conceptual model, and discusses ethical considerations. I go on to evaluate potential datasets, and state the criteria for study areas. Detailed treatment of each of these is reserved for later chapters, where more specific references are made in relation to particular facets of the empirical investigation. Finally, I discuss how the variables mentioned in chapter 2 are operationalised in the remaining chapters.

Chapter 5 offers a more detailed description of the study areas. It also considers difficulties with respect to participant recruitment, and the possibility of observer effects during interviews. The remainder of the chapter presents findings from the first phase of fieldwork. I argue that rural areas offer fewer jobs than larger conurbations, and that mobility is essential for rural youth to find employment. Those without the necessary personal contacts were unable to find work in rural areas. Urban youth also emphasised the importance of knowing the right people, but the relative absence of large businesses, along with the tendency for vacancies to be unadvertised, suggest this is more of a rural barrier. Nevertheless, many rural youth appeared unwilling to leave the area due to close bonds with family and friends. This could be seen as a sign of low aspiration, or a negative effect of social capital. However, some rural youth actively choose to remain in their local area, enjoying rural lifestyles and pursuing rural careers.

Chapter 6 builds on this cross-sectional analysis by using longitudinal interview data to analyse the employment opportunities and outcomes of rural youth, focussing on the strategies adopted by young people to establish careers. I

find that volunteering can present development and networking opportunities, but rural areas are less likely offer this option. Relocation is another possibility for those frustrated with fruitless attempts to enter local labour markets, yet youth inevitably face financial obstacles and are understandably deterred by the prospect of leaving home and moving somewhere unfamiliar – a daunting dual transition. Education is another investment which can protect against unemployment, but options are more limited for rural youth. Whether these disadvantages outweigh the greater poverty and crime in urban Britain is moot. The key issue is that separate problems arising directly from location should be recognised in policy.

In Chapter 7, I move on to statistical analyses of youth earnings and inactivity using BHPS wave 17. I identify two social capital indicators, norms and networks. Prior research foregrounds networks as the key dimension of social capital concerning employment, but no significant relationship between this variable and earnings emerges here. Norms, on the other hand, measured in terms of community and trust in individuals and institutions, are a significant predictor of earnings. I also find that rural youth earn less than urban counterparts. Coupled with the higher living costs associated with rural location highlighted in previous studies, this amounts to a double disadvantage. Lower rural wages may be partly explained by the larger proportion of higher status occupations in urban areas. Nevertheless, as rural wages are higher overall, lower rural youth pay relative to urban peers confirms this is a disparity particular to rural youth.

Chapter 8 presents longitudinal analysis of migration and earnings, again using BHPS data. I find that rural-to-urban migration occurs at younger ages than movement in the opposite direction, but the difference is less than anticipated. I

also use life tables to confirm that rural out-migration is more common than in-migration from urban areas. Longitudinal analysis of earnings finds that rural origin has a negative effect on earnings over time, whereas rural location does not. I analyse 18 years of earnings data, tracking respondents until their early forties in some cases, to find that those who ‘stay rural’ earn less than those who remain in urban areas throughout the observation period, and also earn less than those moving urban-to-rural and rural-to-urban. This corroborates my earlier findings, that rural wages for older workers match urban earnings, and that ability to relocate can improve labour market outcomes.

Chapter 9 concludes by revisiting the core themes expounded throughout the thesis, and advancing policy recommendations. I focus on transport, a recurring theme throughout the thesis, as improvements in availability and affordability would make a massive difference to young people, especially in rural locations. I also argue for investment from government and business in rural areas, and offer alternative policy solutions in case such investment is not forthcoming.

CHAPTER 2: RURALITY AND RURAL EFFECTS?

This chapter reviews existing definitions of 'rural' and considers the relative merits of each. It discusses official definitions of rurality used in Britain by the Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, and the Office for National Statistics, and outlines the compromises necessary in selecting an operational definition for this study. The second section introduces the debate around area effects. The effect of remote location is a crucial variable in this project, and how far disadvantage can be attributed to either people or places is therefore vital to ascertaining which interventions would be most effective in combating any negative consequences of location. I argue that attributing all successes and failures to place is absurd, but if any variation in outcomes can be explained by location, and if this reflects inequity, then this is a clear concern.

2.1 - Chasing shadows? Trying to define the rural

2.1.1 - Background

The term 'rural' is contested (Alston and Kent 2009:91), prompting suggestions that it is 'difficult to assure ourselves of where the rural ends and where the urban begins' (Lawrence 1997:5). This observation offers little help in moving towards a satisfactory definition, but highlights the fact that discussing the rural often involves juxtaposition with the urban, even if the comparison is only implicit. Similarly, Murdoch and Pratt note that 'there is no essential rural condition, no point of reference against which rurality can be measured' (1997:56), but some

form of contrast with non-rural areas must surely be possible once it is decided exactly what is understood to be rural. This is a sanguine assessment compared with that of Hodge and Monk (2004:264), who proclaim that 'any search for a single definition of rural must be arbitrary at best and potentially futile'. Clearly there is no reason why researchers should be limited to definitions relying on a single criterion, but what is evident is that many find rurality difficult to define.

Nevertheless, if the rural is to be the subject of research, it *must* be defined. It would be untenable to conduct a project professing social scientific credibility without specifying exactly what is to be studied. Despite this, some commentators shy away from the crucial task of identifying their central concept. Crow (2008), for example, offers a literature review of 'Recent Rural Community Studies'. He cites a number of studies to dismiss the outdated rural/urban dichotomy, a fair point considering that consensus now exists as to the protean character of any distinction, and states that his review includes research into 'country towns'. However, he fails to specify what is meant by a country town. The term is vague enough to include settlements of any size or sparsity, with indeterminate levels of service provision, situated in whatever proximity to major conurbations the reader cares to guess. This is not to say that the work covered by Crow does not constitute legitimate rural research. The problem is that no attempt has been made to define the key concept.

Of course, there are researchers who believe that other approaches should be taken. Glendinning et al (2003) contend that actors' views are paramount in defining the rural. This stance is echoed by Alston and Kent, who argue that statistical definitions do little to capture the experiential element of isolation engendered by geographic marginality (2009:91). Indeed, the tendency for more

enduring definitions of the rural to concentrate solely on that which is empirically measureable has been criticised, for doing just that – focussing only on that which can be directly observed and gauged (Halfacree 1993:23). Whilst such criticisms may carry merit for trying to foreground subjective dimensions of rural life, there remains an unquestionable need to define the rural according to empirically robust criteria.

2.1.2- Services and sparsity: beyond settlement population as a single criterion?

An early yet admirably comprehensive classificatory framework is Paul Cloke's (1977) *Index of Rurality for England and Wales*. The index uses 15 criteria, including distance from conurbations of 50,000, 100,000 and 250,000 inhabitants, the rationale being that small settlements situated close enough to larger towns and cities should be able to use the services offered there. In some cases, this has been problematic for more recent research, as is mentioned below. Among other criteria are commuter flows, and the age profile of the area, with the assumption that rural regions have older populations due to youth out-migration and incoming retirees. Although a simplistic dichotomous rural/urban distinction had been widely disregarded by this time, Cloke's index is praiseworthy for adding factors such as commuter activity into the equation. Such variables have been excluded even from more up-to-date definitions.

Noble and Wright (2000) identify sparsity as the primary characteristic of rural areas, and contend that this causes the more tangible secondary characteristics seen to typify the rural, such as a lack of services, poor transport,

scarce employment options and an ageing population. They argue that funding allocations to local authorities do not take sparsity into account, and that this is inadequate given the obvious increase in costs associated with delivering services across a sparsely populated area (Noble and Wright 2000:296-8, see also Craig and Manthorpe 2000). The issues raised here are important, as are those highlighted by their subsequent work on the Indices of Multiple Deprivation, which uses Lower Layer Super Output Areas (henceforth LLSOAs; this unit of measurement is explained in section 1.2.5) and applies a formula to balance out the different elements comprising poverty (Noble and Wright et al 2004; 2006). In sum, the contribution of Noble and Wright is threefold: they acknowledge the difficulty in providing services to a dispersed population (although this has been noted elsewhere), highlight the accuracy with which poverty can be documented in rural areas, and note the multiple factors which combine to cause deprivation.

According to the Office for National Statistics, any settlement with less than 10,000 residents is rural. This definition has been adopted in influential publications such as Burgess (2008a) and Taylor (2008), although the latter concedes that in practice market towns of up to 20,000 may be classed as rural, and his analysis actually includes towns with even higher populations. Similarly, Valentine et al (2008:29) label a settlement of 15,500 as an urban centre, raising questions as to whether such a settlement can offer residents services equivalent to those expected in urban locations. This claim is especially contentious given that the settlement in question is Penrith in Eden, 'the most sparsely populated district in England and Wales' (Valentine et al 2008:29).

My argument is that the straightforward size-of-settlement criterion is inadequate as a solitary measure of rurality. Decades ago, Cloke (1977) made this

abundantly clear. What must be considered when defining the rural, in addition to settlement size, is the availability of services. Population alone is not sufficient as a proxy for everything else affecting quality of life; other factors must be taken into account. An example of where this has not been addressed is Little (1997), who studies two 'rural' villages located, she claims, less than ten miles from Bristol, one of Britain's largest conurbations, a 'prosperous, post-industrial' city (Bradley and Devadason 2008:133). Whilst factors such as scarce public transport may prohibit residents from capitalising on proximity to the city, to suggest that such places are genuinely rural is nonsensical. Of course, for the purposes of Little's research, the study areas chosen perhaps fulfil the necessary criteria. However, I am interested here in exploring the circumstances of young people whose remoteness from major centres poses problems for their future prospects. Therefore, for locations so advantageously close to large cities to be branded as rural would be misleading. The methodology adopted by the Australian Bureau for Statistics, which defines rural areas by road distance from service centres (Alston and Kent 2009:91), demonstrates more of an awareness of how physical isolation can make rural living onerous. Research into rural communities is surely more authoritative if it studies locations which are truly remote from large urban centres. I now consider some alternative definitions, namely Travel-to-Work Areas and Mosaic, before reviewing the literature on area effects.

2.1.3 - Travel-to-Work Areas

Travel-to-Work Areas (TTWAs) once provided the main means of analysing geographical labour market patterns, with the former Department of Employment viewing TTWAs as relevant units for presenting statistics and information. The primary criterion for establishing boundaries is self-containment, with at least 75% of economically active residents working in the area, and 75% of workers living in the area. Census data on journeys to work was aggregated to demarcate the areas (Ball 1980:126-7). TTWAs were subject to review in 1984, with recognition of the need to construct boundaries that were both statistically sound and meaningful to local labour market contexts. This was deemed an important undertaking as the areas were used to determine the funding provided by government for assistance to industry (Coombes, Green and Openshaw 1986).

TTWA data is still used by various academic, business and political research analysts, with demand persisting for TTWA data from the 2001 Census. Local Authorities, for example, apparently still use the measure as it can provide a more detailed breakdown of labour market characteristics within a broader geographical area (Coombes 2002:4-5). Similar measures are also used in Europe and the USA, and datasets such as the Labour Force Survey have contained TTWA variables (Coombes 2002: 7-8; 12). Nevertheless, TTWA data has always faced the issue that higher skilled or better paid workers are likely to commute further, and that the boundaries may therefore reflect bottom-heavy labour market trends. Census data is only collected every decade and may become obsolete before further information is gathered. Even then, data is only

collected at a single point of the year, and is therefore insensitive to seasonal fluctuations or regional variation in this respect (Ball 1980:130-2). Numerous other errors have also been reported, such as commuters providing the address of employers' national base as opposed to their local workplace (Ball 1980:130), and full-time students working in other locations, adding ambiguity into the analysis (Coombes 2002:10-11).

There is the possibility that commuting horizons differ according to gender (Ball 1980:130-6), although this latter point may have been affected by changes to workforce composition in recent years. This raises a broader challenge to TTWAs, which is the acknowledgement that people now travel further to work (Coombes 2002:2), and therefore the measure may be less meaningful. There is also the uncertain status of some locations. Newark-on-Trent, for instance, is situated in the Lincoln TTWA, but is near the border of the Mansfield, Nottingham and Grantham areas. It is unclear from solely considering TTWAs if this positioning is beneficial to residents or not. Factors overlooked include the number of professionals commuting to London via the East Coast mainline, and those employed within the town itself. Being confined to the periphery of a TTWA could be construed as disadvantageous, and it is difficult to classify the areas as urban or rural as boundaries are generally formed according to the position of the primary conurbation. These uncertainties dictate that while TTWAs may continue to have use for labour market analyses, it is unsuited to the current project. The discussion now turns to an alternative measure, Mosaic.

2.1.4 - Mosaic

Mosaic is a geodemographic dataset with full UK coverage, compiled by Experian. It was developed to assist marketing companies with targeting consumers according to neighbourhood characteristics. Mosaic has been heralded as a prime example of how administrative and transactional data can improve social research in the face of small sample sizes and self-reporting in conventional surveys (Webber 2009). Neighbourhoods are divided into 61 categories, aggregating down to 11, with around 400 input variables (Webber 2009:171). The typology depends on variables such as housing tenure and social attitudes but also includes criteria such as preference for alcohol and holidays (Hamnett, Ramsden and Butler 2007:1265).

As Mosaic defines neighbourhoods by housing variables, demographics, and socioeconomics of inhabitants (Sleight 2004:380-1), it is difficult to use the scheme for identifying patterns emerging from different neighbourhood types, as these factors are already integral to categorising the areas. Rural locations are counted among the categories listed, and are also defined according to the variables mentioned above. Using Noble and Wright's (2000) approach, this would represent a confusion of primary and secondary characteristics, as they posit that the characteristics of an area (in terms of service provision) are determined by sparsity. Mosaic reverses this logic through reliance on consumer data in addition to Census information. The former source privileges demographic and attitudinal data above geography, thus implying that the latter is less important. It is unhelpful to social research if rural areas are defined as such by consumption variables, if

anything the direction of causality runs counter to this assumption. Hence, Mosaic is inappropriate for this investigation, where the stated aim is to examine the effect of location on opportunities and outcomes for young people, necessitating the treatment of location as an independent variable (with the exception of sections 8.2 and 8.4, which look at rural/urban migration).

The central assumption of Mosaic is that people tend to live among those similar to themselves, although it is conceded that exceptions to the rule exist (Sleight 2004:385). Indeed, the heterogeneity of poor areas has been acknowledged in a study using Mosaic to analyse youth offenders and recidivism in Nottinghamshire (Hayden, Williamson and Webber 2007), suggesting that the generalisations so central to the dataset can overlook important nuances of neighbourhood composition. This is especially apposite for rural youth disadvantage, which represents a minority within a minority, yet a significant one nevertheless. If experiences of poverty within affluent neighbourhoods are ignored, the data does not do justice to reality. Anything atypical within the categories developed by Mosaic is ignored, attesting to the limits of the dataset as a blunt instrument suited better to marketing purposes.

It has been argued that neighbourhood, according to Mosaic criteria, is the best predictor of GCSE results except prior pupil achievement (Webber and Butler 2007). Other applications include a study on access to green spaces in Sheffield (Barbosa et al 2007). Notably, Mosaic has also been used alongside Census data on ethnic residency in an attempt to disentangle the effects of school ethnic composition and neighbourhood factors on examination outcomes (Hamnett, Ramsden and Butler 2007). It was concluded that 'advantageous social background has a strong positive effect on GCSE performance for all ethnic

groups' (2007:1270) and that 'where pupils live is an important predictor of success', with social background most important (2007:1277). This study looks at ethnic neighbourhood profiles in an attempt to gauge the effect of school and neighbourhood diversity, but there is no consideration as to whether this applies beyond London, which they admit is demographically unique (2007:1261).

Although the observation that higher class neighbourhood background boosts aggregate statistics is true, the recurring problem of minority experience within these areas persists. If poor children are schooled in affluent areas, the neighbourhood effect on them could be different. This is an issue to which I return after introducing the notion of area effects in section 2.2.

2.1.5 - LLSOAs and LADs

In this section, I discuss two rural/urban classificatory frameworks used by government bodies in the UK. These schemas are both used in this project; although they are different, they are inextricably linked. Firstly, Output Areas each include approximately 125 households. These are amalgamated to form Super Output Areas, in turn divided into Lower and Middle Layer, with the latter comprising several of the former. More data is available for the Lower Layer Super Output Areas (LLSOA) level, which is more precise, with mean population of 1500 individuals (median 1531). In the most disaggregated rural/urban typologies used by the ONS, there are separate classificatory schemes for England and Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, each allocating LLSOAs to one of eight levels on a scale of rurality based on settlement population size and density. These can be

collapsed into a dichotomous rural/urban format, as is demonstrated in the more detailed discussion of the data and measures found in chapter 7.

There is a strong logical case for using the maximum level of precision possible when defining the rural. In addition to the endorsement given by Noble and Wright, Defra recommends the use of LLSOA data wherever possible to ensure optimum accuracy. However, despite the obvious appeal, there are drawbacks to adopting LLSOAs as the unit of analysis throughout. For example, Bromley in Greater London contains two LLSOAs classed as rural (statistics.gov.uk). Whilst London is agreed to be one of the most urban places on the planet, Bromley is 20 minutes from central London by train (www.bromley.gov), and boasts a shopping centre housing over 100 retail units (www.theglades.uk.com). This exemplifies how choosing the smallest unit of analysis is not always wise.

Alternatively, the LAD (Local Authority District) Rural Urban Classification, based on the aforementioned ONS Rural/Urban definition, divides local authorities into six categories: Major Urban, Large Urban, Other Urban, Significant Rural, Rural-50 and Rural-80. The latter is the most rural and encompasses a total of 73 LADs, each with at least 80% of their population living in small rural villages or market towns (Dey-Chowdhury and Gibson 2008). These districts are classified according to the proportion of their population living in rural or urban settlements as defined by the ONS schema introduced above. They are much larger geographically (mean population 150,743, median 119,239), and therefore present the risk of being too cumbersome as units of analysis. For example, one could feasibly live in a location which seems very urban in terms of service

availability whilst residing in what is officially a rural LAD. Another drawback is that LAD data is only available for England.

So, having shown that the more precise LLSOA measure can also be misleading, it is clear that neither unit is without flaws. Regardless of such issues, LLSOA and LAD data are comprehensive, covering all of England. Therefore, it seems that these interdependent definitions of rural, both based ultimately on settlement population, are most appropriate for this study. A more detailed explanation of how both units of analysis fit into the research design is supplied in chapter 4. The following section reviews the literature on area effects, which focuses on debates around the impact of location on life chances.

2.2 - Area effects

2.2.1 - Introduction

This section considers area effects, defined by Atkinson and Kintrea as ‘the net change in the contribution to life-chances made by living in one area rather than another’ (2001:2278). The question is whether disadvantages are created or exacerbated by location. This is an important issue as the impact of place determines whether policy interventions should target individuals and families or places. This also has implications for research design in terms of deciding which unit of analysis to use. After considering the rationale for area-based interventions, I discuss how living in a poor or affluent area affects those in poverty, along with the case against area effects. This includes literature alleging ecological fallacy and the possibility of endogenous poverty. I conclude by arguing that attributing all

individual outcomes to place is absurd, yet the impact of location must be recognised if any effect whatsoever is observed.

Weber et al (2005:387), in a review of research on rural effects in the US, identify two distinct types of study: community studies, concentrating on poverty as a function of community and demographic and structural variables, and contextual studies, which perceive individual poverty as an outcome of individual characteristics in addition to the 'context' provided by community social and economic characteristics. Clearly a discussion of rural area effects should consider sparsity and remoteness among these community variables.

In an example of a community study, Wilson (1987) famously highlighted the exodus of black middle class families from urban ghettos in the US, lamenting the loss of services that followed those with money to spend. Rather than deeming individual households and businesses responsible for the decay in such neighbourhoods, Wilson advanced a structural account of middle-class flight from increasingly deprived areas. He argues that improving the employment prospects of young black males is crucial, suggesting that in-job training, apprenticeships and relevant qualifications are essential for ameliorating the plight of the truly disadvantaged (Wilson 1987:150-1). Whilst this could be classed as a contextual study for arguing that individuals should be made more employable, the primacy of the structural dimension suggests that place is the true focus of the proposed solutions.

This prescription has also been made in Britain with specific reference to relocating public sector jobs to structurally deprived areas (Field 1989:158-61). Distinguishing between people poverty and place poverty is imperative here. The

former refers to people on low incomes, whereas the latter is concerned with service scarcity and other factors that may negatively affect life-chances. Clearly connections between the concepts exist, and the case for investment presumes that pouring money into an area will benefit those residing there. I now consider the impact of poor people living among affluence.

2.2.2 - Contagion vs. competition

Brooks-Gunn et al (1993) consider the circumstances of poor families living in predominantly affluent areas by assessing two sets of theories. 'Contagion' theories concern the effect of the presence of low-income families in the local area, whereas collective socialisation theories focus on the absence of affluent neighbours who serve as role models and provide resources locally. This latter point implies an indirect effect, related to the account of structural poverty posited by Wilson (1987). With their money spent locally, businesses and services are sustained, which reduces place poverty.

Brooks-Gunn et al define neighbourhoods as poor or affluent according to the proportion of poor or affluent families in the area (1993:359). Their research analyses child and adolescent development according to neighbourhood characteristics, using the aforementioned measure of family affluence along with indicators of social isolation, the number of males in professional and managerial occupations, male unemployment, female-headed families and black population (Brooks-Gunn et al 1993:359). They find that 'the absence of affluent neighbours is much more important than the presence of low-income neighbours' (1993:383),

concluding that this supports collective socialisation theories, which claim that the absence of positive examples outweighs the detriment of poverty and its effects being visible locally.

The findings of Brooks-Gunn et al are disputed by commentators who stress the negative aspects of contagion in area effects. Milbourne (2010) notes how affluence decreases dependence on public services, and that areas predominantly populated by the well-off, particularly rural locations, have less public services (Hodge et al 2002:458). Public transport is one example, as the prevalence of private vehicles among wealthy rural residents has diminished the demand for buses. Thus, people with money can access more distant amenities, often beyond the reach of those who cannot afford a car. The consequence is declining services in remote areas, with those without transport isolated from the facilities upon which they are reliant. Poor people are likelier to spend money locally, and thus the disappearance of these services affects them disproportionately (McCormick and Philo 1995:11). The argument that affluence lessens the need for investment has limitations, for example middle-income families may choose state post-16 education for their children, which requires investment for increased demand for staying-on (Powell, Boyne and Ashworth 2001:246). However, poorer people are generally in greater need of public services, and their absence can prove a damaging area effect. Furthermore, Julian Tudor Hart (1971) claims that those in need of services are not guaranteed access to them, and that the availability of medical care varies inversely with the need of the population, adding that people in higher income groups know how to make better use of services. While Hart's postulation has been labelled anecdotal

(Watt 2002), it raises a germane point about how poverty and place can combine to exacerbate disadvantage.

With propinquity to affluence not necessarily beneficial, the contagion effects of poverty must also be considered. Milbourne (2010:158) contends that for poor people, being in a poor place can be helpful. Support networks, including public services but also community support, are more common, and forms of entrepreneurialism can develop from the collective disadvantage as a form of resistance. This postulation corresponds with the Wilkinson hypothesis, which claims that inequality itself rather than absolute poverty causes poorer health and other negative outcomes for societies (Wilkinson and Pickett 2007: 2008, see also Rowlingson 2011). Moreover, while arguments for 'cultures of unemployment' and other forms of deviant behaviour have been made (notably Murray 1990, 1994), there is evidence that segregation of unemployment does not reduce commitment to work (Russell 1999:215), and that a sense of pride in self-sufficiency persists in areas of profound economic hardship (MacDonald et al 2005:882). While the risks of exposure to negative role models and crime in such environments should not be overlooked, living in a poor area is sometimes preferable for poor people.

Rural areas in Britain (unlike in the USA, see Weber et al 2005:382-3; Sherman 2006:891) are less deprived overall than urban locations. Household incomes are higher, and the proportion of benefit claimants is lower (Burgess 2010:86, 94), yet they are not uniformly affluent, and those that are also have disadvantaged inhabitants. This creates problems for the poor people, who do not fit in with idyllic conceptions of the rural (Cloke et al 1995), and suffer from increasingly poor service provision, as detailed in subsequent chapters. Townsend (1979) illustrated that most poor people do not live in poor places. This applies to

rural Britain, where disadvantage is harder to pinpoint as remote areas escape the eye-catching concentrations of poverty witnessed in the cities, and delivering services is costlier even when need is identified (Noble and Wright 2000). This problem is observed by Milbourne, who states that 'policies of spatial targeting tend to disadvantage rural places where spatial concentrations of poverty are rarely present' (2010:164). He also contends that studying poverty in poor places has 'arguably marginalised the dominant sociospatial experience of poor people' (2010:158), suggesting that researching area effects of poverty might prove more fruitful if the focus is not restricted to those areas of extreme deprivation where poverty can be found in abundance, but are places in the minority and do not reflect the true circumstances of poor people.

2.2.3 - Against area effects

McCormick and Philo (1995:6-7) deny that the poverty of a location can be explained solely by the characteristics of that place, although it is improbable that such a claim has ever been made. Powell, Boyne and Ashworth (2001) warn of the fallacy of attributing average conditions in an area to all inhabitants, but the effect of location is potentially significant for young people, as stated by evidence in the following chapters. Hodge et al (2002:458) claim that dispersed poverty is problematic, therefore individual interventions are required. This is the crux of the area effects debate, and revolves around the difficulty in targeting poverty in areas where it is a minority plight. If poverty in an area is harder to detect due to sparsity,

surely some area-based interventions specifically addressing that issue are required.

Joshi (2001:1349) says that class, poverty and unemployment are all measured individually, with aggregations formulated at area level. Again by this logic, it would make more sense to aim assistance toward people as opposed to places. She qualifies this viewpoint by suggesting that 'policies toward place are not redundant, but they should operate within a context of policies toward people' (Joshi 2001:1352). This holds some merit, but the corollary is that structural problems need structural solutions (Smith, Noble and Wright 2001:1342). Whilst unemployment statistics cannot fully convey the personal hardships endured by those without work, and each addition to the claimant count represents a story which is inevitably unique in some way, the need for area based interventions remains. Wilson (1987) recognised that upskilling those in high unemployment areas is a priority, but job vacancies that do not exist cannot be filled. This highlights how individually focused interventions have limitations, and that investment in places is necessary to alleviate structural problems where they exist. McCormick and Philo (1995:8) argue that capitalism needs uneven development, and that some places will prosper while others suffer shortages. It is in this context that area based initiatives are called for, even when the manifestations of place poverty can be traced to the individual.

2.2.4 - Endogenous poverty

Weber et al (2005:390) suggest that certain types of people may be attracted to rural areas, and that poverty may therefore be attracted to some places as poor people are poor upon arrival. Although it is obvious that the poor usually have less choice about where they live, it has been argued that segregations along class lines emerge from individual and family decisions and not purely structural or policy factors (Skifter Andersen 2002:154). The prospect of poverty migrating to certain places turns the logic of area effects on its head, as places become poorer due to the influx of poor people, rather than poverty afflicting residents of the area who may be less disadvantaged elsewhere. This could lead, they claim, to a spurious rural effect (Weber et al 2005:401). The failure of datasets to probe these endogenous factors is a problem preventing greater understanding about area effects, they insist, so this must be incorporated into future research. I return to data limitations below.

However, this putative trend of migration to poor areas (based on US evidence – rural poverty is far more prevalent there than in Britain) could also be construed as strengthening the area effects argument, as poor people migrating to poor areas, whether voluntarily or otherwise, reflects the poverty of place, in addition to that of the people. No meaningful contribution to the area effects debate has proposed that people poverty has no effect. It is a question of ascertaining the correct balance between people and place focussed policy responses, which should include individuals and places (McCulloch 2001:1367).

Mitchell (2001:1360) opines that areas themselves are not the cause of poverty, but to my knowledge nobody claimed that they were. To suggest that, say, educational underachievement was solely the product of area effects rather than individual academic ability, attentive parenting and good teaching would be laughable. But if any inequity at all stems from location, given that where one is born is largely a lottery, this must be addressed. Staying with the example of education, Mitchell's (2001:1358) claim that the size of area effect is always smaller than individual characteristics is unremarkable when the other explanations for variation are taken into account. However, if any variation at all can be attributed to area effects, this is an issue which must be recognised.

2.3 - Reflections

Wider regional trends can impact upon smaller communities, and all local situations relate to national and global processes. This principle also applies on a smaller scale, for example Atkinson and Kintrea (2001:2293) compared four neighbourhoods in Edinburgh and Glasgow, using one study area in each city characterised by high unemployment and a high concentration of council properties, and one with mixed housing tenure along with more working residents. They found evidence that the relative strength of Edinburgh's labour market overall influences the prospects for residents of poorer areas, indicating that city effects should be considered alongside more narrowly focused neighbourhood effects. This is slightly different to the purported trickle-down effect dismissed earlier (see McCormick and Philo 1995:11), yet an important point emerges

regarding the position of areas within their broader surroundings. It is possible to live in a deprived estate and travel to work in a more economically buoyant part of a city or district, yet if the wider area is also relatively deprived, the prospects become bleaker.

This applies to rural areas too, as noted by Powell, Boyne and Ashworth, who argue that to some extent, residence in a particular district will have an impact on all its residents (2001:248). As mentioned, LADs are rather cumbersome to be used as the only unit of analysis, yet the salience of broader notions of area remains evident. This poses a challenge for analysts, as multilevel area data must be available in detail for this to be put to use. However, the principal problem with secondary data and its utility for researching area effects is that microdata and area level data are rarely present in the same dataset (Crane 1991:1227; Burrows and Bradshaw 2001:1345). There are problems with disclosure preventing multilevel data from allowing this, so researchers are often restricted to the data they can collect themselves, which is unlikely to reach the same scale as government funded studies. Longitudinal research into the topic would prove even more costly, but would provide valuable advances in separating individual and area effects. Chapter 8 goes some way towards responding to the need for longitudinal research, exploring the relationship between location and labour market outcomes over an 18 year observation period.

In terms of specific solutions for remote areas, it has been proposed that investment in infrastructure would alleviate place poverty (Blank 2005: 444). If transport is a barrier, ensuring that roads and public transport are maintained is a key issue. If areas have suffered through structural economic decline, relocation should be supported as a policy priority (Blank 2005: 447-8). This raises a rather

apocalyptic spectre akin to that in P.D. James' (1993) novel, *The Children of Men* where universal infertility eventually leaves an ageing population, and the government is forced to rationalise service provision including evacuation of rural areas to cities where services can be offered at lower cost. It is unlikely that researchers or policy makers anticipate this situation materialising, but it raises an interesting if somewhat radical possibility. If services can no longer be supplied to remote areas where poor people who need them remain, perhaps some kind of relocation scheme should be considered. I return to this point later, in the context of my empirical investigation (see chapters 5, 6 and 9).

Having introduced the concept of rural, situated this in a national and historical context, I assessed various definitions and resolved that the comprehensiveness of LSOA and LAD measures represent the best available definitions. After dismissing Travel-to-Work Areas and Mosaic as alternatives, I considered the debate around area effects, arguing that it would be fallacious to claim that all individual outcomes are attributable to environs, yet if any inequity emanates from location, this is an important matter to rectify. The following chapter introduces existing literature on rural disadvantage, youth unemployment and NEET status, social class and social capital, contending that these concepts are crucial for establishing how far rural youth are disadvantaged by location.

CHAPTER 3 –RURAL YOUTH DISADVANTAGE, SOCIAL CAPITAL, CLASS AND GENDER

Chapters 1 and 2 introduced the research question and the main objectives of this investigation. I argued for the need to apply agreed criteria to defining rural areas, assessing the merits of numerous classificatory schemes and stating the case for using the population density measures advocated by ONS and Defra. This chapter reviews existing evidence on rural disadvantage and youth employment, and posits the relevance of other factors pertinent to this project. Section 3.1 addresses rural disadvantage and the lack of research into this area. Section 3.2 considers youth unemployment and NEET (Not in Employment, Education or Training) status. Section 3.3 focuses on rural youth disadvantage as distinct to young people, while sections 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6 discuss gender, social class and social capital, contending that each of these is germane to the research question. Operationalisation of class and social capital (along with hypotheses) is expounded in chapter 4, which also delineates the research design and model specification.

3.1 - Recent evidence of rural disadvantage

The 2007 report of the Rural Advocate claimed that over 928,000 rural households live below the poverty line, with this deprivation camouflaged by illusions of rural idyll and 'hidden urban biases in policy and delivery' (Burgess 2008a:3). There have long been concerns that rural residents 'suffer the additional burden of the relative affluence of their surroundings', their hardship concealed in statistical

overviews by the wealthier majority living in the vicinity (Cloke et al 1995:360). Whilst the rural population is older (Lowe and Speakman 2006, Hardill and Dwyer 2011), the Rural Advocate notes a decline in net out-migration of young people from rural areas (Burgess 2008b:2, see also Bynner et al 2000:18). Subsequently, these young people have difficulties obtaining affordable housing (Wilcox 2006:19; Taylor 2008:86) and often find that rural employers, usually small businesses (CRC 2012:40), struggle to supply well-co-ordinated external training; both of these factors impact upon future prospects (OECD 2008:98). Post-office and primary school closures have been lamented, along with public transport, which has become less frequent and more expensive (DfCLG 2001; Milbourne 2004:569-70; CRC 2008; Burgess 2008b; Spielhofer et al 2010).

2007/8 data from the British Household Panel Survey, presented in table 2.1, show that rural youth are likelier to be in temporary work (see Midgley and Bradshaw 2006) and in jobs without promotion prospects. This suggests that rural youth labour market opportunities are restricted, as does the prevalence of using private vehicles to get to work among those in full-time employment, with many young people unable to afford running a car. Interestingly, urban youth spend more time travelling to work, indicating that young people in rural areas are more limited in the geographical range within which they can look for employment. This is a product of rural settlements being surrounded by either uninhabited landscape or other small settlements, equally lacking in facilities and opportunities for work.

Table 3.1: BHPS wave 17 ages 16-24 rural/urban location by employment and travel variables. *** = $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Variable	Rural %	Urban %	Total %
<i>Current job (Chi square=6.322*, df=1)</i>			
Permanent	78.2	85.8	83.8
Temporary	21.8	14.2	16.2
N	232	656	808
<i>Promotion opportunities in current job (Chi square=5.706*, df=1)</i>			
Yes	51.9	61.9	59.4
No	48.1	38.1	40.6
N	208	616	824
<i>Main method of travel to work (Chi-square = 18.955***, df=2)</i>			
Public transport	7.9	20.8	17.6
Private vehicle	69.5	54.9	58.5
Walking, cycle, other	22.6	24.3	23.9
N	218	637	827
<i>Minutes spent travelling to work (Chi square=19.236***, df=3)</i>			
Under 20	67.0	50.8	54.8
20-39	23.1	30.0	28.3
40-59	3.8	12.7	10.6
1 hour +	6.0	6.5	6.4
N	208	619	827

Indeed, the theme of public transport is raised in a recent survey by IPSOS MORI on behalf of the Commission for Rural Communities (Marshall et al 2010). The study samples over 2,000 participants in a range of rural areas among the different categories of settlement size defined by the ONS (see chapter 2 for full details of the typology). A comparator sample of 517 is also drawn from urban areas (2010:55), although the 10,000 population benchmark for urban status raises questions as to how urban this cross-section truly is, because towns of such small populations can serve as central settlements in essentially rural districts. Participants are from a range of age groups, so while the study doesn't focus exclusively on youth, reasonable proportions of the sample are aged 16-24 (2010:18).

Marshall et al (2010) explicitly state that their study conveys only the perceptions held by rural residents; these are valid data yet the insights would be greater with some attempt at gauging perception against reality. For example, they found that 28% of rural respondents believed that better public transport was a priority for improving local quality of life, compared with only 10% in urban areas (2010:31). Setting aside the issue that we do not know whether these urban areas are nested within predominantly rural districts, there is no attempt to evaluate these data against actual service provision, nor is there any consideration of what counts as adequate transport. Further, although the issue of transport is raised by respondents without prompts, suggesting that it is a fairly widespread rural concern, it is not discussed with levels of specificity that could lead to policy responses. Asking whether cost, frequency or comfort of transport is the primary grievance would enhance our knowledge of the situation. The failure to expand on this is especially curious given the open question format.

The study eschews the 'urban less sparse' group from the ONS taxonomy citing the contradiction between identifying a settlement as urban whilst situating it within the broader context of remote surroundings. This omission is a shortcoming of the report, as the wider area in which a settlement is located has implications for services accessible by residents, and thus towns of 10,000 or more may still be disadvantaged by remoteness from larger conurbations. It must be acknowledged that towns of this size probably offer little in terms of opportunities in education and employment, along with shortages of other key services and facilities. For this reason, I classify this category - which in any case only accounts for 0.2% of England's population - as rural in this investigation (see chapters 4 and 7). Such places clearly constitute a minority, and it is all the more puzzling that Marshall et

al highlight them as atypical and then exclude them from the analysis. Rural communities are the minority in Britain (as they note, 2010:15), and minorities within minorities must be accounted for. Failure to do this betrays a flawed logic, as the circumstances of peripheral groups should not be neglected by research professing to give voice to those who feel marginalised by research and policy.

Marshall et al (2010) are candid about the limits to which perceptual responses can reflect the reality of rural life, yet this is a commendable effort at systematic comparison of rural and urban perspectives. There is also a longitudinal element as the report is a follow up to a similar study conducted in 2006, a finding of which is that rural and urban residents alike felt more able to influence local decision making processes than in the first study (2010:24). However, there was negativity in both rural and urban areas about the ability to influence decision making processes, and this includes middle class rural areas. Another salient point made is that rurality is diverse, and different rural contexts must be considered heterogeneous (2010:13). There is an attempt to reflect this in the research design through sampling from each category of the ONS size-of-settlement scheme, yet no mention as to whether these samples represent areas which differ in terms of age profile, remoteness from urban centres, or labour market characteristics. In chapters 5 and 6, I compare rural and urban youth in terms of using public transport, and the effect of local transport provision on labour market opportunities and outcomes. The following section looks at youth unemployment and the concept of NEET youth.

3.2 - Youth unemployment: Generation NEET?

There is substantial literature on youth unemployment, which has been the focus of much research since demand for unqualified young workers plummeted due to the decline of traditional manufacturing in Britain (Furlong and Cartmel 1997:110). Accounts of youth unemployment in Britain have been varied, ranging from cultural (Murray 1990, 1994) to structural (Webster et al 2004; Furlong and Cartmel 2004). The number of jobless young people has always fluctuated alongside total rates of unemployment, but evidence suggests that youth unemployment remains disproportionately higher despite favourable sectoral and demographic shifts (Blanchflower and Freeman 2000:47-55). Those without qualifications face bleak prospects, pushed to the 'back of the queue' when employers seek to fill positions (Roberts 1995:91) and likely to suffer a 'wage scar' in later life (Gregg and Tominey 2005). Even when youth employment rises, a reduction in vulnerability is not guaranteed (Furlong 2006:553), with temporary and unreliable jobs a continuing risk. It is estimated that youth unemployment costs the economy £10million daily in terms of productivity loss (The Princes Trust 2007:8). As the National Audit Office argues reducing this number by 1% would save the economy £165 million (Coles et al 2004:2), it is an issue which must be addressed.

However, whilst the number of young people remaining in education has risen, there are still many not in education, employment or training (NEET). Recent figures indicate that 15.9% of young people are NEET (CRC 2012:18). It has been claimed that this trend was worsening even before the recession (MacInnes et al

2009). The term NEET has been debunked for lacking conceptual clarity (Yates and Payne 2006) and for being too vague to help toward creating targeted solutions, although it does highlight the exclusion of young people while not being restricted to those classed as unemployed (Furlong 2006:566). Furthermore, it reveals that many young people are not involved in education or work, and is recognised as a reliable predictor of unemployment at age 21 and above (Scottish Executive 2005).

It is alleged that NEET data are meaningless, rising during the summer when youths are out of education and falling when the academic year resumes (Furlong 2006:558), prompting calls for longitudinal research into this area (Scottish Executive 2005:55). Bynner and Parsons' (2002) study, using 1970 British Birth Cohort Study data, is one such example. They find that for girls, a lack of parental interest in their schooling is the most potent predictor of NEET, as is inner city location for males (2002:299). This suggests that a correlation between residence in deprived urban areas and NEET exists, although the reasons behind this putative relationship are not explored in greater depth. The study uses 1970 Cohort Data, sampling 21 year olds in 1991, which is quite dated even for the time of publication (2002).

Bynner and Parsons' study provides an example of how NEET can be operationalised; whilst it has shortcomings it should be applauded for trying to elucidate the factors causing NEET. A more recent study (Maguire and Rennison 2005) employs a longitudinal design to monitor the progress of NEET youths two years after they were initially contacted. During the interim, the Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMA) was piloted in certain areas of the country to incentivise post-compulsory education. They find the EMA to have a modest effect

with 15% of youths still NEET in pilot areas (similar to national averages in 2005), and conclude that the broader issue of disengagement from education must be addressed (2005:192-9). This study shows how a longitudinal design enables researchers to test the impact of policies such as the EMA over time.

A more recent report entitled *Generation NEET* addresses the issue of NEET with apt timing given the recent recession and high youth employment (Bainbridge and Browne 2010). The study uses a mixed method design, surveying 122 respondents and conducting focus groups with a total of 58 participants. Each of these takes place in urban districts with the exception of Hinckley, situated in the Significant Rural LAD of Hinckley and Bosworth. The town has a population of over 40,000 and is only 12 miles from both Leicester and Coventry, each of which has over 250,000 residents. It also enjoys regular train services to Birmingham with a journey time of 40 minutes, so it is hardly isolated. The study finds that a lack of vacancies, skills and experience are the main obstacles to escaping NEET status (2010:10), and that many participants display overt hostility to Job Centre Plus (2010:14).

Transport is cited as a barrier by some respondents yet this emerges as a somewhat peripheral concern (Bainbridge and Browne 2010:10; 20-1), probably reflecting the exclusively urban sample. Scathing criticism of Job Centre Plus is given a constructive veneer through suggestions that staff should retrain as industry specialists, and that outreach programmes could aid disadvantaged areas (2010:29). There is no consideration of how this might be applied to remote areas where accessing such services is arguably most difficult, again a consequence of the urban bias. If 19% of England lives in rural areas, their claims to represent a sufficient spectrum of young people, articulated through mentioning the inclusion

of ethnic minorities, youth offenders and young parents (2010:9) are rendered redundant by the apparent absence of rural youth. Admittedly, the study never claims to cover that aspect of 'generation NEET', but this significant minority should be recognised. Nevertheless, the most striking weakness of the report is the absence of a longitudinal element. The inadequacy of static designs for this topic has been expounded above. While the study is topical, there are missed opportunities that are more disappointing given the current climate. The impact of cuts in Higher Education funding and the effects on youth prospects as Britain strives toward economic recovery must be researched.

Having discussed some issues surrounding NEET as a concept, and outlined the importance of longitudinal design as well as representativeness that includes a full range of circumstances, research explicitly addressing youth unemployment in rural areas is now introduced.

3.3 - Rural youth disadvantage as distinct

As mentioned earlier, rural youth disadvantage has received relatively little attention. This section outlines the few contributions that have been made. Britain is geographically distinct. Whilst studies from other nations are of interest, they are of less importance to this investigation. Equally, more dated research can be insightful, yet the contemporary situation is unique. Indeed, recent cuts to services (discussed further in chapters 5 and 9) make the issue of rural disadvantage uniquely topical for today, so more recent studies are of greater interest. Thus, this section presents work on rural youth disadvantage according to geographic and

historical proximity. It begins with a consideration of the most thorough and germane attempt at addressing these issues, before offering other domestic examples and finally those from overseas.

Cartmel and Furlong's (2000) study considers 'the distinctiveness of rural youth unemployment' and uses a mixed method design, focusing on four study areas in Scotland. It concludes that whilst unemployment is more deeply entrenched in deprived urban areas, different yet significant problems exist in rural locations, namely limited opportunities and poor public transport (2000:35). Cartmel and Furlong generalise about rural labour markets, identifying three common features: restricted opportunities, the need for private transport, and the use of local contacts for recruitment (2000:27). The claim that rural areas exhibit these characteristics is plausible. This plausibility would be increased if it were shown that these three traits were not also evident beyond rural areas, thus proving their distinctiveness. Cartmel and Furlong fail to do this, despite implicit claims of familiarity with urban markets: 'the chances of finding work in depressed urban areas are much poorer and long-term unemployment is much more common' (2000:35). This sounds as if the restricted opportunities attributed to rural areas might also affect towns and cities. However, as this putative distinction is not explained in greater depth or supported by comparative empirical evidence, the claims here remain unwarranted. For instance, both careers advisors and young people in rural areas suggest that social networks are crucial for finding employment, but in neither case are views from urban counterparts cited to confirm the uniqueness to rural areas (2000:23-4; 29).

Cartmel and Furlong deserve credit for investigating rural youth employment, given that the area is under-researched. Their study suffers from

limitations, namely the failure to justify their definition of rural satisfactorily, and the failure to support some of their claims using appropriate comparators. These shortcomings are severe in light of their stated aim, to ascertain 'the distinctiveness of rural youth unemployment' (Cartmel and Furlong 2000:1). Perhaps the goal was overly ambitious given the exploratory nature of the research. Nevertheless, Cartmel and Furlong opened the door to further enquiries into this area, enquiries which are, for the most part, yet to materialise. This is surprising, as the data used in their study was collected from 1997-9, and rising house prices, increased numbers of NEET youth, falling youth out-migration from rural areas and declining public services in such locations have been witnessed during the intervening decade, indicating that the problems facing rural youth have increased.

Cartmel and Furlong also find that rural youth earn more than urban peers (2000:17-18), although a different picture emerges in chapter 7. Another relevant study is Phimister, Theodossiou and Upward's (2006) investigation of low-paid work in rural and urban areas using BHPS data (waves 1-8). This data was several years old when the paper was published, by which time wave 13 was certainly available, yet the findings warrant mentioning here. Leaving a low-paid job can be positive, if one gains more lucrative employment for instance, or negative, if it leads to unemployment. They find that 'urban low-pay durations are somewhat shorter on average, with a higher probability of movement to a higher paid job' (2006:693) and that young people in rural areas are likelier to leave low-paid jobs for unemployment than young urban counterparts, although the differences emerging from their analyses are modest (2006:708). Their attempt to systematically compare rural and urban employment represents progress from

Cartmel and Furlong (2000) by adding further detail regarding pay and duration into the analysis.

Hutchens (1994) studies unemployed young people in Norfolk, some of whom lived or had some prior experience of living in rural areas. Three common complaints emerged from those who were young, rural and jobless: lack of things to do, increased isolation and the high cost of transport. These three issues were seen to damage social prospects and diminish the likelihood of finding work (1994:127). Whilst Hutchens' priority was not to identify distinctiveness in the rural experience, his study did pick up on the lack of research into this area and began highlighting the problems that could be specific to rural youth. It is now somewhat dated, yet still reveals difficulties faced by young people in remote locations, and demonstrates that Cartmel and Furlong's findings extend beyond Scotland.

Alston and Kent (2009) study disadvantage in rural areas of Australia through educational underachievement and scarce job opportunities, analysing secondary statistical data to supplement focus groups and interviews. They argue that declining associative relations in their study areas deepens social isolation as well as exacerbating problems regarding work and education. Again, whilst this study deserves credit for considering these neglected issues, it doesn't maximise the potential of large-scale datasets and therefore is restricted to using qualitative methods in selected locations. Further, this study is based in Australia which, geographically, is very distinct from Britain. Whereas the problems of isolation may hold true in rural areas beyond Australia, and evidence has indicated this to be the case, the vast differences between the two nations in question mean that separate studies must be undertaken.

So, the evidence available suggests that rural Britain is now home to more young people, who may struggle to find permanent employment with good prospects and pay, and are disadvantaged by the lack of affordable housing and public transport. Research into this topic, particularly in Britain, has been almost non-existent since Cartmel and Furlong's study in 2000, despite the fact rural youth are seen to face difficulties which are both significant and distinct. What remains to be seen is how rural and urban areas compare in terms of educational attainment and youth unemployment, with the lack of research implying that rural youth are free from the problems which beset urban counterparts. I now consider how gender, social class and social capital, largely overlooked in the literature reviewed thus far, are relevant to the issues in question.

3.4 - Gender

Glendinning et al (2003:148) find a gender divide amongst young people when investigating the impact of rural location upon self-esteem. Girls reported unease with perceived gossip and 'claustrophobia', revealing that the sense of community usually seen as an incentive for rural migration can have inverse effects.

Conversely, young males in their study felt able to transcend the issues identified by female participants, and saw themselves as capable of utilising local networks to their benefit. Access to networks is a key facet of social capital, as is explained below (also see chapter 4). This offers some support for a hypothesis that social capital among young rural males is higher, which is tested in chapters 5, 6 and 7. What remains to be seen is whether rural females consequently struggle in employment. Equally, if social capital among rural females is generally lower, the

prospects for atypical cases, such as girls with good access to networks or marginalised males, must be examined.

In a study of coping with stress and behavioural problems, Elgar et al find that urban males are likelier than females and rural males to exhibit externalising behaviour problems, such as acts of violence (2003:579). They speculate that tacit acceptance of male belligerence in urban settings could account for this (2003:582), yet these claims are dubious given the curious choice of comparator, an urban area with only 22,000 residents (2003:577). This aspect of the design is qualified by the claim that their study location is sizeable by regional standards, highlighting the issues in comparing research from countries with very different geographies to Britain. This also indicates that rural urban differences may be more evident between males than females, a hypothesis which is tested in chapters 5 and 6 (social capital and employment opportunities) and chapter 7 (earnings).

In Ireland, it has been argued that male dominance of rural communities stems from traditional family structures and agricultural employment. Changes to the occupational structure have disempowered males and undermined traditional identities. This lowers educational achievement and impedes social mobility, while suicide rates have risen accordingly (Ní Laoire 2001). This is at odds with Glendinning et al (2003), who depict young males as better equipped to deal with rural life. Gender is therefore a necessary issue to explore in the empirical phases of this investigation, as the variation in Britain is yet to be subjected to rigorous comparison. The discussion now turns to social class.

3.5 - Social class

3.5.1 - Introduction

This section discusses some of the major contributions to the topic of social class. The genealogy of the concept is only partially relevant to this study. As such, the accounts that follow are brief, yet necessary to introduce the criteria upon which stratification schemas are based. The purpose of this is to make clear both the importance of class and the definition used in this study.

In Britain, the population was first officially classified by occupation in 1851, to explore the social distribution of mortality rates. The Registrar General's Annual Report of 1911 presented a summary of occupations which were eventually renamed from 'social grades' to 'social classes'. This schema underwent various modifications throughout the 20th century but retained occupational status as the primary criterion for stratification (Rose 1995). This official classificatory framework remains in use today and features in datasets such as those discussed in chapter 4. Sociological accounts of class agree that employment is a key determinant of position within society, but disagree on other fundamental points.

Operationalisation and hypotheses are expounded more fully in the appropriate section of chapter 4. The positions of Marx and Weber on class and stratification have been articulated too many times to be repeated here. Instead, I focus on more apposite aspects of class, beginning with Marx and Engels' views on land and property in rural areas, continuing to the debate between neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian contributions, finally looking at class in rural areas.

3.5.2 - Marxism, land and property

Although class only became the subject of regular academic study in British universities during the 1960s (Savage 2000:5) societies have been internally stratified since before feudalism. By the 1820s the term class was used regularly, with the working class recognised as a group distinguished by their reliance upon manual labour for income (Scott 1996:11). It is alleged that all theories of class stem from Marxist thought (Pakulski 2005:152). Whilst this is disputed, not least by class analysts who deny theoretical affinities with Marx (such as Goldthorpe and Marshall 1992), it is certain that Marx contributed hugely to debates on class. Proclaiming that all history is characterised by class conflict, Marx castigated the capitalist system for placing ownership of the means of production and therefore wealth in the hands of a few bourgeois owners (Marx 1982 [1848]).

Ownership of capital is central to Marx's perspective, part of which is land and property. As Marx's work must be seen in the context of industrialisation and urbanisation, the changing circumstances of those who worked in agriculture at this time are noteworthy. Contrary to accounts that Marx always advanced a dichotomous class model, in *Capital*, he mentions 'the three great social classes'. These are labourers, capitalists, and landowners, and are each dependent in turn upon incomes unique to their class position – wages, profit and ground-rent respectively (Marx 2001 [1867]:544). Engels agrees that whilst land ownership may not always be lucrative, it does provide a degree of self-sufficiency distinct from the effective servitude endured by the proletariat (1987 [1845]:50-1). In

nineteenth century Britain, small agricultural enterprise was seemingly common enough to constitute a separate social class.

Although much of Marx's work emphasises polarisation, he says of England, 'middle and intermediate strata even here obliterate lines of demarcation everywhere (although incomparably less in rural districts than in the cities)' (Marx 2001 [1867]:544, parentheses in original). This is probably a reflection of his view that rural areas adapted to capitalism at a slower pace, delaying progress towards the inevitable communist revolution (Marx 1982 [1848]:249). Indeed, the increasingly efficient production which drew grudging admiration from Marx also altered agriculture. Irregular daily work forced wages down and created mass seasonal unemployment, while steam and machinery reduced the need for human labour. This spread poverty to rural areas. People who had beforehand been isolated from the towns and cities were now forced there to look for work (Engels 1987 [1845]:264). This can be seen as a catalyst for merging class hierarchies in rural and urban areas, and a precursor to the mostly post-productivist countryside of today (Cherry and Rogers 1996:110; Taylor 2008:123).

3.5.3 - Wright and Goldthorpe: debates around exploitation and history

The debate over class was dominated by differences between Wright and Goldthorpe for some time (Crompton 1998). Wright's neo-Marxist approach to class analysis has provided numerous cross-national comparisons and is concerned with global class structures (Wright 1997). Wright maintains commitment to a 'radical egalitarian normative agenda' and insists that capitalism

inflicts exploitation upon the working classes (Wright 2005:6), even if his schema details a proliferation of strata that mark a clear deviation from Marx's two class model. The concern with exploitation is one area on which Wright and Goldthorpe disagree. Goldthorpe and Marshall (1992:383-7) argue that their stance is not anti-capitalist, maintains that class consciousness does not beget revolutionary potential, and has no mention of direct exploitation of lower classes by those above them. Furthermore, whilst both accounts entail a relational, theoretical element, these are very different (Gubbay 1997:83).

Wright's continued interest in property and ownership as a determinant of class position demonstrates theoretical allegiance to Marx, and is a major point on which he differs from Goldthorpe and his collaborators. For the latter, the number of people owning property which has any bearing on the occupational structure of contemporary societies is too small to be considered a real part of the model. This is manifested in two aspects of his work. Firstly, class IV in the Goldthorpe schema comprises small proprietors, including farmers and smallholders, and all other 'own-account' workers except professionals, who occupy higher positions. It is argued that members of class IV have a distinctive market situation due to their autonomy and variable income. Although they may have some capital, they still operate within the confines of global capitalism (Goldthorpe 1980:41). Secondly, a fraction of class IV are those still self-employed in agriculture (the small number of whom is a testimony to the diminished importance of ownership today); these are firmly enmeshed in the same matrix of global markets as all other types of worker, extending far beyond the limits of local community. Ownership of land or property no longer guarantees power locally, as 'such power often does not now reside in

the community at all' (Goldthorpe and Bevan 1977:304-5). This trend has surely accentuated during intervening decades.

Whilst arguments about concentrations of wealth among the richest in Britain do not need recapitulation here (but see Duncan Smith 2010:17; Rowlingson and McKay 2012:23,81-92 for recent evidence), it is difficult to deny that a relatively small number of wealthy individuals, families and organisations control disproportionately large amounts of capital. This is emphasised by Goldthorpe, who describes elites as a highly influential strata yet too few in number to feature meaningfully in a representative sample of 10,000 people. Consequently, he excludes this uppermost category from his schema (Goldthorpe 1980:286). Ownership beyond the personal level is scarce, only 0.8% of households now own a shop or other separate non-residential premises in Britain, and only 0.8% own land (Daffin et al 2009:18). If the goal of class analysis is to explain, there is very little that can be explained by property today, therefore the emphasis must be on occupation and associated status.

Whilst stratification in complex societies is inevitably complex, there is consensus that the labour market is the primary determinant of life chances, and that occupation is consequently the most crucial indicator of someone's class position. Setting aside the debates over property, exploitation and class consciousness, John Scott's (1996:199) postulation that 'occupational titles are able to serve as useful proxies for specific combinations of power situations' seems salient. As class similarities can be consolidated through kinship, socialising, and leisure pursuits, and buttressed further through relationships formed either in the workplace or with those living in the same locale, likely to be in the same occupational strata, class is relevant when considering all facets of

contemporary social relations. There is also much evidence to suggest that someone's class origin significantly determines their life chances (this is explored further, along with operationalisation, in chapter 4). For these reasons, class must be investigated by this study.

3.5.4 - Class and rural locations

The evidence reviewed thus far indicates that class and location both influence life chances, but the relationship between these two variables must also be explored. Class clearly encompasses more than just money, but occupation is generally a reliable proxy for income. Poor service provision is frequently lamented by rural residents, and is particularly problematic for poorer residents of generally wealthy areas, where the majority of people do not depend on public services, especially transport (Hodge et al 2002:458). Of course, some urban areas suffer similar difficulties, but this usually proves more problematic to those in more remote locations (DfCLG 2001; Milbourne 2004:569-70; CRC 2008; Burgess 2008b). Therefore rural residents, with fewer public services available to them, tend to rely more upon private resources. For example, the use of a car is considered essential in most rural areas. Being without one is regarded as prohibitive, even for younger people (Cartmel and Furlong 2000, Lindsay et al 2003:195, Watkin and Jones 2008:231). The challenges posed by a dearth of services are well documented, and those with more secure financial circumstances appear better positioned to cope with distance from services. This demonstrates how class and affluence are important factors influencing educational and employment

outcomes, especially in rural areas. Therefore, class must be accounted for in the analysis.

With regard to young people, expensive and infrequent public transport along with relatively low-pay and low-skill work are serious issues, thus it is expected that the impact of location varies according to class. Young people from more affluent backgrounds receive better support amid the relative lack of public services. Of course, this is not always the case, and even wealthy and generous families can only compensate for the lack of local services to a certain degree. Still, it is reasonable to assume that poorer people in rural areas are affected more profoundly by remote location than their more affluent neighbours. The cost of rural living has been noted as high for some time (Cloke 1995), and migration to rural areas over the past decade has doubled the cost of housing for first time buyers (Taylor 2008:8), which is another problem for young people. Much of this has been caused by second home purchases (Burgess 2008a:46), indicating that migration to rural areas has made them more middle class.

That rural areas invariably have older populations is well documented (Lowe and Speakman 2006). Paul Cloke's index of rurality includes age as a criterion determining whether an area should be classed as rural, along with the proportion of residents aged between 15 and 45 (Cloke 1977:34). Whilst this may confuse cause and effect, as migration flows probably reflect rather than determine the rurality of an area, this does reveal that people leaving home but yet to reach middle age are underrepresented in the rural population. More recently, the Rural Advocate has highlighted reversals in these trends (Burgess 2008a), yet the rural population remains relatively senior. In chapter 8, I analyse rural/urban migration patterns, along with the effect of rural/urban origin on earnings.

3.6 - Social capital

3.6.1 – Introduction

This section introduces the concept of social capital and argues for its relevance to the topic in hand. It begins with an overview of what are considered ‘canonical’ contributions to the field. The following section looks at ways in which social capital and network theories have been applied to studies of employment and routes into work. I then look at social capital in relation to youth studies, before a discussion of the concept in relation to rural research. Finally, I consider how the internet has affected social capital. Discussion of operationalisation is postponed until the second part of chapter 4. For now, I simply explain its importance to this study and review the literature, moving from a general account of the most prominent perspectives towards contributions relating more specifically to this research.

Before proceeding, it is necessary to add a word on how social capital is defined. According to John Field ‘the central idea of social capital is that social networks are a valuable asset’ (2003:22). This is reflected by the work of Pierre Bourdieu, discussed below. Whilst access to networks is agreed to be pivotal, shared norms and values are deemed a related and equally important facet of the concept, illustrated by Putnam’s emphasis on trust and civic participation. Thus, the statement ‘key measures of social capital are norms and networks’ appears valid (Stone and Hughes 2002:5). The relationship between norms and networks is given more detailed treatment by Nan Lin (2001), as seen below.

There is a compelling case for including social capital in the conceptual model. Much research posits it as a significant predictor of positive outcomes for young people, such as educational attainment and employment prospects (Coleman 1988, Putnam 2000, Parcel and Dufur 2001:899, Porfeli et al 2009:72). It has also been suggested that rural areas enjoy better community ethos than urban counterparts (Glendinning et al 2003:151), and that access to local networks is crucial for gaining employment in rural areas (Mathews et al 2009). Before these claims can be evaluated, prominent accounts of social capital must be introduced. Whilst social capital has become a popular concept in social science and beyond, in this section I demonstrate that it has not burgeoned beyond its original purpose and still carries serious explanatory potential. I now offer an outline of the classic works on social capital.

3.6.2 - The 'canon'

There is a consensus among many commentators that James Coleman, Pierre Bourdieu and Robert Putnam established social capital as a staple of contemporary social science. What causes disagreement is how these theorists should be categorised. For example, Foley and Edwards (1999:142) see their influence as 'three relatively distinct tributaries'. Alternatively, it has been suggested that they be grouped under the label of 'collective action and cohesion' in the case of Coleman and Putnam, and 'social justice and inequality' for Bourdieu, and studies aligned with these conceptual antecedents should also fall into these brackets (Holland 2009:335-6). Beyond dispute is that these three

pioneered social capital and, in the case of Putnam, launched the concept into mainstream discourse. I now outline the rudiments of each contribution.

For Pierre Bourdieu, social capital is the stock of connections that an individual is able to call upon. This access to networks is considered a resource in its own right. The wealth of social capital combines with the other forms of capital - economic, cultural, and symbolic - to determine someone's position in the social field. He uses the metaphor of casino chips, where each of these resources could be accumulated and interchanged by social actors (Field 2008:16). Bourdieu argues that the total volume of capital possessed by an individual or group determines their position in the social hierarchy, contending that social and symbolic capital are closely interrelated, with clear parallels between the outward expression of one's class habitus and their ability to utilise networks and connections to improve their social standing (Bourdieu 1987:4). Empirically, his work addresses the reproduction of class inequalities through education (Bourdieu 1974).

It has been observed that Bourdieu only perceives social capital as influential at the individual or family level and thus failed to explore communities or other larger units of analysis (Vyronides 2007:868), yet this seems an unwarranted criticism given that his consideration of class habitus shows awareness of social capital in collectives and institutions. He has also been accused of overlooking social capital usage among disadvantaged groups (Field 2008:22), yet a discussion of class inequalities perpetuated by institutions of socialisation surely implies the exclusion of poorer people from the networking potential enjoyed by the privileged. The relationship between class and social capital is mentioned by Putnam, who notes how disadvantaged groups have utilised social capital to

compensate for lack of other capital types (2000:359). This will be discussed more explicitly in due course.

Similarly to Bourdieu, James Coleman portrays social capital as a positive, productive resource, 'making possible the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence' (1990:302). He argues that social capital in terms of community and family support can compensate for a lack of public resources. Focussing on outcomes in human capital attainment, he contends that social capital has significant causal influence. He tests this hypothesis through examination of school drop-out rates in Catholic areas with high community and family solidarity, concluding that social capital has a positive effect on education, and that therefore an absence of social capital is disadvantageous (Coleman 1988).

From this conception, social capital is seen as something used by rational actors for instrumental purposes (Foley and Edwards 1999:144). The idea of social capital as a resource without negative connotations or consequences renders Coleman's contribution rather one-dimensional. Whilst Coleman acknowledges that social capital is created and destroyed usually as a by-product of other activities (1990:317), therefore recognising how the concept should be considered as both a dependent and independent variable in social research, he fails to even entertain the possibility that it might have an insidious inverse effect. Even his admission that social capital facilitates some actions whilst constraining others (1990:311) falls short of explicit reference to negative aspects. It is in search of this more complete conceptualisation that the discussion now turns to Putnam.

Robert Putnam proclaims that 'the core idea of social capital theory is that social networks have value ... social contacts affect the productivity of individuals and groups' (2000:18-9). His principal argument is that the United States has suffered endemic social decapitalisation characterised by declining civic participation (1995). He laments decreasing involvement in community activities, and observes that trust of people beyond those to whom one is immediately connected is also falling (2000:44; 142). That Putnam believes civic disengagement is a national problem reveals that he sees social capital, in terms of shared norms, trust and networking as a valuable social asset (2000:91). Crucially, however, he also looks at the other side of the coin.

Putnam distinguishes between bonding and bridging social capital, with the former defined as inward looking, typified by denser networks of homogeneous individuals, tightly connected by virtue of their commonalities. Ethnic minority communities in large cities in some cases exemplify this (Grix 2001:198). This is contrasted with bridging social capital, which creates connections between people who are likely to be more diverse (Putnam 2000:411). He suggests that some bonding social capital may discourage the formation of bridges to other groups, and vice versa (2000:362), indicating that emphasis on certain kinds of connections can, consequently, be detrimental to other types of relations. The explicit admission that social capital 'can be directed toward malevolent, antisocial purposes, just like any other form of capital' (2000:22) demonstrates awareness that not all norms and networks are good for individuals and society. Equally, it must not be assumed that bonding social capital is necessarily damaging (Geys and Murdoch 2010). Thus, Putnam urges a balance of both bonding and bridging social capital (2000:413).

Putnam has faced criticism for ignoring the dark side of social capital (Foley and Edwards 1999:145) despite dedicating a chapter of *Bowling Alone* to that very purpose. Although Putnam clearly sees the concept as predominantly positive, his acknowledgement of its complexity is a major strength of his argument, one which has been supported by subsequent empirical studies, discussed below. The limited scale of Putnam's own empirical ambition has also attracted criticism, with allegations of 'retro-fitting' data (Field 2008:37) and exclusive emphasis on macro-indicators of social capital (Leonard 2004:929). As Putnam was concerned with a problem of national proportions, it is unsurprising that he adopted the methodological approach seen in *Bowling Alone*, thus such criticisms appear superficial. The benefits of secondary microdata are argued in chapter 4. As is evident from the foregoing discussion, individuals have served as the primary unit of analysis in social capital conceptualisation so far. Putnam's use of microdata continued this trend whilst making the necessary extensions to the national level. Further consideration of methodological factors is reserved until the following chapter, but a word was needed here to defend the approach used by Putnam. The next section looks at work which has developed this idea of weak, sparse or bridging ties as distinct from strong, dense and bonding ties.

3.6.3 - Strong and weak ties

Nan Lin conceives of social capital as 'investment in social relations with expected returns in the market place', adding that the marketplace in question could be economic, political, labour or community (2001:19), and the 'resources embedded

in social networks accessed and used by actors for actions' (2001:24-5). The definition of community used here is rather unclear, a point revisited shortly. Importantly, Lin follows Putnam in distinguishing between dense networks, primarily oriented towards the preservation of resources already held, and sparse networks, which tend to focus on the pursuit of new resources (2001:27). As dense networks are assumed to comprise similar people, Lin posits that interaction between those sharing common lifestyles and socioeconomic statuses is likelier than between those with differences in this regard. This is labelled the homophily hypothesis (2001:39).

Lin concedes that 'structure does provide opportunities for some and constraints for others' (2001:52), and shows awareness of how networks may be utilised differently according to the social standing of the individuals in question; more specifically that the disadvantaged are likelier to use informal networks in order to access social resources (2001:93). This admission throws into question his assumption that defending resources takes priority over the acquisition of new ones. Disadvantaged groups by definition have less to defend. This aspect of Lin's monograph is therefore underdeveloped. Lin does acknowledge a 'ceiling effect' in the use of weak ties, as those in privileged positions clearly have less to gain through establishing bridges with other groups (2001:166). However, this is not explored in the empirical components of the study.

The viability of Lin's theory is compromised when applied to certain community contexts. The insistence that reputation, recognition and reciprocity are paramount (2001:152-6) does not seem to hold true when considering particular types of networks. It is agreed that disadvantaged groups are likelier to use informal networks. Consider the position of a young person referred to an

employment vacancy through unofficial channels. The person providing the opportunity to the jobseeker is expecting reciprocation through direct means (a position needs to be filled) rather than through the indirect mechanisms of reputation building and mutual recognition. The observation that one expects returns on investments is correct. However, it should also be understood that the returns can take the form of other types of capital, to use Bourdieu's metaphor. Investment in networks doesn't always repay in networks, but also through other means.

Granovetter (1973) focuses more directly on networks in terms of successful job searching, arguing that weak ties are the most valuable for finding people work. Informal networks and connections to more diverse and distant groups are seen as vital to unearthing labour market opportunities, and knowledge of the world beyond one's immediate circle of contacts increases the chances of information and recommendations regarding work (1973:1371). Similarly to Putnam, he recognises that investment in strong ties reduces the time available for building bridges with other individuals and collectives. The latter are deemed important, as the empirical evidence cited points to the strength of weak ties concerning job opportunities (Granovetter 1973:1369-72). Therefore, insularity can impede people's paths to new job opportunities.

In a later paper, Granovetter contends that networks are prohibitive to those with provincial outlooks and homogeneous ties (1982:205). This seems true to a certain extent. The importance of old acquaintances and colleagues to information on work availability is difficult to deny. However, this account is biased towards the geographically mobile middle classes. Deep familiarity with a local labour market can be advantageous to those remaining in one area for extended (even life-long)

periods. Informal networks within this community context are arguably of the strong, bonding nature. Knowledge of distant job vacancies obtained through weaker connections is unlikely to be useful here. It has been agreed that poorer people are more likely to use informal networks, thus the impact of class and locality on the type of contacts utilised for jobseeking in such situations must be considered (see chapters 5 and 6). There is evidence that deeper immersion in local networks can help those looking for work. There are also, however, dangers in such involvement in strong, bonding local networks. The evidence for these points will now be assessed.

3.6.4 - Social capital and young people

Green and White highlight how 'geography matters most for those with poor skills' (2007:1) and that residents in areas with seemingly strong employment prospects struggle to find suitable work as they compete with commuters and have difficulty overcoming skills barriers (2006:61). They concede that living in proximity to job opportunities reduces the probability of being unemployed, but again this is mitigated by the obstacle of skills deficits (2006:93-4). One of their case study locations in Kingston-upon-Hull is characterised by perceptions of job opportunities being limited to the local area (2006:64). They also find that attitudes toward work, such as whether it is deemed acceptable to claim benefits as opposed to working, are often transmitted through the family or community, and that these perceptions gained during formative years become firmly entrenched (2006:51-2).

To some extent, this is analogous to the ethnic neighbourhood human capital externalities highlighted by Borjas, who posits that the human capital of both local ethnic community and parents affects the human capital of their children. Despite the caveat that ethnicity has an impact beyond mere neighbourhood effects, the importance of 'values, social contacts and economic opportunities' clearly correspond to the current investigation (1995:372-3). Borjas also concludes that much of the ethnic capital effect can also be accounted for simply as neighbourhood effects that have no discernible link to ethnicity (1995:380), with some exception granted to ethnically segregated areas (1995:384-6). The impact of bonding social capital, either negative or positive, is evident here.

Supporting many claims made earlier, Green and White discovered that in New Deal for Community areas (their study locations), people usually found work through informal means such as word-of mouth (2007:63). Thus, the value of informal networks to those with low skills is apparent. What is less clear is whether these connections should be classed as strong or weak ties, although it seems obvious that immersion in local labour networks is advantageous to the disadvantaged. The concomitant is that insularity can produce narrow horizons, with homogeneous contacts and peripheral locations capable of conspiring against aspirations to find employment. Thus, they follow Putnam in recommending a balance between protecting strong, extant ties and pursuing new connections (Green and White 2007:93-5).

Clearly age is an important variable when considering social capital. Coleman's research was concerned with the impact of social capital upon human capital. Bourdieu's interest in the reproduction of class inequalities focused on two

primary institutions of socialisation, the family and education. Putnam pointed to generation effects as determining social decapitalisation, and argued that civic participation doesn't peak until middle age (2000:18). Yet these accounts have done little to explore the relationship between youth and social capital. Indeed, the 'canon' has faced allegations of reducing youths to passivity regarding social capital (Bassani 2007, Raffo and Reeves 2000).

Bassani broadens her critique to most existing research into the concept, arguing that social capital studies on young people have focused excessively on the impact of social capital on youth well-being. This leads to oversimplification, as she claims that five dimensions should be explored (Bassani 2007:18). Whilst her ideas of resource depletion (2007:24) have relevance, particularly to limited rural labour markets (see Mathews et al 2009, below), she ignores how apparent resource scarcities can actually bolster social capital. Her example of one-parent families as lacking in social capital due to the absence of the second parent is short sighted (2007:26). Children raised in such households are likely to draw on support networks from extended families to the wider community. That her example is hypothetical further undermines her position. The lack of empirical evidence to support this assertion is particularly ironic given her criticism of existing literature for being primarily theoretical at the expense of empirical study (2007:20).

Raffo and Reeves develop an alternative typology, identifying four separate strands of social capital: weak, strong, fluid and bridging. Their definitions differ from those mentioned thus far, however, as they see weak social capital as lacking the necessary strength to provide opportunities to those who command it (Raffo and Reeves 2000:156-63). This account clearly diverges from the

arguments initially posited by Granovetter, that weak ties are the likeliest to pay dividends in terms of job opportunities. Despite this, Raffo and Reeves' conceptualisation has potential, given that the value of weaker ties regarding local, insular labour markets largely negotiated through informal job-search techniques have already been questioned.

The ambiguity as to whether bonding social capital is beneficial in such situations has been contemplated by Robert MacDonald and collaborators, who portray it as the 'paradox of networks' (MacDonald et al 2005:883). The research of MacDonald et al mostly concentrates on deprived ex-industrial areas in north-east England. Similarly to Green and White (2007), they argue that solace sought in local networks prevents broadened horizons, which in turn precludes young people from enjoying the youth-to-adult transitions commonplace in the area during the relative economic buoyancy of the past (MacDonald et al 2005:886). Whilst Green and White suggest that perceptual barriers may explain the reluctance of some youth to seek education and employment beyond their immediate vicinity, MacDonald et al frame any such cultural insularity against the structural backdrop of industrial decline and the resultant economic void (MacDonald and Shildrick 2007:357). Growing up in such an environment places youth at risk, and they coin the term 'destructive social capital' for the dangers of young people becoming involved in drug abuse and criminal activity (MacDonald et al 2005:884). Thus, immersion in local networks can be seen as valuable for informal connections to work opportunities, but there are associated risks beyond narrow horizons.

I have stressed that the utility of strong or weak ties is heavily dependent on the context, and that arguments made by Granovetter (1973, 1982) and Lin (2001)

may not be applicable to the type of local labour market which has emerged from existing research as characteristic of rural Britain. However, adhering to the dichotomy of bonding and bridging social capital may be unhelpful. This possibility is raised by the negative facet of dense networks lamented by MacDonald et al (2005:884), who also seem certain that access to such networks can bestow real advantages upon jobseekers in deprived areas where informal work can provide reprieve from sustained spells of joblessness. Moving beyond notions that bonding social capital is necessarily negative, Holland et al concede that it can restrict choices and chances of progression (2004:102), but urge more careful consideration. The 'popular social capital mantra', 'you have to get out to get on', is dismissed as too simplistic, thus they contend that 'bonding and bridging social capital are interwoven and interdependent', and should not be considered a straightforward binary (2004:112-3). The argument that social capital is a concept with a complex array of causes and effects is persuasive. What is certain from this discussion is that social capital is relevant to the issues facing young people as they negotiate education and the labour market.

The suggestion that strong ties, homophilous networks or bonding social capital are of limited use to the disadvantaged, as such links only connect those with low stocks of all capitals to others suffering a similar shortage of resources, has been made by numerous commentators (Lin 2001, Putnam 2000, Webster et al 2004:31-6). This argument can be extrapolated to young people, who usually have lower reserves of capital to draw upon. Raffo and Reeves' (2000) suggestion that young people should not be dismissed as passive in social capital studies has merit, but the relative resource poverty of youth must be recognised. This seems especially pertinent given the evidence that social outlooks, from attitudes towards

employment to trust in institutions, are informed significantly by the outlook of the family and the locality (Green and White 2007), which point toward an argument for considering area effects when studying social capital. Individuals are clearly important units of analysis, but areas are also relevant when considering the stocks of social capital available to those who reside there, particularly those who were there during their formative years. The following section looks at how social capital has been applied to rural settings.

3.6.5 - Social capital in rural areas

Migration to rural areas has increased during recent years, with fear of crime in urban areas cited as one reason that people have opted to leave the cities (Champion and Speakman 2006). Because of this, it is claimed that rural areas enjoy higher levels of community activity such as volunteering and involvement in political action (Burgess 2008a:63). Moseley and Pahl cite examples of how various case study communities have displayed strong social capital in co-operating to sustain or create facilities in their area, for instance 'influential people' recruiting local youths to help set up village skate parks. Social capital in rural areas seems to assist in achieving tangible outcomes (2007:24).

However, there is also evidence that rural areas are not so superior to urban locations in terms of social capital stocks. For example, access to broadband in rural areas has been on recent government agenda, and the positive effect of such technology has been postulated before (Lin 2001:215). As rural areas are behind in terms of broadband access (Burgess 2008a:30), this suggests

that they are disadvantaged where this facet of networking is concerned. Furthermore, as transport in remote areas is widely regarded as inadequate (Burgess 2008b:19), and young people in rural areas are arguably more vulnerable to isolation than urban counterparts (Valentine et al 2008:29), remote locations appear punitive to young people who would benefit from access to the networking opportunities taken for granted by urban peers.

The importance of informal networks to young rural jobseekers is outlined in previous research (Cartmel and Furlong 2000). In general, Glendinning et al found that rural residents overcame the lack of services via the safety and security of family and community (2003:151). However, the concerns highlighted by girls (see discussion of gender above) indicate that the networks which are available to some can be inaccessible to others, effectively acting as barriers. Watkin and Jones also discuss the importance of rural networks, but contend that only a small minority can gain entry. Without well-established local reputations and 'untarnished family backgrounds' people can find themselves excluded from the crucial informal channels which may provide a break in the labour market (2008:230).

This idea was explored more explicitly by Mathews et al (2009), who pursue the idea originally advanced by Granovetter (1974), that weak ties are crucial for locating work. They claim that jobseekers in rural areas use different means to find employment, arguing that 'rural job-finding is strongly influenced by constraints on the labour market and on social capital and networks that do not exist in cities' (Mathews et al 2009:308). They qualify this statement by adding that good connections in such places are mitigated by the inevitable shortage of job opportunities compared with urban labour markets (2009:310). Using separate

datasets to contrast prosperous cities with economically weak rural regions, they find higher rates of self-employment and unemployment in more remote areas (2009:314). Additionally, they dispute Granovetter's argument that weak ties prevail over stronger connections for finding urban employment (2009:317), contending that urban jobseekers are likelier to rely on informal means (2009:321).

Mathews et al find weak ties likelier to result in low earnings in rural communities (2009:320-1). This corroborates research into rural/urban low-pay durations (Phimister, Upward and Theodossiou 2006) and reinforces the importance of strong familiarity with local markets. They also observe that whilst weak ties might prove useful in finding work, insecurity, modest pay and poor prospects for career advancement characterise the positions filled through recourse to such connections (2009:326). Moreover, they discover that rural communities contain dual labour markets, with one for residents living locally for longer periods of time, and another for those who are less well established in the area. Those living there for six years and longer are three to five times likelier to use weak ties, and 5-8 times likelier to use strong ties in finding work (2009:322). This demonstrates how rural employment shows significant favour to those able to access local networks, and that a lack of social capital in this regard makes entry into the labour market much more difficult.

Mathews et al (2009) deserve credit for exploring an area where explicit comparisons are scarce, but their study has limitations. Firstly, they state clearly that the two datasets selected represent vastly different areas in terms of economic strength (2009:310). Thus, it is unsurprising that rural markets are shown to present more hostile conditions in general, let alone those who are unable to utilise the job-search techniques prevalent in such areas. Also the

average age of rural respondents is higher (54.8 years) than for urban counterparts (43.3). It can be expected that older people have greater difficulty accessing jobs in rural labour markets given that professional occupations have declined in rural Canada, where the study is based (2009:310). Finally, although this should not be regarded as a criticism of the study itself, Canada is unique geographically and there is no guarantee that the findings are applicable to Britain, or anywhere else for that matter. Despite all of this, Mathews et al warrant praise for systematically comparing rural and urban regions and incorporating social capital, clearly a salient concept, into the analysis.

Norms and networks have been proven important for people of different class backgrounds. The value of using weak ties has been demonstrated by both Granovetter (1973, 1982) and Lin (2001), but is applicable mostly to educated professionals who are able to draw on networks of colleagues, and who work in fields where geographic mobility and transferable skills are prominent. What must be established is whether any causal connection exists between class background and social capital. If social capital is to be conceived as monolithic, with no distinction between the bonding/bridging dimensions discussed by Putnam (2000), Lin (2001) and, in his work on networks, Granovetter (1973, 1982) it is improbable that any clear correlation with class would emerge from a bivariate analysis.

3.6.6 - Social capital and new technology

Putnam (2000) devotes a chapter to the potential effects of the internet on social capital, concluding that sweeping judgements would be premature. Since then,

internet expansion has prompted a proliferation of research, some of which inevitably faced similar challenges to Putnam with regard to the net's relative infancy. Kraut et al (1998) study 93 families in Pittsburgh who were connecting to the internet for the first time in early 1995. Net use in the home was still a luxury enjoyed by few, with 40% of US households owning a computer. Only a third of these had internet access (Kraut et al 1998:1017). Their longitudinal analysis finds that internet use correlates positively with depression, but initial depression bears no relationship with subsequent internet use. Furthermore, they discover that net use also led to decreased social involvement (1998:1028), that making new friends online was rare, and that friendships from the web would not provide the kind of support which could be offered by those in close proximity (1998:1029-30). This study clearly depicts the internet as damaging to social capital.

That the internet was still very uncommon for household use is likely to have influenced these conclusions, and subsequent criticism led Kraut et al to reconsider their claims. Their failure to include a control group in the first study was castigated, thus Kraut et al (2002) compare new internet users with families purchasing a new television. Whereas Putnam was uncertain about the link between the net and social capital, his depiction of television as corrosive is unequivocal. Kraut et al (2002) also monitor original participants for a longer period, finding a reversal of initial negative effects, although dropout rates are likely to have been biased towards those with positive experiences online. Additionally, comparisons with the television control group were favourable towards the net, leading to the abandonment of their original stance.

Having established that internet use does not directly increase the risk of depression, it must be asked whether it enhances social capital. The key question

is whether internet use strengthens existing relationships and builds new ones, or produces socially isolated users who sacrifice face-to-face interactions to sit at the computer. Although a decade has passed since Putnam proclaimed that any verdict on internet effects on social capital would be premature, the evidence remains inconclusive. With regards to young people, one study of Dutch adolescents argues that those with low social confidence feel more comfortable in personal and intimate conversations online than they would normally (Valkenburg and Peter 2007:275). These findings are echoed by research into users of social networking sites at a US college (Steinfeld et al 2008). However, this is based on self-perception, which is appropriate for issues of self-esteem, but proves nothing with regards to translating this virtual confidence into other arenas. If less outgoing individuals are lured into such security, surely this encourages reclusiveness from other forms of interaction. A further danger is that negative comments from others online can shatter the fragile self-esteem which has been incubated in online communities (Valkenburg et al 2006:589).

If those less inclined toward social interaction benefit from internet friendships, it follows that more extroverted peers must then be considered. The 'rich-get-richer' thesis, whereby socially confident youngsters excel in online interactions in ways which mirror their success in other social spheres, was also supported by Valkenburg and Peter (2007:275). That the internet is just one resource of many, to be used advantageously by those already adept at maximising the utility of other social resources, is posited by other researchers (Kraut et al 2002:69). The 'rich-get-richer' thesis can be extrapolated to other forms of capital; feasibly, those well-endowed with economic capital are better placed to use online networking to good effect. Reverting to Granovetter's

‘strength-of-weak-ties’ argument, those in professional and managerial occupations are likelier to use such contacts to find work. This applies to distant, weak-tie relations maintained over the net. Whilst most households now enjoy internet, even broadband use (even in most rural areas), the old digital divide could be replaced by a new divide, between those who are able to capitalise on diverse networks of contacts to find work across broader geographical areas, and those who remain rooted in local networks.

So, having cast aspersions over suggestions that socially inept youngsters may benefit from the ability to develop relations online, it seems that internet connectivity cannot create social capital that was not there in the first place. Subrahmanyam et al (2008:432), in a study of US college students, note how online communications are used to selectively strengthen ties existing offline, and conclude that social networking sites are not used to form relationships with strangers. This may hold true, but the problems plaguing all such research into student behaviour online persists. All students already belong to a community of sorts, some may see themselves as part of many overlapping or discrete communities as part of campus life. What is less well known is whether similar trends generalise to those living in different environments. Indeed, Shaw and Gant’s (2002) study of wellbeing and online interactions in fully artificial settings, where conversation topics were provided for participants, has even less ecological validity. Only studies of online interactions where the participants dictate the content of dialogue can reveal anything about relations formed and sustained through the web. The next step from scripted interactions is telling respondents how to feel, which is clearly antithetical to meaningful research.

Several other commentators concur that the primary purpose of online interactions is to consolidate offline relations, and that the two spheres should not be seen as separate (Bargh and McKenna 2004:58-5, Haythornthwaite 2005, Valkenburg and Peter 2007:275). Thus, the evidence points to the internet as a supplement to, as opposed to a substitute for, face-to-face interaction (Tomai et al 2010:272). As one of the central tenets of Putnam's thesis was the impact of civic disengagement, one must now ask whether this principle extends to community activity and political participation. Wellman et al (2001) found that people discussing politics online were also doing so offline, and that interests pursued through the web simply reflected those held away from the computer. This may be considered a somewhat dated contribution, but it continues the theme underpinning this entire section: where social capital is concerned, the media is not the message, and new methods of communication can do little to create new connections. The best that can be hoped for is a strengthening of established relationships, which might arrest the slump in social capital highlighted by Putnam, but it certainly is not the panacea.

Social capital and the internet thus appear indifferent to one another, with no apparent correlation emerging from the review of literature. The difficulty in discerning good use of the net from bad poses problems of operationalisation, and the absence of a single net effect noted by Wellman et al (2001) exacerbates this problem. Given these measurement issues, it is best not to include net usage as a variable in this project. Social capital has been proven significant in this chapter, but the influence of online networks is ambiguous and has little relevance to the research question. In the next chapter, I outline the data and methods used in this

study, followed by a discussion of operationalisation and measurement of the key concepts.

3.7 – Summary

This chapter began by discussing rural disadvantage, arguing that hardship in remote areas is often absent from narratives of poverty. Research in rural communities has mostly overlooked young people, and the literature on youth labour market prospects has prioritised urban youth. Although youth unemployment and deprivation are higher in urban areas, there are still distinct difficulties faced by rural youth. These problems are direct consequences of location.

However, other factors also affect labour market prospects in relation to location. Research has found that young males feel more comfortable in the rural community setting, more able to cope with gossip and insularity, and more able to use local networks – which can be enabling but also exclusionary – to their advantage. There is also evidence that young men can react adversely to life in such an environment due to changes in occupational and family structures over the past century. Thus, it seems necessary to explore the effect of gender.

The importance of social class in determining employment opportunities and outcomes is well rehearsed in the literature, and as argued above, the evidence around rural disadvantage suggests that class affects one's ability to handle living in a rural location. There is also much existing research demonstrating connections between social capital and labour market prospects.

The role of networks in jobseeking has been debated for decades, and the importance of community and family norms for education and employment is also well established. Furthermore, previous research has identified recruitment through informal networks as a crucial factor in rural labour markets.

There are clear links between social capital and each of the research objectives stated at the beginning of this thesis. To assess how location affects the job opportunities available to young people, an analysis of the role of networks is necessary. This features in chapters 5, 6 and 7. To examine how aspirations are influenced by location, and to consider how far barriers to participation are real or perceived, an assessment of the role of family and community norms is required, and this is found in chapters 5 and 6. It follows that when exploring how labour market outcomes are affected by location, the two key dimensions of social capital discussed above, norms and networks, must be incorporated into the analysis. This forms a major part of chapters 6 and 7, although data limitations prevent social capital indicators from being included in the longitudinal analysis of secondary data that is the basis for chapter 8. Operationalisation and hypotheses relating to social capital are discussed further in chapter 4, which details the research design, data and methods.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN

This project employs a mixed method design incorporating both comparative and longitudinal analysis. There are two main empirical components. Firstly, interviews with young people in rural and urban locations explore their labour market prospects. Secondly, analysis of microdata from BHPS quantifies the extent to which labour market outcomes vary between rural and urban locations. This chapter details both elements. Section 4.1 justifies using in-depth interviews, followed by an argument for longitudinal data collection and a consideration of sampling strategies in terms of location, participants and access. Section 4.2 assesses the merits of aggregate and micro data and considers the content required from prospective datasets, before appraising three in particular. In section 4.3, I cover ethical considerations. Section 4.4 outlines the conceptual model underpinning the research. I argue for the need to include social capital, social class and time, in order to maximise the potential of microdata and to give a clearer picture of the causal processes leading to different employment outcomes. This section also discusses issues of operationalisation and measurement, with reference to variables featured in the BHPS data, and states hypotheses relating to the research questions. Section 4.5 concludes. This chapter supplies an overview of design, data and operationalisation. Further detail on these issues and on methods is reserved for the appropriate chapters due to the wide range of data and methods used throughout the thesis.

This study uses a mixed method design. Chapters 5 and 6 are based on the fieldwork and mostly cover the attempts of young people to enter the labour market. Chapters 7 and 8 present findings from secondary data analysis, and deal

more with outcomes for those in employment. The two empirical phases are distinct but focus on the same concepts and address the same research questions, on opportunities, barriers, aspirations and outcomes (with the exception of chapter 5, based cross-sectional analysis of the first round of fieldwork, where there is no discussion of outcomes). The qualitative and quantitative elements of this thesis are presented separately, as are the synchronic and longitudinal analyses, but all of these empirical contributions stem from the same research question and meet the same research aims, stated in chapter 1. Furthermore, participants are treated as rural or urban using the inextricably linked Defra/ONS definitions for both stages of the research (see Defra 2011). This demonstrates genuine method integration (Bryman 2007, Woolley 2008).

The interview topic guide was informed by survey content, in addition to issues arising from a review of the existing literature. It could therefore be argued that the relationship between the quantitative and qualitative aspects of this study constitutes a 'sequential model', with the former directly guiding the latter (Irwin 2010:59). There are several instances where questions from the dataset selected were asked of interviewees. For example, issues concerning job status and travel, analysed in chapter 2 (table 2.1), figured prominently in fieldwork interviews. Social capital is a major theoretical lynchpin of this thesis, and is operationalised in both primary and secondary data analysis. In some cases, the same question that appears in the survey data was asked of interviewees, most notably 'would you say that people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people', the question used most famously by Putnam (2000) as a metric of trust but also included in numerous other surveys (Paldam 2000; Alesina and La Ferrara 2002:208). However, in practice both parts of the research were

conducted concurrently, and are given equal weight. Both make indispensable contributions to the thesis overall and shed light on the same area of enquiry. The ordering of the chapters simply reflects the logic of the topic, as the qualitative chapters concentrate primarily on finding job opportunities, and the quantitative analysis focuses more on outcomes once in employment.

Despite the varied methods used, the thesis remains coherent given the significant substantive overlap between the chapters, which all deal with the same topic, albeit from slightly different angles. The findings generated by these different approaches can illuminate aspects of the phenomenon in question in ways that single methods could not achieve (Gorard and Taylor 2004). The secondary data used here was not collected for the precise purposes of this project, but the dataset chosen offers several advantages, detailed in section 4.2.2. Complementing this with primary data collection and analysis allows for further exploration of the key issues, while using survey data enables analysis of more respondents, spread over a broader geographical area, with potential for taking a longitudinal view. Each of these points is crucial. Research findings are more credible once reinforced in this manner. This justifies the mixed method approach.

This thesis makes an original contribution to the study of rural youth in particular, but also to youth studies more broadly, as significant numbers of young people reside in non-urban areas and this group has long been overlooked by research. Using BHPS data enables comparisons of rural and urban youth in the labour market over a period of time which would be difficult to cover using only primary data. Conducting interviews with youth in both rural and urban areas generates new insights into how youth employment opportunities and outcomes

vary according to place. This has not been done systematically since Cartmel and Furlong (2000), who used data only from Scotland. As such, there is a clear need for rural/urban comparisons encompassing the entire UK.

4.1 – Primary data

4.1.1- The rationale for interviews

The first empirical phase of this study seeks deep understanding of labour market opportunities and outcomes for young people through interviews, allowing participants to assess the extent to which previous research and findings from the secondary data analysis used in this project reflect the sentiments and experiences of young people. Appealing to the understandings of respondents has been termed member validation (Seale 1999:64) and is vital substantively, as the experiences of young people are of paramount importance to the project. Ethically this is also crucial; researchers must consider the perspectives of participants. Rural residents are the minority in Britain, and their older age profile means that rural youth are a minority within a minority, often overlooked in research, policy and media, making it especially important to give voice to this group.

The interviews examine the education and employment experiences of young people in the study areas, with reference to location, social capital and gender. Participants are asked how the job opportunities available to them have been affected by where they live. Local labour market limitations and transport provision are central to this. The influence of family and local community on aspirations is also explored. Barriers to participation are discussed, with reference

to transport and the informal recruitment practices which typify rural labour markets. The distinction between real and perceived barriers is made with reference to transport provision and cost, job centre vacancies and the availability of local facilities such as education, leisure and community and civic organisations. To some extent, Cartmel and Furlong (2000) distinguished real from perceived barriers, but more recent research has failed to explicitly do so (Browne and Bainbridge 2010, Marshall et al 2010). Outcomes in employment are also considered, necessitating a second data collection point to monitor the progress of participants.

Interviews were conducted with consenting participants on two occasions, with five to 12 months between each (table 4.1 shows the timeline of the research process). Including a longitudinal element in both the qualitative and quantitative empirical phases is critical. As noted by Holland et al (2006:20) in an ESRC working paper on the past achievements and future potential of qualitative longitudinal research, 'there are certain phenomena that can only be, or are best studied through this approach'. The instability characterising young people's trajectories in the contemporary era (Furlong and Cartmel 1997) indicates that such an approach can produce apposite and unique insights when researching this group. Youth employment and education are areas in which change is a major factor. As 'change is the main focus of qualitative longitudinal research', integrating this into the overall design seems vital for ensuring the most complete coverage of the key issues (Holland et al 2006:16).

Cross-sectional data is salient to this study and forms the basis of chapter 5, yet a more illuminating account of opportunities, barriers, aspirations and outcomes can be engendered by introducing a temporal dimension. This part of

the research design is essential for documenting change with regard to these research foci. Qualitative longitudinal research deliberately foregrounds change over time (Thomson et al 2003:185). Thus, using data collected specifically for this purpose improves the scope of the thesis by enabling an analysis of change, which is so central to the core issues underpinning this thesis.

Practical constraints prevented lengthier engagement with participants through primary data collection. The project was conducted within a limited timeframe in a variety of locations, often relying on the assistance of gatekeeper institutions to gain access to participants (see section 4.1.4 and chapter 5). Undoubtedly, the qualitative longitudinal component would have been strengthened by adding more observation points or covering a longer period, but maintaining any contact with interviewees allows for greater understanding than synchronic analysis. Nevertheless, longitudinal fieldwork is a valuable complement to the longitudinal analysis of BHPS data, and addresses the shortage of such designs in research around this topic (Bynner and Parsons 2002).

Table 4.1: Timeline of the research process

October 2009	Start of literature review.
January 2010	Review of datasets and start of secondary data analysis.
March-May 2010	Ethical clearance process
October 2010	First contact with gatekeeper institutions ahead of fieldwork
November 2010	Start of fieldwork phase one
June 2011	End of fieldwork phase one
July-August 2011	Analysis of fieldwork phase one data
September 2011	Start fieldwork phase two
November 2011	End fieldwork phase two
December 2011-March 2012	Analysis of fieldwork phase two data

4.1.2- Study areas

Here, I discuss the criteria by which the study areas were selected. Specific introductions to these sites are reserved for chapters 5 and 6. Interviews with youth were conducted in the West Midlands. Although the region is skewed towards urban districts, there are also rural areas. The full list of LADs comprising the region is tabulated in appendix A4A. Using areas from the West Midlands allows for rural and urban comparisons, but could present challenges in terms of justifying these comparisons within a region in which 73.3% of the population reside in urban districts. However, this is only slightly greater than the national average (68.4%), and the urban comparison is more meaningful as the West Midlands conurbation is one of Britain's largest and most urban. As the West Midlands currently has the highest unemployment rate in the country (see appendix A4A), it is an interesting site for the project.

The primary data collection compares rural and urban youth by sampling interviewees from two types of location. The first are 'major urban' districts (indicated by 1 in appendix A4A.5) which are the most urban types of local authority in terms of proportion of residents living in urban LLSOAs. Rural participants were all recruited from 'predominantly rural' districts (5 or 6 in table A4A.5). Sampling from all six categories of the rural/urban classification would present difficulty in terms of securing six separate samples, and validity would be compromised if participants were selected from parts of the district which failed to situate them in a definitively rural or urban location. Also the relative lack of rural districts within the region would make it difficult to sample study areas according to affluence, employment rates or other variables.

Each of the rural study areas selected is a town of around 10,000 people. This is on the borderline for rural/urban settlement size classification, yet their position in predominantly rural districts means that respondents were quite remote from urban locations. Additionally, many rural interviewees lived in satellite villages surrounding the towns where data was collected. Overall, the combination of LAD and LLSOA status along with the perceptions of local area given by respondents suggests that these participants were genuinely rural. This is expounded further in chapters 5 and 6.

4.1.3- Sampling

A list of all schools and Connexions offices in the West Midlands was compiled. The weakness of studies using tenuously urban comparators has been highlighted (Elgar et al 2003, see chapter 3), hence sampling from Britain's second largest conurbation here, to ensure the urban location is sufficiently non-rural. The need to establish appropriate comparators means that theoretical sampling was used, although the sampling frames have been constructed according to clear criteria, stated above. Sampling in rural study areas proved challenging; by definition, the most remote locations suffer from service scarcity, so there are fewer appropriate institutions to contact. While study locations were identified in this manner, gatekeepers and participants were often reached by snowballing. This is discussed more fully below, and in chapter 5.

An even split of male and female participants is important for the study. Different experiences of growing up in rural areas according to gender have been

mentioned in previous research (see chapter 3), and this is explored in both empirical phases of this project. This could be stipulated quite reasonably when discussing interviewee recruitment with participating institutions. Ethnicity is not central to this project, as rural areas tend to be ethnically homogenous. It was expected that the rural study locations were predominantly white, and that respondents contacted through participating institutions therein would be white. The region's urban areas are ethnically diverse, and it was anticipated that the urban sample would reflect that. No ethnic criteria were demanded of institutions in the urban sample. Ideally, a range of socio-economic backgrounds would form the sample, but this is difficult to ensure in practice. Participant characteristics are detailed more fully in chapter 5.

Sampling was conducted with the guiding principle of data saturation in mind. The first phase of fieldwork concluded when rural and urban youth in compulsory education, post-16 study and with some experience of NEET were all interviewed, with an even gender balance. Asking respondents about their background is acceptable, but requiring schools to supply interviewees according to parental income and occupational status is probably not. Using schools as gatekeepers is essential at both the practical and ethical level, yet their co-operation should not be jeopardised by requesting information which they might be unable or unwilling to share. There is little prospect of systematic sampling according to class, so the aim was to continue until sufficient variety was achieved to enable the other key comparisons.

4.1.4 - Access and the role of gatekeepers

Access was negotiated on two levels. Firstly, gatekeepers at relevant institutions were asked if they would take part. Initial contact was made by telephone or email, depending on the information which was publicly available through the host institution. A cover letter introducing the project and outlining the interview schedule was sent electronically once the email address for the relevant individual had been confirmed. Gatekeepers were asked to recruit participants according to the criteria specified. Giving them responsibility for choosing interviewees presented the risk of selection bias. It must be acknowledged that the young people picked were deemed likely to cooperate with the research process. As all who took part were fully compliant, this possibility cannot be discounted, although there is sound justification for recruiting participants through gatekeepers, as argued below.

The second stage of recruitment involved gatekeepers seeking consent from young people associated with those organisations. Once access to an institution had been negotiated, permission from individual interviewees was still necessary to secure their participation. Consent forms were signed by all respondents, each of whom was briefed on the interview process and the project more broadly prior to taking part. Gatekeepers arranged suitable times to attend interview venues and organised appointments to speak with the participants. They also found appropriate spaces within the school, college or youth centre where interviews could take place uninterrupted. Gatekeepers performed an important logistical role in this respect. When researching young people, ensuring safety is paramount, and the cooperation of gatekeepers was crucial for enabling fieldwork

to be conducted in settings familiar to the young participants. That the study was effectively endorsed by the gatekeepers was also vital, not only for securing access to the necessary institutions, but for the assurance of interviewees.

Gatekeepers had no input into the interview. Some requested a more detailed overview of interview topics than contained in the cover letter or participant information sheet before agreeing to support the research, but none took issue with any content or sought to influence the discussion. They were also often useful sources of local knowledge. Informal conversations were highly informative, as they drew on their experience of young people's circumstances in that particular place. Gatekeepers mostly lived locally and shared interesting perspectives on key issues such as employment, education and transport. This was not part of the formal research design yet contributed significantly to my understanding of the study locations. Overall, the role of gatekeepers was multifaceted. They facilitated the research in practical terms, strengthened the ethical merits of the project by authorising access and acting as intermediaries, and were valuable sources of contextual information.

In this section, I have argued that the interview method is crucial for giving voice to respondents, which is particularly important in this project given that rural youth are usually neglected in academia, media and policy. Follow up interviews are necessary as the intermittent relationship between young people and the labour market limits the usefulness of static accounts. I have outlined the criteria by which rural and urban study areas are selected to facilitate meaningful contrasts, along with access and sampling, which are expounded further in chapter 5. Finally, the broad and vital role played by gatekeepers was discussed. The focus now turns to secondary data.

4.2 – Secondary data

4.2.1- The merits of microdata

Aggregate data on educational performance and youth unemployment in Britain is available for all Local Authority Districts (LADs) and Lower Layer Super Output Areas (LLSOAs). This full national coverage is an advantage of such data, as is its compatibility with the rural/urban classification, defined by agreed criteria applied uniformly at national level. Alternatives, for example Paul Cloke's index of rurality (1977), are suitably comprehensive by virtue of the vast criteria used. However, applying this taxonomy widely enough to enable credible comparisons would be highly onerous, so the LAD/LLSOA measurement is preferable.

However, there are limitations that prevent the aggregate data from constituting a separate explanatory empirical contribution. Whilst reasonable accuracy can be achieved, there are no additional variables in the data which might explain causes for emerging trends. The data describe the performance at area level without offering further information. The absence from aggregate data of other factors which could influence the relationship between location and outcomes is also prohibitive. Whilst this is useful for summarising outcomes in an area, or comparing rural and urban totals, these limitations suggest too much weight should not be placed upon such data. The main strength of aggregate data is the standardised definition of location by rural/urban status. However, the microdata also use such measures, and offer a number of other advantages.

A simple bivariate analysis of location and outcomes cannot shed sufficient light upon the true relationship between these variables. Recent aggregate data

shows that for youth unemployment at LAD level, the rural/urban difference is negligible for both short and long-term periods of joblessness (see tables in Appendix A4A). Existing research into the topic has suggested that social capital and class are important determinants of outcomes (Coleman 1988; Goldthorpe 1996; Hammer 2003; Gorard et al 2007; Green and White 2007) and the case for adding these to the model has been made in chapter 2. A more detailed discussion of how these variables should be operationalised is reserved until the second half of this chapter, but the point remains that only datasets featuring measures of these concepts, along with indicators of rurality and outcomes, are viable. For this reason, microdata are used in this project.

There have been calls for research into youth unemployment to use a longitudinal design (Bynner and Parsons 2002). The rationale for this is clear, as young people often move between study and seasonal work, and change intentions about which career to pursue, whether voluntarily or due to factors beyond their control such as local labour market changes or failing a course. Job security is stronger for older workers, with youth unemployment seen as hyper-cyclical (Blanchflower and Freeman 2000:47-55) and temporary positions and informal work are common responses to these labour-market conditions (MacDonald 1997:176). All of this suggests that synchronic snapshots of youth educational and labour market experiences are insufficient, and these issues should therefore be studied over time. Furthermore, the decline in rural services over recent years suggests that the relationship between location and outcomes has changed. The rise in migration to rural areas (Taylor 2008:8) and reduced out-migration of youth (Burgess 2008a:2) could also have an effect; this would go

unnoticed without longitudinal analysis. As this element of the project is crucial, the potential for longitudinal analysis is a priority in selecting a dataset.

To summarise, the data must provide information on whether respondents reside in rural or urban areas, along with indicators of educational outcomes and employment data, and items representing class background or socioeconomic status and social capital. Also age and gender (the case for this was also made in chapter 3) are obvious necessities, as is the capacity for longitudinal analysis of each variable where possible. These must provide samples of sufficient size for meaningful analysis of the relationships between the factors listed here. Now that the case has been made for using microdata, and the requirements for the dataset have been made explicit, I assess the utility of three possible datasets.

4.2.2- Potential datasets

With young people the focus of this project, obvious datasets to consider are the Longitudinal Survey of Young People in England (LSYPE) and the Youth Cohort Study (YCS). My reasons for rejecting these sources are presented now, before I posit the strengths of using the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS).

YCS cohort 12, sweep 1-4, from 2004-7, has relevant variables pertaining to education and employment, including current study, highest level of attainment gained, employment status of parents, employment status of the respondent, whether they have received training, and the type of school attended. There are also potentially useful items on perceptions of local area (such as 'do you think there are no jobs in the area?' and 'is transport a problem?'), and whether

respondents feel they would be better off if they did not work. Along with the employment and education data, these would be useful, but the point of introducing microdata to the research design is to explore the relationship between variables not covered in the aggregate data such as social capital – of which there is a distinct lack in YCS. YCS has potential for longitudinal analysis, as the first cohort was surveyed in 1985. New cohorts have been surveyed consistently since then. The sample size, 14003 in wave one, decreases to 4428 by wave four.

LSYPE (wave 4 n=11586) is a potential alternative to YCS. Again, there are variables pertaining to employment and education, but this source also has several variables which could be used to explore social capital in relation to these, with attrition generally low. There are items on use of spare time, pastimes and participation, sports, extent of fear of crime and bullying, and access to the internet, which correspond with themes of trust, norms and networks. Also, questions on attitudes to school could be seen as proxies for level of trust in institutions. However, there are attitudinal questions with poor response rates, and ideally a greater range of variables to gauge social capital is needed from the dataset selected. Also, LSYPE is a new study compared to BHPS, having only started in 2004. I have argued that this study must respond to calls for research on young people in the labour market to use a longitudinal design. BHPS is more suitable for that purpose, having been conducted since 1991. Therefore, BHPS seems preferable.

The advantages of using BHPS are numerous. In wave 17, there are variables on socialising, volunteering, contact with friends and neighbours, perceptions of local area, trust in individuals and institutions, and level of interest

in politics. Each of these has relevance toward social capital. Although BHPS continued until 2008/9 (wave 18) when it was subsumed into Understanding Society, the final year did not include many variables germane to social capital, so wave 17 has been used for the analysis presented in chapter 7. There are also indicators of respondent and parents' occupational status, potentially important for this study, and on education and employment. Using only respondents aged under-25, a sample of 2,242 is achieved from wave 17. This is approximately the proportion of young people in earlier waves. Whilst this offers a smaller sample size than both YCS and LSYPE, it is still sufficient, and can be used in conjunction with earlier waves of BHPS.

The capacity to track data from 1991 onward is a major strength of BHPS and brings a broader time period into the reach of the project. Young respondents from wave 1 can be tracked for 18 years. While the original youth sample is smaller than for the other datasets mentioned ($n=1594$), half remain in wave 18 ($n=806$). This provides an opportunity for a unique longitudinal perspective on the relationship between location and employment outcomes. Individual cases can be tracked over time, from youth onward, to gauge how location influences subsequent success in employment. This responds to calls for rural population studies to use quantitative data, and to take a longitudinal view. Furthermore, overall rural urban comparisons of key outcomes can be tracked year on year throughout the full observation period. Longitudinal analysis of BHPS is the focus of chapter 8.

BHPS boasts a vast range of variables suitable as indicators of social capital, along with high response rates to these items. It also features several variables on employment status and outcomes. One downside is that BHPS is not

intended as a youth survey, and the number of sample members of appropriate age is less than the other datasets reviewed in this section. However, this also offers a useful corollary, that youth outcomes can be compared to findings from respondents of all ages to determine whether distinctly *youth* disadvantages emerge from the analysis of rural/urban location.

All of this suggests BHPS to be the optimum dataset for the purpose of this study. Crucially, the main individual respondent survey can be combined with the conditional access regional identifier dataset to locate respondents by LLSOA of residence. This applies a precise rural/urban classificatory scheme of all locations in the UK. Further discussion of this facet of the methodology follows in chapter 7. The findings of this phase of the research will be compatible with findings from the fieldwork, where study areas are chosen according to the same LLSOA/LAD framework as used to define rural/urban areas in the secondary data analysis.

This section has stated the case for using BHPS data to complement the fieldwork. An 18 year observation window is achievable due to the longitudinal data structure. The conditional access regional identifier dataset allows for rural/urban comparisons with the same classificatory scheme used for selecting study areas. The presence of variables on employment outcomes, social capital and class are also advantages of this dataset. Analysis using BHPS is presented in chapters 7 and 8. The following section discusses ethical considerations, and section 4.4 begins with specification of the conceptual model before discussing operationalisation and outlining hypotheses on the main variables of interest. The chapter concludes by stating the overall original contribution to existing research, ahead of the empirical analyses to follow in chapters 5-8.

4.3 – Ethics

The fieldwork proposal received approval from the university's ethical review committee prior to commencement. It was also necessary to undergo a full Criminal Records Bureau check, as is standard for conducting research in schools or other settings in which people aged under-18 are present. While issues of employment may be considered sensitive, the interview schedule overall was not particularly intrusive (see appendix 4B). Following the British Sociological Association's Statement of Ethical Practice (2002:3), which dictates that participants should be informed about the purposes of research as far as possible, all interviewees were briefed to ensure that they were fully informed before consenting. I stressed at the outset that any questions could be refused. While I was confident that none would object to the interview agenda, this was necessary to prevent any subsequent allegations of deception. Misleading those sharing their views and experiences would have been unethical and counterproductive. There would be no benefit in covert approaches, concealing my role as researcher or hiding the true purpose of the project was not viable either ethically or practically. Participant information sheets were issued and contained contact details for the project supervisors in case anyone wished to verify the authenticity of the study. Respondents were advised to consult the Citizen's Advice Bureau if they were distressed by their participation in any way.

Institutions were contacted by e-mail or phone. None were contacted again if they declined to participate. Gatekeepers received copies of the interview outline when requested. No participants were cold-called or recruited without being told

what to expect. After each initial interview, I asked respondents to provide contact details so I could arrange follow up meetings later on. I emphasised that this was voluntary, and that participants could decide which information to share. None refused this. One even provided a home address, although ironically I was unable to contact this respondent again.

For practical purposes, first interviews were usually conducted in batches of between three and five participants per day. This was to reduce overall travel costs, and also to build a more complete picture of each study area. However, this also presented a risk concerning confidentiality. As detailed in chapter 5, I visited some study areas for multiple interview sessions. The rural locations were by definition small settlements, and the chances of respondents knowing one another were therefore high. Some interviewees knew of each other's participation, as they noticed each other leaving or arriving at interview rooms. However, I was careful not to discuss participation with anyone else. One rural participant asked who else I had spoken to in their area after a follow up interview. As respondents were promised confidentiality, it would have been highly improper to divulge names.

Phone and e-mail were used to remain in contact with participants, but other online approaches were eschewed. For example, starting a Facebook group may have compromised the identity of interviewees to other participants. This is a greater concern in small communities where most young people know one another. The risk is heightened by the clustered sampling strategy. Moreover, response rates using Facebook have been low in previous research (Steinfeld et al 2008), and other social networking sites such as Linked In and Twitter are unsuitable due to target age and brevity restrictions respectively.

Participants all fully complied, suggesting that the interviews did not cover anything inappropriate. Asking about family backgrounds was important as I was keen to explore whether parental occupation or attitudes to employment, education and location has a bearing on interviewees' outlook. Some participants recounted troubled family histories yet none refused to discuss them, despite assurances that they could opt out. As the participants were all young people, recruitment through institutions and organisations with which prospective participants were already affiliated seemed a good move for protecting interviewees. Although there is a risk that pressure applied by gatekeepers may lead unwilling participants to take part (Heath et al 2007, Tyldum 2012), providing consent forms and briefings independent of contact from any representative of the host organisation acted as a buffer against this. Researcher safety is also a concern, and gatekeepers were trusted to only refer participants who would pose no danger. Using these institutional contacts as a vetting screen therefore improved safety for all parties.

Gatekeepers were present during 10 of the 38 interviews in phase one of data collection. Some schools stipulated that participation was conditional upon staff being in the room. In these cases I agreed, respecting that schools were under no obligation to grant access, and assuming that the presence of a familiar adult may reinforce the project's legitimacy. There are also potential drawbacks with observer effects, considered further in chapter 5. When respondents requested to be interviewed in pairs, I agreed. I didn't think this would jeopardise data reliability in any way, and thought it preferable to allow participants to take part however they felt most comfortable. This was important given the power dynamic between older researcher and younger respondent (Batsleer 2010:186-

7). The inclusion of many prompts/questions in the excerpts presented is to avoid misrepresentation. This is crucial given that a major point of the project is to give to voice to a minority.

All interviewees were aware that our conversations would be recorded, with the device placed in clear view. There was no covert element to the recording akin to that discussed by Negrón (2012) as the apparatus remained in plain sight throughout. After each initial briefing I confirmed with the participant that they were ready to begin and happy for recording to commence. Thus, there was fully informed consent to the recording of each interview. Names of people and place were altered or blanked out in all written outputs. Every participant received my contact details and was offered the chance to review their transcript, although no-one made such a request. Location is obviously integral to this investigation, and some places are perhaps identifiable by the characteristics listed. This is unavoidable as geographical positioning, transport links and economic circumstances are crucial to this study and cannot be ignored. The research would be meaningless without such discussion. However, protecting confidentiality is paramount, so study areas are not named specifically. This is to safeguard participants. Staff members at participant institutions sometimes spoke in critical terms about people or policies. Omitting locations was essential to prevent these accounts, given off-record and in confidence, from being traceable.

4.4 - Model specification and operationalisation

4.4.1 – Introduction

Whilst location affects the probability of young people reaching successful outcomes in employment, other factors must be taken into account. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 assess how location, class, and social capital determine such outcomes. In chapters 6 and 8, temporality is introduced into the equation with longitudinal analysis of primary and secondary data respectively.

In this section, I contend that location must be treated as an independent variable (although analysis of migration trends in chapter 8 also looks at location as an outcome), and argue for the importance of social class, social capital and time being included. Whilst the effect of location at the Local Authority District (LAD) level on the outcomes in question is modest, existing research indicates that the effect may be more pronounced once social capital and social class are added as intervening variables. This model is illustrated below. I justify the inclusion of each variable, discussing issues of operationalisation in turn. Employment outcomes are discussed later as BHPS variables are detailed. Finally, it must be noted here that while gender is a relevant variable, it will not feature in the discussion here as there is relatively little to say on it regarding measurement issues or causality.

Figure 4.1 shows the conceptual model. Location, measured in the recoded BHPS data by a dichotomous variable of rural/urban, is treated as an independent variable. It is expected that rural location exerts a small positive effect on outcomes, judging by the slightly lower youth unemployment figures (see appendix

4). It is anticipated that both social capital and class have stronger effects, and that the effect of location is greater once social capital and class enter the model as intervening variables. On the evidence of existing research, I hypothesise that lower social capital and class status increase the effect of location. I elaborate this prediction in more detail below, where each of the concepts included in the model is covered, outlining the expectations, the evidence behind these expectations and issues of operationalisation.

Section 4.4.2 addresses rural/urban location. In 4.4.3, social class is covered, before a consideration of social capital in section 4.4.4. The two constituent elements of this concept, norms and networks, are delineated here. Section 4.4.5 reiterates the importance of time to this study, briefly mentioning how this figures in the primary and secondary data analysis. Operationalisation of the labour market outcomes central to the research questions is discussed in section 4.4.6.

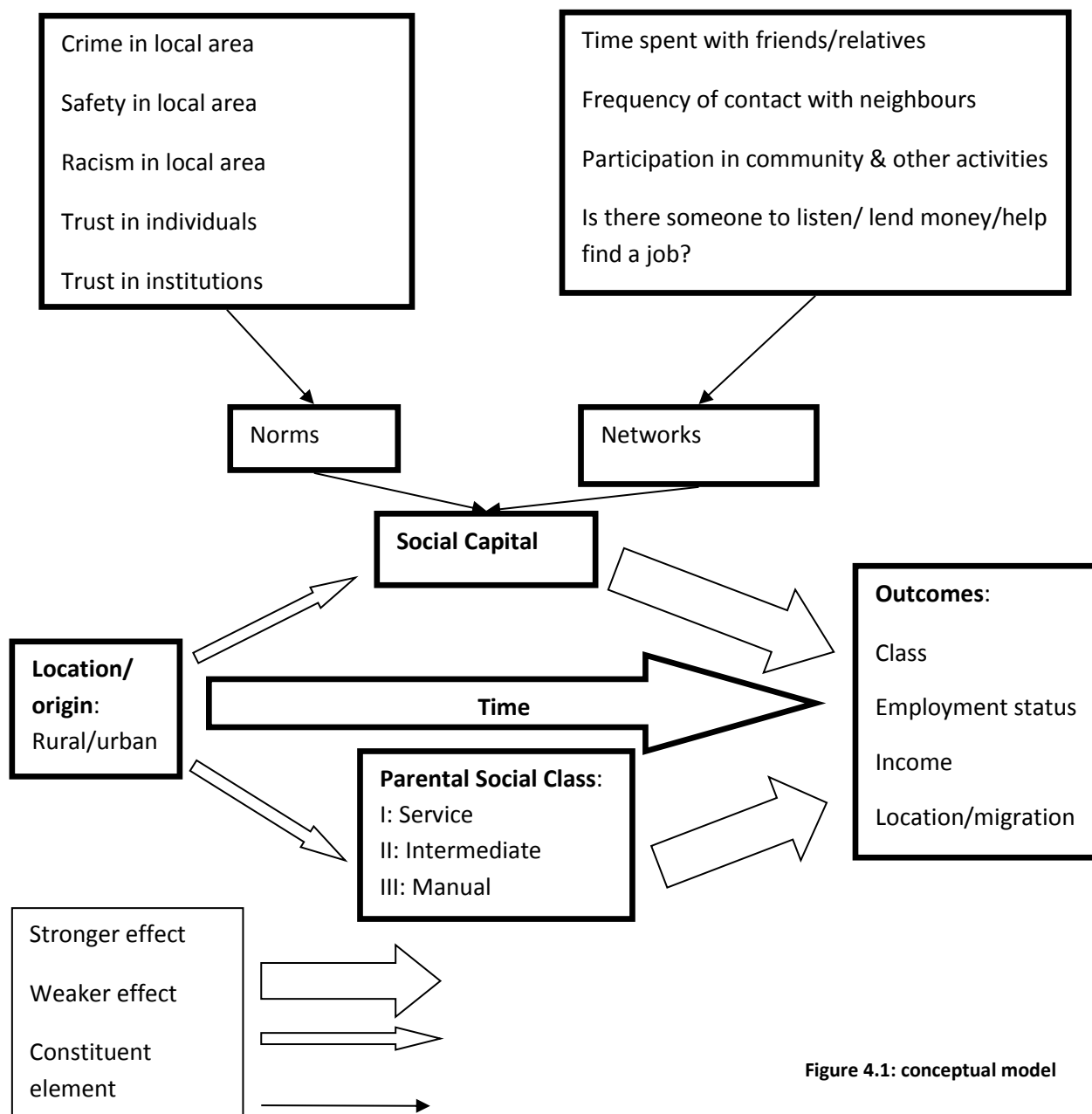


Figure 4.1: conceptual model

4.4.2 - Rural/urban location

The rationale for including location in the analysis is self-evident given the urban emphasis of existing youth studies. I have argued that the rural/urban classification of LADs and LLSOAs, whilst not flawless, provides the most comprehensive and consistent measure of rurality of all areas in Britain (see

chapter 2). The category to which each LAD is allocated depends only on a single criterion, which is the proportion of LLSOAs comprising the district that are classed as rural according to population density.

BHPS data identifies all respondents as urban or rural according to the LLSOA of residence, using the eight categories mentioned in chapter 2. Conditional access is necessary to obtain these variables in order to maintain respondent anonymity. Most respondents reside in urban locations (66.8% in wave 17) and this trend continues through all waves. There still remain a sufficient number of rural cases, even when age is filtered to include only those aged under 25 in the analysis (30.3%, N=658). Recoding these manifold categories into a dichotomous variable provides a more parsimonious account of rural/urban variation. I count only those in 'urban less sparse' locations as urban here. This group still constitutes the majority.

Location cannot be treated as a dependent variable in the main model. However, it is considered as an outcome in the analysis of migration patterns in chapter 8. Class and social capital cannot cause the rurality of a location, yet it is plausible that rural location can contribute towards the level of social capital among residents and the class structure of the area. Consequently, location cannot be placed after either of these factors in the analytical sequence.

If location is treated as an independent variable in a bivariate relationship with education and employment outcomes, it is expected that the data will show a slight advantage for those residing in rural areas. This is based on recent aggregate data showing attainment in rural LADs to marginally exceed that in urban districts in terms of GCSE and A-level performance. The data also shows

that youth unemployment is slightly lower in rural areas (see appendix A4). However, this gap is less than the comparative lack of research into rural youth implies. Furthermore, the variation in fortunes between rural youth and urban peers is likely to be accentuated when class and social capital are incorporated into the analysis, as is explained below.

4.4.2.1 - Social class: measurement

Class is distinct from income, yet includes it implicitly within its criteria (see chapter 3 for discussion). Thus, it warrants a place in the conceptual model. The class to which one belongs is based on occupation and is said to predict a range of outcomes from health and leisure pursuits to the likelihood of offspring succeeding in education and the labour market. For this reason, class is an important variable. The three class model is used by previous studies of social capital in Britain (Marshall 1997 chapter 5, Li, Savage and Pickles 2003, Li and Marsh 2008), and divides people into professional-managerial, intermediate and manual strata. This scheme offers numerous benefits. The simplicity of assigning somebody to one of the three groups prevents analysis being overcomplicated by a proliferation of strata, the boundaries between which are perhaps unclear.

There is little substantive rationale for fragmenting class into three groups, as it is not expected that any additional insights would be generated. Marshall's 1997 study into whether male breadwinners provide the best indicator of class positions uses the three class model. In order to test robustness, the study was repeated using an expanded five class schema, with no alteration to the results.

This suggests that three classes are sufficient. There is also a pragmatic appeal to using this number, as small sample sizes are recognised as requiring merged categories in the interest of meaningful analysis (Marshall 1997:90). Having discussed the small rural comparator group available in the BHPS data, it seems that three class schema is most appropriate, providing sufficient detail on respondents' class position without being unnecessarily complex.

Class background is measured by the occupational class of parents at age 14, which is a well-established indicator (Blau and Duncan 1967, Li and Marsh 2008). Proponents of class analysis such as Goldthorpe (1996) contend that it remains a salient topic for academic enquiry as it persists in determining the distribution of life chances. The upbringing one has is crucial here, and this is determined by the position of the breadwinner in the labour market (Scott 1996:216-7), so parental occupation is a reliable proxy for a young person's class, and an important variable for this study. Class destination is also considered, although this is restricted to those in work, with occupation being the main criterion determining class. Class destination is measured according to current position. This can be considered an outcome in addition to a predictor. The relationship between class and location is alluded to in chapters 5 and 6, and covered more specifically in chapter 7.

4.4.2.2- Social class: hypotheses

Clear links exist between class and outcomes in employment. Willis (1977) observes conflict between working class culture and institutional norms of middle-

class schools, causing males from manual occupational backgrounds to be unlikely to succeed or even recognise the value of trying to. Goldthorpe and Marshall (1992:390) argue that privileged classes use their resources to ensure their children do well in school, through private schooling and investment in extra-curricular tutoring, for example. This leads to favourable labour market outcomes. Later, Goldthorpe contends that educational ambitions are influenced by class origin (1996:491), and that controlling for ability, pupils from affluent families have a better chance of progressing to Higher Education. More recently, Gorard et al (2007) found that while entry to H.E. in Britain discriminates on prior educational attainment rather than social class origins, background factors such as this determine educational attainment. Again, these findings suggest class origin is positively correlated with employment outcomes.

With a pronounced positive correlation between class background and outcomes already assumed, and a very modest positive relationship between rurality and outcomes suggested by both aggregate data and existing research, what remains to be seen is how these two factors interact in influencing the dependent variable. Yet, as the disadvantage of remote location is exacerbated by lower class background, my hypothesis is that location exerts a greater negative effect on outcomes when class is added to the model as an intervening variable.

4.4.3 - Social capital

4.4.3.1 – Introduction

As noted by Li and Marsh (2008:256), operationalisation can be challenging when the concepts are not readily quantifiable and the data available have not been collected for the same specific purpose. However Portes (1998:2) observes that while social capital is a comparatively new concept, it derives from familiar issues of community solidarity and shared norms which can be traced back as far as Marx and Durkheim. This suggests that operationalisation is feasible. There is consensus in the literature that social capital is a multi-faceted concept, and therefore multiple indicators must be used (Raffo and Reeves 2000, Bassani 2007, Stone and Hughes 2002:23, Van Deth 2003:88). Despite this apparent complexity, it is argued that social capital can be measured using a number of agreed indicators, which are in fact relatively straightforward to gauge (Paldam 2000). There are also limitations, in that some distinctions within social capital are still yet to be captured by any major surveys. These challenges are confronted below in due course. Firstly, I outline social capital's main dimensions and how they can be measured.

4.4.3.2 – Norms and Trust

Norms and trust are an important aspect of social capital, having been identified by Stone and Hughes (2002:5) as one of the two key measures of the concept, and been discussed at length by Putnam (2000). Alesina and Ferrara (2002)

argue that areas with high income inequality and ethnic homogeneity have lower social capital as people are more likely to relate to those with similar characteristics. This could be interpreted as an absence of shared norms contributing to a lack of community trust. For the measurement of trust, much emphasis has been placed on a single questionnaire item, asked by the General Social Survey in the United States and the World Values Survey elsewhere, to measure people's trust. It is 'generally, do you feel that people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?' This question is central to Putnam's thesis (2000:137), and has also been used elsewhere (Alesina and La Ferrara 2002:208). It features in BHPS, and I also put it to interviewees in the fieldwork for this project, reported in chapters 5 and 6.

Putnam urges that trust not be seen too simplistically, as he contends that trust in individuals must be treated as distinct from trust in institutions. There are variables in BHPS relating to trust in government, which can be taken as indicators of trust in institutions, so both aspects of trust are covered in the dataset. It is expected that less rural/urban variation exists regarding trust in institutions, based on recent evidence that residents in both rural and urban areas feel unable to influence decision making processes (Marshall et al 2010:24).

Putnam argues that trust is lower in the cities (2000:138). Whilst caution is needed in extrapolating this to Britain, fear of urban crime suggests that trust is higher among rural residents. Criminal activity, antisocial behaviour, and intolerance are relevant indicators of community norms. BHPS contains variables asking how respondents perceive their local area in terms of crime, vandalism and racism, offering the opportunity to measure these community characteristics using individuals as units of analysis. Gangs are highlighted by Putnam as a

manifestation of the 'dark side' of social capital (2000:22), and other commentators have also drawn attention to how group or neighbourhood norms can have damaging effects on individuals (MacDonald et al 2005:884). While these commentators do not explicitly situate their arguments in the context of consequences for employment, it is highly plausible that a relationship exists between this facet of social capital and labour market prospects and outcomes. With such appropriate measures in the dataset enabling the analysis of this collective concept through individual level data, it would be a missed opportunity not to explore this connection.

The norms of a family or community may regard leaving the local area as a betrayal. For example, those leaving the Puerto Rican community in New York to work attract hostility for assimilating into the mainstream white labour market, even though they have remained residents in their home community (Portes 1998). This relates to the arguments advanced by Green and White (2007) that attitudes toward employment are shaped by family and community. Being restricted to the local area obviously proves prohibitive to young people in locations with limited opportunities and 'weak-tie poverty' (6 1997:27), even if this constraint is arguably a perceptual barrier.

These contributions to the literature on social capital suggest a relationship between norms and the labour market. Hence, this study builds on the existing research by examining whether this aspect of social capital, which has been shown to be well-established concept in studies of employment, is salient in relation to the specific research questions posed here. This line of enquiry is pursued in both the qualitative and quantitative components of this thesis.

The discussion until now has risked portraying social capital and its bonding/bridging aspects as a simplistic negative/positive dichotomy. Although research has warned of the danger of immersion in inward-looking networks, the potential of close-knit communities as crucial sources of support must be remembered. In the interviews, respondents offered their own views on whether strong/weak ties and network density/diversity have affected their fortunes in education and employment (see chapters 5 and 6). The discussion now turns to the second facet of social capital, networks.

4.4.3.3- Networks

The second facet of social capital to be operationalised is networks. The importance of networks to labour market opportunities is well-established (Granovetter 1973, 1982), and there is much research positing the salience of networks to rural labour markets (Cartmel and Furlong 2000; Mathews et al 2009). The distinction pioneered by Granovetter, separating weak and strong ties, has been developed subsequently by Lin and Putnam (see chapter 3), although the difficulty in finding data that distinguishes between the two has been noted (Putnam 2000:23-4). This difficulty also applies to the BHPS data, although as mentioned this survey contains many variables which can be seen as social capital indicators.

The frequency with which one has contact with friends or family can be treated as an indicator of networks, with individuals as the unit of analysis. Using personal contacts to find work is commonplace in rural labour markets (see

chapter 3), so the BHPS variables recording frequency of contact are relevant predictors for the quantitative analysis presented in chapter 7. The dataset also features variables pertaining to personal support, which again are relevant to the broader notion of networks. Social or personal ties tend to overlap significantly with professional connections in rural areas (Bosworth 2012, see also chapter 3), so it is worth exploring their effects in order to advance the understanding of social capital and how it relates to the issue of youth employment.

Connections to family and friends are not the only types of networks apposite to this investigation. Involvement in community projects and organisational membership are significant components of Putnam's conception of social capital, to the extent that he discusses civic participation and social capital almost interchangeably (2000:257). While Putnam does not explicitly relate this aspect of social capital to employment, the prominence of such networks in his account suggests that engagement in community and voluntary activity are worth considering as explanatory variables here. As has been shown by Paldam (2000), this element of social capital is relatively simple to gauge. His example focuses on the aggregate level, yet this can easily be applied to individuals. Survey items asking the number of organisations to which an individual belongs can satisfactorily measure this concept. BHPS has such variables, along with self-reported activity rates. It is also possible to ask fieldwork participants about their involvement with such bridging networks, and to analyse the benefits to employment prospects.

Attempts to demonstrate how strong and weak ties are significant, empirically based concepts (such as Granovetter 1973,1982) show that it is possible to explore this sub-strand of social capital theory, yet the absence of

indicators from existing datasets makes it difficult. Operationalising a complex and multi-faceted concept such as social capital inevitably presents challenges, and this facet appears beyond the reach of available data. However, an advantage of a mixed method design is that whilst the secondary data analysis cannot answer all questions, the primary data can address these shortcomings and possibly support the findings that emerge. BHPS data satisfies many of the demands, in terms of allowing for exploration of different elements of social capital. The next section delineates some hypotheses concerning social capital and its application in this project.

4.4.3.4 - Social capital: hypotheses

It is expected that rural residents demonstrate higher levels of social capital, in terms of norms and networks, as residents of urban areas are expected to have less contact with their neighbours, and community ethos is supposedly higher outside of major conurbations. Respondents with positive perceptions of their local area are also expected to perform better on labour market outcomes, as the literature on social capital portrays trust and community cohesion as beneficial overall.

Personal contacts have been cited as crucial for jobseeking in rural areas, so it is anticipated that those without access will be affected worse in rural than in urban areas in terms of finding work. Clearly, Granovetter's (1973, 1982) 'strength of weak ties' argument was not formulated with youth employment in mind, where such broad, bridging networks are unlikely to be used. This is explored in chapters

5 and 6. However, the advantages of access to informal networks for those in employment are less clear. The distinction between norms and networks and their effect on earnings is analysed in chapter 7.

The BHPS data allows for comparisons across different age groups to test whether social capital has stronger effects on outcomes for younger people than for older respondents in chapter 7. According to Putnam (2000:18), higher levels of social capital are found in older people, with civic participation not emerging until middle age. Analysis of BHPS data has also suggested this is the case here, although broader definitions of political participation are supposed to point to higher involvement among young people.

4.4.4 – Time

I have discussed the importance of analysing youth employment prospects longitudinally above and in chapter 3. It is therefore vital to include this variable in the conceptual model. Time is a key factor explored in both primary and secondary data. Inevitably, it plays a more prominent role in chapters 5 and 7, where data from follow up interviews and all waves of BHPS are used. However, time does figure in analysis of phase one of fieldwork forming the basis of chapter 5. Retrospective accounts of young people's labour market experiences add a temporal dimension to the findings. For example, some participants recount the long-term difficulties faced in looking for work. However, this data is presented as primarily cross-sectional and the main focus is on comparing rural and urban youth.

In chapter 6, data from second interviews are analysed in relation to responses given in the first phase of primary data collection. This second observation point allows for rural and urban comparisons to be made with respect to temporality. In this chapter, I consider whether the stated aims of respondents have materialised in the time between the two interviews. Conducting follow up interviews allows for a more elaborated picture of how job opportunities, career aspirations, barriers to work and labour market outcomes alter over time and in relation to location.

In chapter 8, the full 18 year BHPS dataset is used in conjunction with the conditional access regional identifiers. The latter extension enables participants to be followed according to their rural/urban location throughout the time they remain in the survey. Further detail concerning sample member retention can be found in chapter 8.2. The availability of location data combined with the longitudinal data structure makes possible the analysis of migration patterns presented in chapter 8.4. Here, time is treated as a dependent variable, with the amount of time elapsed until respondents experience rural/urban migration analysed as the outcome. In section 8.5, the substantive analysis of labour market outcomes is concluded through an appraisal of how rural and urban earnings compare over time. In this section, time is treated as an independent variable interacting with location to determine pay. Further details of the data and methods used are provided in chapter 8.

4.4.5 – Outcomes

One focus of this investigation is how location and social capital determine employment outcomes. To reiterate, the fieldwork, presented in chapters 5 and 6, deals mostly with the search for work, so the main outcome assessed is entering employment. Of course, education, volunteering and work experience are also undertaken to boost labour market prospects, and the diverse sample allows for each of these to be taken into consideration. The opportunity to partake in such activities varies according to location, and this is also accounted for. In chapter 7, employment is also treated as an outcome, as is respondent occupational status.

The primary focus of chapters 7 and 8, using BHPS data, is on earnings. This outcome variable may be reported with some inaccuracy by interviewees. This is also a possibility in BHPS, but respondents are asked to provide proof to interviewers. As many were not in regular employment, an analysis of their pay would be of limited use. For this reason, exploring this key labour market outcome is restricted to the analysis of secondary data. Comparisons of rural and urban youth earnings for 2007/8 are presented in chapter 7, with longitudinal analysis of earnings over an 18 year observation period the central focus of chapter 8. Evaluating labour market prospects for young people does not stop once they enter the workforce. Outcomes once in employment are also of interest, hence the emphasis on earnings in these chapters. This is important given that rural living costs have been cited as higher, and rural work branded low-skill and low-pay. I now summarise research design and the conceptual model outlined in this chapter ahead of chapter 5, which analyses data collected in phase one of the fieldwork.

4.5 - Summary

This chapter has argued that this topic is best explored through a longitudinal, comparative design using both quantitative and qualitative data. Section 4.1 showed that microdata incorporates the major strength of aggregate data on employment, which is use of standardised geographical units of analysis, whilst including more pertinent variables and focussing on individuals. The case for using BHPS was made, citing the range of variables and the impressive longitudinal capacity. Section 4.2 justified the use of mixed methods, contending that otherwise unobservable aspects of the topic can be explored, and that corroboration of findings allows for more definitive conclusions. The sampling strategy for recruiting fieldwork participants was also delineated. Section 4.3 covered ethical considerations, and section 4.4 specified the conceptual model. Operationalisation of the core concepts - location, social capital and class - was discussed, with hypotheses stated ahead of the analysis in chapters 5-8. Finally, the employment outcomes to be used in each chapter - entering work, occupational status, and earnings - were stated. In the next chapter, the study areas are introduced, followed by analysis of data collected in phase 1 of fieldwork. Chapter 6 introduces data from follow up interviews, before chapters 7 and 8 present findings from BHPS.

CHAPTER 5: CROSS-SECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS WITH RURAL AND URBAN YOUTH

In this chapter, I analyse data collected during fieldwork in the West Midlands, England between November 2010 and June 2011. Whilst the data collection was intended to follow a longitudinal format in response to calls for such design in research on young people's origins and destinations, mentioned throughout the foregoing chapters, here I present findings from the first wave of interviews as cross-sectional data. I compare the experiences and perceptions of rural and urban youth according to the key themes emerging from the literature review and fieldwork. This represents an original contribution by adding to the dated and scarce research on youth employment and education in rural Britain, complementing the secondary data analysis in chapters 7 and 8. To begin, I introduce the study locations before providing information on the participants along with some methodological reflections. I then present findings from the interviews, sequencing the discussion according to these three research aims:

- 1) To assess how location affects the job opportunities available to young people. Are they expected to leave their local area to pursue employment?
- 2) To examine how aspirations are influenced by location. Does living in a remote location create narrow horizons?
- 3) To consider how far barriers to participation are real or perceived. Are poor transport links and limited personal contacts bigger obstacles in rural areas?

Regarding opportunities, urban youth report difficulties in finding employment, but there appears to be a lack of variety in jobs in rural areas, which applies

irrespective of educational qualifications held. Transport and location are particular rural issues, with most interviewees contending that mobility is vital for finding work, and can therefore be deemed determinants of opportunity.

The importance of personal contacts also emerges as pivotal for securing employment, and being excluded from such networks can serve as a barrier. Despite informal connections also proving critical in urban settings, unadvertised positions and the relative absence of big business are more severe obstacles for rural youth. Some people are also reluctant to leave their local area, thus creating perceptual barriers. It is debatable whether young people should be uprooted to pursue careers, yet unwillingness to do so can impede pathways into progress.

Although opportunities appear scarcer in rural areas, some occupations are unique to these locations, and while they may not be lucrative or reliable, people do choose to remain in their local areas to follow these careers. According to the available evidence, such jobs tend to be done by males, whereas females in rural areas take jobs which are also possible in urban areas. That some people do not wish to leave could be construed as a lack of aspiration, yet it reveals how young people can appreciate rural environments, and elect to live there for reasons other than an inability to relocate. I begin by introducing the study areas.

5.1 - The study areas

5.1.1 - Rural 1

This small town has a population of around 10,000 and is in one of England's most rural counties. The LAD is classified as rural-50 according to Defra. Prior to the restructuring of local government in 2009, the town was in a rural-80 district, testifying to its remoteness. Furthermore, it is not part of a city region, and the area has been recognised by Defra as being a remote, low productivity district (Curry and Webber 2012). There is a train station with direct transport links to two large cities, and to nearer towns of between 50,000 and 75,000 inhabitants, approximately 30 minutes away. Between roughly 7am and 7pm, buses serve the villages surrounding this town, the principal settlement in the south of this sparsely populated county, which is also the centre of its own Travel-to-Work Area.

The area is reported to have low unemployment but also low wages and high house prices, due to in-migration from South East England. Tourism is also a major contributor to the local economy, with visitors attracted to the castle, picturesque countryside and many listed buildings. There are also occasional events such as summer fairs, but these are largely seasonal and indications are that tourism offers little regular employment to young people.

The town has one secondary school, with 800 pupils aged 11-16. It claims to be one of a select group recognised by the Specialist Schools and Academies trust as one of the most improved 4 years out of 5. It has a 5 A*-C including English and Maths pass rate of 57%, above the national average. Pupils living within 3 miles of the school are expected to provide their own transport, while

those further away can obtain free travel passes through the local authority. This is important given the rural catchment area.

There is also an FE college, with approximately 500 students. The website claims it is the oldest educational institution in the county and ranks in the top quartile of colleges nationally. It offers level 2 and 3 BTEC courses along with academic qualifications. No vocational options such as bricklaying appear on the prospectus. Speaking to the Connexions adviser responsible for this field, he suggested that anyone wishing to pursue such a path must head to larger neighbouring towns, the cost of which proves an obstacle for some of the unemployed youth using the service. The Youth Centre there was in the process of organising a day where group transport could be given to clients who would gain a certificate enabling them to work on building sites legitimately. The town has no job centre but the Youth Centre houses Connexions services which advertise local job opportunities. They also provide some recreational facilities and run courses for young people out of work.

My first visit to the town was to interview A-level students at the college. I was interested in their experiences of growing up in the vicinity, and how they believed their upbringing in this location had prepared them for the transitions that lay ahead (all wanted to move on to Higher Education). Arriving in the town, it was immediately clear what attracts tourists, with the train passing scenic hills on its approach. The centre is largely comprised of old buildings, with a diminutive, historic market place. It has been named the most vibrant country town in Britain.

The second visit was to the Connexions office at the local youth centre. Somewhat serendipitously, one of the interviewees at the college had a father

working for Connexions, and contact with him enabled me to organise the interviews. This was at a turbulent time for the service, with funding cuts forcing job losses among their staff. The centre had a range of information leaflets on sexual health, law and careers advice, demonstrating the broad service provided. There was a pool table, and the staff there offered some of the youths present the chance to hang around and chat over a round of toast and a cup of tea. Later, interviewees in the school spoke of the centre being open on Friday nights, with youth having the chance to play computer games and avoid the drinking, loitering and fighting which were described as regular features of weekend recreation. Whilst some were keen to attend the centre at these times, they conceded that many were simply uninterested and preferred to hang around on the street.

I also visited the town to interview year 11 girls at the school, situated on a B road about 15 minute walk from the railway station and town centre. The reception was adorned by pictures of former pupils who had moved on to higher education and the military. A variety of leaflets on NVQs and other courses were also displayed. These courses were available in the town. Interviewees seeking apprenticeships faced limited options, but the local college and another similar facility which must remain unnamed in the interest of anonymity both ran courses for those seeking to leave academic study following school.

5.1.2 - Rural 2

The second rural study area has a population of just over 10,000 and is part of another sparsely populated district, again classified as rural-50. It is roughly 30

minutes from two cities which both have over 100,000 residents. Two buses per hour leave for the nearer city, which is only 16 miles away. The route passes through small villages and numerous farms. Another town, roughly half the size of these cities, is accessible by a direct bus route taking approximately 20 minutes, leaving every hour. Bus routes continue into the evening, but the town has no train station. The nearest large cities are approximately one hour's drive.

The town is overwhelmingly white but immigrants were mentioned, with Polish shopkeepers and agricultural workers noted by interviewees. There are a number of pubs and shops in the town centre, and tourism is a major source of revenue. Informal conversation with people in local pubs painted a fairly depressed picture of the local labour market. The town has a variety of independent shops which were criticised by interviewees for not catering to their age group. Thus, shopping further afield was seen as necessary. One surprising facet of the town's retail options was the absence of Tesco, the UK's largest grocery retailer. Participants were presented with a voucher for this store for taking part, and there was some debate as to where the nearest one actually was.

The school, where interviews were conducted over two days, has around 1500 pupils including a sixth form. It is the only school in the town and draws on a rural catchment area encompassing the surrounding villages and farmlands. However, some participants reported that friends attended a school in a neighbouring town. Pupils interviewed seemed to draw a clear distinction between rural and urban life, even though some commentators have argued this is a false dichotomy (Palen 1979:155). Of the four GCSE students interviewed, three lived on farms in the local area. Two wanted jobs that were related to agriculture, and one planned to assume control of his father's farm upon leaving school.

5.1.3 - Rural 3

I also interviewed 3 young people at a college in the same county and LAD as study location 'rural 1'. It is located nearer to one of the larger towns mentioned in section 4.1.1, 25 minutes away by bus. The village has no train station. The three participants interviewed here were all enrolled on a programme designed to bring NEET youth back into education, giving them work experience, boosting their employment skills and focussing on a substantive area of training with a view to a career. Each interviewee lived in different parts of the local area, with one claiming that she was over a mile from the nearest bus stop. This was confirmed by the gatekeeper, who said she had personally driven her to college before. Further discussion of this individual participant's circumstances is featured in chapter 6.

5.1.4 - Urban 1

Interviews with GCSE and A-level students in this 'Major urban' LAD were conducted in an academy located around 2 miles from the city centre. It is sponsored by the local college, the local university and the local council. Photographs of representatives of each of these are displayed in the reception. Further interviews took place at a college in the city. Participants here were enrolled on a volunteering programme designed for NEET youth. The location is 'major urban' according to Defra criteria but some respondents described it as having a small town feel. This is despite its location within the second biggest conurbation in UK, and its population of almost 250,000. The LAD is ranked 20th

most deprived in England according to 2010 IMD data. March 2011 data from NOMIS reports 8.4 JSA claimants per unfilled jobcentre vacancy, above both regional (5.5) and national averages (6.0). Interviewees described the local jobs market as depressed.

5.1.5 - Urban 2

In another neighbouring 'major urban' LAD, I interviewed 4 sixth-form pupils at a comprehensive school, and two males at a private residence, both of whom had extensive experience of being NEET, although one was in work at the time of interview. Whilst this all took place within the same district, the two interview locations were very different. Both were a similar distance from the main city centre, around 8-10 miles, and both enjoyed regular bus and train connections. They also both had commercial centres of their own. However, the relative economic buoyancy of one area was evidenced by the range of pubs, restaurants and offices there, which were comparatively scarce in the second location, a considerably more deprived area with a local reputation for being so.

5.2 - Data and methods

5.2.1 - Sampling

The practical and theoretical reasons for conducting the research solely in the West Midlands have been articulated in chapter 4 and do not need to be reiterated here. As mentioned above, the fieldwork was designed so that follow up interviews

with selected participants would allow for longitudinal analysis. I recruited interviewees in both rural and urban areas, seeking a balanced gender split, and sufficient numbers in both types of location with each of the following statuses: Year 11 pupils, year 13 pupils, and NEET youth. The achieved sample is tabulated below (total n=41):

Table 5.1: Location and status of interviewees from fieldwork phase 1.

Location	GCSE	A-level	Other	NEET?	Total
Urban	4	7	2 (age 16, 23)	5 (age 17-24)	18
Rural	8	8	0	7 (age 17-18)	23
Male	6	7	1	6	20
Female	6	8	1	6	21

Phase one of the fieldwork lasted from November 2010 until June 2011. I conducted interviews in 8 different institutions (and two more in an informal setting). 12 others were contacted and either refused or did not respond (five for NEETs, and seven schools/colleges), giving a success rate of 40%. Once contact had been established, gatekeepers provided three to five participants, giving a total of 41. This was beneficial practically, as multiple interviews in the same location minimised travel costs, but also empirically, as single interviews in each location cannot hope to capture the variety of experience as fully as samples which are even slightly larger. Schools and Connexions offices were contacted and participants chosen by the gatekeepers according to the criteria specified. When approaching teachers, the school year of pupils required was stated, along with gender and future plans. I also sought NEET youth to complete the sample. Each of these proved problematic at some point.

Firstly, in the original research design second interviews were intended to take place during the same academic year, with approximately six months in between each phase. This was to assure gatekeepers that subsequent interviews would be on school premises. However, it was decided that the longitudinal dimension could be improved by delaying second interviews until September, in order to document transitions from school, college or unemployment into the next phase of education or possibly work. This change of plan, decided after the first day of interviews, was not communicated to the teacher acting as gatekeeper at the third study location, and consequently only year 12 interviewees were provided. The data generated was relevant to several key aspects of the project, for example, the local jobs market and its relation to networks, facilities and social opportunities for local youth, and transport connections. This was offset by the limitation that these participants would be of little interest longitudinally, with their transitions occurring outside of the observation window. The lesson to be learned here is that such changes to design should be specified to gatekeepers as soon as possible to ensure that potential is maximised.

Secondly, gender is a crucial category to investigate given the differences between male and female experience of rural life articulated in existing literature (Ní Laoire 2001, Elgar et al 2003:579, Glendinning et al 2003:148). Therefore, at each stage of negotiating access and outlining criteria for interviewees, an even gender balance was stipulated. Arriving for a round of interviews with year 11s, one gatekeeper welcomed me with apologies for being unable to supply any female participants that day. Having travelled for over two hours to reach the school, I was in no position to refuse, as he had provided the requested number of interviewees despite having no obligation to do so. Later, it was possible to

arrange interviews with females elsewhere, but negotiating access to another institution was another hurdle to clear, and it is obviously important to minimise such obstacles as far as is feasible without compromising research design.

Thirdly, with a focus on the labour market central to this investigation, it follows that when recruiting participants from schools at both GCSE and A-level, those with no intention of continuing in education beyond their current programme were of particular interest. This was stated in e-mails to gatekeepers. In total, 12 GCSE students were interviewed. Of these, three wished to stay on in 6th form, and a further eight sought college courses outside of the school, leaving just one youth with no aspiration to study further. This case is highly atypical, with the person in question purportedly primed to take over the farm ran by his father upon leaving school. Among this subsample therefore, almost no presence of 'Jobs Without Training' (JWT), the official term given to positions where the employee requires no qualifications and receives no formal training, is found. This could reflect failure of the gatekeepers to provide participants matching the requirements. Alternatively, it could reflect the difficulty in accessing harder to reach young people, as by year 10 and 11, problem youth may be attending school sporadically (Yates and Payne 2007:28). Prospective participants must consent to what is essentially an extracurricular activity at the request of an authority figure associated with the school. This can be an obstacle when their relationships with the said institution and its employees might be fractious. It is acknowledged that some youth may be reluctant to speak with adults in positions of authority (Yates and Payne 2007:32).

An additional consideration is that JWT have been declining over the past half century (Lawy et al 2010:336). Interviewees looking for work immediately after

compulsory education all sought apprenticeships or corresponding college courses, none planned to enter the labour market without taking more qualifications alongside employment. The Department for Education reports that 93% of school leavers received appropriate offers of education for the year beginning autumn 2010, this ahead of raising the compulsory age of participation to 17 in 2013. Finding A-level students who do not wish to attend university is also difficult given the expansion of HE in recent years, and the number of 16-18 year olds in full time education has increased substantially, from 32% in 1985 to 64% in 2008 (Children, Schools and Families Committee 2010:5). While applications have since fallen due to increases in tuition fees, the fieldwork took place too early for this to have had an impact.

5.2.2 - Observer effects

Arriving at a school in one rural location, it became apparent that for the first time interviews would be conducted with another person in attendance, due to a lack of space. The first two took place in an unused classroom in the presence of a teacher. There were no interruptions, but the possibility of observer effects cannot be dismissed entirely. I found the participants that day more reserved than those encountered on the two days of interviews prior to this. The third and fourth interviews took place in the classroom used by the teacher serving as gatekeeper. She sent away the entire class to work independently, dismissing them with the memorable declaration 'I'm giving up my room for research!'

Interviewing female GCSE pupils in another rural comprehensive school offered further insights into potential observer effects. My contact there was a

Connexions advisor, and the school allowed access on the condition that he was present during the interviews. He stressed that he would not interfere and spent the time quietly working at the other end of the room. These interviews were generally more open than the previous ones conducted under observation. The first interviewee came across as fairly timid, yet did not appear guarded due to the presence of an adult. The gatekeeper advised me beforehand that she was quiet, but that it would be good for her to 'step out of her comfort zone' and take part.

The second interview was with two girls who were friends. Initially, I was somewhat reluctant to deviate from my method of individual interviews to this point, but saw this as an opportunity to experiment and generate some potentially interesting data. The gatekeeper assured me they would 'bounce off each other'. Neither seemed inhibited by the presence of the other, nor by that of my contact, who remained seated across the office. Explicitly designing the study to incorporate group interviews might have been problematic, as groups may not have comprised people comfortable in each other's company, and this could have compromised candour and detracted from the openness and quality of data, but in this case I decided to be flexible.

I was pleasantly surprised at how emboldened by each other's participation the girls seemed. They spoke with a frankness I did not expect considering that an adult authority figure was also in attendance.

MC: So you moved down here with your mum, stepdad and younger sister?

JESSICA: And younger brother as well, but he's in primary school. We owned a pub at the top of the bank, and then my stepdad was hitting my mum, they went to court and split up and now my stepdad is working somewhere else, and he doesn't have the pub any more. Quite a lot to take in, isn't it?

JESSICA: Bev loses her clothes. She was on about losing her trousers the other day.

HAYLEY: Oh yeah, we were playing truth or dare.

It is possible that a Connexions advisor is not perceived the same way as a teacher. Interviewees among this group (female rural GCSE school leavers) certainly reflected more negatively on the latter:

MC: When you were saying about everyone knowing everyone, and people knowing your business, you said teachers.

HAYLEY: Yeah, teachers know everything. No offence [to the Connexions adviser sat in the room].

MC: He isn't a teacher. But do you mean school business, or what?

HAYLEY: No, just like they'll see you in the street, and they'll know everything about you, where you hang around. Like there's a teacher lives a street away from me, and I probably see him twice a day in the village, and that's not even at school. I do feel sorry for him, because when my mates are smoking and that, he'll walk away from us if he sees because he feels guilty and that.

MC: OK, so you think that the fact this is a small town brings a disadvantage that everyone knows your business?

HAYLEY: Yeah, because like if you see a teacher and you're doing something not naughty, but something else, then the teacher will hold it against you for like 10 years.

JESSICA: Yeah.

MC: What do you mean? Hanging around or something?

HAYLEY: Say if you're smoking, or drinking. Say if you cough or something, they'll say you need to pack up smoking or something, and hold it against you.

JESSICA: Yeah, just all little things. I think I was crying one day and a teacher turns around and said it was probably because I had too many fags and that.

That said, despite the impression that the Connexions advisor was appreciated by the pupils, responses may have been more favourable as he was present at the time. Nevertheless, the fact that the younger girls were forthcoming about their own personal experiences, as illustrated by these interview extracts,

suggests observer effects may not be substantial. This emphasises how building a strong rapport, as in the second case, is vital in getting young people onside in education, employment and careers advice (Lawy et al 2010:354), furthering the need for sustained personal advice within the context of cuts to youth services.

5.2.3 - How data were analysed

Interviews were semi-structured, with questions grouped according to key themes that emerged from the existing literature and the research questions. This format allowed for flexibility in each interview, but consistency of questions was also necessary to enable comparisons concerning the core themes. For example, there is no sense in asking a GCSE pupil how long they were looking for work immediately after leaving school, whereas that is a valid question to ask a NEET in their early twenties. Furthermore, eschewal of a closed, rigid structure enabled participants to expand on topics of interest as they saw fit. One might not think that shooting rabbits in spare time is directly relevant to the study, but when this can generate occasional income, or experience that looks favourable when seeking gamekeeping apprenticeships with sponsorship from agricultural employers, it seems more germane (see section 5.3.3). While I intended to enquire about local transport provision and job opportunities, I didn't foresee that questions about shooting rabbits might produce pertinent insights. As the research instrument is not completely standardised, I have often included the questions asked during interviews in the text here, to reduce the risk of misinterpretation.

Content analysis was deemed unsuitable because the frequency of specific utterances is not important to the study. This is not a project about linguistics, instead about the realities perceived by participants, and the development of an external perspective on these. While imposing an outsider's view on these accounts may be seen as unethical, especially given the stated aim of giving voice to marginal actors, it must be acknowledged that the researcher has the benefit of background knowledge accumulated over time, and of seeing - to some extent at least - each vantage point in the wider comparative context.

Grounded theory, pioneered by Glaser and Strauss (1967), has limited use to this study. The aim here is not to theorise, it is to test a number of specific hypotheses relating to the main research question. In doing so, the sub-questions derived directly from the main research question are used to guide the narrative and analysis of each empirical chapter. These questions were determined ahead of commencing research. Using existing research and theory to inform the approach is anathema to grounded theory and its core principle of entering data collection and analysis preconceptions (Allen 2003). It has been argued that every researcher 'comes to fieldwork with *some* orienting ideas' (Miles and Huberman 1994:17). This is especially true here: I set out to explore a particular issue by addressing specific research questions in a certain way. The comparisons sought were outlined explicitly at the outset, and the categories used were inherent in the design. Therefore, it would have been pointless to approach analysis with a view to forming these groups. This was not an exercise in devising typologies, but an attempt to compare the circumstances of young people in the labour market according to the variables expounded in chapters 3 and 4.

The analysis undertaken is most similar to qualitative coding as outlined in various guises by Miles and Huberman (1994). They advise that codes should be created before beginning fieldwork (1994:58), and that the codes should form part of a governing structure (1994:62). As interview items were drawn from the broader study aims, in turn formulated from the principal research question, there is a clear framework in place. Technically, coding itself was not the method used. Instead, each interview was transcribed, with names and locations anonymised to prevent identification. The full transcripts were reviewed manually with relevant excerpts grouped by theme. Some of these themes were devised according to previous research, while others emerged during either the fieldwork itself or subsequent preliminary analysis. I decided against using qualitative data analysis software, as categories and comparisons were predetermined, and I preferred to engage with the data further by rereading transcripts.

I identified the dominant perspective on each theme, either overall or according to location. In some cases, I counted positive and negative responses by location and used these totals to determine the majority view. I also sought out contrasting responses, with a view to creating a balanced account. Considering respondents whose opinions or experiences cut against the grain is crucial for constructing a fair representation. For instance, most rural youth observed that job opportunities in their area were limited. To represent rural labour markets as offering fewer opportunities is therefore a reasonable interpretation, but it is also necessary to discuss the perceptions held by urban respondents concerning job prospects in their locality. The need for comparison has been acknowledged by sampling urban respondents, so considering their account in data analysis is of paramount importance.

Miles and Huberman (1994:10) note that data reduction continues until the final report of a project is produced. It would be unrealistic to expect everything to be included. Findings from the fieldwork are presented according to the research objectives stated in the introduction and expressed as research sub-questions in this chapter, and chapter 6. The issues addressed, and the responses selected, are those which answer these questions most directly. Some selectivity has been unavoidable, but care has been taken to feature the maximum number of interviewees and to acknowledge counterarguments and caveats where appropriate, with rural/urban comparison prioritised throughout.

5.3 - Findings

I now present findings from phase one of the fieldwork. This section addresses the three research questions mentioned at the start of the chapter and is structured accordingly. Firstly, I consider whether the opportunities available in rural labour markets represent fewer options for young people. I find that participants bemoan a lack of jobs, from graduate positions to roles requiring no qualifications.

Generally, small rural settlements offer a comparatively narrow range of opportunities in education and employment. Travelling to other places is made difficult by cost, distance and inadequate connectivity, suggesting that location and transport restrict opportunity. I also contend that while rural job markets are limited, competition for vacancies and economic decline present challenges to urban youth.

Next, I discuss the barriers to employment, examining the importance of local networks to jobseekers. Whilst enabling to some people, this form of social capital can also be exclusionary, as indicated by previous research and demonstrated here. I find that although personal contacts also count in urban areas, unadvertised positions and the relative lack of big businesses dictate that networks matter more for rural youth. I also argue that close ties to one's local area can be constraining in locations with scarce opportunities, even if access to local networks can provide jobs. This form of perceptual barrier can obstruct career progress.

Finally, I assess how aspirations are shaped by location, and find that while it can act as an impediment, there are also occupations and pastimes unique to rural areas. These jobs may be unreliable or poorly paid, but also offer fulfilment and continuity to those accustomed to rural lifestyles, and caution is therefore necessary before hastily branding those pursuing such careers as lacking ambition. I consider how gender interacts with location in determining aspirations, and how this feeds back into opportunities and barriers to employment. Overall, opportunities appear more restricted in rural areas, with a lower quality and quantity of jobs available, and a lack of variety partially mitigated by the prospect of uniquely rural careers, which tend to be less well remunerated and predominantly male. Overall, the barriers to employment identified, the difficulties caused by remote location and access to transport, and the tendency for rural work to be poorly paid and insecure amount to labour market disadvantages to rural youth.

5.3.1 - Opportunities

In this section, I assess how rural and urban youth perceive the employment opportunities in their local area. 'Local area' was not strictly defined during interviews, but in all cases participants were able to discuss the options in their own village, town or city and the areas within reasonable commuting distance. Overall, rural participants believed the jobs available to them were limited in both number and variety. Clients at the youth centre in one rural area spoke of difficult local labour market conditions. 26 apprenticeships were advertised on the wall there. A range of occupations from childcare and administration to warehousing and welding were listed among these, but what these diverse opportunities shared in common was being located in the larger settlements elsewhere in the county. This is clearly problematic for jobless youth who ordinarily have little access to private vehicles and little money for public transport. One interviewee arrived on a skateboard, which is an impractical means of travelling in the country, if not illegal. Another arrived on a moped, and spoke of the difficulty he faced in maintaining it while out of work. He also noted that it was unsuitable for longer journeys. The inability to travel beyond the local area appeared a real impediment to entering the labour market. This rural NEET youth, aged 17 with only three GCSEs, was discussing his girlfriend, who was applying for a part-time job in a town 20 miles away.

KEVIN: Well, you've got 2 choices in these little places for jobs. Look out of town, or dole. Sit around and do nothing and get paid for that, or work and get paid for that. She'd rather work. That's the way it goes, there's the odd few who are never going to work a day in their lives, but that's the way it goes.

Many respondents said there was a lack of variety in rural jobs. Prior research has identified a higher proportion of work in catering and tourism in rural areas, with this work being low paid (Cartmel and Furlong 2000, Webber et al 2009). One interviewee, a 18-year old rural female with plans to attend university before starting a career, said there was no chance of her finding work relating to her qualifications locally once she had graduated, and that relocation was the only choice. The lack of suitable local jobs for well qualified people in rural areas has been documented before (Hodge et al 2002:464). As the participant's father was a Connexions adviser, her account is perhaps more authoritative than that of most 18 year olds:

ELLIE: I've never really thought about getting full-time work because whenever I've thought about full-time work I've just thought that I just can't do it here. It's just sort of a no go really. You either get full-time work in a cafe or a supermarket, or you have to go somewhere else. I mean, I've always thought I'd have to move away from here to get full-time work.

MC: Is that you personally, or is there a wider expectation of that in the area?

ELLIE: I'm not sure. I think maybe it's my dad talking to me, telling me about the sort of jobs that are available and sort of showing me that I'll have to go. If I want a job doing Sociology or something like that then I'd be better off in a city where they're doing research, things like that. But I think it is just catering, that's all there is. To a lot of people, if we're studying for exams, then it's not enough for us, we want something a bit more.

It was also noted that scarce opportunities around the same area for those without qualifications was another issue, with the only operating factory in the vicinity recruiting skilled workers from elsewhere, placing the jobs available beyond the reach of many people. This indicates a dual-faceted problem, with jobs seemingly limited for those with qualifications and for those without. That all of the

rural NEET youth but one had been unable to find any work at all since leaving school is evidence for this.

KEVIN: There's only factory around here, and there's never work there. If there is work its technical engineers.

MC: And they get them from elsewhere?

KEVIN: Yeah, which is a pain in the arse. It's what, £38,000 per year plus bonus? I'm sorry, but how am I supposed to do that job with no qualifications? I passed 3 GCSEs and that was it, I got no qualifications behind me.

However, a shortage of jobs in urban areas was also noted. As mentioned above, one urban study area is in the most deprived 10% of districts in England according to 2010 IMD data. The proportion of claimants is higher than both regional and national averages, and participants described the local jobs market as depressed. It has been suggested rural locations are resilient to economic shocks (Rizou and Walsh 2011:649) and that the recession has affected urban areas more severely. As rural areas lost services and shops long ago, the recent downturn was felt more keenly in cities, particularly by youth (Spielhofer et al 2011:7). Correspondingly, urban interviewees such as those quoted below lamented a lack of jobs in their area, citing the difficult economic climate, competition from other applicants and the need for prior experience as explanations.

MC: Where have you been applying for jobs? Town centre, your area?

MIKE: McDonalds, everything. Things around my area I've applied for. Subway, Tesco, stuff like that, and around here.

MC: Everywhere in between basically.

MIKE: Yeah.

MC: And you didn't get anything?

MIKE: No.

CHELSEA: Not everybody can get a job around here.

MC: Why do you think that is?

CHELSEA: There's not that many jobs going. I'm not being funny, but there's people that come over here and work for cheap labour, so it puts all the builders out, the mechanics, everybody like that out. So it's people that will work for cheap labour that makes people that have actually work hard not get a job and go to college. So there's college courses saying you can do all this, but there's not because you can't get a job.

MC: So you think there's a problem with lack of vacancies?

CHELSEA: Yeah. Basically, because there's no money, most places won't hire people. Nobody is going to spend their money if they've got no money.

So, urban areas are not necessarily the cornucopia of job opportunities which rural youth may imagine, having been hit harder by the economic downturn, and with more people competing for a declining number of positions. Despite this, there remained a consensus among rural participants that more jobs, and a greater variety of jobs, exist in the cities, even if this is not always true.

Unemployment is lower for rural youth overall, and a higher proportion of urban youth are NEET (although rural NEET rates are increasing faster – see CRC 2012:18-9). Some rural areas suffer from high joblessness and associated problems. This supports the claim that rural disadvantage exists, despite concealment by statistical overviews and stereotypical perceptions (Cloke et al 1995:360; Burgess 2008a:3). Local labour market options were seen as scarce by most participants in rural study areas, and there was agreement that looking elsewhere was necessary:

MC: And do you think there are any negative consequences to staying in the area post-18?

HAYLEY: Not really. It is in some ways, because there's not much to do, there's hardly any jobs around here. If you're stuck around here, you're not going to be doing a lot.

MC: OK. So what do you think about the area in terms of opportunities available to young people, you've said it's quite limited in the social sense, but what do you think about it in terms of future prospects?

SARAH: There's not a lot of places. It's kind of a thing which is said about the town, there's a lot of charity shops, pubs and then restaurants, that's pretty much what it is. There's not really many other opportunities going about for jobs, like say my age now if I wanted something else I'd probably have to go to a bigger town.

Once again the issue of youths having to look beyond their hometowns for work is raised here. Transport was frequently cited as an obstacle to those looking for employment, with the options in rural locations described as limited. Urban respondents also spoke of the difficulty in finding work, suggesting the rural consensus that urban areas offer greater employment opportunities does not take into account the effects of recent economic decline and higher competition for vacancies. Despite this, rural youth more often stated that leaving the area was necessary to find work, whereas urban youth rarely expressed this view. Thus, location and transport are genuine obstacles to opportunity. The following section considers whether these barriers are insurmountable, or are primarily perceptual.

5.3.2 - Barriers

Two main barriers to employment particular to rural locations emerged from the fieldwork. Transport, discussed in the previous section, was a recurring theme. Social capital, whilst enabling to some, can also serve as an impediment. A lack of personal contacts, or nepotistic recruitment strategies, can prevent young people from gaining opportunities. Informal networks are identified as important in rural job searches (Cartmel and Furlong 2000:27), although it is unclear whether this is also supposed to apply in urban settings. In this section, I argue that the relationship between networks and location is complex, with urban youth also reporting that having personal contacts while looking for work can make or break a job application.

The idea that personal networks are crucial for jobseekers in rural areas is supported by the interview data. The following extract is from a rural NEET youth, introduced in section 5.3.1. He spoke of a longstanding interest in shooting and fishing and his ambitions to work in gamekeeping, although he described the field as competitive, with young people finding opportunities particularly elusive.

MC: How long have you been out of work then?

KEVIN: It was last month.

MC: So you're looking at around a year before you can get into the gamekeeper thing?

KEVIN: Well I can go in as an apprentice, but finding one of them around here is just impossible.

MC: Too many people after the same thing?

KEVIN: No. It's experience. You need a reputation for that type of career. You need experience behind you. You'll find gamekeepers are mainly in their late 40s whereas I'm a young one and I

want to get into it, but I've got no experience behind my back. I can say I've done 10-11 years shooting, but I can't prove it, whereas the boys that are 30 or 40, they're experienced, they've got everything behind their belts, and they'll get it and they know the people. As long as you know the people you can get work, but it's knowing the people and knowing if you got that reputation, like.

KEVIN: It's all about connections around here, if you don't know people...it is reputation really, with work.

Building the experience and reputation seen as necessary to get a breakthrough is obviously difficult without opportunities to work, creating something of a catch-22. For those unable to find work, an odd day here and there can provide some much needed cash and alleviate the drudgery of long days with little to do (Webster et al 2004:33). This participant had done some occasional work, secured through his father. However, this was highlighted by staff as unhelpful, as external pressure to ameliorate worsening youth unemployment statistics had prompted directives stating that those with such irregular and causal work, even if less than one day per week, should no longer be categorised as unemployed. Once reclassified, these clients were to be considered low priority, and resources redirected to those who had no work whatsoever. Staff branded this a cynical and counterproductive way to look at 'fiddly work', which is not necessarily a deviant activity, but sometimes a logical response to difficult economic circumstances at the individual or area level (MacDonald 1997:176).

For young people in full-time education, securing employment is also important to build confidence and gain experience, and to earn money, especially since the abolition of EMA (Spielhofer et al 2011:6-7). These opportunities can evade those unconnected to local networks, with most participants either without

work or in jobs secured by informal routes. The unavailability of part-time work for students is nontrivial given concerns about long-term skills development, and of course money. The latter point is particularly pertinent, as youth studying in rural areas are likelier to rely on costly transport to attend their course.

One factor making it difficult for rural youth to find work is the relative absence of big business in rural areas (Spielhofer et al 2011:6-7, OECD 2008:98). Small firms provide half of rural jobs, but only a quarter of urban jobs (CRC 2012:40). The rural towns selected as study areas here are characterised by a marked absence of large retailers. Supermarkets are the exception, with two in the first study location, and another in the second. These stores are all in fairly peripheral parts of town (while remaining well within walking distance), illustrating the deliberate policy of keeping such large chains out of the town centres, which are preserved to appear traditional and appeal to tourists. One might applaud this support for independent shops and resistance to high street homogenisation, yet the practical implications for rural youth are that potentially large employers are prevented from providing jobs locally, and shopping opportunities are restricted. Having said that, there is evidence in urban areas that even with big companies, contacts count in the pursuit of employment, as illustrated by the experience of an 18-year old urban male, who sought work to earn money while doing A-levels:

MC: So you didn't know anybody that actually worked there in the first place?

MARCUS: Yeah I knew someone but it was a brand new restaurant, so I didn't know anyone who worked at that one, just someone who worked at a different store.

MC: How helpful would you say that was to have that information ahead of you applying?

MARCUS: A little bit, it was quite helpful because he told me little things that other people did and what other people said how he got his job and told me little things about the job, if I got the job in the future as well, so he gave me a bit of warning as well.

However, there is a higher chance that large chain retailers will recruit people with no prior connection to the business or to current employees. Equally, small employers or family owned businesses are less likely to do so:

MC: So imagine say if you weren't going away and you were going to be here for the whole summer, and you got told that you had to get a full-time job, what position would that leave you in?

ELLIE: I think I'd just have to trawl round every shop and ask if they wanted work, and I've done it a few times and they're always like 'yeah we'll take your number down' but you never hear from them because they don't really want people really. Because it's quite local, they just give the jobs to family friends so it is a lot of that.

No participants in rural areas reported finding a job without some form of personal contact to make the introduction, and all interviewees claimed their friends who had jobs mostly found employment through similar means. This offers clear support for the hypothesis that networks are crucial for rural jobseekers.

MC: And you found out about those [occasional casual jobs] through people you know?

ELLIE: Yeah like the family friend, my brother works for them quite regularly, and this time they said they wanted someone.

DANNY: I said to my dad that I need a job, and he was asking around the farms and he couldn't find anywhere, then Steve said he was looking for a Saturday job, and I said I'll come and work up there for him. I really enjoyed it and like what he does, so that's what I want to do at college.

Using informal networks was also represented as very important in urban areas, suggesting that networks are not a distinctly rural phenomenon. While some urban respondents reported finding work through formal application methods such as registering with employment agencies, there was generally agreement that knowing the right people makes the difference between finding work and going without.

MALIK: I work at subway, on my road... I probably only got the job because my dad knows the geezer. Actually, I would have to go through the interview process normally, but my dad knew the geezer and stuff. My brother used to work there, but he's at uni at the moment, so he needed someone, hence the reason that I'm in there.

MC: Do you think you would have struggled to get the job otherwise?

MALIK: Yeah, big time. I reckon I would because you know, who picks up a stranger now? Recruitment-wise, you don't pick up a stranger, because obviously you don't know what their past is and stuff. So, if you get someone you know, it's better for the owner if you know what I mean. So that's probably why.

MC: You said that your dad got you the job. He had a link who worked there?

RASHID: The bloke was alright with my dad, yeah.

MC: How long were you out of work for?

RASHID: I was out of work for about a week until my dad got me another job, working with him in a taxi base.

The first of the three extracts presented above demonstrates that reputation can be important irrespective of location. Applying for jobs was represented as a difficult endeavour in all study areas. However, some urban respondents reported that they knew people who had found work through formal applications, which was not the case in rural areas. Moreover, in one rural location the staff at the youth centre claimed that 80% of jobs in the town were not even advertised, confirming

what participants concurred, that word of mouth and access to personal networks were pivotal in securing employment.

MC: OK. So, you say you've had the job for about a year.

TARA: Yeah.

MC: How long were you looking? Were you actually looking in between?

TARA: I was contemplating getting a job. I knew I needed to get a job, or I wanted to get a job, but I hadn't actually started, because it's a bit daunting looking for a job because I didn't really want to go in and ask but then she said that they possibly needed help and I said that if they did, you know, I'd help out. It just started from that.

MC: That's how you heard about it?

TARA: Yeah.

MC: And you've been there for a year?

TARA: Yeah.

MC: You're a regular there, now? You're not dependent on having that connection to her?

TARA: No. No.

MC: You're on the books and all the rest of it?

TARA: Yeah, because they don't advertise for jobs. That's the thing.

Conventional job search strategies were therefore seen as pointless in rural locations, yet some success could be had by directly approaching employers in person. One careers adviser said he knew people who had found work that way. The prevalence of unadvertised vacancies seems to be a feature of rural labour markets (Cartmel and Furlong 2000: 23; Hodge et al 2002:465). Nevertheless, as urban youth also report that personal contacts are vital in finding jobs, to describe the importance of networks as a distinctly rural phenomenon is to oversimplify the matter. It would be more accurate to argue that networks are *more* prevalent in

rural locations yet still a prominent feature of urban labour markets. More importantly, contributing factors such as those discussed above must be considered, namely the lack of advertised vacancies in rural areas, and the ubiquity of small employers who prefer to recruit through more informal channels, as only through ascertaining the causes of this disparity can solutions truly be sought.

Perceptual barriers also seemed significant in precluding youth from pursuing job opportunities. One rural careers adviser observed how people changed their aspirations as they were unwilling to look beyond the town itself. This extends beyond those aspiring to work in uniquely rural occupations (see section 4.3.3). For example, girls seeking apprenticeships in hairdressing or childcare cited familiarity with their area, with family and friends living nearby as reasons to stay, despite a shortage of work. Reluctance to relocate is clearly a problem in a small town with few jobs, although attachment to place has been branded detrimental in urban areas (Green and White 2007). This could be interpreted as a negative effect of bonding social capital, with close ties preventing young people from searching broader areas for work. Indeed, the adviser at the youth centre attributed this to parents, who could be responsible for either engendering or preventing narrow horizons depending on their own outlook.

Unwillingness to move may be considered a perceptual barrier, as one might expect young people to be more mobile in order to progress in their careers. Apprenticeships pay below the minimum wage, however, so many could not afford to relocate at that stage. It may also be deemed unreasonable to expect people to leave home, or undertake long and expensive daily journeys. One rural careers adviser said that his experience of speaking to youth in urban areas revealed a

reluctance to take advantage of opportunities beyond the immediate neighbourhood, with two bus journeys in some cases being deemed too much hassle. He stressed that the difference between rural and urban areas was that at least in larger conurbations such journeys were possible. In more remote areas this is not always the case, or greater costs and journey times can increase the difficulty.

Although barriers to participation can be real, perceptual barriers also remain. The 'local bubble', as the gatekeeper described it, can deter people from merely looking beyond their local environs, never mind relocating there. He highlighted families with no HE experience as being particularly susceptible. One case he recalled involved a father preventing his bright daughter from doing homework in an attempt to ultimately obstruct her exit from the town. This again suggests that bonding social capital can have a destructive dimension, as posited by Putnam (2000:22). Another instance he noted saw a mother of a pupil who went on to study medicine return to the school to offer personal thanks. He reflected on this by wondering how many youngsters in need of guidance he had missed. With his local youth service enduring 40% cuts this year, the worry is that this number can only increase. Pastoral support for young people can make a difference, so taking the jobs of those trying to find others jobs seems dangerous. Having seen that jobs can be inaccessible to rural youth due to location and transport, I now consider whether this necessarily produces narrow horizons, and discuss some opportunities which are unique to rural locations.

5.3.3 - Aspirations

While urban areas may offer a wider range of employment opportunities, it must be remembered that some work is uniquely rural. The gatekeeper authorising access to one rural school said that the aspirations of many male pupils were limited to farming. Those aspiring to this occupation planned to work and live locally and thus demonstrated narrow horizons in this respect, but also recounted experience of travel and discussed ideas of working away from the local area, even overseas, while they were young and had few commitments. This was framed around opportunities to gain a broader agricultural experience in different locations. The interest in this career type is obviously unique to rural environments. While urban respondents displayed little enthusiasm to relocate to such settings, this fondness for the lifestyle with which they were raised was also shown by rural youth, as seen in these extracts taken from interviews with male year 11 pupils at a rural comprehensive school:

MC: The area you live in, so you like it?

DANNY: In some ways yeah. There's a lot of freedom and things you can do.

MC: How, what do you mean?

DANNY: Like if I was in town I wouldn't be having motorbikes and quads and cars. I go shooting every Friday night, so there's a lot of things that I can do in my area that I can't do in town.

MC: Do you think growing up in a rural area gives people advantages or disadvantages in terms of future prospects?

DANNY: Well, I've learned things, like I learned how to drive a car when I was 10, and I been riding bikes since I was 6, and I've had a lot of chances to go racing and stuff, so it's helped me out quite a bit. I learned how to drive a tractor, truck, bikes, quads, everything really.

MC: Do you like the village?

DAVID: Yeah. I wouldn't want to live in town, I quite like it in the countryside.

MC: Yeah? What do you like about it?

DAVID: Being able to get away with a bit more.

MC: What do you like to be able to get away with?

DAVID: Driving on the road and stuff.

MC: Yeah? How long have you been doing that for?

DAVID: Since I was little. Since I could reach the pedals.

MC: Is it quite a usual thing for people to do?

DAVID: Yeah.

MC: And if you lived somewhere like a town...

DAVID: Yeah, I wouldn't have even driven.

MC: Is there anything else you enjoy about living where you live?

DAVID: I don't know, I just quite like the countryside, I don't know why.

The gatekeeper also added that for girls not wishing to pursue further academic study, hairdressing and childcare were the most common career preferences. These opportunities were reflected by one interviewee, before the gatekeeper had shared this observation:

DANNY: There's a fair few jobs, and a fair few schools around here as well. This is the only high school in XXX, then there's 4 or 5 primary schools.

MC: So you say that there's a lot of jobs going around here, you mention agriculture...

DANNY: Yeah there's farming, mechanics, basically just working in shops really in XXX. And hairdressing, there's 2 hairdressers in XXX.

This is interesting for two reasons. An area may be seen to offer adequate opportunities if those available match one's individual interests (the participant in question was moving into agricultural engineering after leaving school). Also, if males are pursuing careers that are unique to rural areas, and girls are pursuing careers which are not, how does this impact on rural female identity? This is beyond the scope of the current project, but a more tangible indicator of gender differences in rural areas is that the earnings deficit is greater than in urban locations (see chapter 7).

The formation of a rural male identity relates not only to work, but leisure pursuits. Participants enjoyed hunting, off-road driving and fishing; none of the female interviewees referred to these. The relationship between masculinity and outdoor, rural pastimes has been documented in existing literature (Heley 2010, Ní Laoire 2001:223-4). Rural life has been represented as more suffocating for girls, chiefly because of gossip (Glendinning et al 2003:148). It seems that males are able to transcend this through expressions of masculinity in outdoor pursuits and physical labour, with rurality an enabling rather than a constraining factor. Of course, there are overlaps between leisure and labour in rural settings, with those who enjoy outdoor activities sometimes able to earn a living by such means (Brandth and Haugen 2010). The young men enjoying farm life while aiming for agricultural careers exemplify this.

MC: So this is different work from the Wednesdays? How does it differ?

DANNY: It's agricultural engineering. At my uncle's place, it's just MOTs every day, and at this place you get tractors, make diesel tanks, he restores stuff and then sells it to the farmers locally.

MC: Have you had quite a few casual jobs?

DAVID: Yeah. They're quite easy to get out in the countryside, on a farm and things like that.

MC: How have you got hold of them when you've had them?

DAVID: Word of mouth, because I know a lot of people in like farming.

MC: How are you first able to...

DAVID: Working alongside my dad I first got a good name, because he's done a lot of work and used to be a shearing contractor. So I learned to shear with him and then got quite a good name.

Unlike the farm/guesthouse owners researched by Brandth and Haugen (2010), the careers mentioned above are not particularly lucrative, and low-skill rural work can also be seasonal and unreliable, as encapsulated in the following extract, taken from an interview with a rural male who was NEET at the time. He had sometimes resorted to shooting and fishing to make extra cash, but the dividends were far from guaranteed.

MC: Let's just backtrack for a moment. You said that it took 6 months to get a job after leaving school. What did you do for that time?

KEVIN: Honestly, I probably fished and shot for most of that, and tried to make ends meet by doing that. I used to go out shooting for the day, bring back 30 rabbits and sell them to the butchers for £30. They'll do whatever they want, they'll make their money on it, and that's how I made my money for that time. It was very hard times then, because it was £10 petrol money to get to the shoot, then you got £5 for the pellets, so you're only making £15 at the end of the day technically.

MC: And it's taking you all day?

KEVIN: Yeah.

MC: You need the £15 to begin with?

KEVIN: Yeah, before you can do anything. And as far as fishing is concerned, I know a few people around here who like their fish, so I used to go down the river and catch some trout, and when the Salmon season was in, I'd catch some Salmon.

MC: You made money out of that as well?

KEVIN: You can make your money off the land if you do it right. Like if you've got an EU stamp, which is a hygiene stamp to stamp the meat, and you get a deer, one deer, a buck, you're looking at about a grand for it. So if you get a buck every week, that's like 4 grand, non-taxable, cash in hand.

MC: So with these things that you were doing, fishing and shooting, was it a case of having good days and bad days?

KEVIN: You can go out in a field all day, and shoot 40 rabbits easily. You can go down the same day, same weather, same conditions, and probably have 1 or 2.

MC: But you've already spent the £15 then.

KEVIN: Yeah. It is luck. You miss some, you shoot some, some get away, but that's the way life goes.

This is not to suggest that all work in urban areas is necessarily regular and reliable. Instead, while it may appear that a lack of variety in rural jobs is counterbalanced by the availability of some work unique to rural areas, these are often low-security and low-reward. It could be said that the rural males in this sample exhibit narrow horizons because of their specific ambitions for working in certain fields, yet this would be an unfair judgment. With young people such as these participants raised in rural areas, enjoying rural pastimes and focused on pursuing rural careers, they show as much direction as can be expected for their age. That their career ambitions restrict them to rural locations does not equate to stunted aspirations; as mentioned, each of the three interviewees intending to enter distinctly rural occupations mentioned the possibility of working or travelling abroad. Instead, it shows a conscious decision to continue a lifestyle to which they have grown accustomed. They provide reasons why this is enjoyable, such as peace and quiet or freedom. The corollary is that, as seen in chapter 8, they are likely to earn less money throughout their lives simply by virtue of staying put. Opportunities to work in rural areas do exist, even if they are harder to access due

to transport difficulties or nepotistic recruitment practices. The remuneration, however, is lower for both young people and those of rural origin who remain outside of urban areas.

5.4 - Summary

This chapter has presented findings from interviews with young people in a number of rural and urban locations. After discussing the methodology and the study areas, I compared rural and urban youth employment in terms of opportunities, barriers and aspirations. Rural areas offer fewer jobs than larger conurbations, with work for unqualified jobseekers and graduates in similarly scarce supply. Location and transport emerged as major themes, with a consensus that mobility was essential to find employment. While urban youth also highlighted difficulties in this regard, their issues didn't revolve so tightly around geographical distance. While transport is a major issue, I found that networks, while proving beneficial to some, could also be exclusionary. Those without the necessary personal contacts were unable to find work in rural areas. Urban youth also emphasised the importance of knowing the right people, but the relative absence of large businesses, along with the tendency for vacancies to be unadvertised, indicate this is more of a rural barrier. Despite these obstacles, many rural youth appeared unwilling to leave the area due to close bonds with family and friends. This could be seen as a sign of low aspiration, but some rural youth actively choose to remain in their local area, enjoying rural lifestyles and pursuing rural careers. While this chapter and the entire thesis has argued that opportunities are less plentiful and outcomes less favourable in rural areas, the

preference of some youth for rural life and rural jobs is a reminder that some people have different priorities, and should not be dismissed as lacking in ambition. The following chapter builds on this cross-sectional analysis by using longitudinal interview data to analyse the employment opportunities and outcomes of rural youth.

CHAPTER 6: ROUTES TO EMPLOYMENT - LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS OF FIELDWORK DATA

This chapter draws on data collected in both phases of fieldwork (see chapters 4 and 5 for full description of research design). It develops the findings presented in the previous chapter by detailing how barriers, opportunities and aspirations with respect to employment and education have been determined by location in the time between first and second interviews with participants. The longitudinal data also allows for a discussion of outcomes, so this chapter addresses all four research objectives stated in chapter 1. The comparison of rural and urban youth's experience of education and employment remains the primary focus, with reference to the two main indicators of social capital – norms and networks – featured throughout via a consideration of informal employment networks, attachment to place and support schemes for young people.

I begin with a methodological discussion covering the rationale for conducting follow-up interviews, the issues arising in participant recruitment and the sampling strategy adopted. I then present findings sequenced according to the four research aims guiding this investigation. Thus, these four sections discuss outcomes, barriers, opportunities and aspirations. I find that while employability courses and volunteering programmes are useful for moving young people toward work, job opportunities can still be difficult to find in rural labour markets.

Outcomes often depend on whether young people can access informal and professional information networks, and this is especially true in rural areas where vacancies may not be advertised. The biggest barrier facing rural youth is transport, although the cost of relocation and competition for places are also

issues, with the latter obstacle also impeding urban youth. Fewer opportunities exist in rural locations, with local education options more scarce and personal contacts often decisive, which can impact on aspirations. Many rural youth are happy to remain in rural areas, yet those aiming to relocate to further their job prospects require more support than is currently available.

6.1 - Methodology

The motivation for conducting second interviews is to document transitions. With the intermittent relationship between young people and the labour market, it follows that someone who is NEET at a given time may be in education or employment a few months later. The first interview enables participants to provide retrospective information on their experiences of work and education. Such accounts can be unreliable for various reasons, but there is often no way of verifying even current information supplied by interviewees, so general doubts about the accuracy or truth of the data generated must, within reason, be suspended. Therefore, extending the observation window by allowing participants to discuss their past is important as omitting the employment and educational histories of respondents inevitably produces incomplete representations and does not fulfil the potential of the project (MacDonald and Marsh 2005:195).

Despite the usefulness of retrospective data, the second data collection point is crucial for a number of reasons. During initial interviews, participants shared their ambitions, and discussed numerous ongoing concerns. For example, many interviewees were awaiting the outcome of job applications, and discovering

whether they were ultimately successful is highly relevant to this study. Equally, some participants had quit jobs, some had left college, and so forth. Re-contacting interviewees was necessary to monitor their progress.

Second interview schedules were individually tailored. This has been suggested as a fruitful approach for improving participant receptiveness (Fielding and Thomas 2008:249). Responses from initial interviews formed the basis for many questions. Eschewing strict standardisation in this manner is essential for maximising the potential of longitudinal design. With the young people coming from a range of backgrounds and aspiring to a range of destinations, a fully standardised research instrument would have compromised the quality of findings.

6.2 - Sampling and attrition

41 young people took part in the first phase of data collection, although four did not provide contact details. Of the remaining participants, not all of them fit the criteria ideally (see chapter 5 for a fuller discussion of how gatekeepers did not always recruit people with the characteristics requested). For example, all urban GCSE pupils planned to proceed into post-compulsory full-time education, despite specifying to gatekeepers that those with no intention to continue studying were of particular interest to the study. These were therefore dropped from the sampling frame for the second stage of fieldwork. Other participants appeared to partake in first interviews reluctantly, and these cases were also not considered for follow-ups. This left a total of 23 with whom I attempted to arrange second interviews.

Some participants who only provided e-mail addresses simply did not respond. Others gave disused phone numbers. On one occasion it was apparent that the respondent had given someone else's number. I also wasted an entire day travelling to meet a rural NEET who had agreed to the interview but did not turn up. I tried unsuccessfully to reach this participant several times on the morning of the interview, and received no response. This was after agreeing a time and venue a few days in advance, and our phone discussions making the arrangement which spanned over a week. This is a constant risk in the field, and exemplifies the hazard presented by the recruiting approach adopted in this project. Although interviewees may feel obliged to attend and co-operate whilst doing so at the request of gatekeepers and their institutions, they may feel no sense of responsibility toward researchers with whom they do not have firmly established relationships. This heightens the danger of attrition.

Other participants were contacted but refused to take further part. The final sample for second interviews was 10 (for profiles of the phase two sample, see appendix 6). Of the 23 for whom some contact was attempted, for those who did not attend a second interview, some information on their current educational and employment status was available, either from gatekeepers, or from participants themselves. The attrition led to a success rate of just over 43% for securing second interviews, which is reasonable considering the geographic dispersion, transitions and age group of those in the sampling frame. Respondents were paid cash in follow-up interviews as the gift vouchers offered originally proved unhelpful for some due to restricted local retail options. One interview took place in a private residence; the rest were held in educational institutions or youth centres. On two occasions a gatekeeper was present.

Second meetings were held five to 12 months after initial interviews, to increase the likelihood that transitions could be observed, and therefore enable a discussion of outcomes. A gap of this length between data collection points probably contributed toward the level of attrition. Also, that many participants were no longer involved with the institutions that originally selected them as participants is likely to have heightened the risk of drop out. The analysis of findings now begins by discussing employment opportunities for those participating in both rounds of interviews.

6.3 - Findings

6.3.1 - Opportunities

Local employment opportunities vary, but the national youth unemployment picture is bleak. Young people therefore adopt a number of strategies for finding work or enhancing their future job prospects. In this section I discuss two potential routes into employment. I begin by considering education, comparing rural and urban locations. I argue that educational opportunities are more limited in rural areas, and that young people therefore face the same barrier confronting those seeking to proceed directly to employment – transport difficulties. I also contend that urban youth can have the option to attend university while living at home, whereas for rural youth this is often not possible. I then consider how personal networks can present opportunities to young jobseekers, continuing the focus on social capital as a concept pertinent to the outcomes in question. This has been discussed in previous chapters and is a well-established element of the existing literature on the relationship between employment and location.

6.3.1.1 - Education

One rural interviewee, aged 19, planned to study business management at university after her A-levels. She was living with foster parents in a village several miles away from the town where the college was based. Unable to drive, she was dependent on public transport and lifts from her foster family to attend college and sustain a social life. Her journey to school had consisted of a 45 minute bus ride each way. She did not attend the local comprehensive, having been based elsewhere when starting secondary school. While educational choice may be available to those in remote locations, lengthy travel times appear to be commonplace. Other pupils made even longer journeys to reach the school.

Relocating to attend university was the only realistic option for her to embark on her chosen career path. She dismissed higher education institutions arguably within commuting range as substandard and stressed that in the competitive job market, a degree from a more prestigious university was crucial.

JENNY: I think when you're in a very competitive industry like business management, you do kind of have to go to a good uni. It's more about the uni you go to than the course.

MC: So these were your options within what you would consider to be a reasonable commuting distance?

JENNY: There wasn't anywhere I could have gone and not moved.

She was prepared to move again in search of work later on, stating that she would 'go where the money is'. Her case is atypical due to her family arrangements, but this demonstrates how for ambitious young people in rural areas, it is often necessary to 'get out in order to get on' (Holland et al 2004:102). She noted that her experience of living in care meant she was accustomed to being away from

home and the distance did not bother her. Whilst enjoying living within easier reach of facilities and among many young people, she also pointed out that the town's modest size provided a suitable compromise as she did not want to live in a large city. She expressed willingness to live in suburbs, but gave the impression that inner city life would be too much of a radical change from the more tranquil rural surroundings in which she grew up. The second interview enabled her to reiterate these sentiments, initially voiced during our first encounter, having experienced life in a more urban location during the interim.

One participant, an 18-year old A-level student, was interviewed at an urban school, and was re-interviewed after she had gone to university in a large city about two hours away. By way of contrast, there were options for her to pursue her chosen degree without moving away from home, she had just decided against staying.

SHILPA: I think if I didn't get in there, then I would have tried to get in here. That would have been my final move. It would have been OK to do it here, yeah. I just think I wanted to move away for a while.

Living independently is part of the university experience for most students, but with increasing fees and higher living costs, the option to study while living at home is an advantage, especially for those with little history of HE attendance in their family, who may prefer the familiarity and support of their home environment (Patiniotis and Holdsworth 2005). This particular participant was fortunate, as her family's financial situation permitted her to move. Others prefer not to accumulate the debt. Indeed, one participant, from phase one of the fieldwork, applied to two different courses at the university in his home city as he was too debt-averse to

consider other institutions. Rural youth rarely have this opportunity, placing them at a disadvantage. UCAS applications from UK-born students fell by 7.6% for 2012-3 admissions. It would be interesting to see whether there is rural/urban variation among those citing higher costs for their decision, and whether inability to commute from home contributes to these figures.

In terms of lower-level educational opportunities, two rural respondents related their negative experiences of local provision in the first interview. One had been forced to leave a part-time course at a local training centre, the only place in her town where this training was offered. This participant, an 18-year old who was NEET during the first phase of fieldwork and had achieved no A*-C grades in her GCSEs, felt she had been treated unfairly. Clearly this was a disheartening episode, yet when we met again several months later, she was back at the same training centre:

MC: You would have preferred to go to a different college or something like that?

GEMMA Yeah.

MC: What prevented you from doing this?

GEMMA Travel and money, how was I going to get there?

This foregrounds the barrier of transport once again, but the lack of opportunities locally compelled her to attend the same training centre that had thrown her out two years beforehand. It is plausible that after a negative experience at a particular institution, someone may wish to go elsewhere. In remote areas with few options, there is no opportunity to do so. Indeed, this participant claimed that she was only allowed back on the programme after the

intervention of a staff member from another key skills course she had taken during the interim. Without this help, she may have been unable to resume training and her employment prospects would be diminished accordingly.

Another participant in the same study area, interviewed initially when she was nearing the end of year 11 and preparing to sit GCSEs, was reluctant to attend her local college. Her antipathy for the college was centred on their tardiness in assessing her for dyslexia. She was undiagnosed, yet felt she displayed symptoms.

HAYLEY: I might have dyslexia, I don't know because I haven't been tested yet, but me and my mum think I have, and they said that I would be tested in September, but the college here said if I wanted to get any dyslexia help, I would literally have to find my own way of getting it, which I thought was fair enough, but why? That kind of peeved me off, because it's not much help when dyslexia is quite a problem.

In the follow-up interview, I was therefore surprised to learn that she was now enrolled at that very institution, having been forced to rethink after disappointing exam results. The perceived lack of support from the college served as a severe deterrent for this participant, who felt she deserved better support or at least clearer communication concerning this matter. However, the absence of alternatives forced her hand. Whilst some young people may deride local options without good reason, some feel justified by negative past experiences. The lack of educational opportunities in rural areas can force people to make choices they see as suboptimal.

This section has outlined how rural youth wishing to enter Higher Education usually must move in order to do so, which can be costly and also remove young

people from local support networks. Both of these factors can amount to serious deterrents. The inability to choose studying from home is a disadvantage to rural youth, especially in the context of recent rises in student costs. I now discuss how some find work through personal contacts, before assessing how location affects aspirations in section 6.3.2.

6.3.1.2 - Finding work through personal networks

The previous chapter and existing research have both emphasised that informal contacts are crucial for jobseekers, especially in rural labour markets. I have argued that this also applies in urban areas, although to a lesser extent. Urban locations have a greater number of employers along with a higher presence of big business (CRC 2012:40), making recruitment through formal means more common. This is not always the case, however, and I have discussed how competition for vacancies presents a barrier to both rural and urban youth.

One urban participant, who as mentioned above submitted several job applications to large high street chains without receiving any response, settled for some casual work over the summer, obtained through a family member. This again demonstrates the pivotal role of networks, even in urban areas. Whilst this job was only occasional, this respondent was unable to find other employment. Another urban participant, who was aged 23 and working part-time when he took part in both stages of data collection following a prolonged period of unemployment, was able to find more regular work through similar means:

MC: How did you get the job that you've got now?

GARY: I got it through a geezer that I was working for originally before I was unemployed for 2 ½ years, and he now works for a company that my dad's involved in. Basically I got it through that, so it's through personal connections. I wouldn't have got as good of a job as I have, basically I fell into it through my connections. I wouldn't have a job like I've got now, with the opportunities that I've got. Like I'm learning on the job, and I'm going to be going to college in September, so I definitely wouldn't have got a job with these opportunities otherwise.

Some rural youth also reported using personal contact to find work. It is noteworthy that these young people found jobs through family connections. In terms of policy guidance for alleviating youth unemployment, boosting social capital through strengthening family connections is not a feasible recommendation. Promoting the family is viable, but doing so through encouraging nepotistic recruitment practices undermines the principles of meritocracy upon which society is supposedly based. On the other hand, social capital can be strengthened by facilitating the kinds of network discussed earlier, between young people and careers workers, educational institutions and volunteering bodies. This is proven to benefit the young people who are likelier to overcome barriers to opportunity through contact with these entities, as seen above in the cases of the NEET youth who have resumed participation in education or work, or at least broadened their range of career interests.

In this section, I have described the difference in educational provision in rural and urban areas using the situations of participants as examples. I have argued that rural youth planning to attend HE are disadvantaged by rarely having the option to mitigate rising fees and other costs by living at home whilst studying. I have also demonstrated that a lack of choice in rural areas, often due to transport, can create difficulties for young people. Opportunities to enter

employment can arise through personal contacts, and such work can be regular and reliable or occasional and casual. Evidence of both emerged from interviews with rural and urban respondents alike. This suggests that social capital, in terms of informal networks and family or community bonds, can determine whether young jobseekers are able to find work. Having discussed outcomes, barriers, and opportunities, I now consider how aspirations have changed over the observation period according to location and engagement with these key networks.

6.3.2 - Aspirations

In the previous chapter, I showed that some young people enjoy rural lifestyles and aspire to work in distinctly rural jobs. I warned that this does not necessarily indicate a lack of ambition, despite evidence that young people remaining in rural areas are likely to earn less throughout their 20s and 30s, and possibly beyond (see chapter 8). In this section, I return to the question of how location influences aspirations, using data from the two observation points to build on the findings advanced thus far.

Rural labour markets tend to offer fewer job vacancies and less variety than available in urban areas (see chapter 5). In a case cited above in section 6.3.1, I interviewed one participant again around six months after our first meeting, and was surprised to learn that she had returned to the same training centre she had left amid such ill-feeling. When asked how she overcame the distrust engendered by the episode precipitating her departure, she replied that the absence of alternatives forced her to do so. This demonstrates how perceptual barriers can be

circumvented. Indeed, this can be critical in locations where little choice is available (Spielhofer et al 2011:9). However, she was now training in IT having abandoned her long-term goal of working in childcare. Her reasons for changing track were based on supply and demand, as she believed the local employment market for childcare was saturated. Her failure to land a job or even work experience since leaving school attests to this. At 18, switching career paths remains viable. Nevertheless, more support is needed for directing young people towards pathways which are likelier to lead to secure employment. If a local area doesn't have enough jobs in a certain field to accommodate all those aspiring to that occupation, then school leavers should be encouraged to rethink. Careers advisors working in schools should be supported in their efforts to inform pupils.

Another rural youth, a 17-year old female who had moved from an employability course for NEET youth to an apprenticeship in the time between our first and second meetings, was wholly content to live in her local area, and expressed no desire to ever leave. She wanted to remain close to friends and family, and appreciated the peace and quiet of rural life. The issue for her was transport, not the location itself. She believed that she would be much happier there once she was able to drive, and saw no reason why a fulfilling work and social life could not be maintained locally once this barrier was overcome. This attests to how some young people actively enjoy living in rural areas, and should not be castigated for lacking aspiration simply because they wish to remain close to their roots. It also emphasises the importance of having a car when living in such places.

One participant, interviewed in a rural area but born in a city, held aspirations to return there, believing relocation to be necessary for progression in

her chosen career. She also had family living there. She dismissed many of her rural peers as lacking ambition, and saw it as difficult to avoid trouble in a small settlement where everyone knows everyone.

HAYLEY: There's more jobs there, a lot more people that actually want to do something with their lives. Plus, around here, you see drugs everywhere. Round there, there's probably more people that do drugs but you wouldn't see it if that makes sense, because there's a lot more people.

Once again this reiterates the social capital mantra that one must 'get out to get on'. Rural youth can hold aspirations which lead them away from where they grew up. However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, some rural youth simply do not aspire to leaving their area, and actively pursue a career in occupations that are uniquely rural. Aspirations can therefore be shaped by location, but this is not necessarily the case. Location opens some options whilst precluding others. The relationship between rural/urban location and youth aspirations therefore seems too protean to simplify down to prescriptive statements concerning universally positive or negative effects. The focus now turns to barriers to participation.

6.3.3 - Barriers

In this section I discuss some barriers facing the young people remaining in the sample for phase two of data collection. Firstly, I consider transport, an obstacle to rural youth in particular, discussing ways in which this has been overcome by some participants and not by others. In areas with opportunity shortages, relocation is a way of improving one's prospects, and the following section covers

the difficulties facing those who have thought about leaving their local area. I then outline how competition for vacancies, cited more as a barrier by urban youth in the first phase of fieldwork, has prevented participants from both rural and urban locations from finding jobs.

6.3.3.1 - Transport

Kevin had achieved his goal of becoming a gamekeeper by the time we met again. His apprenticeship comprises working full-time at a farm in another town, and also intensive seasonal placements at an FE college situated elsewhere in the same rural district. He arrived at the second interview on a moped leased by a local scheme designed to give cheap, independent transportation to those otherwise unable to afford it. This was vital in enabling him to travel to work, as his farm is miles from the nearest public transport.

KEVIN: Trying to get to work when I start at 5 in the morning is impossible at that time of the morning. There's no train service, and then it would have been about a 4 mile hike up the back lanes.

MC: Difficult if not impossible.

KEVIN: Yeah, I think it's about 20 miles to the farm from here.

MC: So having access to your own transport is very, very important?

KEVIN: Around here, yeah, if you're looking for decent work. Like I know someone who's just come out of high school now. He's on the same scheme I am, and if he didn't do it, he wouldn't be able to get to work. He works about 9 miles away and if he didn't have transport up there via Wheels to Work, he wouldn't be able to work. But that's the way it goes, some people are lucky, some people aren't.

MC: So this is an important scheme, in your opinion?

KEVIN: Yeah.

MC: It makes a difference to you and the guy you know?

KEVIN: It makes a difference to a lot of people.

For those in distinctly rural occupations, workplaces might be remote and not served by buses and trains. Participants from all locations concurred that getting a license and running a car were punitively expensive for young people who are likely to be on modest incomes, if any at all.

GARY: I want to learn to drive and get a car, but I wouldn't be able to afford one at the minute. I'm trying to save up money, but for insurance for a first time driver at the minute, you're paying like 3 grand for a 1 litre. It's ridiculous man, I only earn like 6-7 grand a year.

In rural areas, this is a more severe problem given the relative scarcity of public transport. The moped hire scheme therefore seems important, as without it Kevin would have been unable to seize the rather serendipitous opportunity offered to him. This would not have meant simply forgoing a job, but letting a chance to access the first rung on his chosen career ladder slip away.

The college he attends is roughly 40 miles from his hometown. It is accessible by a combination of train and bus, but this would take about an hour each way and prove costly. He was unwilling to ride his moped over such a distance, noting that country roads were not always safe on two wheels, with slippery surfaces, intermittent lighting and heavy goods vehicles all posing a threat. To reach college, he was receiving a lift from the course tutor, who he portrayed as enjoying good personal relations with the young apprentices.

MC: He comes and gives you all a lift?

KEVIN: Yeah, which is alright, because otherwise I'd have to catch a train up, then catch a bus, which is a heck of a lot of money. The other day I had to do it because something came up, it cost me about 10 or 15 quid.

MC: How long does it take?

KEVIN: It takes about an hour and a half. About an hour and three quarters by the time you've waited for the bus.

MC: OK, the lift isn't something that's official? He does it off his own back, or is it organised by the college?

KEVIN: He does it off his own back. He likes it, because he knows he's got people that are dedicated, that are willing to meet him at a certain time and not be late, and not take the mickey out of him. He does it because he wants people to pass the course, but his boss complains about him picking people up. He doesn't get any fuel money or anything off us, he doesn't want anything. He just likes the helping part, knowing that we don't have to struggle for money.

He recognised how fortunate he was to enjoy travel assistance on this informal but reliable basis. The college allegedly took issue with this practice however, with some senior staff anxious that over-friendliness between tutors and students could lead some parents to become wary. This suggests that the absence of adequate public transport, mooted as a potentially positive factor for community relations (Huby et al 2009:28) does little to foster a sense of togetherness overall. In rural areas with sparse transport connections, any help can make a difference to a young person's prospects. Suspensions from some parents might in some cases be justified, yet this member of college staff appeared to supply vital support and ask for nothing in return. If we must endure deep cuts to public services, as the coalition government insists, individuals may need to pick up the slack to ensure that society keeps functioning. If educational institutions and families do not appreciate those who are trying to help others, some replacement initiative is needed, in this instance travel bursaries or shuttle buses. Given that most places

will not have people prepared to voluntarily help those in need, rolling out such policies uniformly to ensure equality of opportunity appears an essential step.

For participants living in the villages surrounding small rural towns, the additional problem of travelling into town is an extra barrier. One young woman, who was looking for a summer job between finishing her A-levels and moving to university, was unable to find work as the buses did not run at suitable times.

MC: What did you do over the summer?

JENNY: I volunteered at the church in town. Originally I was trying to get a job. Then I sort of realised quite quickly that a lot of places that were willing to employ people, wanted people who would be there for the summer, and then after. They weren't willing to employ someone just for the summer holiday, so that was awkward. Also, I found it difficult to find jobs which would fit around the bus timetables. I could get in for a certain time, but it was hard to get back and things like that. I wouldn't have been able to get a job in a pub for example, because of the late nights.

The absence of evening bus services significantly disadvantages those living outside the towns by precluding them from evening work unless they have access to a private vehicle. In areas where most work revolves around tourism, with pubs, restaurants and hotels the main employers, this creates a barrier to work for those living in peripheral parts of that locale. This could be interpreted as location itself being a barrier, or it could be that simply transport within that area is the obstacle to work, as suggested by this rural participant:

MC: What is it you like about the area?

BETHANY: It's quite nice and quiet. There's lots of things to do, not by my house but around my house.

MC: So you'd say that your problem is more to do with transport in that location?

BETHANY: Yeah.

MC: So you're quite happy with the area itself, but it's just the fact that you can't get around it?

BETHANY: Yeah.

She was living with her parents in an extremely remote village. The family home was a 10 minute drive away from the nearest bus stop, and this was verified by the gatekeeper who said she had personally driven the participant to college before. Normally she rode the college shuttle bus, which took 15-20 minutes. There were no local public transport services, and she was completely reliant on favours from family and neighbours to travel anywhere.

I interviewed her a second time at another site of the same college five months after our first meeting. She had started an apprenticeship in childcare since the initial interview, having been enrolled on an employability course designed to move NEET youth closer to work. To attend her weekly day release to college, she still depended on lifts from her parents, who were both still working. Indeed, she was only required to attend college until 1pm, and happily agreed to an afternoon interview as she was forced to wait in the town until 5.30 when her father finished work and came to collect her. This is not an aversion to public transport from the participant. The connections to her home simply do not exist. No shuttle bus operates between this college site and her home. Private vehicles are the only means of transportation, yet not everyone has access to them; those who do not face a barrier to participation, unless they can rely on support from family and friends. This reiterates the importance of social capital in rural areas. Without assistance from others, coping with fewer services is increasingly difficult.

After over a year of applying for jobs throughout the county, this girl eventually found a vacancy at a nursery which is a 15 minute drive from her house. She and the gatekeeper both agreed this was incredibly fortunate, on account of her isolation. However, she was still taken to work by her parents each day. The walk, along a busy dual carriageway, was considered too long and too dangerous. This case is atypical due to the extreme remoteness of her location, but the fact that some areas are completely bereft of public transport suggests that access to vehicles is increasingly crucial in rural areas. With bus subsidies being cut and services dwindling, the prospect of more rural areas being cut off from public transport routes is a genuine threat, and must be combated by policy makers through the allocation of sufficient funding to rural transport networks. The difficulties faced by rural youth with regard to transport were not echoed by urban counterparts.

MC: How long does it take you to walk to the city centre here?

CHELSEA: 10 minutes from my house.

MC: Have you been using public transport?

SHILPA: (laughs) I haven't used a bus or a tram.

MC: What's that, in six weeks?

SHILPA: Yeah, I've been there six weeks. I mean, it's 50p return on the bus for students, so it's easy to catch a bus, but I haven't needed to catch it and the weather has been good to me so far. The supermarkets and stuff like that, they are a little further if you want to go to the bigger ones, but around where I am there are smaller shops, and that's literally two minutes' walk from me.

Not all urban youth are positioned centrally, but I found no evidence of this being a barrier to employment. The following quote from a young male who was working part-time after over a year of being NEET exemplifies this:

GARY: Public transport isn't brilliant around here. It's a 15-30 minute walk down to the main road. They've stopped quite a lot of buses. There used to be a bus that stopped at the end of this road that went right to the other side of the city, and that's cut a lot of links to a lot of places. Now to get to the area where I used to live, I've got to get 2 or 3 buses, whereas before I only had to get one.

He conceded that he was fortunate to live within walking or cycling distance from his job. Had this not been the case, the transport network throughout the city still would have enabled him to travel to work. This may have been costly and time consuming, but possible nonetheless. This highlights the key difference between rural and urban public transport – journeys that may be difficult in the cities can be impossible in more remote locations. The cases cited above, of relying on a subsidised moped for reaching a farm, and being unable to take evening work because of bus timetables, illustrate this. Overall, it can be concluded that transport is a major barrier to employment for rural youth, which can be overcome by those with the support of parents or others, and by those able to access schemes such as Wheels-to-Work. Even in terms of transport, social capital matters. This is not the case for urban youth. With finding work in rural areas difficult for these reasons, it follows that some may think about relocating in order to enhance their prospects. I now consider the barriers facing those for whom this may be an option.

6.3.3.2 – Relocation

With many rural youth frustrated at how their local areas offer few opportunities, naturally some plan to move elsewhere. Mark, an 18-year old male enrolled on an entry to employment course at a rural FE college, mentioned a close friend who was about to move to a major city about 55 miles away. He intended to join him there as soon as he saved enough money for accommodation. His motivations for moving were enrolling on a particular college course, better chances of finding work whilst studying, and an improved social life from being in an urban environment. This participant contributed to my impression that rural youth frequently perceive urban locations as providing greater opportunities, especially for work. This is of course at variance with current youth unemployment statistics, and the accounts of urban youths adduced elsewhere in this study (see chapter 5).

At the time of our second meeting, he was still enrolled on the same programme as five months beforehand. The course runs continuously over the summer, and students can attend until suitable alternatives arise. His proposed migration to the city had not materialised, with financial factors cited as the principal barrier.

MC: What was it about that which prevented you from going? Would you need money to start off with?

MARK: Yeah we'd have needed money. To begin with, none of us had jobs up in Liverpool. Del had sorted that out. The plan was to go up there once we saved enough to pay rent for a couple of months while we looked for a job. Then the plan was the music course would start, we'd keep

our jobs and keep living together, and just do the music course as well. I saved most of my money from the pub doing kitchen portering, but even that wasn't enough.

MC: So having the money to start off with was quite a difficult thing.

MARK: Yeah.

MC: And you're only allowed to work 16 hours per week.

MARK: Yeah, which I wasn't even working when I was there.

While his friend had moved as planned, he was reliant on relatives to find him work and give him accommodation; neither offer was extended to this participant. Without such assistance, the cost of moving was an insurmountable obstacle. This is the case for most young people who are unable to draw on support networks in prospective destinations, explaining the low migration rates for young people presented in chapter 8. For those living in areas of scarce opportunities and unable to relocate, this is a problem. A further barrier to relocation is that if young people intend to migrate to boost their chances of finding work, they must be struggling for employment in the first place. Raising the money for moving is therefore a big challenge. Unable to move to find work, it is possible that young people remain in the same areas, where they are unable to find jobs, as is the case for this youth. People can be trapped by this catch-22. I return to the case of this young man after discussing another barrier to relocation, family.

In the previous chapter, I alluded to a girl growing up in a rural area whose father did his utmost to prevent her from studying and thus bar her path away from the area (section 4.3.2). This extreme case, recounted by a careers adviser, raises the broader issue of family as a barrier to relocation, and therefore arguably a barrier to work. Some people are reluctant to leave their families, and this provides an incentive to remain in the same area (Spielhofer et al 2011:15-6).

MC: What is it about it that would keep you here? The things that you like.

BETHANY: Having all my family and friends here, and I like the area.

Others face opposition from family members who distrust urban environments.

Rural participants often expressed fears about large cities, with crime and violence mentioned on multiple occasions. One participant, who had found no work whatsoever since leaving school, cited opposition from her mother as a potential barrier to her plans of moving to London.

MC: Would you be worried about moving somewhere that big?

GEMMA Probably, because of what happens down in London.

MC: What do you mean?

GEMMA Well my mum's scared at the minute that I'm going to get killed, because of the riots. She thinks it's going to happen when I'm down there. She thinks there's going to be a bomb on the train.

MC: What did you say about that?

GEMMA I said if it happens, it happens. It's nothing that I can't handle. I'm 18 now, I'm not 8!

MC: Would you be afraid to leave the area, seeing as you've lived here all of your life?

GEMMA Well probably because all of my friends are around here, but I won't do it until something happens to my mum, then I've only got my brothers and my mates around here, then I'll probably do it.

This participant still stressed that she couldn't afford to relocate as she was out of work, but it is clear that family and friends can discourage people from uprooting, even if this influence is indirect. These strong ties can serve as barriers to career progression, as suggested by previous research (see chapter 3). Conversely, urban youth displayed far less desire to relocate. One urban participant, an 18-

year old male who had dropped out of A-levels at school, aimed to work as an entertainer at a holiday resort and expressed his willingness to leave his home city to realise this ambition. However, despite being NEET, he was also applying for employment vacancies in his local area, and did not give the impression that finding work was dependent on him leaving the city behind. His case is somewhat atypical as he already lived independently of his family, which had prepared him for making this further transition:

DEAN: I've been living on my own since February, I know that I'm able to do it, I know I can survive on my own two feet. I know how to budget now. I know what money goes in, what I need to pay. I don't actually buy anything unless I think I'm going to eat it. In the summer, I didn't really buy anything unless I was hungry.

MC: So living independently has helped you become disciplined, and taught you to manage your resources.

DEAN: Yeah.

MC: To what extent that this period has made you better prepared for living alone far away from home?

DEAN: It's prepared me in that it's given me a crash course on how to live life, because as the younger sibling I was always sheltered in the family. It's shown me that I can live and still be able to enjoy getting up in the morning and going to work.

MC: Do you feel more capable of making that transition successfully having had experience of living independently?

DEAN: Yes, that's been a major thing. This time last year, I had already applied for it, but I wouldn't have been able to live on my own.

His case highlights how two separate challenges face those seeking to relocate. Young people would frequently be living independently of parents for the first time, in addition to setting up in a new area. Conceivably, these factors combined could be daunting. With a lack of affordable housing, especially in rural locations (Wilcox 2006:19; Taylor 2008:86), the chance for young people to make the first step in

this process is reduced dramatically, so those for whom relocation might be a productive manoeuvre remained deterred by the dual transition.

Of course, students attending university often deal with both transitions simultaneously. However, the situation is hardly analogous as they are invariably surrounded by peers in the same situation and benefit from support mechanisms specifically designed to facilitate acclimatisation to the new environment. This is exemplified by the account of one urban female, interviewed as an undergraduate in phase two of the fieldwork:

SHILPA: I think now, and especially with the way that my flatmates are, because they're all 2 or 3 years older than me so they're a lot more mature, that's kind of made me feel better because they all try and comfort me. So, it's been OK getting used to it, and I think I have settled down properly now, and I don't miss home as much.

A further advantage offered to students is the loan system, and no equivalent exists for young people seeking to relocate to join the labour market. With jobs in short supply, it is difficult to raise the money required for the initial outlay when setting up in a new location. This, along with the prospect of living independently for the first time in unfamiliar surroundings, is a barrier to employment, albeit somewhat indirectly. I now discuss how competition for jobs, cited more often by urban respondents as a barrier to work, can also affect rural youth.

6.3.3.3 – Competition for vacancies

After emphasising how transport is an acute disadvantage for rural youth while being less of an obstacle for their urban counterparts, and how relocation is more of a challenge for rural youth, given that urban youth generally prefer to remain in cities, it is important to note the barriers confronting young urban jobseekers. As youth unemployment is higher in urban areas, there must be serious impediments to labour market participation. Competition for vacancies is one explanation, with higher concentrations of jobseekers in urban areas apparently outweighing the positions available. This also appears to be a barrier to employment in rural areas, however, with one participant suspecting that she was unable to get a job in her village shop for this reason. Of course it is impossible to verify this account, not least because the prospective employer did not respond to the application. This has been lamented by interviewees in all locations.

MC: Last time we spoke you said you had applied to a couple of jobs. New Look, Top Shop, you mentioned those to me.

CHELSEA: I haven't heard back.

MC: Nothing at all? Not even a refusal?

CHELSEA: No, nothing. But all of my mates have applied for jobs, and they don't hear anything back either. I think it's just polite to say. Even if you're not good enough, it's better than not hearing anything.

Competition for places is a problem when young applicants are not faced with a level playing field. The following extract quotes a rural male, taking an employability course for NEET youth, who depicted the local labour market as saturated with jobseekers, many of whom were prepared to take jobs not

commensurate with their age or experience, creating difficulties for young people to get a breakthrough.

MC: So you think that even in a place like this, which is fairly rural, there are still problems with competition for vacancies?

MARK: Definitely. Half of town I imagine is unemployed. They'd prefer to hire someone older because they're more experienced, and they think they're more trustworthy. It's just absolutely solid.

MC: Do you know of a lot of young people, like people your age, who are also struggling in the same position?

MARK: Yeah. I've mentioned my mate who has been searching for a job. A girl on my course has been applying to a lot of the same places that I have. Another lad who volunteers with me, he's like 20-something, and he says he's getting caught out by people that are even older than him, so it's absolutely dreadful. The city is the place to be at the moment for finding a job. Not that it's good, but it's probably better.

Competition from older and more qualified candidates inevitably creates a barrier to employment for young people, reducing the opportunities available. This is one reason why youth unemployment is hyper-cyclical (Blanchflower and Freeman 2000:47-55). Having discussed transport as a significant barrier to rural youth, and also outlined the obstacles confronting those who consider relocation to further their prospects, I now focus on the outcomes achieved by participants who took part in follow-up interviews, with specific reference to location.

6.3.4- Outcomes

In this section, I consider the extent to which participants were able to achieve their goals outlined in initial interviews. I focus on supplying examples of how

location can determine the fortunes of young people in employment and education. While this account cannot be considered exhaustive, it uses the circumstances of rural and urban youth to illustrate how where one lives influences life chances in tangible ways. I find that employability and volunteering schemes can lead young people into work but this is not guaranteed, particularly in rural areas where suitable vacancies may be in short supply. I also find that positive outcomes are likelier when young jobseekers are able to draw on both personal and professional contacts, indicating that social capital is critical for getting NEET youth into employment.

I spoke to two rural youths enrolled on an employability programme at an FE college who had been NEET prior to joining that course. Both of these respondents had undertaken voluntary work as a compulsory part of the programme, and both felt that this had helped them in terms of future employment prospects.

MC: Did you find the course useful overall?

BETHANY: Yeah, it was really good.

MC: What did you find good about it?

BETHANY: It helped me to get an apprenticeship, and I got more qualifications out of it.

MC: In what ways do you think that being on the college course helped you to get the apprenticeship?

BETHANY: Because I gained more experience at the placement I was at, and they gave me a really good reference, which helped me get the apprenticeship.

This extract, taken from a follow-up interview with a young female who sought a career in childcare, shows the advantage conferred by the course. She had been

unable to find work or apprenticeships in her chosen field, childcare, after leaving school. The college provided a platform from which she could gain experience in the relevant job whilst waiting for an opportunity to arise. She described applying to around 20 places in search of a job or apprenticeship and receiving no offers aside from unpaid work experience. The voluntary placement arranged through the college allowed her to learn on the job until she found a vacancy. When I re-interviewed her, she had started an apprenticeship at a local nursery, with one day a week at another college in the same area. The outcome from the college course was that she eventually found the apprenticeship she had sought since leaving school, and had gained work experience in the process.

While such schemes can produce positive outcomes as evidenced by this example, there are also downsides. Firstly, the unpaid work placements may be difficult for some young people to attend precisely because they involve no remuneration. There is also no guarantee that appropriate placements can be found for everyone. Another participant on the same programme was doing voluntary work at a charity shop in a town roughly three miles from his village. Whilst the work experience was deemed useful for his CV, he gave no indication that a career in retail was his goal. That he was volunteering in this sector suggests that mismatches between opportunities and ambitions may affect the outcomes from such programmes. This participant was somewhat unsure as to what employment pathway he wished to follow, making it difficult for the course co-ordinators to identify relevant activities. Equally, in a rural area such as this study location, it may be impossible to find such vacancies. It could be considered a positive outcome that this participant is not NEET, and is gaining some useful

skills. It could also be considered futile if this does not eventually provide a springboard to full-time employment and more clearly defined career progression.

In addition to rural youth, I interviewed several urban young people who had been NEET. Two were on the V-talent programme, a national scheme providing volunteering opportunities to young people that ran from 2010-11, through a college based in their city. Both had been NEET beforehand, and both agreed to second interviews. They also agreed that the programme was incredibly helpful for NEET youth (who had comprised 15% of the total nationwide intake - see NatCen 2011), and expressed disappointment that it would not continue for a further year.

CHELSEA: More people should have done it. Some people were teaching disabled kids to play football. Do you know what I mean? I think that's really good. They've cut a programme which wasn't only making us happy, but making other people happy as well. Like if I hadn't done that, I wouldn't have done the 37 mile walk raising money for a school, because I wouldn't have had the sponsors.

Clearly the outcomes from this programme extend beyond those who were officially enrolled. This broader benefit should not be overlooked, but in terms of outcomes for these participants, the reflections were overwhelmingly positive.

MC: Any other skills that you think you've learned?

DEAN: Confidence. I've come out of myself more. One of the people who did V-talent has known me since I was little, and she said that she hadn't seen me as happy as that since my mum passed away. I came out of myself. I learned confidence, being able to do publicity, and doing my football coaching level-1. I wouldn't have been able to do that without V-talent.

MC: So you gained a qualification?

DEAN: I gained 2: mentoring level 2, and the FA level 1 and goalkeeping level 1. Before V-talent, I said there were two things I wanted to do, performing arts and football, and I managed to marry the two together.

In addition to the 'soft-skills' often cited by employers as lacking in young job applicants, this young man also secured some qualifications. However, his main interests lay in performing arts, and this field provided the focus for many of his volunteering activities. Whilst on V-talent, he helped organise college productions, assisting with the technical aspects of stage management along with the design and distribution of promotional materials. In the first interview, he enthused about pursuing a career of this type, and maintained this goal when we met again.

DEAN: I decided one thing I'm going to do next year is apply to be a redcoat, because that's something I've always wanted to do. I've got a list of like ten things I want to do in life, and I think being a redcoat for a year is number one or two. Entertaining kids and being onstage, is just having a laugh. That would suit me because I'm just a big bubble of energy.

MC: You wanted to do that before, so that's a fairly long-term ambition of yours, isn't it?

DEAN: It is, I did apply for it this year, but with everything that was going on with family, I didn't think I was physically ready.

There are two main points here concerning outcomes from V-talent. Firstly, he was NEET before joining the programme, and was NEET once more when we met a second time, 4 months after he had finished the scheme. Whilst engagement in activities and gaining qualifications are signs of progress, ultimately this young man remains outside of the labour market and education. However, a second, less concrete outcome is that his time spent at the college on V-talent appeared to broaden his horizons with respect to possible career paths. He spoke of how volunteering had developed his interest in technology, and at the time of our

second interview was awaiting response from his application to work in two branches of a prominent electronics retailer in other parts of the conurbation where he lived. In the first interview, he had not considered this potential route into employment, indicating that the programme was successful in directing him towards other opportunities. This could be regarded as a positive outcome, although it remains to be seen whether his enquiries lead to a job.

The participants discussed so far have all been on programmes which have taken them out of NEET status, even if only temporarily. I also interviewed four NEET youths in rural areas. Each of these was in contact with the local youth centre, where they attended a course for half a day each week. This was to discuss their employment hopes with careers staff, and to learn about useful skills for finding and sustaining work. One had been unemployed for about three months when we first met and had left school with 3 GCSEs. Below, he claims that his efforts to find employment were thwarted by discrimination, lamenting how his appearance counted against him. He claimed to have applied to a number of positions without any success. He also alleged that his traveller background deterred prospective employers.

KEVIN: No, well if you got a lad the same age as me, don't wear an ear stretcher, don't wear rings, nicely dressed, then you got me, ear stretcher, rings, smokes, traveller background, who would you pick? It would be the other guy really, I know that for a fact.

MC: So you think that you're being discriminated against because of your appearance and background?

KEVIN: I can guarantee it.

Meeting this participant for the second time, he had begun an apprenticeship in gamekeeping, having found both an employer able to take him on and a college within reasonable commuting distance where the taught element of the course was offered. Both of these were strokes of good fortune.

MC: How did you find it?

KEVIN: Through someone who works at the college here, who I was on the course with, she taught my boss' son, so she asked him if they still did their shoot, and that's how I got into it.

MC: So how did you get put onto the person who works at the college?

KEVIN: I was surprised actually, I applied to get into the college to redo my GCSEs bar maths because I failed most of them. I applied too early so they sent me down here, so she came down here and did a step up to work course, so that's how I met her.

MC: So did you apply through the college, or through the employer?

KEVIN: Word of mouth. They said I've got a person here who's interested in gamekeeping, I went up to the farm and said my hellos and goodbyes, I was meant to go to an interview, but all it was literally was a five minute chat in the yard and they said 'you're alright, come in tomorrow morning'. That was it, I started working...if I didn't come to this course, I wouldn't have got the job that I've always wanted. That's the way it goes.

Making these connections would be infinitely more difficult without the space provided by the youth centre. This illustrates how getting unemployed youth to engage with such services can be crucial in finding them appropriate opportunities, as the weak ties (Granovetter 1973; 1982) necessary to discover vacancies can be forged in such settings. By extension, this also shows how investment in such facilities has the potential to pay dividends by boosting the social capital stocks that young people can draw upon.

In this section, I have shown that NEET youth can find opportunities in the labour market when supported by initiatives to offer them experience and develop

their soft skills. The potential for such programmes to expand the range of interests should also not be underestimated, but there is no clear evidence here that this leads to employment. Merely being in contact with youth centres and colleges can inform unemployed young people of vacancies, which proves that building on social capital stocks by ensuring jobless youth remain in touch with institutions and individuals that can notify them of opportunities is important for finding them work. This seems particularly important in rural areas, where vacancies are advertised less through traditional channels (see chapter 5). Success here could be improved by supplying funding to the initiatives which enable young people to make these crucial connections.

6.3.5 – The dividends from qualitative longitudinal data

It is worth noting here some of the specific insights engendered by the longitudinal format of the fieldwork. As discussed in chapter 4, the capacity to document change is a major strength of qualitative research conducted over time (Thomson et al 2003:185). Over the observation period, several participants experienced important transitions in employment and education.

One interviewee had found an apprenticeship in her chosen field, overcoming the obstacle of living in a very remote location through the help of family and the college tutor who had been responsible for her as she undertook an employability course for NEET youth. Another had moved from being NEET to taking the first step toward fulfilling his aim of becoming a gamekeeper, which was made possible by the help of youth workers and college staff. These instances demonstrate that taking a longitudinal view has enabled this study to capture

these changes. They also underline the importance of social capital in presenting opportunities to young people.

Other key changes included a young person, who had been NEET prior to involvement in V-talent, becoming NEET again by the time of the second interview, and two rural participants who had joined local institutions despite voicing firm opposition to doing so when interviewed initially. Of course, not all of the young people partaking in both phases of fieldwork saw change in their circumstances during this time. The rural youth who was unable to achieve his goal of relocating to the city is one such case, his plans scuppered by the cost. While no change was observed here, the design would have been able to monitor the change had it occurred. Crucially, the longitudinal format allowed for an analysis of why this intended change did not take place. Insights such as these would not have been possible without a longitudinal aspect to the research design.

6.4 - Summary

This chapter built on the findings from the first round of interviews by assessing how youth employment and educational careers are influenced by location. No new evidence of gender or class interacting with location has emerged, but the effect of social capital on employment prospects remains strong. I have shown how employability courses can improve the chances of young people finding jobs, by offering relevant work experience and identifying appropriate vacancies. However, such opportunities may not be available in limited rural labour markets, and transportation is often a barrier. Such schemes can produce positive

outcomes, as demonstrated by some participants discussed above, and the problem remains that people cannot be put into jobs that don't exist.

Volunteering can also provide skills and experience to young jobseekers, and help to establish contacts useful for finding further opportunities. Positive outcomes from volunteering extend beyond individual volunteers, suggesting that it is an important endeavour for bringing broader benefits to communities.

However, there is again no guarantee that employment can be found for young people after volunteering, although outcomes such as encouraging interest in a greater range of careers should not be dismissed. Contact with youth workers and careers advisers has been shown to aid young jobseekers, and this is particularly important in rural areas where jobs are less likely to be advertised formally and access to information channels is therefore pivotal. Overall, it seems that outcomes can be improved most by ensuring that young people are in touch with professionals who are able to notify them of opportunities. This means that services providing a space for them to interact must be protected from cuts for careers advice to reach those who need it.

Transport appears the biggest barrier to rural youth participation. Urban youth cite this obstacle far less than rural peers. The cost of driving is regarded as punitively excessive by participants from all locations, but this is more problematic in rural areas where public transport coverage is less comprehensive. Some young people work in locations without bus or train services, and rely on subsidised private vehicle hire to fulfil work commitments. Others live in areas with no public transport, and are entirely dependent on family and friends to reach work and college. The importance of private vehicles in rural areas suggests some

assistance toward making them affordable for rural youth is necessary if public transport is such a clear barrier, as evidenced here.

Some rural youth seek to relocate in order to find employment, but the cost of moving prevents many from doing so. This can be overcome by support networks, but many do not have such help and are therefore disadvantaged. Others may be unwilling or unable to relocate as family pressure or attachment to place stand in their way. These norms can be dangerous if young people cannot leave areas where opportunities are scarce. Again, the importance of social capital is clear. Competition for places is one reason why jobs can be elusive, and I have shown that this affects rural and urban areas alike. Young people increasingly vie with older and more experienced applicants in all locations. Without the money or support to try their luck elsewhere, their chances of finding work are greatly reduced.

Education can protect young people from unemployment, but opportunities in rural areas are restricted, with transport once again constraining choices. Rural youth are disadvantaged through frequently being unable to study from home, whereas urban counterparts may have local institutions offering suitable courses and therefore prefer to eschew relocation to combat rising costs. Those living in remote locations often do not have this option. Other educational opportunities are more limited in rural areas, meaning that some attend institutions where they may have sound justification for feeling uncomfortable. While distance remains an issue, more assistance with transport would give more options to rural youth.

Many young people aspire to distinctly rural careers and have no wish to leave such areas. Others are simply happy to live with the peace and quiet of

more remote locations, and see transport as the main problem as opposed to the area itself. That said, there is evidence that local labour market conditions influence career choices, although this is not necessarily confined to rural areas, and should be addressed by school careers services, that need support in informing young people about how realistic their aspirations are. Those aspiring to relocate may not have access to networks that can facilitate the move, so support for finding work and accommodation in the cities for young people unable to find jobs in rural labour markets would help to fulfil their potential and ensure they contribute fully to society.

While rural areas suffer less youth unemployment overall, many still face difficulties that are unique to remote locations. These difficulties seem to centre on transport, whether this is poor public transport provision, the cost of maintaining private vehicles, or the obstacles facing those wishing to relocate. Each of these can be overcome through social capital: vehicle hire schemes, favours from friends, family and others. What policy makers must ensure is that schemes with proven positive outcomes continue to receive funding. It is also important to ensure that those who are not able to draw on support networks receive the help they need to have a fair chance of pursuing their goals. Youth unemployment costs the country dearly. It needs to be tackled in all locations, which means a policy agenda sensitive to the different challenges engendered by location.

CHAPTER 7: THE RURAL YOUTH EFFECT

This chapter uses data from BHPS wave 17 to examine two key labour market outcomes for young people, earnings and economic activity. Rural/urban location, class background, and social capital - using latent variables representing underlying dimensions of the concept derived from factor analysis - are examined as predictors, along with gender, age and educational qualifications. The purpose of this is to determine the effect of these variables on the two outcomes mentioned.

Using data from BHPS wave 17 (2007/8) allows for synchronic comparisons of rural and urban youth. This is intended as a precursor to the longitudinal analysis that follows in chapter 8. Here, section 7.1 offers descriptive statistics for the variables relevant to this project, as outlined in the model specification section of chapter 4. Section 7.2 introduces variables proposed as indicators of social capital, looking for variation according to location. In section 7.3, these are used in a factor analysis, with two factors emerging as the preferred solution. Section 7.4 tests the models with participants aged 16-24, using multiple linear regression to examine earnings and logistic regression to analyse economic activity. I find that urban youth are likely to earn more, with the difference more pronounced for females. Chapter 8 looks at how rural/urban earnings compare over time, with the effect of migration taken into account.

7.1 - Descriptive statistics

BHPS includes respondents in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. The total sample size for wave 17 is 14910, with 2,242 aged 16-24. Despite the different number of rural/urban categories in each country, classificatory guidelines include advice on how these can be collapsed into a dichotomy. The criteria for rural/urban status vary according to nation, and this chapter (along with chapter 8) analyses respondents from the entire UK. Rather than imposing a single cut-off point for population size or density that may be insensitive to the different geographies in question, separate classifications for each country are used. These are based on definitions created by the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs in England, the Scottish Executive in Scotland, and the Department for the Environment in Northern Ireland. All define rural areas according to settlement size, population density, and distance from larger conurbations, although each country adopts slightly different measures (For full details, see Institute for Social and Economic Research 2008).

Tables 7.1-7.3 show the number of respondents in the rural/urban categories included in the dataset for England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, and also include frequencies once these groups have been collapsed into two groups, rural and urban. The analysis in this chapter treats rural/urban location as dichotomous thereafter, as small subsamples and degrees of freedom make using the disaggregated schemas onerous for statistical analysis. This is especially true as the number of respondents in Scotland and Northern Ireland is too small to conduct analyses using all variables relevant to the thesis. The

importance of these was expounded in chapter 3, and an approach which enables analysis of each is therefore paramount. Pooling all UK respondents and allocating a locally sensitive, dichotomous rural/urban location creates the largest possible sample (see appendix 7A for further descriptive statistics using the original classifications by nation).

Table 7.4 then shows the proportion of rural/urban respondents for the UK in total. While the Rural Advocate puts the rural population of England at 19.1% (Burgess 2008a:12), considerably lower than the BHPS figure of 30.3%, respondents living in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland increase the rural representation. Tables 7.2 and 7.3 show the figures for Scotland and Northern Ireland. For England and Wales, 34% of rural respondents reside in Wales, compared with only 20% of urban respondents. The comparison is 40% (rural respondents in Wales) to 19% (urban respondents in Wales) for ages 16-24. The lower proportion of those aged 16-24 in rural districts reported by BHPS is likely to be a consequence of youth out-migration from rural areas driven by relocation to attend higher education institutions, invariably situated in urban settlements. Tables 7.5 and 7.6 report the collapsed rural and urban categories by gender and employment status. These tables are weighted to allow for unequal sampling probabilities in the data (using the BHPS 'qxrwtuk2' weight as advised for cross-sectional analysis of individuals at UK level), as are all other descriptive statistics that follow in this chapter.

Table 7.1: BHPS wave 17 respondents by rural/urban classification: England and Wales

Category	% All ages	% Age 16-24
Urban sparse	.4	.6
Town and fringe sparse	1.6	1.4
Village sparse	1.8	2.0
Hamlet and isolated dwellings sparse	1.8	1.6
Urban less sparse	71.9	75.2
Town and fringe less sparse	11.5	9.6
Village less sparse	7.4	6.5
Hamlet and isolated dwellings less sparse	3.6	3.1
RURAL	28.1	24.8
URBAN	71.9	75.2
N	9922	1524

Table 7.1 : BHPS wave 17 respondents by rural/urban classification: Scotland

Category	% All ages	% Age 16-24
Large urban	6.2	5.9
Other urban	5.4	5.3
Accessible small town	1.7	2.2
Remote small town	0.5	0.6
Very remote small town	0.1	0
Accessible rural	2.4	1.1
Remote rural	0.5	0.2
Very remote rural	0.4	0.3
RURAL	34.9	31.6
URBAN	65.1	68.4
N	2565	367

Table 7.2: BHPS wave 17 respondents by rural/urban classification: Northern Ireland

Category	% All ages	% Age 16-24
Belfast Metropolitan Urban Area	29.1	29.1
Derry Urban Area	3.9	4.3
Large town	14.2	12.3
Medium town	5.7	4.8
Small town	7.4	10.5
Intermediate settlement	4.9	4.3
Village	5.0	5.4
Small village, hamlet or open country	29.9	29.3
RURAL	47.1	49.6
URBAN	52.9	50.4
N	2344	351

Table 7.3: BHPS wave 17 respondents by rural/urban classification: UK rural

Category	% All ages	% Age 16-24
RURAL	33.2	30.3
URBAN	66.8	69.7
N	14910	2242

Table 7.4: BHPS wave 17 rural/urban classification by gender, ages 16-24. Chi square 3.088, df = 1, ns

Category	Rural%	Urban %	Total
% MALE	27.4	72.6	957
% FEMALE	31.0	69.0	1203
N	658	1503	2160

Table 7.5: BHPS wave 17 rural/urban classification by job status in Sept. 2007, ages 16-24. Chi square 1.954, df= 3, ns

Category	% Rural	% Urban	% Total
Employed	49.3	53.1	52.2
Unemployed	11.9	8.0	8.9
In FT education	31.1	31.0	31.0
Other	7.8	7.9	7.9
N	551	1320	1871

Table 7.5 shows that gender ratio varies by location, with proportionately more females in rural areas, although this is not statistically significant. Table 7.6 shows that a slightly higher number of rural youth report being unemployed, which is somewhat anomalous given the substantial body of evidence that urban youth unemployment is higher (Cartmel and Furlong 2000, CRC 2012:18-19, see also Appendix 4A), but the difference here is not statistically significant. A marginally higher proportion of urban youths are employed (this group also includes those who report being self-employed), while more rural youth are in full-time education. Although there are no young respondents from rural areas enrolled on government training schemes, the figure for urban counterparts is negligible (n=4). While youth training is significant, there are not enough respondents on government training programmes to warrant a separate category here, so this

group is added to the 'other' category. This also includes family carers, those on maternity leave and those with long-term illnesses or disabilities. Overall, the variation shown in this table is small, so the differences are not statistically significant.

Before conducting a factor analysis to discover if the latent variables comprising social capital confirm the typology discussed in chapter 4, it is worth comparing rural and urban youth in terms of the variables which will be entered into that factor analysis.

7.2 - Social capital indicators

In the BHPS data, there are numerous variables pertaining to the two dimensions of social capital outlined in chapters 3 and 4, norms and networks. In this section, I compare responses to these items between rural and urban youth. Using the Mann-Whitney U test¹ to analyse these variables, I show that while differences between these groups are often difficult to discern, there is some evidence of variation in social capital levels between young people in rural and urban areas, as urban youth tend to give more negative perceptions of their locality. This offers some support for the hypothesis that social capital is higher in rural areas.

I argued in chapter 4 that trust in individuals and trust in institutions can be different, and that both are appropriate indicators of this facet of social capital.

¹The Mann-Whitney U test is appropriate for comparing rural and urban respondents as the social capital variables are ordinal, rendering the chi-square statistic inappropriate. In other words, with respondents answering questions about the perceived safety of their neighbourhood or the frequency of meeting friends, it is essential to use a test which is suitable for analysing data comprising ranked categorical responses, and two separate samples, as no respondents are classed as both rural and urban. The Mann-Whitney test fulfils these criteria (Bland 2000:215).

Trust in other people has been used as an indicator of social capital by numerous researchers (Alesina and La Ferrara 2002:208, Paldam 2000, Putnam 2000:137) and should therefore be regarded as a valid measure of the concept. Table 7.7 shows that, among young people, trust seems higher in rural areas, although the effect size is small ($r = -.043$) and not significant at the 5% level.

Asking respondents if they believe that the nation's wealth is kept from ordinary people is indicative of how much faith they have in the institutions of government. Equally, asking if wealthy people are seen as being above the law reveals levels of trust in legal institutions. There is little difference between rural and urban youth here, with the effect size negligible and not statistically significant. The most striking finding is that more youth, regardless of location, believe that there is one law for rich people and another for poor. Nevertheless, trust in institutions remains an important aspect of social capital (Grix 2001:194-5, 204-7), and its effect on outcomes in education and employment is explored in the following sections.

Community norms are difficult to gauge using microdata, especially as rural/ urban indicators do not link with any more precise area information than Local Authority District, too broad for meaningful analyses. However, people's perceptions of their local area illustrate how they feel about where they live. Thus, it follows that the characteristics of that location could determine employment outcomes, as locations perceived negatively by residents are unlikely to offer well-remunerated jobs. It is reasonable to suggest that high levels of concern about crime reflect a decline in social capital, and the table shows a small but statistically

significant ($r=.093$; $p<.001$) effect, with urban youth fearing crime more than rural counterparts.

Table 7.7 looks at other indicators of community wellbeing, namely, the extent of teenagers hanging around on the street, vandalism and the frequency of physical and verbal racism. While the effect sizes are small, it is clear that these are greater concerns in urban areas, with the results statistically significant at the $p<.001$ level in each case. With the importance of family and engagement in organisations, sports clubs and other activities regarded as important, thus it follows that a high number of teenagers hanging around on the street also suggests that social capital is lacking. Vandalism manifests a disregard for community that corresponds with the notions of destructive social capital discussed in chapter 3, which is not conducive to favourable employment outcomes (MacDonald et al 2005:884). Although the relative ethnic homogeneity of rural Britain can lead to intolerance of outsiders, for example, hostility toward migrants in rural areas (Phillimore et al 2008:26), there remains a greater chance of finding racism in the cities. An interest in politics shows concern for civic awareness and engagement, an important aspect of social capital (Putnam 2000:291).

These variables are of interest, as the effect of living in an area where antisocial behaviour is a common concern has been shown to have detrimental effects on employment prospects (MacDonald et al 2005) and is therefore highly relevant to this investigation. Knowing people from outside of the household who are able to provide work opportunities is a valuable resource for young people regardless of location (see chapter 3). According to previous research (such as

Cartmel and Furlong 2000) and the findings of chapters 5 and 6, this is especially true in rural areas.

What cannot be ascertained from this is whether these responses are merely speculative or hypothetical, as there is no question asking if such contacts have ever been used to find work successfully, or the status and security of this work. This is a clear limitation of the data.

Informal networks are useful not only for jobseekers, but valuable to all people in terms of emotional support. Most people invest time in others for personal rather than professional reasons, and such interdependence is clearly a central component of social capital. The impact of isolation on wellbeing is assumed to be negative (Glendinning et al 2003:151; Valentine et al 2008:29), so it follows that the availability of informal support should correlate positively with succeeding in education and the labour market. The rural/urban variation here is too small to draw any firm conclusions, and as a result the findings here are not statistically significant. Also, Table 7.7 shows that interest in politics is marginally higher among urban youth ($r=.051$, $p<.05$), although the most prominent feature here is the majority expressing little or no interest in politics. This aspect of civic disengagement has been cited as evidence of social decapitalisation (Putnam 2000:291), and is well documented in falling turnout in recent elections, especially among younger voters. There is little rural/urban difference on this variable.

Table 7.7: Mann Whitney U test for indicators of social capital, rural/urban respondents aged 16-24. * = p<.001, ** = p<.01, * = p<.05**

Variable	Mean rank rural	Mean rank urban	U	Z-score	R	N
Trustworthiness of others	1006.07	1052.37	432020	-1.952	-.043	2076
Ordinary people share nations wealth	1010.74	1013.26	430595	-.094	-.002	2024
One law for rich and one for poor	1031.28	1034.45	447705	-.115	-.002	2066
Worried about crime? ***	976.77	1089.24	417633	-4.304	-.093	2110
Extent of: Teenagers hanging about ***	1204.97	987.18	368522.5	-7.911	-.172	2104
Extent of: Vandalism ***	1226.85	971.86	349432	-9.422	-.206	2096
Extent of: Racial insults/attacks ***	1154.86	982.25	375999.5	-6.695	-.147	2068
Frequency of talking to neighbours	1060.66	1053.29	464207	-.263	-.006	2110
Frequency of meeting people	1071.64	1048.58	457251	-1.010	-.022	2110
Someone outside HH can help if depressed	1007.39	1023.16	424537.5	-.839	-.019	2036
Someone outside HH can help find job	1004.96	1023.47	423079.5	-.861	-.019	2035
Someone outside HH can borrow money from	1018.89	1016.21	428349	-.122	-.003	2033
Is there someone who will listen	1018.91	1018.33	430969.5	-.028	-.000	2036
Is there someone to help in a crisis	1000.19	1026.17	420216	-1.250	-.028	2036
Is there someone you can relax with	1018.73	1018.40	430660.5	-.017	-.000	2036
Anyone who really appreciates you	1014.02	1016.83	427282	-.141	-.003	2031
Anyone you can count on to offer comfort	1021.73	1016.43	428672.5	-.255	-.006	2035
Active or member in organization	1059.02	1053.99	465244	-.198	-.004	2110
Level of interest in politics **	1142.07	1076.31	473259	-2.394	-.051	2191

Finally, Table 7.7 shows organisational membership to be almost equal among rural and urban youth. Overall, around two-thirds of young respondents are not members of such groups, unsurprising given Putnam's observation that civic participation tends to increase with age (2000:18). For example, 16-24 year olds are unlikely to be part of parents groups. However, as around one-third of young people are organisation members of some type, this formal aspect of network social capital remains an important predictor to consider in the regression model later in this chapter. The benefit of involvement with community, religious or professional organisations on outcomes must be tested.

7.3 - The underlying dimensions of social capital

Having introduced the 19 variables pertaining to social capital, it is now necessary to see how these correlate with one another to create more parsimonious predictors for use in a multiple linear regression model. Factor analysis is a method used when a number of variables relate to a common theme and can therefore be reduced into a smaller number of variables in the interests of succinct analysis (Child 1970:4-5). This is not mere simplification, but instead it allows a number of indicators of a broader concept to be collated for greater clarity of analysis while retaining each individual characteristic of the concept (Tabachnick and Fidell 1983:372). The method tests for correlations between each variable entered into the factor analysis and for correlations of these contributing elements to the underlying latent variable(s). Thus, it is highly suitable for reducing the many indicators of social capital into a smaller number of latent variables reflecting underlying dimensions of the concept, and has been used in previous studies of social capital for this purpose (Pilcher and Wallace 2009).

Entering all 19 variables discussed above into a regression model could prove unwieldy when other important variables such as class and location are also included, so lowering the number of predictors is worthwhile. There is a significant theoretical rationale, expounded in chapter 4, for believing that some relationship exists between many of the 19 variables, strengthening the case for factor analysis. This analytical tool demands judgment from researchers as to what conclusions to draw from the results (Tabachnick and Fidell 1983:373). One such necessary decision is how far the latent variables produced by the factor analysis

correspond with credible substantive themes according to existing theoretical and empirical knowledge. This might appear somewhat arbitrary, but it is unrealistic to expect even the most sophisticated statistical software to perform this function. Moreover, the implication that social science can be conducted without some degree of inference on the part of researchers is fallacious (Cattell and Vogelman 1977:303). In what follows, I present the results from the factor analysis and offer the best available explanations in the context of social capital as discussed above and in chapters 3 and 4.

Another judgment required from the analyst is the type of rotation method to employ, if any. Using rotation transforms the factors by accentuating the factor loadings which are large and minimising those which are small, for ease of interpretation. Rotation methods fall into two categories. Orthogonal rotation is appropriate when there is reason to believe that factors extracted from the analysis are unrelated to one another. Conversely, oblique rotation methods are suitable for analyses where there is justification for believing that the indicators comprising the factors are related. I have argued above that each variable used here is included for its relevance as an indicator of the wider underlying concept social capital, so it is expected that factors are related. Therefore, the results that follow are from oblique - specifically, oblimin - rotation. In practice, the rotation method makes little difference to the results here. This is to be expected with analyses incorporating enough variables and stable factors with relatively high loadings (Tabachnick and Fidell 1983:404).

To begin, entering all 19 variables into a factor analysis with respondents aged 16-24, using Kaiser's threshold of minimum eigenvalues of one, produces eight factors. Some logical relationships emerge such as organisational

membership (two variables) and frequency of meeting people/talking to neighbours (two variables). However, there are also some incongruous relationships such as 'extent of concern about crime' matched with 'is there someone to help in a crisis'. The former would seem more likely to correspond with variables on vandalism and racist attacks, while the latter would be expected to relate more to other indicators of support networks. The credibility of this extraction method is undermined further when one considers that a threshold of eigenvalues greater than one only produces factors that explain more variance than a single variable. This is an unimpressive outcome given that the rationale for adopting this method is grouping and reducing the number of factors, and those which contribute only marginally more to the model are likely to be given greater prominence than deserved. Table 7.8 shows the pattern matrix, and figure 1 shows that only three factors have eigenvalues above 1.5. It is reasonable to expect that a factor explains more variation than equivalent to that explained by single variables. If this is not clearly the case, the utility of the factor, and indeed factor analysis as a method, is questionable at best. Hence, the threshold for accepting factors here is set at eigenvalues exceeding 1.5.

The KMO measure of sampling adequacy is acceptable at .748, and the scree plot suggests that a two or three factor solution is most coherent, as this corresponds with the point of inflexion shown on the plot (figure 7.1). Of course, prior theoretical understanding of the variables and relationships between them are important in constructing a factor analysis model, but decisions as to how many factors should ultimately be extracted must be pragmatic (Tabachnick and Fidell 1983:377). These decisions also need to make sense in terms of what the data is supposed to represent, and are important as extracting the incorrect

number of factors has been highlighted as a primary cause of erroneous factor analysis (Cattell and Vogelmann 1977:289). Table 7.10 shows the pattern matrix for factor analysis with two factors extracted (this decision is justified below) and oblimin rotation is used. Again, this is restricted to ages 15-24.

Table 7.6: Factor analysis pattern matrix. BHPS wave 17 ages 16-24. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization. % Variance explained in parentheses.

Variable	1 (13.0)	2 (11.0)	3 (7.9)	4 (7.0)	5 (6.0)	6 (5.7)
Anyone you can count on to offer comfort	.789	-.043	.012	.004	.044	-.002
Anyone who really appreciates you	.752	-.032	-.030	-.037	.053	.045
Is there someone who will listen	.748	-.043	-.032	.028	-.024	-.014
Is there someone to help in a crisis	.741	.034	.002	.070	-.007	-.020
Is there someone you can relax with	.737	.023	.021	-.010	-.101	-.030
Extent of: Vandalism	.003	.887	-.022	.044	-.022	-.011
Extent of: Teenagers hanging about	-.035	.794	.015	.048	.042	.074
Extent of: Racial insults/attacks	-.025	.784	-.071	.050	-.006	-.040
Someone outside HH can help find job	-.020	.015	.728	.002	-.017	-.071
Someone outside HH can borrow money from	-.021	-.035	.701	.069	-.047	-.022
Someone outside HH can help if depressed	.016	-.039	.694	-.024	.067	.087
Ordinary people share nations wealth	.072	.142	.038	.819	.106	.075
One law for rich and one for poor	.000	-.025	-.030	-.764	.091	.058
Trustworthiness of others	-.115	-.217	-.052	.300	-.184	-.074
Level of interest in politics	.016	-.030	-.015	.032	-.752	-.139
Active or member in organization	.020	.086	.015	-.082	.666	-.258
Worried about crime?	-.057	-.258	-.058	.266	.398	.051
Frequency of talking to neighbours	.066	-.023	-.025	-.002	.012	.763
Frequency of meeting people	-.096	.046	.019	-.006	-.053	.646
EIGENVALUES	3.06	2.15	1.50	1.32	1.24	1.07

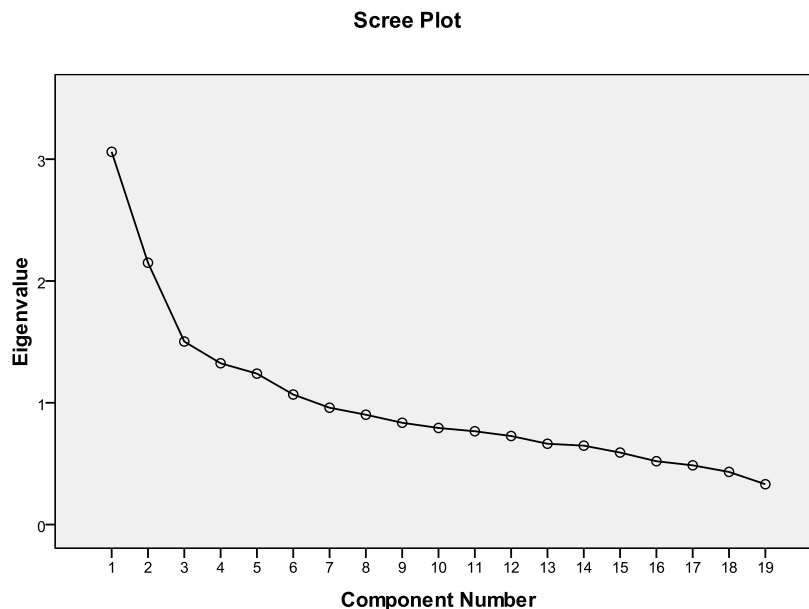
Oblimin rotation has been selected to demonstrate that the factors reflect different elements of social capital, as the correlations between the latent variables are weak even when oblique rotation, which effectively forces correlations, is used

(see table 7.9). As correlations between social capital variables and both pay and location are also weak, there is a clear need for multivariate analysis.

Table 7.7: Correlations between social capital factors, rural/urban location and pay. **p<.01, *p<.05

	Networks	Norms	Rural/urban	Usual net pay per month
Networks	1	.000	-.056*	-.004
Norms	.000	1	-.199**	.127**
Rural/urban	-.056**	-.199**	1	.052
Usual net pay per month	-.004	-.127**	.052	1

Figure 7.1: Factor analysis BHPS wave 17 ages 16-24. Scree plot for analyses in table 15.



Specifying a two factor solution produces the results seen in table 7.10. Firstly, there is a factor relating to personal networks. Personal trust does not emerge as a significant variable from the factor analysis, and frequency of meeting people and talking to neighbours only emerges as significant once a higher number of factors are specified. The variables relating to contacts outside the household who can lend money, or help find a job, do not load heavily onto this variable.

Obviously this type of connection emerges from the social capital literature as most important in terms of employment, but there seems little relationship between this group of variables and the personal support factor. This suggests that two distinct types of networks may exist.

Table 7.10: Factor analysis pattern matrix BHPS wave 17 ages 16-24. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization. % Variance explained in parentheses.

Variable	1- Networks (16.1)	2- Norms (11.3)
Anyone you can count on to offer comfort	.769	.057
Is there someone who will listen	.732	.037
Anyone who really appreciates you	.728	.090
Is there someone to help in a crisis	.709	.093
Is there someone you can relax with	.707	.099
Frequency of meeting people	-.255	.110
Frequency of talking to neighbours	-.107	.087
Someone outside HH can help find job	-.090	-.077
Extent of: Vandalism	-.138	.855
Extent of: Teenagers hanging about	-.181	.771
Extent of: Racial insults/attacks	-.135	.750
Trustworthiness of others	-.080	-.373
Worried about crime?	-.015	-.308
One law for rich and one for poor	.043	.302
Active or member in organization	.101	.165
Ordinary people share nations wealth	-.018	-.160
Someone outside HH can borrow money from	-.096	-.147
Level of interest in politics	.016	-.145
Someone outside HH can help if depressed	-.074	-.081
EIGENVALUES	3.06	2.15

However, as discussed above, extracting more than two factors detracts from the coherence of the findings, as relationships between the variables at hand appear far less logical. Using a smaller number of factors as predictors has the advantage of parsimony. The two factor solution seems to offer the optimum blend of reduction and retaining the capacity to distinguish between different elements of social capital, which has been regarded throughout as a multi-faceted concept,

with networks and norms having been identified as the key elements of social capital (see chapter 3). Another reason for forcing a two factor solution is that in practice, neither of these factors has a significant effect on the outcome variable in the regression model specified below.

The second factor concerns community norms. If loitering youths, vandalism, fear of crime and racism are rife, this reflects negatively on the norms of the community, and is indicative of social capital decline. This is understandably linked to perceived trustworthiness of other people.

To reiterate, the KMO measure of sampling adequacy for the foregoing analyses is satisfactory at .748, yet the sample size is fairly small and repeating the procedure for respondents of all ages is helpful for confirming that correct conclusions have been drawn. The KMO for this analysis is .786, with the sample size 14910 (all UK respondents in wave 17). From using the full sample to repeat the factor analysis (Table 7.12), it is reassuring that most variables still correlate when older adult respondents are included. I now specify a multiple linear regression model of earnings for young people in full-time employment before presenting a logistic regression model of economic inactivity and comparing the occupational composition of rural and urban youth employment.

Table 7.11: Descriptive statistics for social capital variables.

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Networks	1859	-4.31	1.22	.00	1.00
Norms	1859	-3.03	2.50	.00	1.00
Valid N (listwise)	1859				

Figure 7.2: 'Networks' factor frequency distribution

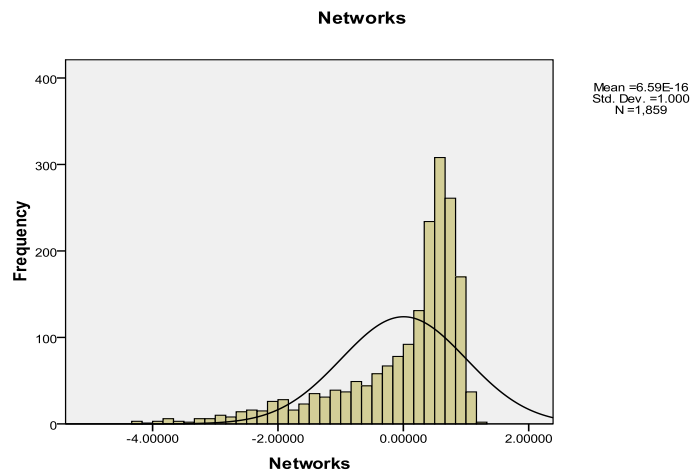


Figure 7.3: 'Norms' factor frequency distribution

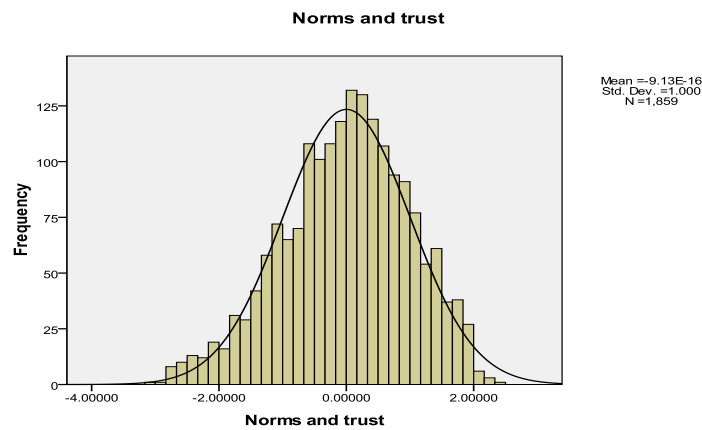


Table 7.12: descriptive statistics for social capital factors: BHPS wave 17 respondents aged under 25.

	Networks (Rural)	Norms (Rural)	Networks (Urban)	Norms (Urban)
N Valid	552	552	1307	1307
N Missing	128	128	255	255
Mean	-.086	.307	.037	-.130
Std. Deviation	1.024	.956	.988	.990
Skewness	-1.577	-.398	-1.608	-.272
Std. Error of Skewness	.104	.104	.068	.068
Kurtosis	2.077	-.147	2.258	-.224
Std. Error of Kurtosis	.208	.208	.135	.135

Table 7.13: Factor analysis pattern matrix. BHPS wave 17, all ages. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization. % Variance explained in parentheses

Variable	1 - Networks (17.8)	2 - Norms (11.8)
Anyone you can count on to offer comfort	.806	-.037
Is there someone to help in a crisis	.788	-.004
Is there someone who will listen	.782	-.041
Is there someone you can relax with	.772	-.031
Anyone who really appreciates you	.761	.015
Someone outside HH can borrow money from	-.280	-.031
Someone outside HH can help if depressed	-.252	-.028
Someone outside HH can help find job	-.251	-.033
Frequency of meeting people	-.222	.126
Frequency of talking to neighbours	-.077	-.053
Extent of: Vandalism	-.106	.841
Extent of: Teenagers hanging about	-.142	.786
Extent of: Racial insults/attacks	-.097	.735
Worried about crime?	-.003	-.408
Trustworthiness of others	-.085	-.343
One law for rich and one for poor	.111	.225
Level of interest in politics	.040	-.224
Ordinary people share nations wealth	-.046	-.168
Active or member in organization	.109	.142
EIGENVALUES	3.39	2.24

7.4 - Youth earnings and inactivity: the rural effect

Having started with 19 variables and reduced this number to two factors, these are now entered into a multiple linear regression to test the model specified in chapter 4. The outcome explored here is pay, with the likelihood of having been inactive in the past year assessed afterward. Pay is a reliable proxy of job status and security (European Commission 2001:79) and indicative of the skill level required for the work in question, although Pouliakas and Theodossiou (2010) argue that while low pay equates to less job security and satisfaction in some European nations, this

does not apply to the UK. This is a continuous variable, and is used in a multiple linear regression analysis incorporating the same predictors as outlined in chapter 4 – rural/urban location, social class of parental job and social capital. Many of the young people in the sample are not earning at all, owing to unemployment or remaining in full-time education. The latter group also comprises many low earners, 95% earned under £500 in the previous month- see table 7.14).

Table 7.14: Usual net monthly pay by whether still in full-time education. BHPS wave 17, respondents aged under 25.

Pay	Not in FTE %	Still in FTE %	Total%
Under £500	48.3	94.7	61.1
£500-999	31.4	4.5	24.0
£1000-1499	16.5	.5	12.0
£1500-2000	2.8	.2	2.1
£2000+	1.0	.2	.8
N	1622	620	2242

Table 7.15: Usual net monthly earnings (£) by regression predictor variables. BHPS wave 17 respondents 16-24

Variable	N	Rural	Urban	Total
Gender	1326			
Male	574	771	783	814
Female	752	600	703	670
Age	1326			
Under 20	552	396	432	418
20-24	774	866	910	901
Qualifications	1308			
Degree	173	934	1021	1001
A-level	455	697	650	661
GCSE	597	650	693	672
None of these	83	477	741	650
All	1326	693	751	734

Table 7.15 compares rural and urban respondents' earnings by gender, age and qualifications. Urban males enjoy the highest median earnings. Rural females earn the least, perhaps a reflection of greater service sector opportunities, typically staffed by females, in urban locations. The earnings gap between females in rural and urban areas is £103 per month, far greater than the rural/urban

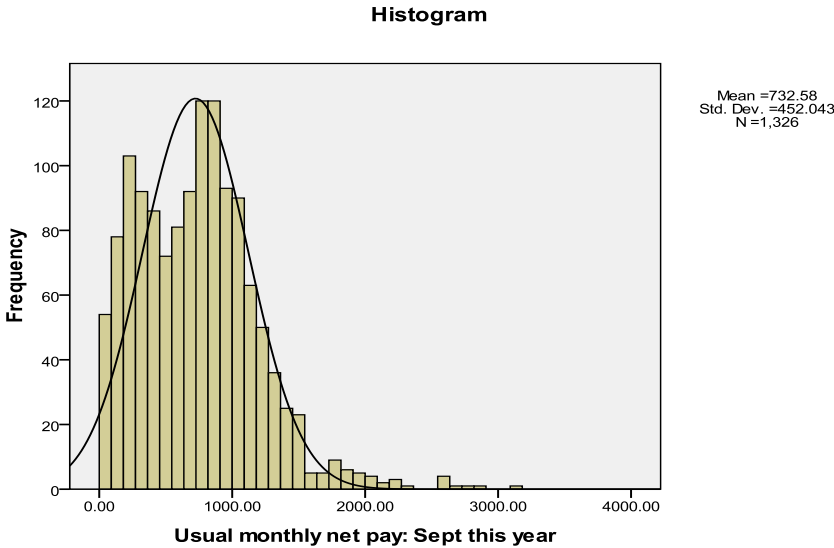
difference in male pay, which stands at £12 per month. Furthermore, the gap between male and female earnings in rural areas, £171 per month, is more than double the gendered pay disparity among urban respondents.

The urban premium is also slightly greater for 20-24 year olds, probably due to bigger companies offering better prospects in larger conurbations (OECD 2008:98, Spielhofer et al 2011), and graduates staying in urban areas after university. Consequently, urban graduates report the highest mean and median earnings. Urban youth with no qualifications also earn far more than rural counterparts at the same level of attainment. However, one caveat worth noting is that median pay for urban respondents with A-levels or equivalent qualifications is slightly lower than for rural youth in the same attainment category, and also lower than pay reported by urban youth with GCSEs or equivalent, or no qualifications, although there is no clear explanation for this in the data. Figures 7.2 and 7.3 display the distribution of earnings, with net usual monthly pay and for all respondents aged under 25 and for those in full-time work both shown.

Social class of parents is the most problematic predictor in the regression models. Whilst this variable is recognised as a powerful determinant of outcomes such as earnings, its representation in the dataset is far from ideal. If class is to be categorised according to occupation as discussed above, the fact that almost 90% of responses are invalid when asking about father's job is clearly an obstacle. This lack of valid responses is accounted for by several factors. Firstly, the parental occupation variables are derived from responses given by the parents themselves, rather than respondents being asked directly about their parents' jobs. For respondents whose parents are not in the survey, the response is automatically coded as 'inapplicable'. Those who have retired or unemployed fathers and those

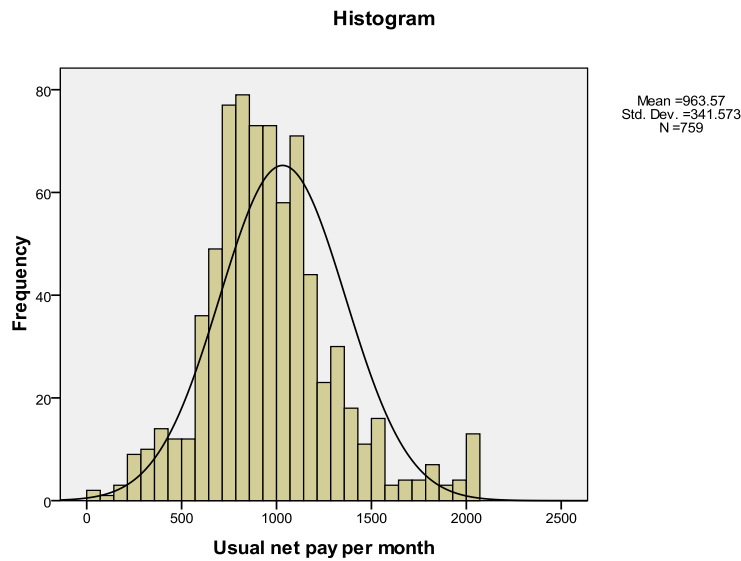
for whom data is unknown or withheld also contribute toward this high number of invalid responses. The proportion of missing data is lower for respondents aged under 25 than for the wave 17 sample overall, reflecting a greater likelihood of their parents being in the survey relative to older respondents. The number of valid responses is increased slightly by adopting a dominant class approach whereby the mother’s class is taken as primary if the father’s data is missing, but the limited amount of valid data makes analysis of this variable very difficult².

Figure 7.5: Usual net monthly pay (£), BHPS wave 17, respondents aged under 25.



² Being surprised at the amount of invalid responses, I contacted the Institute for Social and Economic Research, which runs BHPS, and they confirmed that the missing data is accounted for by these factors.

Figure 7.6: Usual net monthly pay (£), BHPS wave 17, respondents aged under 25 and in full-time work



The regression model only includes those respondents who report being in full-time work ($n=835$), defined as 30 hours per week or more (following Eurostat 2005 and Henderson and Hoggart 2007). For these, some have missing data for pay and others for gender, while a number of cases are also invalid for social capital factors, given that these have been produced using listwise deletion. Thus, the final sample for this model (using listwise deletion in the regression) is 680. Whilst this represents a substantial decrease from the full youth sample, focussing on those in full-time employment produces a more meaningful model as comparing the monthly pay of someone working 20 hours per week with another doing 40 hours heightens the risk of unreliable conclusions. This measurement difficulty is noted by Salverda and Mayhew (2010:128), despite their insistence that excluding part-time workers ‘is necessarily incomplete and misleading’ (2010:131). However, the specific concern here is with youth, so including only full-time employees is logical given that many of the 16-24 BHPS sample remain

in full-time education and are not in permanent jobs. The analysis of earnings that follows is therefore restricted to those working 30 hours or more per week.

Proportionately, there is no difference between rural and urban representation here and in the full under-25 sample (30% rural, 70% urban), suggesting that there is no location effect on working part-time or full-time. 51% are female, and unsurprisingly, more (70%) of the final sample are aged 20 or above, a reflection of higher numbers of the under 20s remaining in education and thus being predominantly (although not exclusively) restricted to part-time work. That said, 1.3% of youth working at least 30 hours per week also report being in full-time education. The upper limit of earnings reported has been capped at £2000 to reduce the influence of outliers on the model. This measure is preferred to log earnings for ease of interpretation against living costs. Only 1.5% of full-time workers aged below 25 earn this much (this model still includes 4 outliers with standardised residuals at ± 3 . The model without these outliers shows a slightly higher rural pay penalty – see appendix 7B). I specify the model using the following equation, where y is the usual net monthly pay for individual i , *location* is a dichotomous rural/urban variable, *class* is defined as parental occupation at age 14, *networks* and *norms* are continuous variables representing the two dimensions of social capital derived from the factor analysis above, *gender* is a dichotomous variable and education is the highest level of academic attainment or equivalent achieved by the respondent:

$$y_i = b_0 + b_1 location_i + b_2 class_i + b_3 networks_i + b_4 norms_i + b_5 gender_i + b_6 education_i + \varepsilon_i$$

Model 1 explains 9.2% of the variance in pay and shows that rural youth working full-time can expect £90 less per month than urban counterparts employed full-time. This is significant at the $p < .001$ level. Whilst this may be considered a small effect, it further demonstrates that earnings are lower for young people in rural areas. This model also includes the two social capital factors. Of these, only norms exerts a significant effect ($B = 80.13$, $p < .001$). Individuals with more positive views on where they live report higher earnings. As discussed in section 7.2, urban respondents are much more likely to hold negative perceptions of norms in their area. As seen in model 1, the norms variable is positively related to earnings, so those with positive perceptions of their area in this regard receive higher pay. On the other hand, rural youth earn less, despite being more likely to live in an area with greater trust and less risk of antisocial behaviour, which in turn is related to higher earnings. Therefore, lower earnings in rural areas cannot be attributed to norms as the effects of these two predictors are divergent. The relationship between location and earnings is distinct from the relationship between social capital and earnings.

None of the class categories have a significant effect, except the 'no data' category. This is accounted for by the large amount of missing data. Once the sample is reduced to those working full-time, the numbers with valid data for each class are too small for a significant effect to emerge.

Table 7.17: Multiple linear regression, dependent variable usual net monthly pay (£). BHPS wave 17 ages 16-24. Sig: *p<.001 **p<.01 *P<.05. n= 680**

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B(SE)	Beta	B(SE)	Beta	B(SE)	Beta
(Constant)	1093.78 (37.92)***		770.13 (70.91)***		752.66(81.20)***	.000
Rural (ref urban)	-90.10 (28.32)**	-.121	-80.92 (26.04)**		-75.48(26.16)**	.004
Parental class (ref manual)						
No class data	-134.40 (40.09)**	-.162	-73.14 (37.44)		-70.41(37.39)	.060
Service class	16.86 (63.94)	.012	33.71 (58.80)		23.43(58.73)	.690
Intermediate class	-100.91 (71.01)	-.060	-90.93(65.28)		-80.90(65.15)	.215
Social capital						
Networks	6.97 (13.51)	.019	5.76 (12.44)		6.48(12.41)	.602
Norms	80.27 (12.84)***	.237	53.15 (12.05)***		47.70(12.24)***	.000
Aged under 21 (ref 21-24)			270.36 (27.02)***		254.67(27.58)***	.000
Male (ref female)			-127.45 (23.01)***		-138.60(23.28)***	.000
Highest ac. Qual. (ref none)						
Has degree					127.36(52.67)*	.016
Has A level/equivalent					64.44(48.54)	.185
Has GCSE/equivalent					37.92(47.26)	.423
Still in full time education					-66.28(92.49)	.474
R2		.091		.234		.245

Model 2 adds age and gender into the analysis. Unsurprisingly, the 20-24 year olds among the sample earn significantly more than those under 20, owing to obvious factors such as increased likelihood of having finished education and found work, longer to gain promotion and so on. This is the most influential predictor examined, as expected. Also female full-time workers earn less than males ($B = -126.46$, $p < .001$). Model 3 adds highest academic qualification achieved into the regression. While holding a degree predicts an increase in earnings of £118 per month ($p < .05$), other levels of educational attainment do not have significant effects, and the model only explains 25% of total variance, suggesting that other, unobserved factors are also important.

For now, it is clear that young rural workers have lower net earnings than urban peers. This is contrary to findings from Cartmel and Furlong (2000:17-18),

who argue that rural youth earn more. The wage penalty is a problem in itself, but must be considered alongside recent evidence that rural living is more expensive, with those living in more remote areas required to earn more to afford the same standard of living as urban residents. Single people of working age face the biggest relative discrepancy in rural/urban affordability, over £40 per week for those in the most isolated locations (Smith et al 2010:37, also see chapter 2). Rural youth, therefore, face the double disadvantage of lower wages and higher living costs. That rural youth earn less is explained to some extent by the difference in occupational status of jobs held by young people according to location, as seen in table 7.18.

Table 7.18: Rural/urban location by Goldthorpe class, current job. BHPS wave 17, ages 15-24. Chi-square=7.320, df=2, p<.05

Class	Rural %	Urban %	Total%
Service	18.4	24.0	22.6
Intermediate	49.2	53.3	52.3
Manual	32.4	22.7	25.1
N	222	630	852

The higher numbers of service class workers in urban areas is noteworthy, as is the large proportion of rural youth employed in manual jobs. This finding is an interesting extension to the model outlined above, yet the shortcomings of the model demand one particular solution. As the earnings of 16-24 year olds may not accurately reflect the success they enjoy in the labour market during later life, a longitudinal analysis of the effect of location on employment outcomes is needed. This is addressed in the next chapter.

Now, I present a logistic regression model with the binary outcome ‘is (not) inactive or has (not) been in past year’ using the predictors analysed above. This is an important outcome to analyse given that NEET status and disengagement from education and the labour market have been proven as potent predictors of later difficulties concerning work and other outcomes (see chapter 3). I explore this further in the longitudinal analyses comprising the next chapter. Whilst some spells of inactivity may be used for creative or constructive purposes, the impact of a period of exclusion on later fortunes must be assessed. Roughly half of young respondents (47.7%) have been inactive at some point in the year prior to participating in BHPS wave 17. The logistic regression models are specified using the following equation, where the predictor variables remain the same as those entered on the multiple linear regression model estimated above, and $P(Y)$ represents the dichotomous outcome ‘is (not) or has (not) been inactive in past year’:

$$P(Y) (\text{inactivity}) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-(b_0 + b_1 \text{location}_i + b_2 \text{class}_i + b_3 \text{networks}_i + b_4 \text{norms}_i + b_5 \text{gender}_i + b_6 \text{education}_i + \varepsilon_i)}}$$

Entering the same variables in the same order as the multiple linear regression model presented above produces broadly similar results. The most noteworthy point from model 1 is that having parents in service class occupations increases the likelihood of experiencing inactive spells for young respondents. One would expect that the probability of exclusion from education and employment is greater for those coming from more disadvantaged origins. The findings from model 1 are at variance with this line of reasoning, one potential

explanation being that those from higher class families are more able to take time out for creative or leisurely purposes, such as travel. This is likely to represent a temporary recess from learning and work, which is different from the problems associated with NEET and non-participation central to this project. This further demonstrates the need for longitudinal analysis, argued throughout (see chapters 3, 4, 6 and 8). The effects of location and social capital are not significant in this model.

Model 2 introduces gender and age and these both exert significant effects on the outcome. Males are far likelier to have been inactive, as are respondents aged below 20 compared to those aged 20-24, which is understandable considering that the older group are more likely to have found secure, continuous employment. That the probability of males being inactive is greater than for females is more difficult to account for. The effect of service or intermediate class background remains significant in this model, although it is smaller. Norms also emerges as significant in model 2 (Exp B =1.119, $p < .05$), but location does not.

Finally, model 3 sees class background still exerting a significant effect, along with age and gender. This model adds educational qualifications, with those having achieved GCSE or equivalent least likely to have been inactive. This is probably because the younger section of this group is not old enough for the elective inactivity mentioned above, and those who left school to work probably have been in continuous employment and thus avoided spells of inactivity. Again, synchronic analysis is limited as to what it can tell us here. This applies especially to rural/urban location, which is not a significant predictor in any of the logistic regression models. The following chapter will ascertain whether this remains true over the course of time once other variables are taken into account.

Table 7.19: Logistic regression model, outcome 'is inactive or has been in past year', BHPS respondents under 25.
 ***p<.001, **p<.01 *p<.05. N=1827

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B(SE)	Exp(B)	B(SE)	Exp(B)	B(SE)	Exp(B)
Rural (ref urban)	.057(.106)	1.059	.148(.113)	1.159	.132(.114)	1.141
Parental class (ref manual)						
No class data	.954(.184)***	2.597	.494(.195)*	1.639	.551(.197)**	1.735
Service class	.569(.282)*	1.767	.529(.293)	1.698	.490(.295)	1.633
Intermediate class	.310(.359)	1.363	.251(.374)	1.285	.327(.381)	1.386
Social capital						
Networks	-.021(.048)	.980	-.010(.050)	.990	-.027(.051)	.974
Norms	.026(.049)	1.026	.112(.052)*	1.119	.058(.054)	1.060
Under 21(ref aged 21-24)			-1.374(.104)***	.253	-1.520(.112)***	.219
Male (ref female)			.206(.101)*	1.228	.186(.102)	1.205
Highest ac. quals (ref none)						
Has degree					.185(.238)	1.204
A level					.144(.192)	1.155
GCSE					-.527(.186)**	.591
Constant	-.949(.195)	.387	-.047(.227)	.954	.168(.278)	1.183
2x log likelihood	2496.453		2306.838		2268.565	

7.5 - Summary

After introducing a range of indicators of social capital, I concluded that a two factor solution was most appropriate for the 16-24 BHPS sample, with factors representing norms and networks. To explore the effect of these variables on net monthly earnings, I entered these into a multiple linear regression model along with parental class, rural/urban location, age, gender and qualifications achieved.

The data has presented challenges, namely with small samples, low variation on some variables and high numbers of invalid cases for important predictors (particularly parental class). Nevertheless, it is still safe to draw several

conclusions from this chapter. Fear of crime, racism and vandalism are more widespread in urban areas, and these factors negatively affect young people's earnings. Furthermore, rural location decreases the likelihood of high earnings, which is unsurprising considering that more young people in urban areas hold higher status jobs. That the effects of location and norms on the outcome variable are so clearly different proves that both predictors have a distinct relationship with earnings, and that one cannot be directly explained by the other.

Pay differences according to location are greater for females, with rural females earning lower pay than urban females, and the earnings gap larger than for rural and urban males. The data analysed here offer no support for hypotheses suggesting that networks are helpful in securing work or better pay for young people, although this is possibly due to the inadequate validity of measures used. Norms, however, proved a significant predictor of earnings, attesting to the view that social capital is a protean concept, and is highly relevant to this investigation. The evidence reviewed in earlier chapters suggests it is still worth exploring the effect of location over time. Hence, the findings of this chapter must be supplemented by the longitudinal analysis in chapter 8.

CHAPTER 8: THE PAY PENALTY PERSISTS: LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS OF MIGRATION AND LABOUR MARKET OUTCOMES

In the previous chapter, I used 2007/8 BHPS data to demonstrate that young people in rural areas are likely to earn less than urban counterparts, despite rural earnings³ overall (for all ages) being higher. This must be regarded as part of the broader situation concerning rural youth, who also face higher living costs, fewer prospects for promotion and less job security, as evidenced in chapter 3. I have argued throughout that youth opportunities and outcomes in employment and education must be analysed longitudinally. A static account of a young person's circumstances merely represents a single observation point in the overall trajectory of their development, so there is a clear need to take a long view of the issues in question.

In this chapter, I use data from BHPS waves 1-18 combined with the BHPS conditional access regional identifier dataset to consider rural/urban migration patterns and labour market outcomes. In section 8.1, I discuss the data and measures used. Section 8.2 provides descriptive statistics, and section 8.3 considers some issues in analysing longitudinal data. Section 8.4 supplies life tables of migration, finding that rural youth are more likely to migrate, and at a younger age.

Section 8.5 analyses earnings. Firstly, I show that while rural earnings are higher overall, young people are the exception to this, suggesting a distinctly youth disadvantage in labour market outcomes. Next, I use linear mixed models to

³ Please note that while Defra (2012b) figures put rural earnings as lower, this is because their analysis uses the broader Local Authority classifications, as opposed to the more precise ONS definition of Output Areas, used here. For a discussion of these different measures, please refer back to section 2.1.5.

track the earnings of respondents aged under-25 in 1991 until 2008/9. I show that respondents of rural origin see their earnings increase at a slower rate, even as they enter their thirties, regardless of current location. However, rural earnings overall rise quicker than urban pay, indicating that rural *origin* proves disadvantageous in terms of labour market remuneration, while rural *location* does not. Finally, I follow earnings according to combinations of rural/urban origin and current location. This reveals that rural youth who stay in rural areas throughout the observation period earn less than all other groups, pointing to the need for young people to relocate in order to command higher wages. I adduce evidence that rural and urban wages are roughly equal for older participants, despite urban youth earning more than rural peers, illustrating how the rural/urban earnings gap is a disadvantage particular to young people that can persist for years for those who stay rural.

8.1 - Data

This chapter uses data from BHPS waves 1-18, mostly to track respondents aged under-25 in 1991 throughout the time they remain in the sample (use of the data varies slightly in certain sections, guidance on this is provided at the appropriate junctures). The potential of a longitudinal dataset such as BHPS is maximised by analysing data from the highest possible number of waves. If a secondary dataset covers a longer period, it is correspondingly less likely that one researcher alone could collect such data given constraints on time and resources. The opportunity to follow young participants over 18 years, with annual data collection and variables relevant to the research questions, is a unique strength of BHPS. Such

comparisons of rural and urban locations have not been conducted in the British context, so this chapter represents an original contribution to the literature on rural youth, and addresses the call for longitudinal research into employment for young people.

The sample used for most of this chapter comprises each respondent from wave 1 aged under 25 at the time of first interview, adhering to the definition of youth adopted in previous chapters. These 1991 youth remain in the sample until dropping out of the survey, or until the final data collection point (wave 18, 2008/9). These respondents are aged 15-24 in wave 1. By wave 18, the oldest are aged 42. No respondents entering the survey for the first time after wave 1 have been included in the sample here. This generates 18,848 person-period observations from 1,594 individuals.

Among the under-25 sample in wave 1 the ages are split fairly uniformly, save for a smaller number of 15 year olds. There are slightly more male respondents (51%), and the proportion of urban respondents (82.8%) is higher than in the wave 17 data used in chapter 5 (70%). As mentioned there, the Rural Advocate places the rural population of England at 19.1% in 2007. However, the full UK BHPS dataset has 30% rural respondents. England is the most urban of these nations (see chapter 7 for full discussion), so including Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland adds more rural cases to the sample. BHPS wave 1, which is the starting point for the dataset used in this chapter, contains no respondents from Northern Ireland. In Scotland only 14.3% of respondents are rural, a lower proportion than England and Wales (17.5%), so the disparity of rural/urban sampling between wave 1 and wave 17 is partly explained by these factors. The

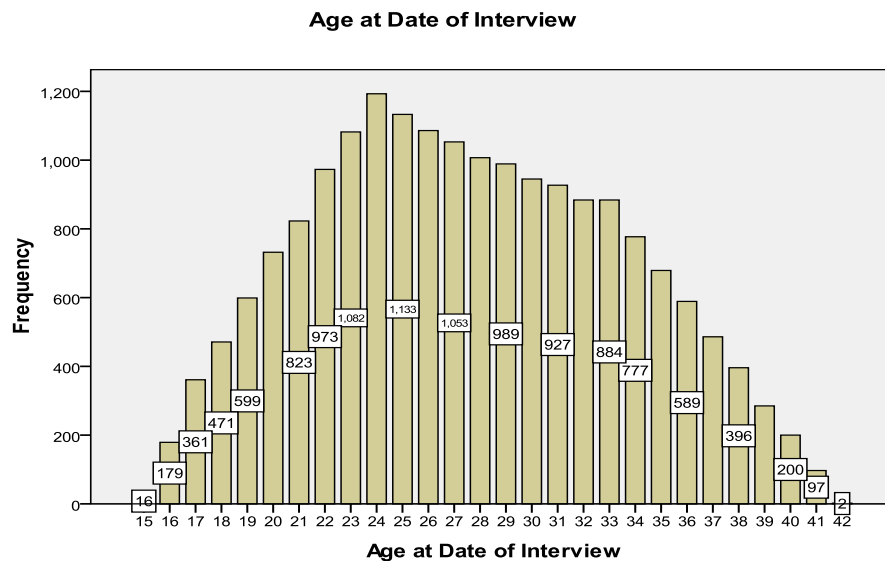
descriptive statistics for age, gender and rural/urban location are tabulated in appendix 8.

Figure 8.1 shows the age distribution for the full 1991 youth cohort person-period dataset over the entire 18 year observation window. There are 299 data points with respondent age at 40 and above, illustrating the scope of the dataset for conducting longitudinal analysis. Chapter 7 documented the pay disparity for under-25s in 2007/8, yet the data used here enables analyses of trajectories and destinations over 18 years. An individual's earnings by age 25 might not accurately reflect their eventual career success, as it is common for young people to take time out for travelling and leisure purposes (Jones 2004, Heath 2007:89), or to change careers (Furlong and Cartmel 1997), or pursue further studies (Boorman and Ramsden 2009). All of these postpone or disrupt entry to the labour market and are likely to result in shallower earnings slopes and delay of other outcomes. Following respondents until later in life where possible produces a truer account of their development, the importance of which has been argued throughout. The full 18 wave dataset contains more observations for females (51%) than males (49%), and the proportion of rural respondents is again lower than may be expected given the rural/urban composition discussed in chapter 7 and the data used there. Again, these descriptive statistics can be found in appendix 8.

Attrition is inevitable with panel data over 18 years, but BHPS performs respectably in this regard. Roughly half (50.6%) of the young people interviewed in 1991 (n=1594) remain in the sample by 2008/9 (n=806), which is impressive retention of a traditionally elusive age group (although as mentioned, some

respondents are over 40 by wave 18, hardly youths any more). In the next section, I explore patterns of rural/urban migration over the full observation period.

Figure 8.1: age of respondent for each person-period observation, BHPS waves 1-18, respondents aged under 25 in wave 1 (1991). Total n = 18848.



8.2: Descriptive statistics on rural/urban migration

In this section I look at whether young people are more likely to move from rural to urban locations or vice versa. The older age profile of rural Britain is well documented in the literature (Lowe and Speakman 2006, Hardill and Dwyer 2011), forming a key part of Cloke's (1977) typology for example. However, it has been suggested that youth out-migration from rural areas has declined (Bynner et al 2000:18; Burgess 2008b:2). Official projections forecast that the rural population in Britain will rise by 2.57 million over the 21 years up to 2025 (Champion 2009:163).

The BHPS data predates this observation, and respondents in later waves can no longer be classed as youth. This longer view is necessary to ascertain when people migrate, as a precursor to understanding the consequences.

Before presenting the data, it is worth noting one potential limitation of the time measure used in this chapter. Annual data collection points are used as the emphasis is on migration and labour market trends over a lengthy period. The opportunity to track respondents over 18 years holds greater potential to illuminate the issues in question than focussing on more frequent data points. In practice, earnings fluctuations can be understood more meaningfully by monitoring changes on a yearly basis than by using a finer metric. The variable 'usual net monthly earnings' has been selected to gauge regular income as opposed to additional or occasional pay, which could misrepresent respondents' true earnings and bias the analysis. This approach could miss migration between waves, so short-term return movement (under one year) is not accounted for, although it is unlikely that even temporary moves or return migration occur so quickly, suggesting this metric offers sufficient depth along with substantial breadth.

Half of the 1991 respondents remain in the sample until the final data collection point in 2008/9, and this subsample is used for the analyses in this section. I define rural/urban origin by the respondent's location in wave 1 using the definitions detailed in chapter 7. Unfortunately the data contains no information on location and migration prior to this, making this the best starting point. The proportions of gender and rural/urban origin roughly reflect those from the original wave 1 youth sample. The proportion from rural origins remaining in wave 18 is marginally higher (wave 1 = 17.2%, wave 18 = 18.6%) than urban respondents,

yet this difference is not large enough to make inferences about relationships between rural/urban origin and likelihood of attrition.

Of these individuals, two-thirds (66.4%) have never moved between rural and urban areas. A higher proportion of respondents from urban locations (in 1991) have never migrated (72.7%) than those from rural areas (38.7%), suggesting that rural youth are more likely to seek different surroundings. The results for gender differences are not statistically significant but can be found in appendix 8. This is a somewhat simplistic way to convey migration figures, but still illustrative of the general trend. Sections 8.4 and 8.5 take this further by using life tables to explore rural/urban movement, and analysing the consequences for employment outcomes using Linear Mixed Models. These sections draw on all observations in the 18 year dataset, including data from respondents who did not partake in all waves.

Table 8.1: BHPS wave 1 respondents aged under 25 in wave 1 and remaining in wave 18 by whether they have migrated and rural/urban origin. Chi-square = 63.140, df=1, p<.001

	Rural %	Urban%	Total%
Has never migrated	38.7	72.7	66.4
Has migrated	61.3	27.3	33.6
N	150	656	806

Having established that rural youth are more likely to migrate during the 18 year observation window, it follows that the ages at which people move between rural and urban areas should be explored. The literature indicates that the peace and quiet of rural areas, along with a stronger sense of community, less crime and less pollution, are regarded as attractive features (Hodge et al 2002:458; Burgess 2008a:63). These would probably be appreciated more by somewhat older

people, assuming that younger people prefer the action of towns and cities along with perceived greater opportunities there (Champion and Speakman 2006:3).

The previous chapter already revealed that rural youth face a pay penalty and higher living costs, both of which suggest that they may favour urban living when migration is possible for them. Nevertheless, table 8.1 shows how 1991 urban youth also move to rural areas, presumably in search of the benefits alluded to above.

If all respondents who have not experienced migration between rural and urban areas over all 18 waves are removed from the sample, 271 respondents remain. Some individuals in the dataset have moved more than once yet these tables yet here present findings for only the first move. Table 8.2 displays the mean and median ages of first rural/urban migration by geographical origin. Rural origin respondents are likelier to move as seen above, and here it is clear that they also move younger (mean =25.10, median=24) than urban youth (mean 27.63, median=27). This is consistent with expectations on motivations for moving, with older migrants more inclined to seek the relative tranquil of rural life, and younger people attracted to the city (Champion and Speakman 2006). No 15 or 16 year olds in this subsample have migrated, but migration continues throughout the age range, with the oldest rural-to-urban migrant aged 38, and the oldest urban-to-rural migrant aged 41. The standard deviation of mean age of first migration is lower for respondents of rural origin, which could mean that people perceive the age window within which migration is viable to be narrower if they originate from rural areas.

Table 8.2: Age of first rural/urban migration by rural/urban origin. $T = 3.909$, $df = 269$, $p < .001$.

	N	Mean	Std. D	Median	Minimum	Maximum
Rural	92	25.10	4.398	24.00	17	38
Urban	179	27.63	5.357	27.00	17	41
Total	271	26.77	5.185	26.00	17	41

I have shown that young people in rural areas are more likely to move to urban areas than urban youth are to migrate to rural areas, and that rural-to-urban migrants move at a younger age. However, return migration is another issue. It is possible that people move between the two types of location temporarily (Milbourne 2007), although as mentioned above, the dataset only reports location annually. Table 8.3 shows that young people residing in urban areas in 1991 are more likely to have experienced return migration by 2008/9. This is again restricted to those for whom data is available for all waves from 1991-2008/9. Of the 271 1991 youth cohort remaining until wave 18, 153 have experienced return migration. 52 have followed the rural-urban-rural pattern, with 101 taking the urban-rural-urban route. The differences according to rural/urban origin are virtually non-existent, which coupled with the small total number of returners leads to this finding being not statistically significant.

Table 8.4 shows the average age of return migration to be almost identical between respondents from rural and urban origins. The numbers here are small making further analysis difficult, but it shows that movement between rural and urban areas occurs in both directions and is not necessarily permanent. The findings from this section show that such transitions are likelier among those in their mid-twenties and older. Migration is perhaps beyond the reach of younger people, who may face financial barriers or be unwilling to leave their local area or families so young. In later sections, I show that migration leads to higher

earnings, particularly for rural youth. I now discuss some issues in longitudinal data analysis.

Table 8.3: Whether has returned to rural/urban area by rural/urban origin. BHPS wave 1 respondents under 25 remaining in wave 18. Chi-square = 0.00, df = 1, ns

	Rural %	Urban%	Total%
Has returned	43.5	43.6	43.5
Has not returned	56.5	56.4	56.5
N	92	179	271

Table 8.4: Age of return migration by rural/urban origin. BHPS wave 1 respondents under 25 remaining in wave 18 T=.390, df=151, ns.

	N	Mean	Std. D	Median	Minimum	Maximum
Rural	52	29.27	5.022	29.00	20	41
Urban	101	28.94	4.888	29.00	18	39
Total	153	29.05	4.920	29.00	18	41

8.3: On analysing longitudinal data

The subsample used to represent rates of return migration is small, and data from all respondents in the original 1991 cohort who leave the survey before 2008/9 have been lost by framing the analysis in this manner. Using survival analysis allows for all data for each respondent to be used, even if they do not contribute to all 18 waves, so information on migration can be gained from all 18,848 person-period observations. It has been suggested that adding even one more data collection point can dramatically improve the models constructed, so maximising the use of the data in this fashion is worthwhile (Singer and Willett 2003:42).

This approach is attractive as following respondents for as long as they partake in the survey enables the researcher to use more data, which can be

highly informative. For example, data collected over 17 years instead of the full 18 can still be germane to the research question, so dropping cases with no data for some waves is essentially a missed opportunity (Verbeke and Molenberghs 2009:211). There are shortcomings that must be addressed, however. The dataset also suffers from left-censoring as limited data on location prior to BHPS wave 1 is available. Thus, any migrations occurring before 1991 are unaccounted for, and spells of unemployment or inactivity ahead of wave 1 are also missed. This could omit a critical part of a respondent's trajectory, for example someone aged 24 in 1991 may have experienced unemployment by this age. Even a dataset with the scope of BHPS is not perfect. More notably, right-censoring also occurs as only half of the original 1991 youth sample participates as far as wave 18, with attrition increasing wave-by-wave. This unbalanced panel does not prevent analysis of event occurrence using the methods outlined above; it simply means there are missing data, almost inevitable with longitudinal designs. I now revisit the issue of migration before turning to outcomes in education and employment where migration is treated as an independent variable as opposed to an outcome event.

8.4: Who is more likely to migrate? Survival analysis

In this section, the 1991 youth cohort data is used, so all respondents aged under-25 in wave 1 are tracked until they experience rural/urban migration, drop out of the survey or reach wave 18. Producing a life-table with time (expressed here as wave number) as the dependent variable, rural/urban migration as the outcome event, and rural/urban origin as the grouping variable, generates the results seen in table 8.5. BHPS data is collected annually, and there is no guarantee that

migration, or any given event, happens isochronously as respondents are only surveyed once each year. Therefore, every data collection point must be treated as the year prior to data collection, as each wave of data summarises the respondents' status according to their actions since the last wave.

Life tables including raw event occurrence frequencies are in appendix 8, although they may be somewhat misleading given the vastly larger urban subsample. For clearer interpretation, only three statistics are included here in table 8.5: first, the cumulative survival rate, which shows the proportion of each subsample *not* experiencing migration during the year leading to the annual data collection point. Next, the hazard rate, expressing the chance that respondents will migrate during a given time period, and finally, the number of rural or urban migrations as a fraction of the total moves. All of these are more informative than raw totals, which have consequently been omitted here for parsimony.

Of the 1991 under-25 cohort, rural youth display a higher hazard rate from wave 2 until wave 10, from which point it is similar to that of urban respondents. This reflects the point made earlier, that migration away from rural areas is likely to occur younger than migration toward rural areas. In wave 10, where the hazard rates draw level, respondents are aged 26-34, and as discussed above, factors attracting people to rural life are likely to appeal more to this age group, whose career and family situations are more likely to be stable compared with younger counterparts. This is also supported by the median age of first rural/urban migration being three years older for those moving *to* rural areas rather than away from them (see above). The cumulative survival rates are higher in the urban subsample (urban = .87, rural = .75), as is also displayed in figure 8.3. Figure 8.4 displays the hazard function, which is the proportion of non-migrants at the start of

the interval who migrated during the year. This confirms that rural-to-urban moves occur more frequently throughout the observation period, although the gap narrows in later waves with respondents becoming older and therefore presumably more enticed by the attractions of rural life outlined above.

Table 8.5: Rural/urban migration cumulative survival/hazard rates. BHPS waves 1-18, all respondents aged under 25 in wave 1. CS=cumulative survival, HR=Hazard rate. Out-migrations expressed as fraction of total migrations in wave

Wave	CS rural	CS urban	HR rural (S.E)	HR urban (S.E)	Rural>urban migrations	Urban>rural migrations
1	1.00	1.00	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0	0
2	.99	1.00	0.008 (0.002)	0.003 (0.001)	24/71	47/71
3	.98	.99	0.010 (0.002)	0.003 (0.000)	27/62	35/62
4	.97	.99	0.008 (0.002)	0.002 (0.000)	21/48	27/48
5	.96	.99	0.013 (0.002)	0.003 (0.001)	32/64	32/64
6	.95	.99	0.010 (0.002)	0.003 (0.001)	22/49	27/49
7	.95	.98	0.008 (0.002)	0.004 (0.001)	15/46	31/46
7	.93	.98	0.013 (0.003)	0.004 (0.001)	23/55	32/55
9	.93	.97	0.008 (0.002)	0.004 (0.001)	13/40	27/40
10	.92	.97	0.006 (0.002)	0.003 (0.001)	8/27	19/27
11	.91	.97	0.010 (0.003)	0.005 (0.001)	12/39	27/39
12	.90	.96	0.014 (0.004)	0.007 (0.001)	14/45	31/45
13	.89	.95	0.013 (0.004)	0.006 (0.001)	11/33	22/33
14	.88	.95	0.006 (0.003)	0.006 (0.001)	4/23	19/23
15	.87	.94	0.009 (0.004)	0.008 (0.002)	5/25	20/25
16	.86	.93	0.013 (0.006)	0.008 (0.002)	5/19	14/19
17	.84	.91	0.022 (0.010)	0.021 (0.005)	5/26	21/26
18	.75	.87	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	9/23	14/23

Figure 8.3: Survival function for first rural/urban migration according to rural/urban origin, BHPS wave 1 respondents aged under 25 in 1991.

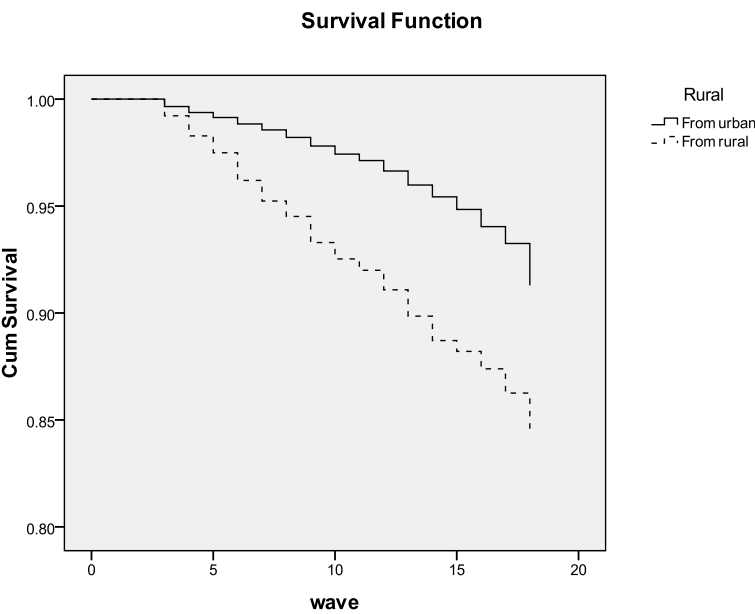
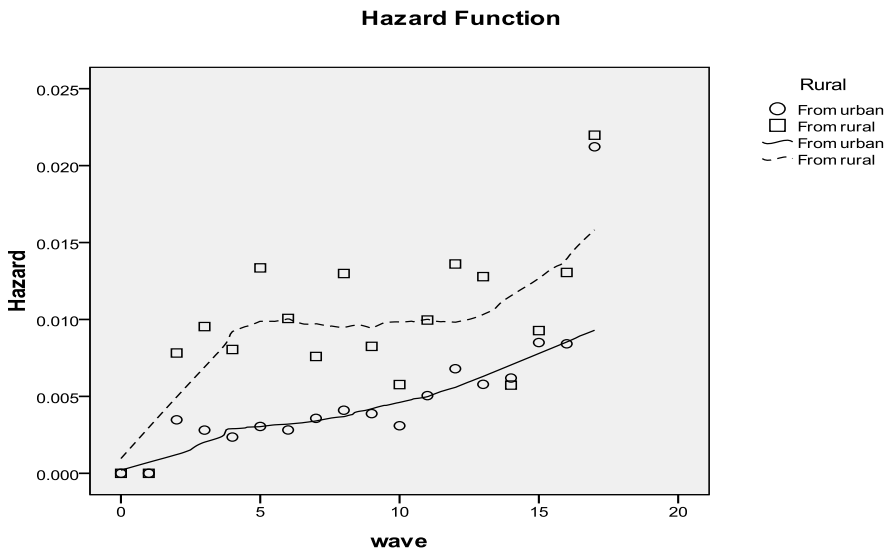


Figure 8.4: Hazard function for first rural/urban migration according to rural/urban origin, BHPS wave 1 respondents aged under 25 in 1991.



Having shown how rural/urban origin influences rural/urban migration, I now analyse the importance of migration on earnings. After establishing that migration

to rural areas is likely to occur later in life than moves in the opposite direction, I now assess the implications for labour market outcomes.

8.5: Earnings

In this section I explore differences in earnings according to rural/urban location and origin, using linear mixed models (LMMs) to determine where pay is higher, and how this has altered over time. Again, data from BHPS waves 1-18 are used, following the 1991 youth cohort for as long as they remain in the survey. As discussed in the previous chapter, earnings are a reliable proxy of job status (European Commission 2001:79), and are important to consider against the background of higher living costs in rural Britain (Smith et al 2010:37). I look firstly at how rural/urban differences in earnings have fluctuated over the observation period. I find that while rural earnings are higher for respondents of all ages, this is not the case for under-25s. Urban youth earnings are higher during recent years, suggesting unfavourable labour market returns for young people in rural areas. I then use LMMs to ascertain how earnings have fluctuated over time, with rural/urban location and origin used as predictors. In all analyses that follow, net monthly earnings (in British pounds) are adjusted for inflation using the retail prices index (RPI) during the month of each survey. This enables more meaningful longitudinal comparisons. To begin, I compare the RPI adjusted earnings of all BHPS respondents from waves 1-18 according to location, before replicating this comparison for under-25s.

8.5.1: Rural/urban earnings 1991-2008/9

Figures 8.7 and 8.8 display earnings data from all individuals participating in BHPS waves 1-18, including those who first took part later than wave 1, and any who dropped out before the final data collection point. Rather than tracking particular participants, these charts simply compare overall median earnings from 1991-2008/9 according to *current* rural/urban location at the time of survey, so the use of the BHPS data is slightly different to the analyses presented so far in this chapter. This gives 253,462 person-period observations over 18 waves.

Respondents of all ages are included (figures 8.7 and 8.8) to compare the earnings for all respondents to that of youth (figures 8.9 and 8.10). This graphic representation is intended as a precursor to the multivariate analysis comprising the next part of this chapter. Median earnings have been used to overcome sensitivity to extreme values, and respondents reporting no earnings have been excluded to prevent distorted findings.

Figure 8.7 shows that usual net monthly earnings, when adjusted for RPI, are higher in urban areas and have been since 1993, the only year where rural earnings were higher. The median pay gap was £30 per month in 2008 (rural £1101, urban £1131). While hourly earnings may reflect more accurately the reward for time spent at work, the monthly context is more meaningful given that outgoings which must be covered are usually monthly (see chapter 7). This could produce misleading findings regarding part-time workers, so focussing on full-time employees ensures fairer comparisons. Figure 8.8 compares rural and urban wages for respondents working 30 or more hours per week at the time of survey, leaving 99,211 person-period observations. Here, median rural earnings are

higher since 2005, with a £46 difference in 2008/9 (rural = £1400, urban = £1354). This could be considered surprising given the rural pay penalty highlighted in chapter 7, although those findings were based only on earnings for young people. The earnings gap reported here, for all workers and full-time employees, amounts to under £50 per month in all waves. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that rural earnings are higher for full-time workers of all ages, whereas all the evidence so far has suggested that rural youth working full-time receive lower remuneration. I now look at whether youth earnings have followed a similar pattern.

Figure 8.7: Rural/urban median RPI adjusted net monthly earnings 1991-2008/9. BHPS respondents of all ages with pay>0. N=142548

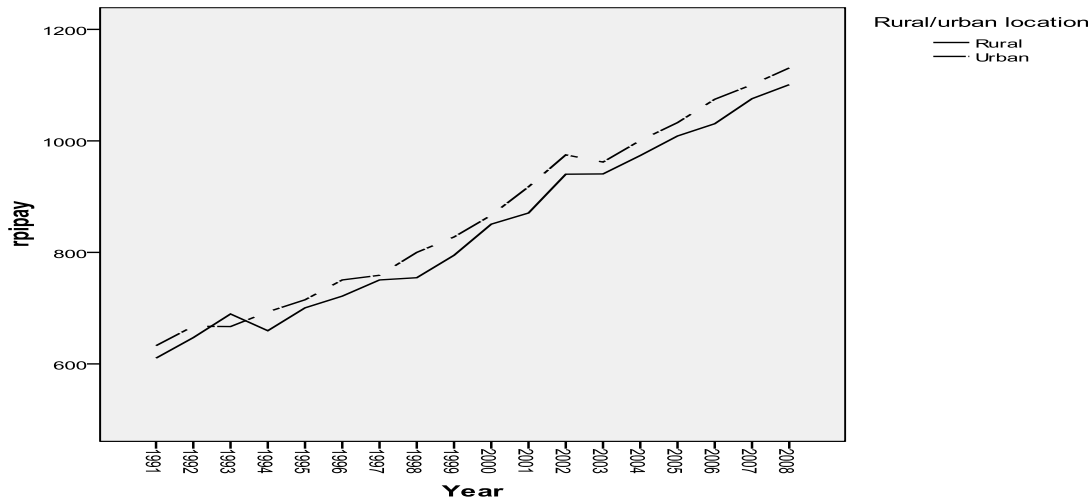


Figure 8.8: Rural/urban median RPI adjusted net monthly earnings 1991-2008/9. BHPS respondents of all ages in full time work. N=91486

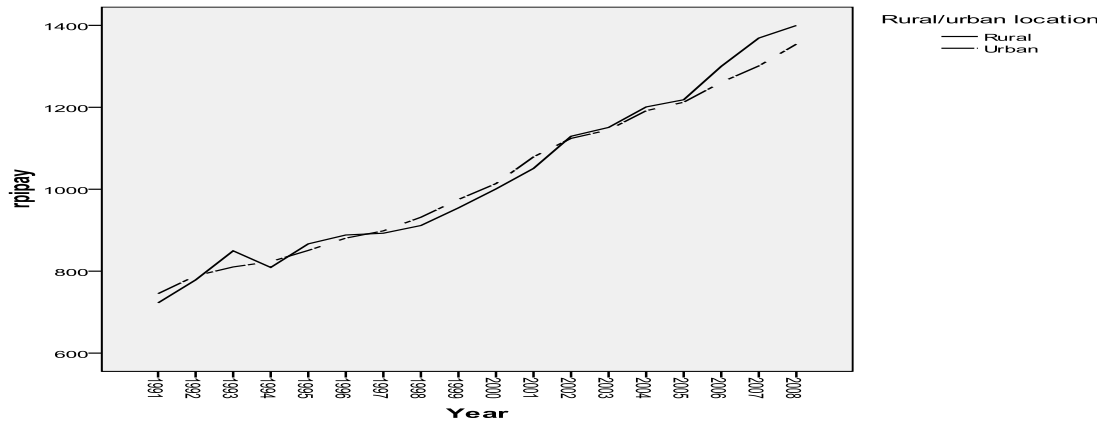


Figure 8.9 shows that urban youth have earned more than rural counterparts since 1993, with the current median difference of £43 per month (rural £710, urban £753). The difference is actually more pronounced when the sample is restricted to full-time workers, with the gap widening since 2004, culminating in a median difference of £53 per month in 2008/9 (rural £870, urban £923). It seems that while urban youth have always earned more (although this pattern is not reflected in the figures for respondents of all ages), the gap has widened over recent years. So, while rural unemployment is slightly lower than in urban areas, the rewards for working in urban areas are becoming comparatively greater. This suggests an element of risk: while migration can be costly and there are no guarantees of employment, for those who do find work the dividends are greater than for those unable or unwilling to relocate.

Figure 8.9: Rural/urban median RPI adjusted net monthly earnings 1991-2008/9 BHPS respondents aged under 25 with pay>0.

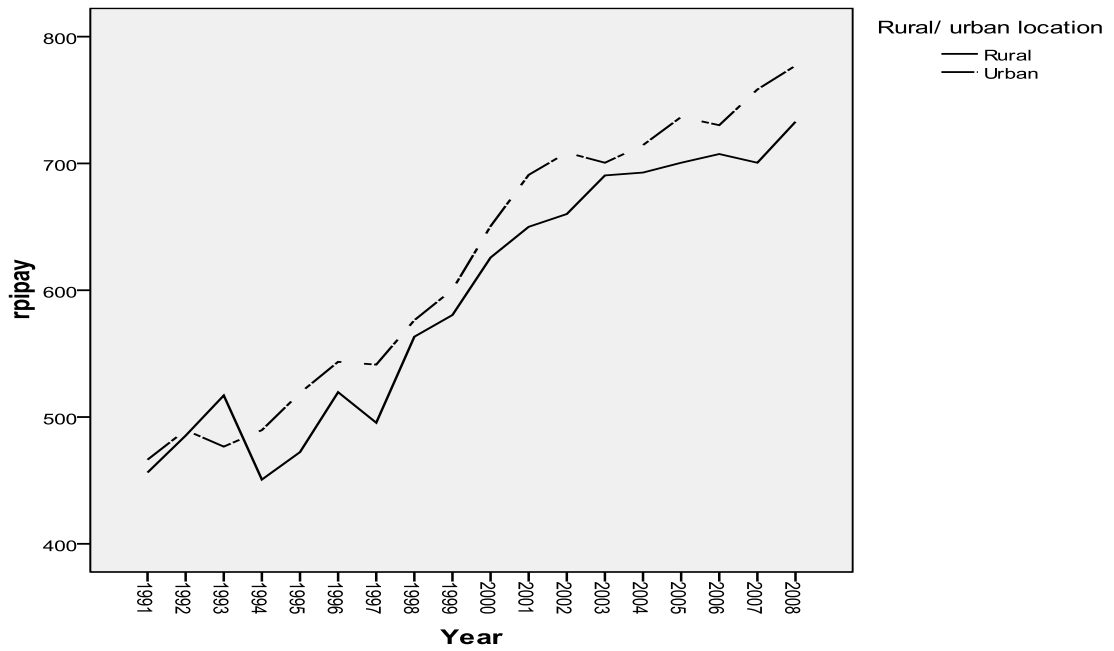
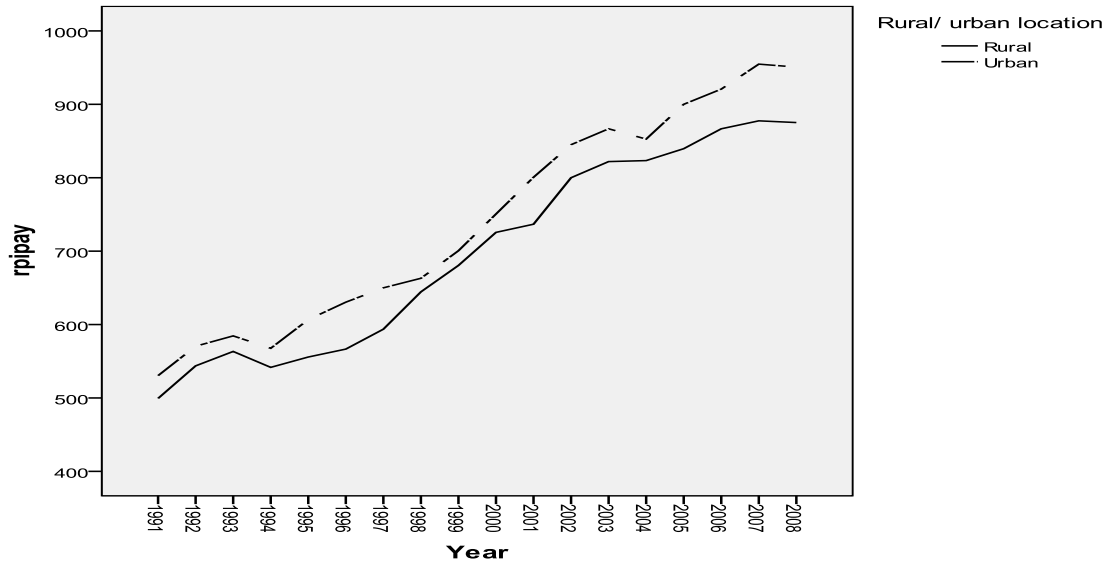


Figure 8.10: Rural/urban median RPI adjusted net monthly earnings 1991-2008/9 BHPS respondents aged under 25 in full-time work



8.5.2: Linear Mixed Models: the effect of rural/urban location and origin on earnings

The previous section followed the overall rural/urban differences in net monthly RPI adjusted earnings from 1991-2008/9. Now, I revert to tracking individual respondents aged under-25 in 1991 throughout the 18 waves, using the same dataset as for the analyses in sections 8.3 and 8.4. I use LMMs to determine the effect of rural/urban origin and current location on earnings over time. LMMs allow a continuous outcome variable, such as earnings, to be analysed in relation to both categorical and continuous predictors (Verbeke and Molenberghs 2009:1-4), a clear advantage of this method. Time, here corresponding to each wave of BHPS, can be included in the model as one such predictor (West et al 2007:219). Crucially, this approach also has the capacity for including time as a predictor, enabling analysis of earnings change in relation to other regressors across the observation period.

In tables 8.6 and 8.7, model A is the null model and simply shows the intercept for the full dataset, while model B includes time as a predictor to gauge its effect on earnings before the other variables are added in model C. In this full model, interaction effects between time and other predictors reveal the degree to which these additional predictors affect the outcome over time. Model C is specified using the following equation:

$$y_{ij} = [\gamma_{00} + \gamma_{10}time_{ij} + \gamma_{20}location_{ij} + \gamma_{30}origin_{ij} + \gamma_{40}gender_{ij} + \gamma_{50}location_{ij} \times time_{ij} + \gamma_{60}origin_{ij} \times time_{ij} + \gamma_{70}gender_{ij} \times time_{ij}] + [\zeta_{0i} + \zeta_{1i}time_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ij}]$$

The outcome variable y is RPI adjusted usual net monthly pay for individual i at observation point j . The predictor variable *time* represents the wave (year) of data, *location* refers to the rural/urban location of respondent i at observation point j , *origin* is rural/urban location in wave 1, while gender is a dichotomous variable with respondents not identifying themselves as male or female excluded from the analysis. Of the residual terms in the second brackets, ζ_0 is the time-invariant residual for individual i 's intercept and ζ_1 is the residual for individual i 's earnings slope. These terms represent the portion of the initial status and rate of change (respectively) still unexplained once the full set of predictors is added to the model. In practice, ζ_1 is multiplied by time before entering the equation, as the variation in each respondent's gradient caused by unobserved predictors differs between observation points. ε is the portion of the outcome for individual i which is unpredicted at point j , independently of the effect of the predictors location, origin and time.

There are two advantages of using LMMs here. Firstly, both time-varying and time-invariant predictors can be included in the analysis. This is especially useful given that rural/urban origin as defined in this study (see above) is time-invariant, while current location can change from wave to wave, and the longitudinal effects of both on earnings differ. Secondly, LMMs can analyse data with unequal numbers of observations per participant, which is an obvious strength given the susceptibility of longitudinal designs to attrition (West 2009:212), to which BHPS is no exception. Therefore, the same dataset as used throughout the bulk of this chapter is also used here, as opposed to taking a complete cases approach, which would reduce the sample size significantly (as was the case in the first part of section 7.3). All respondents aged under-25 in

BHPS wave 1 are tracked for as long as they remain in the survey, and the analysis focuses on how their earnings fluctuate over time according to rural/urban origin, current location, and gender. I find that while rural wages are lower overall, over time rural wages improve slightly compared to urban earnings. Rural origin, however, results in a pay penalty over the course of the observation window, suggesting that early career years spent outside of the larger towns and cities is a disadvantage in the labour market.

Table 8.6 displays the fixed effects for a model of net monthly RPI adjusted earnings, measured in September of each year, the month in which BHPS data is collected. All those reporting no earnings have been excluded from the analysis to prevent distortion of the results. Rural wages are lower overall (£84 per month, $p < .01$). Rural/urban origin and gender alone do not affect earnings significantly, but the interaction effects are the most important finding. Monthly real wages rise £45 year-on-year ($p < .001$) when controlling for location, origin and gender. Interestingly, net pay for those residing in rural areas at the time of the survey increases faster (£8.66 per year, $p < .01$) than for urban dwellers. One explanation could be the lower intercept, as wage increases are likely to be steeper if starting from a lower baseline. Respondents of rural origin see monthly earnings increase by £17 less year-on-year ($p < .001$) compared to those of urban origin. This could be interpreted as somewhat bleak, implying that rural location at that age imposes a pay penalty into one's thirties and forties (age of respondents by wave 18), although the picture is slightly more complex when migration is taken into account, as discussed below in section 8.5.3.

Table 8.6: Linear Mixed Model with RPI adjusted net monthly earnings as outcome variable. 1991-2008/9 BHPS respondents aged under 25 in 1991 with pay>0. Covariance structure: first order autoregressive. *= p<.001, **= p < .01, * = p<.05**

Parameter	Model A	Model B	Model C
Intercept	861.88 (12.45)***	360.67 (15.45)***	376.60 (15.07)***
Wave		61.88 (1.27)***	44.52 (2.66)***
Current rural (reference urban)			-83.71 (30.83)**
From rural (reference urban)			50.38 (35.51)
Male (reference female)			13.25 (19.79)
Interaction effects			
Current rural * wave (reference urban)			8.66 (3.08)**
From rural* wave (reference urban)			-16.77 (5.03)**
Male* wave (reference female)			34.00 (3.54)***
AIC	215310.289	206061.339	203839.987
BIC	215325.360	206083.945	203877.662

As part-time workers can confuse analyses of monthly earnings, table 8.7 replicates the model presented in table 8.6 but with only those employed 30 or more hours per week. Again, ‘current rural’ wages are lower overall, but the gap is reduced by £11 per month to £73 (p<.01) by removing part-time workers. This change probably reflects the relative scarcity of regular full-time work in some rural areas (see chapter 3). Full-time workers enjoy a year-on-year increase in monthly earnings of £62 overall, higher than for all workers (including part-time, as shown by the previous model) as anticipated. The interaction effects tell a similar story, with earnings in rural location rising faster than in urban areas, and with rural origin still proving punitive for pay (-£14 per month compared to urban, p<.01), although the effect is marginally lower than in the previous model. To summarise,

while rural wages have been rising at a quicker rate than urban earnings, simply being of rural origin brings respondents less pay throughout the 18 year observation window, and this pattern is only slightly reduced by focussing solely on full-time workers. In the final section, I look at how different combinations of location and origin affect earnings.

Table 8.7: Linear Mixed Model, outcome: RPI adjusted net monthly earnings. 1991-2008/9 BHPS data. Respondents aged under-25 in 1991, fulltime workers only. Covariance structure: first order autoregressive. *= p<.001, **= p < .01, * = p<.05**

Parameter	Model A	Model B	Model C
Intercept	977.81 (12.99)***	397.13 (15.73)***	415.79 (15.58)***
Wave		74.96 (1.40)***	64.07 (2.91)***
Current rural (reference urban)			-72.85 (30.68)**
From rural (reference urban)			23.02 (35.54)
Male (reference female)			14.27 (19.78)
Interaction effects			
Current rural * wave (reference urban)			8.79 (3.06)**
From rural* wave (reference urban)			-14.34 (5.23)**
Male* wave (reference female)			15.84 (3.68)***
AIC	151860.648	142139.857	140679.879
BIC	151875.033	142161.435	140715.838

8.5.3: Earnings according to rural/urban origin and current location: following the 1991 youth cohort

This final section continues analysis of the same outcome, net monthly RPI adjusted earnings, over the 18 waves of BHPS data. Once more the sample is the original 1991 cohort, so the dataset is that analysed in sections 8.3, 8.4 and 8.5.2. The emphasis here is on monitoring earnings fluctuations according to rural/urban

origin and current location. The previous section used LMMs to show how respondents of rural origin receive lower year-on-year pay increases than urban counterparts. However, rural/urban migration has already been identified as a significant determinant of labour market outcomes in earlier parts of this chapter. Thus, it follows that current rural/urban location may influence earnings, in addition to rural/urban origin. Here, I divide the 1991 youth cohort into four groups, defined by origin and location. I find that the rather fatalistic message conveyed by the LMMs presented above is actually more complex, and that the apparent disadvantage of rural origin can be mitigated by migration to urban areas.

Figure 8.11 shows that when following the 1991 youth cohort for as long as they remain in the sample, the lowest paid group by wave 18 are those who originate in rural areas and do not migrate to urban surroundings. This accounts for the wage penalty incurred by respondents of rural origin, as seen above (Tables 8.6 and 8.7). The difference is most pronounced when all workers are included in the analysis, as figure 8.12 shows that the disparity has decreased, but the 'stay rural' group are still the lowest earners by wave 18. The narrower earnings gap when the figures are restricted to full time workers probably reflects the relative prevalence of part-time and irregular work in rural areas (see chapters 3 and 6). These charts reveal two other important findings.

Firstly, earnings become higher for those originating from rural areas that move to urban locations. This indicates that while rural origin is disadvantageous with regard to earnings, as evidenced above, this can be overcome by moving to larger conurbations. Higher wages in urban areas for younger people may explain this. More large businesses in urban areas, likelier to offer promotion prospects,

are probably another cause. It is also possible that those taking the initiative to migrate stand a better chance of higher remuneration due to personal qualities which are unobserved in the dataset.

Secondly, respondents of urban origin that relocate to rural settlements also enjoy higher earnings than those in the 'stay rural' group. During the 18 year observation window, the age of respondents obviously increases accordingly, so the figures no longer reflect outcomes in *youth* employment. Instead, the analysis tracks the earnings potential of the 1991 youth cohort in relation to rural/urban origin and current location well into their adult years, and is therefore a representation of long-term labour market outcomes. Urban youth who later relocate to rural areas earn more than 'stay rural' respondents, suggesting that rural areas themselves do not necessarily impose a wage penalty. The fact that rural earnings have a significant, positive interaction effect with the time variable in the LMMs presented above attests to this.

While older respondents living in rural locations and working full-time can command higher pay (see above, figure 8.8), two issues remain. Firstly, remuneration for young workers is lower in rural areas, and has been since 1993. Secondly, those who stay in rural locations will earn less money as they get older than workers in urban areas, irrespective of the geographical origin of these urban dwellers. They will also earn less than those able to migrate to the larger towns and cities. In chapter 7 I cited evidence that rural youth are paid less. Now, it is clear that rural youth who do not migrate to urban areas will earn less money into their thirties and even early forties. Thus, it appears that the rural pay penalty for young people, identified in the previous chapter, persists beyond youth into the

thirties and forties for those remaining in rural areas. This must be considered alongside the evidence presented above (see figure 8.8) that rural earnings are higher overall for those who are working full-time. Rural origin alone does not lead to lower earnings, as people migrating to urban areas earn more. Equally, rural location alone does not lead to lower earnings for older respondents, as those migrating from urban to rural areas receive the highest pay. Instead, it is the combination of rural origin and location that exerts a negative effect on earnings, with those who ‘stay rural’ and work full-time being paid less throughout the observation period.

Figure 8.11: Median RPI adjusted earnings by rural/urban origin/location by year. All respondents aged under 25 in wave 1 and remaining in wave 18, with monthly earnings >0.

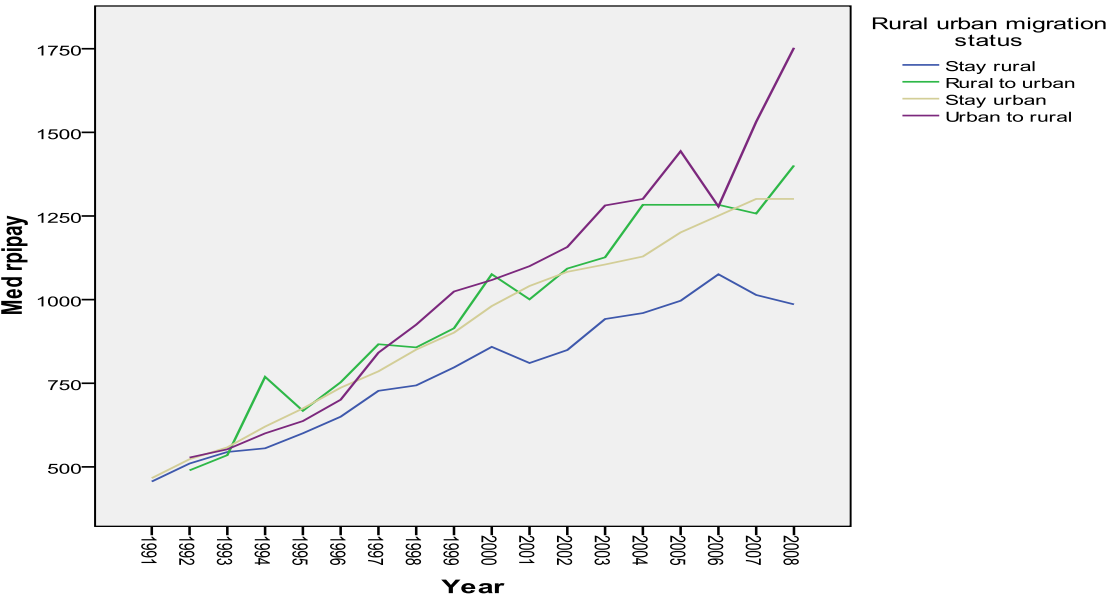
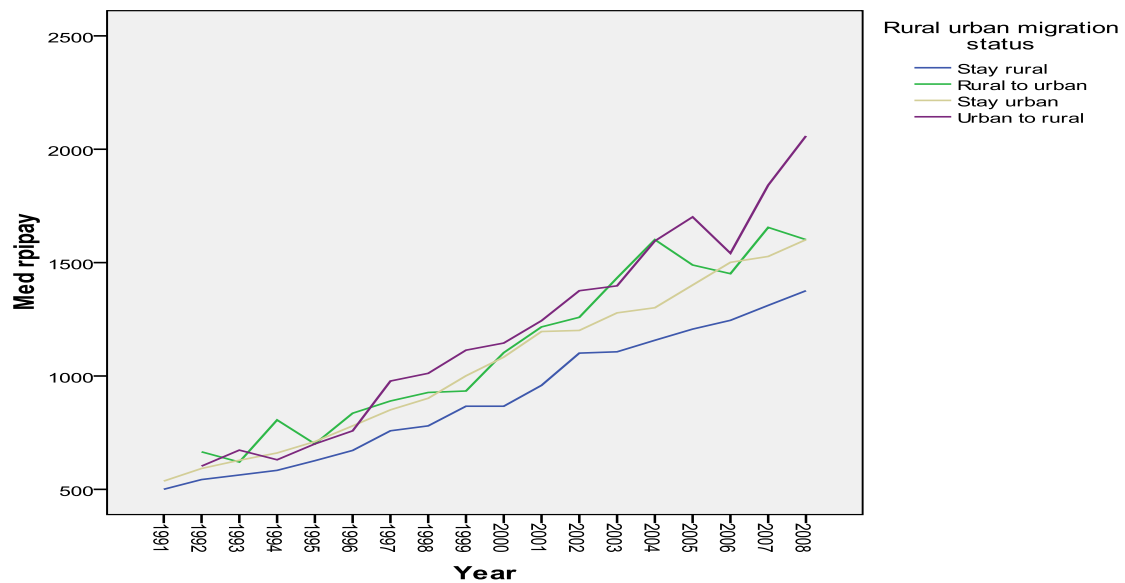


Figure 8.12: Median RPI adjusted earnings by year by rural/urban origin/location. All respondents aged under 25 in wave 1 and remaining in wave 18, in full-time employment.



In terms of explaining this pattern, evidence presented in chapter 3 suggests that rural workers are likelier to be in jobs where they feel less likely to gain promotion, which would suggest that earnings are stunted accordingly. The relative absence of big business in rural areas might contribute to this lack of opportunity, as larger firms are more likely to offer promotion prospects to employees. The limited range of jobs available locally may mean people are unable to leave positions they feel are remunerated inadequately for more lucrative jobs. Similarly, restricted options for education may also deter people from gaining qualifications which might be necessary to secure better paid work. The importance of qualifications to earnings is well documented, as was reiterated in chapter 7. Moreover, the prevalence of manual class occupations in rural areas, again discussed in chapter 7, is probably a factor.

This presents two challenges to policy makers. If living costs in rural Britain are higher, and wages are lower, what can be done to address this? If young people remaining in rural areas throughout the first decade of their career and

beyond face these greater living costs while their earnings increase at a slower pace than other groups, what can be done to ensure that they do not suffer? Less disposable income in rural locations surely acts to the detriment of local services like shops and pubs, which form the centre of the communities they serve. They are also most important to those less able to make use of more distant amenities, the poor, disables, old and young. If young people are disadvantaged in the rural labour market, the consequences for rural communities more broadly could be severe, and the disadvantage endured by these marginal groups will be compounded.

8.6: Summary

This chapter has addressed the need for longitudinal research into youth employment, providing an original contribution to the scarce literature on rural youth and using BHPS conditional access rural/urban indicators to study youth employment longitudinally for the first time. I found that rural youth are more likely to migrate to urban areas than vice versa, and when urban youth leave the towns and cities they do so at an older age. Shifting the focus to earnings, I revealed how rural wages are higher when all age groups are considered, but for young people urban areas offer higher pay. Despite this, rural wages have been increasing at a faster rate year-on-year, but rural origin causes one's earnings to rise more slowly than for those originating in urban locations. The rural origin pay penalty can be combated by moving to urban areas, but those remaining in rural settlements are paid less into their thirties and even early forties. While rural earnings are higher in 2008/9, the fact that youth earnings are lower points to an

unfavourable labour market for young rural workers. These findings complement those advanced in the previous chapter, and further outline the labour market disadvantages faced by rural youth, whether one takes a synchronic or longitudinal view.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS

9.1 - Introduction

9.1.1 – Chapter outline

Having discussed definitions of the rural, reviewed the literature on area effects, youth unemployment, rural disadvantage and social capital, and presented findings from static and longitudinal analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data, I now summarise the findings from the previous chapters. In doing so, I answer the overarching research question *to what extent is rural location a labour market disadvantage for young people?* This necessitates addressing each of the objectives stated in chapter 1. I find that rural location is a disadvantage with respect to employment for young people. Although youth unemployment in rural areas is lower overall, there are specific difficulties associated with rural location in terms of job opportunities, barriers to employment and labour market outcomes, as argued throughout and recapitulated here.

I go on to discuss ways in which the broader national and global context affects individuals and communities, with specific reference to the global financial crisis, subsequent austerity measures and the impact on businesses and public services. Finally, I conclude by making policy recommendations in light of the findings presented throughout, arguing that either job growth must be stimulated in rural areas alongside investment in transport, or the government should implement relocation schemes to move young people to areas of greater opportunity. Before discussing the findings, I reiterate the significance of this topic and outline the original empirical and theoretical contributions made by this thesis.

9.1.2 – Why should we care about rural youth employment?

Rural areas are wealthier overall than urban locations in Britain. Unemployment is lower. Educational attainment is higher (CRC 2012). So why devote attention to the problems faced by rural youth in the labour market, when more pressing priorities lie elsewhere? Presumably this is the logic guiding existing research on youth unemployment, which has focussed almost exclusively on urban areas, where youth unemployment is higher, and more visible. However, with rural residents comprising one fifth of the population, and the relatively aged demographic in rural Britain, rural youth are a minority within a minority. This is evidenced in the way the media, research and policy overlook the disadvantages they face as a direct result of their location.

Youth unemployment is high, and strategies aimed at rectifying this cannot afford to ignore substantial minorities such as rural youth. Policies to aid their entry to the labour market must be sensitive to the particular difficulties arising from location, such as limited transport and a lack of local jobs. Without incorporating such considerations into plans to address youth unemployment, solutions remain incomplete. This is not to say that government should prioritise rural youth over urban counterparts; instead, initiatives are needed to ensure they receive sufficient support. Measures to boost employment prospects for rural youth will differ from the approaches taken in urban areas, where the challenges are different. Concentrated intergenerational unemployment is perhaps more of an urban problem, but it still exists in rural areas. More importantly, issues of poor

transport and remoteness should be acknowledged so that geographic location does not disadvantage those in comparatively isolated communities.

9.1.3 - Contributions of this thesis

This project has made an original contribution to the literature on youth unemployment through placing emphasis on rural youth, often neglected in previous research (such as Bainbridge and Browne 2010). With one-fifth of the population residing in rural areas, this oversight by prior research creates inaccurate accounts of youth employment, and is addressed by this thesis. Direct comparisons of rural and urban youth employment opportunities and outcomes have been made here using both qualitative and quantitative data, not previously seen in the British context. There have been calls for longitudinal research into this topic (Bynner and Parsons 2002), prompted by the intermittent labour market participation experienced by many young people. This thesis has drawn on both primary and secondary longitudinal data in response to this call. Follow-up interviews with rural and urban youth have identified problems specific to location which would have been unobservable without adopting a longitudinal and comparative approach.

Conditional access regional identifiers combined with the regular BHPS individual datasets have enabled comparisons according to rural/urban location. This is the first time such data has been used for analysing youth. BHPS wave 17 includes numerous social capital indicators, crucial to the study of rural youth employment given the importance of informal networks to finding work in rural

areas, highlighted by past research (Cartmel and Furlong 2000, Mathews et al 2009). Analysis of BHPS data found that networks were not significant predictors of outcomes once in employment, but that norms and trust exert a significant, positive effect. Additionally, interview data from the fieldwork corroborated past research by attesting to the importance of networks. Using a mixed method design revealed the complex nature of social capital in relation to youth employment. This is a unique contribution theoretically and substantively.

Using data from 1991-2008/9 creates an 18 year observation window, and following original sample members throughout this period produces findings on pay disparities which could not have been unearthed through static analysis or the use of data with fewer observation points. This data structure also facilitated an analysis of rural/urban migration patterns confirming that moves away from rural areas are likely to occur at younger ages, and that moves to rural areas are more common among older respondents. Furthermore, the longitudinal and comparative analytical format has highlighted how the combination of rural origin and rural location leads to lower earnings, a unique finding generated by a unique approach.

The primary data complements the quantitative analysis by exploring youth transitions between unemployment, education and work during a shorter observation window and in a range of rural and urban locations. This element of the study was timely given the high youth unemployment and cuts to services witnessed as the research was undertaken. It is also appropriate at a time when policies aiding young people have been abolished, and youth frustration at a lack of prospects has been manifested recently in the summer 2011 riots, that young people's views are acknowledged. Giving voice to rural youth, a minority within a

minority so often marginalised by academic research, media and policy with regard to employment prospects, has been a major achievement of this project.

9.2 - Is rural location a labour market disadvantage for young people?

In this section, I address each of the four research objectives stated at the beginning of this thesis. To begin, I argue that work opportunities in rural areas are more limited. Fewer vacancies and the relatively restricted commuting range make finding work difficult for rural youth. Some distinctly rural jobs provide opportunities unique to such locations, but these are often low-skilled and low-paid. Such work also appears to exclude women. Rural youth may aspire to remain in rural jobs in rural areas, but no evidence exists that location exerts a detrimental effect on ambitions particular to rural or urban areas. The importance of family and role models outside of the household appear more crucial than location itself, suggesting these relationships are essential for developing aspirations. Barriers to labour market participation in rural areas are transport and the cost of relocation, which are not major obstacles confronting urban youth. Labour market outcomes are demonstrably worse for rural youth, despite rural wages being higher overall and rural areas enjoying lower unemployment. This amounts to a disadvantage for young people in rural areas.

This section concludes by considering the overall research question, *is rural location a labour market disadvantage for young people?* The answer is inevitably complex, but it appears that regarding opportunities, barriers and outcomes, rural

location and rural origin are disadvantages, particularly when combined. In the final section of this chapter, I contend that policy responses should be formulated to ensure that youth are not penalised purely by location. Place-based responses would be less effective than in urban areas where greater spatial concentrations of poverty are found, but more targeted interventions – area-based in that they are only suited to remote locations – are needed in rural districts.

9.2.1 - Do rural job markets offer more limited opportunities?

Previous studies indicate that the work opportunities available in rural areas are more limited. The evidence produced by this investigation supports this. Rural areas appear to offer fewer vacancies, and with less variety. Participants identified a lack of positions suitable for both unqualified young people and for those with higher levels of education. That young people at varying levels of educational attainment feel their local rural labour markets are lacking in jobs reflects the limited amount of work on offer. The overall consensus emerging from the fieldwork was that opportunities are indeed limited.

One possible explanation for the relative dearth of viable opportunities is that employed rural youth commute for shorter distances than urban counterparts (see chapter 3). That urban youth experience shorter travel-to-work times illustrates how urban areas contain more possible sources of employment within reasonable commuting range than rural districts, which are sparsely inhabited and characterised by greater distances between settlements. The prevalence of private vehicle use among employed rural youth also demonstrates how access to

a car is crucial for those living in remote locations. Urban areas usually boast more comprehensive transport links, and for this reason no urban respondents in the fieldwork attributed difficulties in finding work to their location.

Whilst rural labour markets offer more limited options, there are caveats. Firstly, a concern raised more frequently by urban respondents is competition for vacancies (Spielhofer et al 2011:11). This competition provoked hostility towards foreigners in rural locations, as observed in the existing literature (Phillimore et al 2008:26), but also in urban locations. The fieldwork also highlighted the diversity in urban youth labour markets, with one participant comparing the meagre prospects of her home city and the city where she attended university, the latter location providing an apparently plentiful supply of part-time work for successive cohorts of students.

Secondly, some jobs are uniquely rural, and there are young people choosing to pursue these occupations and remaining in rural areas as these jobs are not available in urban locations. From this, it could be argued that rural areas in fact offer some opportunities unavailable in urban areas. However, these jobs are likely to be low-paid, and can be seasonal or temporary (see chapter 3). Also, the fieldwork data showed how these distinctly rural occupations, such as gamekeeping, farming, agricultural mechanics are mostly a male preserve. The young rural females seeking to leave school straight for employment were all aspiring to careers in jobs which are not dependent on location, such as hairdressing and childcare. While it could be said that unique opportunities exist in rural labour markets, they appear restricted to males (see chapters 5 and 6).

Those in rural areas interested in non-rural careers presumably comprise the majority given the shift to post-productivist rural economy and the similarities in overall occupational structure between rural and urban areas (Cherry and Rogers 1996:110; Taylor 2008:123). For this group, opportunities are scarcer outside of the larger towns and conurbations. The lack of big business and nepotistic recruitment practices are major constraints (Spielhofer et al 2011:7; CRC 2012:40), perhaps reflected in higher numbers of rural respondents working in jobs where they feel they have no promotion prospects (see chapter 3), in turn reflected in lower wages for rural youth, of whom more are employed in manual occupations than urban counterparts (see chapter 7).

9.2.2 - How are aspirations influenced by location?

Spielhofer et al (2011) responded to suggestions that young people in rural areas may lack ambition by arguing that aspirations among youth in such locations are broadly similar to urban peers. They mostly seek entry into the same educational pathways and jobs. This is consistent with findings from research cited above stating that occupational structures in rural areas in Britain today effectively mirror those seen in the urban economy. HE institutions are almost exclusively situated in urban areas, which can deter people from applying (Spielhofer et al 2011:2). Working class people are seen as especially tentative about leaving home and committing to debt (Pationitis and Holdsworth 2005). These reservations are undoubtedly exacerbated by dramatic rises in student fees and increasing anxieties over the graduate job market. Both of these issues were prominent as

the fieldwork was conducted, between November 2010 and November 2011. Despite this, I found little evidence that pupils intending to study degrees are deterred by location. Here I must add the qualifier that as studying at home is the cheapest option and many rural youth are precluded from this due to location, aspirations regarding university study may change once the impact of higher fees can be analysed according to applicant location.

Some lifestyles and occupations are uniquely rural, and people pursue these by choice (Spielhofer et al 2011:20). The previous section outlined how these pastimes and jobs are typically male. Aspirations to work in farming or gamekeeping appear specific to rural areas, as do interests in off-road driving and hunting. This indicates a distinct rural identity, with the pursuit of such hobbies coupled with jobs neither offered nor desired in urban areas. While media proliferation and changes to the occupational structure have altered the rural/urban divide, a distinction rendered less definitive by the size and population density of Britain compared to some Western nations, this shows that suggestions of the rural/urban difference lapsing into redundancy (Palen 1979:155) are inaccurate. This study has operationalised location through use of a dichotomous measure, and the commonalities between the two types of location in terms of lived experience, hailed by Halfacree (1993) as so pivotal, suggest that a simplistic twofold conceptualisation may not be so empirically meaningful. In Britain the rural and urban intersect in many ways, but ultimately clear differences in youth labour market prospects characterise the two categories of location, justifying the definitions used throughout.

Rural Britain is not entirely insulated from urban life, and overlap between the two is commonplace. The number of people choosing to migrate between rural

and urban areas illustrates this (Burgess 2008a), as seen in chapter 8. Yet, the ages at which people migrate and their reasons for doing so show how differences remain. Those electing to stay in rural areas from youth until their thirties and forties will probably earn less money (see chapter 8), but this doesn't mean they lack ambition. The desire to relocate appears stronger in rural areas, yet some youth are happy to stay (see chapter 5). The attractions of rural life appeal to many people, and deriding them for voting with their feet makes inappropriate judgments about a minority of the population who rightly enjoy the freedom to remain in their local areas. In some cases this allows them to enjoy work and recreation unavailable in the cities, in others it simply means ensuring propinquity to family and friends. Attachment to place has been flagged up as a possible barrier to progress in areas of low opportunity (Green and White 2007), manifesting the negative impact of social capital discussed by Putnam (2000:362) and MacDonald et al (2005:884). However, this is not a distinctly rural phenomenon. Young people in all locations could benefit from experiencing unfamiliar surroundings and learning how their options might be broadened through expanding their geographical horizons.

During the fieldwork, youth workers claimed that attitudes towards leaving the local area to pursue education and employment were largely shaped by family. The presence of wealthy neighbours makes little difference, as interaction in rural communities can be minimal (see chapter 5). Nevertheless, positive role models beyond the home can compensate for cultural capital deficits (Spielhofer et al 2011:16). This refutes theories of 'contagion' effects, where the absence of affluent neighbours is much more important than the presence of low-income neighbours, posited in the studies reviewed by Brooks-Gunn et al (1993:383).

Crucially, it also stresses the need to invest in services providing youth with contact to careers workers or other adults, who can serve as role models or supply information on job opportunities. Existing research has found that young people deny the importance of family in forming aspirations (Spielhofer et al 2011:15-6), and data generated by my fieldwork offers some support for this. What is clearer is that young people recognise the importance of professionals concerned with their progress in education and employment, and that their influence produces tangible positive outcomes. Respondents attributed successes ranging from finding jobs to escaping crime and drugs to the efforts of interested adults. This suggests that the importance of weak ties (Granovetter 1973) also applies to youth and does so in diverse and crucial ways. Investing in these services boosts social capital in areas where opportunities to build bridges to employment are limited due to remoteness.

9.2.3 - How far are barriers to participation real or perceived?

Rural transport has been a recurring theme throughout this study and is a real barrier to participation in employment and education. This can be mitigated by access to private vehicles, which can be critical to seizing opportunities (Cartmel and Furlong 2000). Use of cars may mean seeking help from others, and it has been mooted that this may have a beneficial effect on communities, or instead create a demoralising sense of dependency (Huby et al 2009). The prevalence of private vehicle use among employed rural youth compared to urban counterparts attests to the importance of this means of transportation (see chapter 3).

There is evidence that transport assistance within the community enables young people to access opportunities in education and employment. Young people rely on lifts from family to attend work and college, and other contacts best conceived as weak ties also provide vital help to rural youth in this respect (see chapters 5 and 6). These connections do not represent strengthening of community, but reinforcement of ties which already exist. Links between community members are crucial for ensuring these young people are able to capitalise on opportunities that would otherwise be beyond their reach, but they do not symbolise the creation of new bonds, rather the consolidation of established connections. The difficulties of location can be overcome this way, but this is emblematic of the same problem concerning networks and employment articulated in previous chapters – they are highly important to those fortunate enough to have access, but little use to those who do not.

If public services are in decline, as is the case for rural transport networks, it is up to members of the community to fill the void. This study has revealed salient examples of this occurring. Sadly this also shows how in these circumstances, the universal availability of this assistance is a fallacy, and that many are excluded. In urban areas transport is frequently a perceptual barrier. People complain of the inconvenience of taking two buses, or having to walk for 15 minutes to catch one. In rural areas such journeys may not be difficult, but impossible. Thus, the barrier is not perceptual, it is real.

Qualifications can also be a barrier, and this can depend on location. Some people could of course be more proactive and less choosy in seeking work, but finding suitable employment in fairly remote communities served by infrequent and expensive public transport is difficult. Networks can be exclusionary, and work

seasonal or intermittent. While informal networks are more important to jobseekers in rural areas, owing to nepotistic recruitment practices and the relative lack of big business, this is also an issue facing urban youth. The need for personal contacts to find work is not exclusively rural. Instead, it is a question of the degree to which this holds true. Those without any prior relationship to the employer have more chance of finding work in urban settings, but the importance of networks is acknowledged among young people in all locations.

With opportunities more limited in rural labour markets, and transport proving an insurmountable barrier in many cases, it follows that some rural youth wish to relocate to improve their chances of finding work. In addition to the problems detailed above, those remaining in rural locations can face competition from older applicants with more experience and qualifications for work which would have been considered beneath them in times of economic prosperity. The decline in graduate employment is one possible explanation, along with the mass public sector job losses witnessed over the fieldwork period, and the increasing trend for older workers to take apprenticeships (68% of increase in apprenticeships between 2006-11 was accounted for by over 25s – see National Audit Office 2012:6). Broader national contexts clearly impact upon local labour markets, which in turn affect the fortunes of individual jobseekers in search of a breakthrough.

Relocating to find work is difficult for young people. Family and friends can deter youth from looking further afield (Spielhofer et al 2011:7-8). Some participants discussed plans to leave home to find work, but only those proceeding to university actually moved away during the observation window. Student support can encourage relocation, but no equivalent exists for those seeking work. Young

people frequently cannot afford the initial outlay. It has been shown that remaining in rural areas creates a pay penalty that endures far beyond one's youth. Those seeking to circumvent this are thwarted by a lack of support for relocating, even if this may be considered the most proactive choice for boosting employment prospects. A measure of realism is required here, as this study has demonstrated that idealistic perceptions of the urban as being replete with jobs are false. Unemployment is higher in urban areas overall, and competition for jobs is already an issue. But if someone has truly exhausted all possibilities in a local labour market, and the government is adamant that they should work - indeed, they are often desperate to - perhaps further state support is warranted. For now, being able to relocate revolves around having the start-up money, or having personal contacts that can provide support. Not everyone has these resources.

9.2.4 - How are outcomes in education and employment affected by location?

First, overall educational attainment and employment rates are better in rural areas, although some rural districts are below national and regional averages for GCSE, A-level and employment (Spielhofer et al 2011:2). As discussed throughout, transport can determine whether people find jobs (Cartmel and Furlong 2000). BHPS data suggest that the radius within which rural youth can find work is smaller (see chapter 3). This is due to their surrounding areas being mostly uninhabited, and the larger distances between settlements, which are covered by fewer transport links.

As noted above, the BHPS data on commuting only pertains to those in work, and there is no information on whether unemployed respondents attribute their joblessness to location. Finding employment can be considered an outcome in itself; the support needed to find work in rural/urban locations varies, although the importance of personal contacts pertains in both areas, albeit to greater extents in rural Britain (see chapters 5 and 6). Bainbridge and Brown (2010) found that youth were overtly hostile to the job centre, and although their study doesn't explicitly refer to location as a key variable, they present their findings as universally applicable. That Cartmel and Furlong (2000) found little use of official channels for finding employment points to the limited use of such traditional methods for locating work in places where recruitment proceeds primarily through word of mouth. This is a feature of rural labour markets identified by the young respondents and relevant professionals contacted in this study (see chapters 5 and 6). Whether someone finds work seems determined by whether they have the right contacts, especially in rural areas.

Rural youth earn less (see chapter 7), which must be considered alongside higher living costs (Smith et al 2010:37). The cost of rural living has been high for some time (Clope 1995). That rural wages overall are higher, but lower for young people, suggests a disadvantage particular to rural youth. Manual occupations are more prevalent in rural areas, which may partly explain this. Rural origin can create a lasting pay penalty if not remedied by relocation. That more professional jobs exist in urban areas is one explanation. The higher chances of finding work in larger organisations, with more promotion prospects, also probably contributes to the earnings trends presented in chapter 8. There are also potential endogeneity issues, as those hailing from rural areas with the ability to be successful in urban

labour markets, and the means to migrate, may be likelier to do so. Despite all this, it is apparent that remuneration for employed youth is far greater in urban areas, and those in rural areas enjoying higher wages have spent some time in urban locations. This is manifested by rural earnings being higher overall (chapter 7), and by higher pay among rural residents who previously lived in urban areas (chapter 8).

9.2.5 - Findings: limitations

Having summarised the findings from each chapter and emphasised the specific empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions made by this thesis, it is also worth noting some limitations. Firstly, chapters 3 and 4 discussed social class in terms of its importance to the study and how the concept can be operationalised. It was difficult to take any findings from the fieldwork, as approaching gatekeeper organisations with demands for quotas on this variable would have placed an additional burden on individuals who were voluntarily assisting with participant recruitment. Moreover, data on respondent background may have been considered private and prompted more guarded reactions toward the research. Even after any ideas of achieving a representative stratified sample were abandoned, in practice not all respondents knew exactly what their parents did, and family background is a potentially sensitive area. Thus, pursuing this further might have been fruitless, perhaps even intrusive.

The secondary data analysis also yielded a disappointing lack of findings on social class background, primarily due to the large amount of missing data on

parental occupation. Overall, the study was still able to produce apposite and original findings concerning location, social capital, and labour market outcomes, which were the main foci of the investigation. I also generated findings on migration, gender and education. Unfortunately, these limitations with both primary and secondary data have prevented a rigorous analysis of how class interacts with location and social capital to determine labour market outcomes. There remains a strong case for hypothesising a relationship between these variables, expounded in chapters 3 and 4. To test this would be a worthy subject of future research.

Conducting the fieldwork in another region, or even at other sites within the same region, may have produced different findings. Selecting multiple study areas was important for making the findings more generalisable. Sampling participants from a wider geographical area would have presented practical difficulties given obvious resource constraints. It also would have compromised the richness of the data, as I visited every study area more than once, helping to build a better understanding of the local situation in each.

There are also some drawbacks of the longitudinal analysis at the core of chapter 8. The absence of social capital variables from most waves of BHPS data prevented this concept from featuring in the linear mixed models. Clearly it would have been interesting to monitor the changing effects of social capital (and social class) over time, but the data only contains the appropriate variables in three of the 18 waves. That said, pertinent findings concerning social capital emerged from analysis of both primary and secondary data, and this project has contributed to the understanding of its many applications as a result.

9.2.6 – Summary: rural youth labour market disadvantage

This section has collated findings from throughout the thesis to address directly the research question posed in the introduction. I have argued that many opportunities are scarcer and outcomes less favourable in rural areas. The lower variety of jobs is mitigated only partly by the availability of a modest number of distinctly rural occupations, seemingly restricted to males. While competition for vacancies can be greater in urban labour markets, which do not automatically offer jobs despite the perceptions of many rural respondents, it is clear that the chances of finding work are higher, especially in intermediate and professional/managerial level work. This amounts to a labour market disadvantage for rural youth.

While aspirations are shaped by location in the sense that some rural youth aspire to rural jobs and remain committed to rural lifestyles, this must be deemed a minority given the broadly similar occupational structure of rural and urban economies in Britain and the similar aims of students wishing to attend HE in both types of location. So while location does influence aspirations, this is not sufficient to brand it disadvantageous. Family and other adult figures are more important here, but the effect location is more indirect. In areas with lower service provision, the chances of young people building the weak ties necessary to improve chances of success are diminished, which is critical given that such support from outside the home can compensate for cultural capital deficits.

Barriers to participation vary according to the individual, but in rural areas the single biggest obstacle identified by participants and gatekeepers alike is transport. The importance of access to a private vehicle has proved crucial

throughout. Those without a car must often rely on others. Not everyone has this option, and thus location can be disadvantageous to those who are unable to move. Migration to urban areas is appealing to young people frustrated with limited local labour markets and enticed by the more youth-oriented recreational offerings of urban life, but relocation is difficult for young people without financial support and useful contacts. Both barriers are real. This is a disadvantage of location, as urban youth can face difficult or inconvenient public transport journeys which in rural areas may be outright impossible. No urban youth blamed their difficulties in finding work on location; any intentions to relocate were motivated by specific career ambitions.

Rural youth are paid less than urban counterparts despite higher rural earnings for respondents of all ages, suggesting a rural disadvantage distinct to young people, exacerbated by higher living costs in rural areas. The longitudinal dimension to the rural pay penalty identified in chapter 8 shows that remaining in rural areas creates a lasting disadvantage in terms of pay. Of working rural residents, those earning more have previously lived in urban locations. This illustrates how rural youths are disadvantaged regarding labour market outcomes. Overall, with location presenting a disadvantage to rural youth in terms of opportunities, barriers and outcomes, it can be concluded that location does affect the prospects of young people. Unemployment is higher in cities, and deprived urban neighbourhoods suffer more long-term joblessness and related social problems. However, urban youths can access a broader job-search area than rural peers, suggesting that the difficulties they encounter are less the product of location than other social factors.

9.3 - How do the findings relate to broader national and global contexts?

This project has explored the effect of location on youth employment opportunities and outcomes, with specific reference to individual circumstances situated in local labour market conditions. The focus now turns to how these are affected by the national and global context. I discuss how the international financial crisis and subsequent swingeing cuts to public spending, yet to impact fully, have affected youth employment prospects, and how this has played out in rural and urban areas of Britain. This is followed by the final section, where I conclude with policy recommendations in light of the findings presented throughout this thesis.

The cuts in public spending witnessed in Britain since 2010 have been widespread, touching on many organisations that have been central to this project. The Commission for Rural Communities was set up to report to government on rural affairs and was responsible for numerous relevant events and publications. It was disbanded in April 2011, with the staff surviving job losses reassigned to Defra, to which the CRC is now an adjunct. The Citizens Advice Bureau in Birmingham, suggested to participants as a reference point should they feel distressed by partaking in the research, was on the verge of closure. Connexions in Birmingham, controlled by the largest local authority in England (and Europe), faced the same threat. Both were saved but now operate under straitened budgets. I now go on to discuss how the financial situation has impacted more directly on individuals and communities.

Some evidence has suggested that rural businesses have dealt better with recession (Spielhofer et al 2011:7). The retail sector was damaged severely in the

economic downturn. Numerous high street chains folded amid plummeting sales. This sector is based mostly in urban locations. It follows that the struggles of retail industry were more visible in urban areas. If rural businesses withstood the recession better, it must be remembered that less of them existed in the first place. The limited range of retail and leisure options in rural Britain was discussed earlier, with implications for employment as well as recreation. If rural businesses were insulated from the bust, they also derived less benefit from the preceding boom.

The cost of rural living in Britain has been higher for many years (Cloke 1995) and remains so today (Smith et al 2010). Public service provision in such areas has been an issue during this entire time. For instance, the theme of transport has been cited as a barrier by many rural participants in this study, and has also been acknowledged by much existing research (Hutchens 1994; Cartmel and Furlong 2000; Huby et al 2009). While rural areas in Britain, unlike Australia and the USA, are more affluent overall than urban areas, there is still disadvantage in rural areas, and these poorer people are inevitably less equipped to cope with shortages in public services (see chapter 3). The international financial crisis has prompted the British government to implement a series of austerity measures, mostly spending cuts as opposed to tax rises. The Institute for Fiscal Studies has labelled this approach as regressive, impacting on the poor disproportionately (Browne and Levell 2010). This is not the place to discuss the moral implications of such a strategy, yet the consequences for rural communities, particularly for youth employment therein, must be expounded here.

In rural areas, the delivery of services is more costly (Noble and Wright 2000). Providing services to dispersed populations is inevitably more expensive.

This has led to recommendations for a rural premium, recognising that extra investment is necessary to ensure more remote communities receive appropriate services (Craig and Manthorpe 2000). While the Index of Multiple Deprivation does take into account access/barriers to services (Payne and Abel 2012), weighting given to sparsity factors does not adequately reflect the higher costs of providing services in remote locations. Much of this is accounted for by transport costs, both direct and time-related, and diseconomies of scale resulting from lower demand (OCSI 2012:21-6). Government rhetoric still enthuses about supporting rural Britain, as exemplified in the recent 'Rural Statement' (Defra 2012a). Broadband access, woodland trusts and sustainable green technology have been prominent political issues in recent years. For rural areas to expect public services matching those available in the larger towns and cities, the higher costs of supplying such services must be acknowledged and met. In the current climate, with deficit reduction paramount for all major parties, cuts have been made and will continue. However, without commitments to support rural public services, the standard of living for the disadvantaged minority residing in remote locations will decrease dramatically.

A major feature of the recession and incipient recovery has been unemployment, with the number of young people out of work especially alarming. Bainbridge and Browne (2010: 24-5) found that employers sometimes doubt the maturity of younger candidates. This is their prerogative, but the government could do more to encourage firms to hire young staff. The number of apprenticeships has increased, but so has demand. Competition from older applicants is a problem for young jobseekers. One could sympathise with employers preferring more experienced and qualified candidates. In tough times for businesses, recruiting the

right staff is essential, but the collapse of many enterprises during the recession and the drastic cull of public sector jobs left many adults resorting to jobs which would have been considered beneath them in times of economic prosperity. Increasing numbers of older workers now undertake apprenticeships, demonstrating the extent of this problem. Older people have the right to retrain and receive assistance to do so. They may be supporting families themselves, so it would be counterproductive in terms of helping youth to prohibit this. However, the point in apprenticeships is that young people not only get paid, but also gain valuable work experience, training and qualifications, improving their future prospects, while employers get cheaper labour. This should not be forgotten.

With youth unemployment remaining high (20.7% from July-September 2012), these should be busy times for those charged with alleviating the problem. However, the Connexions service, set up in 1999 to offer career guidance to young people, has endured particularly severe cuts. Connexions are funded by local authorities, who in turn rely on central government for finance. Understandably, local authorities face difficult decisions regarding how to distribute the cuts. Yet given concerns over youth unemployment, which is hyper-cyclical (Roberts 1995:9) and cannot therefore be dismissed as a surprise during a recession, the government should have protected services helping young people toward suitable employment, education or training. Instead, most Connexions services saw their budgets slashed and were forced to lose staff. It has been a busy time for those who remain, as the career advisers contacted in the course of this study have stressed. Indeed, I was denied access by one local authority, which cited the challenging conditions created by the cuts as a reason to refuse participation.

Not all local authorities followed the same path, with some avoiding cuts to Connexions altogether. Middlesbrough, Redcar and Cleveland, and Stockton-on-Tees all deserve credit on this front. Their faith in the service demonstrates how important it can be. These districts are poor overall, and suffer from high unemployment. Given that the service overtly prioritises youth at risk of becoming NEET, it is logical that sustaining support has been considered vital here. The issue is that government allowed local authorities freedom to cut these services as they saw fit. In September 2012, Connexions was replaced by a national careers service. This left a long period in which no contingency plan was advanced. Existing Connexions sites (many have closed due to the cuts) were forced to continue during the interim with reduced personnel left to handle increasing numbers of NEET youth.

This has a direct impact at the individual and community level. I have already adduced examples of how contact with Connexions has been a decisive factor for participants in this study (see chapters 5 and 6). Cuts to services in rural communities may deny young people their only contact with professionals who can guide them toward appropriate career paths. Breaking these weak ties, proclaimed as the crucial facet of networks for finding work (Granovetter 1973), has potentially disastrous effects. To reiterate the viewpoint of one careers adviser, for each instance where his intervention has succeeded, it cannot be known how many young people are missed. Cutting the number of people responsible for finding jobs for youth heightens this risk. It also places more adults out of work, which as explained above, makes more difficulties for young jobseekers.

The government has implemented some measures to help young people gain experience and create the crucial networks which can provide a route to training or work. The National Citizen Service, introduced in 2011 with 8,500 young people taking part, has received positive reviews from young people in terms of giving them the chance to meet people with whom they would not normally associate and learn new skills (NatCen 2012:10). However, it is too early to tell if this experience translates into success in finding work. Of 10,000 places available for the first year, fewer than 7,000 completed the programme, suggesting more must be done to increase interest (NatCen 2012:9). Equally, the Youth Contract scheme, offering wage incentives to employers and work experience placements to young people, is an ambitious initiative aiming to create more youth jobs through payments to businesses than has been achieved before (House of Commons Work and Pensions Select Committee 2012:36). While such investment is welcome, the unprecedented scale of the programme obviously necessitates caution in predicting its success, and work placements arranged through JobCentre Plus may struggle with distrust of this organisation well documented among young people (Bainbridge and Browne 2010). The recent controversy over unpaid work experience, which saw the withdrawal of several prominent employers from the eventually abandoned Work Academy Scheme after some participants were not told it was optional for jobseekers (Malik 2012), is unlikely to improve uptake.

In rural areas, one obstacle which all youth workers and careers advisers would struggle to overcome is that of transport and remoteness. Even before cuts to the Connexions service began taking effect, one rural youth centre visited during the course of conducting fieldwork displayed over 20 vacancies for

apprenticeships and jobs. None of these positions were in the town itself, but were based in the larger conurbations elsewhere in the county. This corroborated the accounts given by participants, who seemed certain that one must be prepared to either travel or relocate in order to find work.

The willingness of unemployed people to travel for work became contentious in October 2010, when Work and Pensions Secretary Iain Duncan Smith told BBC *Newsnight* that people in Merthyr Tydfil, a town with high unemployment, could ride the bus for an hour to Cardiff and look for work there (BBC 21/10/2010). This received widespread criticism and was likened to Norman Tebbit's famous 'get on your bike' prescription, hinting at blame to those out of work for their own predicament. Duncan Smith retorted by insisting that the government only wants to see the jobless making a reasonable effort to find work. Of course, one might debate what constitutes a reasonable effort. Some participants in this study said that travelling for such distances would be palatable if the job was sufficiently appealing, or their circumstances were sufficiently desperate. They also noted that the long-term unemployed are unlikely to rejoin the labour market on lavish wages, and the cost of transport must be considered alongside the journey itself. An hour's bus ride between two settlements does not account for travelling times to bus stops at either end. For people with children or other commitments, this could be impossible.

For residents of high-unemployment areas, being proactive in the pursuit of work is necessary. This may include travelling further afield. Capitalism creates winners and losers, and the same applies to areas (McCormick and Philo 1995:8). By extension, this also applies to the denizens of these less fortunate areas. Obstacles to labour market participation are accentuated by distance from

workplaces. It is contradictory to argue that the unemployed should get on the bus to find work at the same time as bus subsidies are being cut. 70% of local councils decided to reduce bus funding following government budget cuts. The Department for Transport have allocated £10 million to community rural community transport schemes, but evidence suggests this only covers a fraction of public bus services lost in cuts (House of Commons Transport Select Committee 2011). Community transport schemes can offer a lot when an area has less demand than necessary for traditional services. Evening services in particular may receive little custom, but they can be vital to those seeking work in remote areas where the main industries are catering and tourism, where unsociable hours are commonplace. Some participants could not find work because of the mismatch between job and transport availability. For students seeking part-time work, evening jobs may be the only choice, and with the replacement of EMA by a smaller fund available to far fewer students, employment is increasingly important.

In summary, the financial crisis has led to drastic spending cuts which have affected rural youth in two ways. Cuts to youth services have reduced the opportunity for unemployed youth to forge the weak ties that can prove crucial in the search for work. The importance of networks for finding employment has been articulated throughout this study and is well established in prior research. In remote areas, where the chance to meet other useful contacts may be limited, these relationships are paramount. Failing to protect the jobs of those responsible for guiding others towards work is therefore a reckless move. Moreover, cuts to transport subsidies risks further isolating those in rural communities. This negligence renders the prescription that the unemployed should get on the bus laughable. If public transport is to be forsaken, then measures are needed to

ensure that young jobseekers have access to other vehicles to ensure they can work. I return to this issue in the following section, where I put forward policy recommendations.

9.4 - Policy recommendations

After establishing that rural location presents a disadvantage to young people in terms of job opportunities, barriers to employment and labour market outcomes, and outlining how national and global events determine the fortunes of individuals and communities in this regard, I now conclude by offering policy recommendations. To begin, I return to the debate around area-effects introduced in chapter 2. I contend that assistance must target individuals, but this approach should be framed within a local context. I suggest how job growth, still elusive as Britain oscillates in and out of recession, can be stimulated by government. Finally, I consider some possibilities for improving the mobility of rural youth. With transport cited in extant research and participants in this study as a significant barrier to labour market entry, it follows that this should be a priority for policy makers attempting to rectify the inequality of opportunity stemming from location.

In debates around how disadvantaged locations should be assisted, the key question is whether policy interventions should target particular individuals and families or places (Atkinson and Kintrea 2001:2279), but it is impossible to put people in jobs that don't exist. The creation of jobs in Britain is paramount given that unemployment, especially for youth, remains high. Frank Field (1989:158-61) argued that relocating public sector jobs to poorer areas can help. With the huge

job losses in state employment witnessed over the past year, it seems that the government is intent on pursuing a different solution.

Currently growth in private sector jobs has been too slow to compensate, and unemployment has consequently remained high. Thus, the government must incentivise job creation by businesses, and has done so in 2011 by setting up 22 enterprise zones in the UK. These are distributed around the country, with some based in predominantly rural districts, such as Cornwall and Hereford. However, the location of these enterprise zones in urban parts of the districts attenuates the benefit to rural Britain. Newquay, for example, is already a popular tourist destination, which will probably prosper with increased investment around the airport. Hereford is the principal conurbation in a predominantly rural county, but has over 50,000 inhabitants and good transport links to other, larger settlements. It also enjoys unemployment below the national average, lower than any other district in the region. This indicates potential for success of the enterprise zone. The government has picked a likely winner.

Given the inevitability of capitalism creating winners and losers in terms of areas (McCormick and Philo 1995:8), I propose that the government starts to pick losers, or at least concede that less fortunate areas have been forsaken, and make provision for residents who are unable to help themselves to relocate. The National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal was launched in 2001 with the objective that 'within 10 to 20 years no-one should be seriously disadvantaged by where they live' (Social Exclusion Unit 2001:8). The disadvantage of living in rural areas differs from that of growing up in deprived inner city neighbourhoods, as has been argued throughout. This can only be addressed through policy solutions sensitive to the location specific challenges facing rural youth. Creating jobs and

enticing business to rural areas is necessary to combat the difficulties engendered by remote location.

The lack of big business in rural areas has also been highlighted throughout (Spielhofer et al 2011:7, CRC 2012:40), with promotion prospects, job stability and pay all lower for rural youth, compounded by the additional barrier of unadvertised vacancies and informal recruitment practices. The absence of big business in rural areas may be welcomed by some. Indeed, some town centres visited during the course of fieldwork adopted deliberate policies of prohibiting large retailers. This is to protect small independent businesses and preserve the quaint character and tourist appeal, but evidence suggests that employment opportunities arising from tourism in the rural areas studied are limited. Investment from big business in rural areas could create jobs and lessen the need for young people to migrate to urban environs. It could also combat the longitudinal rural pay penalty trends identified in chapter 8.

A problem emerging in the fieldwork regarding the current situation is that limited rural labour markets are saturated with school leavers aspiring to the same careers. In chapter 6, one participant spoke of her initial intention to work in childcare, and how a shortage of jobs in her area eventually prompted her to train in IT instead. Several female interviewees also stated their interest in entering the same occupation. None appeared to have considered how local opportunities may be scarce. Therefore, it follows that careers advisers and youth workers should incorporate more guidance about local labour market conditions to the young people for whom they are responsible (CRC 2012:36-7). This approach may face criticism for allowing unfair selection, and some may feel aggrieved that they have been warned against chasing their specific career goals. However, an element of

realism is required, and is already in place. Pupils predicted modest GCSE results will not be directed towards A-levels, for instance. The professionals in question provide a link between young people and the world of work. More could be gained by giving young people current information concerning what is achievable locally and what is not.

The above is not intended as a criticism of careers advisers and youth workers, who are doing a difficult job in an extremely hostile climate. Instead, it is merely a recommendation about how outcomes from the services they supply could be improved. This leads to a further policy recommendation, to reverse cuts to such services. Chapters 5 and 6 present evidence that the intervention of these supportive adults can prove crucial. Establishing the weak ties necessary to put young people in touch with people beyond their immediate networks appears vital for finding work. Cutting staff levels in such organisations produces direct job losses and reduces the chance of young people locating appropriate opportunities.

Even the most assiduous careers workers struggle to help rural youth overcome the problems of remote location and transport. Public transport has been lamented as too expensive and too scarce for many young people. For those living or working in remote places, using buses or trains can be impossible. Some people, particularly urban youth, are fortunate in being near to public transport, but are deterred by the cost. With universal entitlement among over 60s to a free bus pass, this suggests that a similar measure for young people, to the economically inactive at least, is fairer given that older beneficiaries of this policy often do not need (or even use) it.

With some youth unable to use public transport for work even if the cost is affordable, addressing the issue of availability is a priority. The wheels-to-work scheme mentioned in chapters 5 and 6 is one solution. With the cost of running a car punitively expensive for young motorists, cheap lease of mopeds can enable young people to travel independently to workplaces within reasonable distance. This initiative is area-based in that its utility would be maximised in rural areas, where distance and transport are the primary barriers to labour market participation. Urban areas face different challenges in this respect, and measures to confront these would take a correspondingly different character. However, the emphasis of this programme is decidedly individual. It is about providing the means by which young people can become self-sufficient in terms of being able to find and keep a job. Funding for such schemes should be maintained in rural areas where they are currently in operation, and extended to locations where there is a clear need. The announcement that a national co-ordinator for such schemes is being funded for 2012/3 (Defra 2012a:6) is a welcome advance.

Some youth cannot take the bus to work for reasons cited above. Some would not benefit from independent travel schemes, as they may have exhausted all work options within a commutable radius irrespective of transport provision. If local labour markets are limited, and neither public nor private sector jobs can be created to ameliorate this, there should be an explicit recognition of this spatial inequity and young people should be supported in relocating to areas where they would enjoy greater prospects. The advantages are apparent from the trend of those staying rural commanding lower wages than others over an 18 year observation window (see chapter 8). One major obstacle to relocation is money.

Young people are unlikely to have enough economic capital, and it is more unrealistic to expect unemployed youth to be able to do so.

A cheap loan scheme for those who can demonstrate that their local labour market offers inadequate opportunity could help those without the money or support networks to migrate (Blank 2005: 447-8). The geographical mobility of the workforce started with the industrial revolution and continues today, evidenced by the longitudinal data on migration status and earnings in chapter 8, which illustrates the benefits of willingness or ability to relocate. Of course, as many people are reluctant to leave their local area due to family and friends, distaste for urban living, or an interest in rural careers, take-up of the programme might be modest. However, it would send out a clear message: that the government wishes to support young people in rural areas who want to work but have been frustrated by the lack of local options. If investment in rural areas remains limited, and residents are expected to espouse an ethos of self-sufficiency, then overt acknowledgement of this stance is needed, along with measures to help those who wish to emulate this ethos, but have been prevented from doing so by unfavourable job markets in their area.

9.5 - Conclusion

I have presented evidence from a range of sources attesting to the limited work opportunities, the barriers to employment and lower labour market outcomes for young people in rural areas. Urban areas suffer from higher unemployment, and more deeply entrenched intergenerational joblessness. Crime, violence and drugs

are also more commonplace in the cities. Despite this, the problems facing rural youth are distinct due to their remote location. The higher incidence of temporary employment and jobs without promotion prospects, illustrate how rural youth opportunities are limited. The cost and availability of transport and relative absence of big business serve as barriers to the labour market. The prevalence of manual occupations and the rural youth pay penalty are disadvantages in terms of outcomes. Perhaps the greatest concern is the evidence that the rural pay penalty can persist as workers reach their thirties and forties. Although this can be rectified by migration, there are barriers to relocation which may be considered insurmountable. For those who stay rural, while unemployment is lower, the work available is low-status and low-paid.

Britain still has high unemployment, and job creation must be a priority. Government has taken steps to alleviate the predicament, such as increasing the number of apprenticeships available and establishing new enterprise zones. Policies to encourage new businesses in rural areas and increase recruitment by existing firms must be prioritised. Investment in rural public transport or cheap vehicle lease schemes are also crucial for ensuring that young people can seize any job opportunities created. Failure to do so will lead to rural youth remaining disadvantaged with respect to labour market prospects.

If the government wishes to abandon rural areas to those who are fully self-reliant, an explicit admission of this policy stance is needed. This could pave the way for relocation programmes for young people in areas of low job opportunities to move to wherever the work is. With the unemployed being called upon to devote reasonable effort to the search for jobs, it follows that support for those willing to take more radical action is fair. With an ageing population, poor public

transport and a pay penalty only applicable to under-25s, it seems that rural location really is disadvantageous to young people. If policies to improve their job prospects locally are not forthcoming, it is for the benefit of the nation that rural youth, willing to work but frustrated by a lack of opportunities, receive help in moving to areas where they can join the labour force and contribute to the economy.

REFERENCES

- 6, P. (1997) *Escaping Poverty: From Safety Nets to Networks of Opportunity*. London: Demos
- Alesina, A. and La Ferrara, E. (2002) 'Who trusts others?' *Journal of Public Economics* 85 pp207-34
- Allen, G. (2003) 'A critique of using grounded theory as a research method' *The Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods* Vol. 2 [1] pp1-10
- Alston, M. and Kent, J. (2009) 'Generation X-pendable: The social exclusion of rural and remote young people'. *Journal of Sociology* Vol. 45 [1] pp89-107
- Atkinson, R. and Kintrea, K. (2001) 'Disentangling Area Effects: Evidence from Deprived and Non-deprived Neighbourhoods' *Urban Studies* Vol. 38 [12] pp2277-98
- Bainbridge, L. and Browne, A. (2010) *Generation NEET*. York: QA Research
- Ball, R. M. (1980) 'The Use and Definition of Travel-to-Work Areas in Great Britain: Some Problems' *Regional Studies* Vol. 14 pp125-39
- Barbosa, O. Tratalos, J. A., Armsworth, P. R., Davies, R.G., Fuller, R. A., Johnson, P. and Gatson, K. J. (2007) 'Who benefits from access to green space? A case study from Sheffield, UK' *Landscape and Urban Planning* 83 pp187-195
- Bargh, J. A. and McKenna, K. Y. A. (2004) 'The Internet and Social Life' *Annual Review of Psychology* 55 pp573-90
- Bassani, C. (2007) 'Five Dimensions of Social Capital Theory as they Pertain to Youth Studies' *Journal of Youth Studies* vol. 10 [1] pp17-34
- Batsleer, J. (2010) 'Youth workers as researchers: ethical issues in practitioner and participatory research' in S. Banks (ed.) *Ethical Issues in Youth Work* London: Routledge, pp178-91, 2nd edition (original 1999).
- Blanchflower, D. and Freeman, R. (2000) 'The Declining Economic Status of Young Workers in OECD Countries' in Blanchflower, D. and Freeman, R. (eds.) *Youth Employment and Joblessness in Advanced Countries* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp19-56
- Blank, R. M. (2005) 'Poverty, Policy, and Place: How Poverty and Policies to Alleviate Poverty are Shaped by Local Characteristics' *International Regional Science Review* Vol. 28 [4] pp441-64
- Blau, P. M. and Duncan, O. D. (1967) *The American Occupational Structure*. New York: The Free Press.
- Borjas, G.J. (1995) 'Ethnicity, Neighbourhoods and Human-Capital Externalities' *The American Economic Review* Vol. 85 [3] pp365-90

- Boorman, S. and Ramsden, B. (2009) *Taught postgraduate students: market trends and opportunities*. Universities UK: London
- Bond, R, Charsley, K. and Grundy, S. (2010) 'An Audible Minority: Migration, Identity and Settlement Among English Graduates in Scotland'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol. 36 [3] pp483-99
- Bosworth, G (2012) 'Characterising rural businesses: Tales from the paperman' *Journal of Rural Studies* Vol. 28 [4] pp499-506
- Bourdieu, P. (1974) 'The school as a conservative force: scholastic and cultural inequalities' in J. Eggleston (ed.) *Contemporary Research in the Sociology of Education*, pp32-46
- Bourdieu, P. (1977) 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction' in J. Karabel and A. H. Hasley (eds.) *Power and Ideology in Education*. New York: Oxford University Press pp 487-511
- Bourdieu, P. (1987) 'What makes a social class' *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 32 pp1-17
- Bradley, H. and Devadason, R. (2008) 'Fractured Transitions: Young Adults' Pathways into Contemporary Labour Markets' *Sociology* 42 pp119-136
- Brandth, B. and Haugen, M. S. (2010) 'Doing Farm Tourism: The Intertwining Practices of Gender and Work' *Signs* Vol. 35 [2] pp425-46
- British Sociological Association (2002) *Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association*. Durham: BSA
- Brooks-Gunn, J., Duncan, G.J., Klebanov, P.K., Sealand, N. (1993) 'Do Neighbourhoods influence child and adolescent development?' *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 99 [2] pp353-95
- Browne, J. and Levell, P. (2010) *The distributional effect of tax and benefit reforms to be introduced between June 2010 and April 2014: a revised assessment*. Institute of Fiscal Studies. Available at <http://www.ifs.org.uk/bns/bn108.pdf>
- Bryman, A. (2007) 'Barriers to integrating quantitative and qualitative research' *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* Vol. 1 [1] pp8-22
- Burgess, S. (2008a) *Report of the Rural Advocate 2007*. Commission for Rural Communities
- Burgess, S. (2008b) *The State of the Countryside 2008*. Commission for Rural Communities
- Burgess, S. (2010) *The State of the Countryside 2010*. Commission for Rural Communities
- Burrows, R. and Bradshaw, J. (2001) 'Evidence-based policy and practice' *Environment and Planning A* pp1335-69

Bynner, J., Joshi, H. and M. Tsatsas (2000) *Obstacles and opportunities on the route to adulthood: evidence from rural and urban Britain*. London: The Smith Institute

Bynner, J. and Parsons, S. (2002) 'Social Exclusion and the Transition from School to Work: The Case of Young People Not in Education, Employment or Training (NEET)' *Journal of Vocational Behaviour* 60 pp289-309

Cartmel, F. and Furlong, A. (2000) *Youth Unemployment in Rural Areas*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Cattell, R.B. and Vogelman, S. (1977) 'A comprehensive trial of the scree and KG criteria for determining the number of factors' *Journal of Multivariate Behavioural Research* Vol. 12 [3] pp289-325

Champion, T. and Shepherd, J. (2006) *Demographic Change in Rural England*. London: Rural Evidence Research Centre

Champion, T. (2009) Urban-rural differences in commuting in England: A challenge to the rural sustainability agenda?. *Planning Practice and Research* 2009, Vol. 24 [2] pp161-183.

Cherry, G.E. and Rogers, A. (1996) *Rural Changes and Planning : England and Wales in the Twentieth Century*. London: Spon

Child, D. (1970) *The Essentials of Factor Analysis*. London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston

Children, Schools and Families Committee (2010) *Young people not in education, employment or training: Eighth Report of Session 2009-10, Volume 1*. London: The Stationery Office

Cloke, P. (1977) 'An Index of Rurality for England and Wales'. *Regional Studies* Vol. 11 [1] pp31-46

Cloke, P.; Goodwin, M.; Milbourne, P. and Thomas, C. (1995). 'Deprivation, Poverty and Marginalisation in Rural Lifestyles in England and Wales'. *Journal of Rural Studies* Vol. 11 [4] pp351-365

Coleman, J. (1990) *Foundations of Social Theory*. London: Belknap Press

Coles, B.; Britton, L. and Hicks, L. (2004) *Building better connections: interagency work and the Connexions service*. Bristol: Joseph Rowntree Foundation/ Policy Press

Coleman, J. (1988) 'Social Capital and the creation of Human Capital' *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 94 supplement, pp95-120

Coombes, M. (2002) *Travel-to-Work Areas and the 2001 Census: Report to ONS*. Newcastle. Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies.

Coombes, M. G., Green, A.E., and Openshaw, S. (1986) 'An Efficient Algorithm to Generate Official Statistical Reporting Areas: The Case of the 1984 Travel-to-Work Areas in Britain' *Journal of the Operational Society* Vol. 37 [10] pp943-53

Costa, N., Davies, A., Maguire, K. (2006) *The New Rural Paradigm: Policies and Governance*. Paris: OECD

CRC (2008) *Thinking About Rural Transport*. Commission for Rural Communities: Gloucester

CRC (2012) *Barriers to education, employment and training for young people in rural areas*. Gloucester: Commission for Rural Communities

Craig, G. and Manthorpe, J. (2000) *Rural social care: research, policy and practice agendas*. York: JRF

Crane, J. (1991) 'The epidemic theory of ghettos and neighbourhood effects on dropping out and teenage childbearing' *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 96 [5] pp1226-59

Crompton, R. (1997) *Class and Stratification: An Introduction to Current Debates*. Cambridge: Polity (2nd edition, original 1993)

Crow, G. (2008) 'Recent rural community studies' *International Journal of Social research Methodology* Vol. 11 [2] pp131-9

Curry, N. And Webber, D. (2012) 'Economic Performance in Rural England'. *Regional Studies* Vol. 46 [3] pp279-91.

Daffin, C., Levy, S., Davies, K., Chamberlain, E., Williams, C., Hemsley, C., O'Brien, M., Wagstaff, H., Ashworth, K., Banks, J., Tetlow, G., Kempson, E. and Finney, A. (2009) *Wealth in Great Britain: Main Results from the Wealth and Assets Survey 2006/8*. Office for National Statistics

Dearden, L., McIntosh, S., Myck, M. and Vignoles, A. (2002) 'The returns to academic and vocational qualifications in Britain' *Bulletin of Economic Research* Vol. 54 [3] pp249-74

Department for Communities and Local Government (2001) *Planning Policy Guidance 13: Transport*. London: DfCLG

Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (2007)
<http://www.defra.gov.uk/rural/ruralstats/rural-defn/rural-stats-guidance.pdf>

Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (2011)
<https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-environment-food-rural-affairs/series/rural-urban-definition>

Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (2012a) *Rural Statement 2012*. London: Defra

Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (2012b) *Statistical Digest of Rural England*. London: Defra
Dey-Chowdhury, S. and Gibson, P. (2008) 'Experimental estimates of rural-urban productivity' *Economic & Labour Market Review* Vol. 2 [11]

Duncan Smith, I. (2010) *State of the nation report: poverty, worklessness and welfare dependency in the UK*. HM Cabinet

Elgar, F.J., Arlett, C. and Groves, R. (2003) 'Stress, coping and behavioural problems among rural and urban adolescents' *Journal of Adolescence* 26 pp574-85

Engels, F. (1987) *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. London: Penguin (original 1845)

Erikson, R. and Goldthorpe, J. (1992) *The Constant Flux: A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies*. Oxford: Clarendon

The European Commission (2001) "Quality in work and social inclusion", in *Employment in Europe: Recent trends and prospects*. Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, pp. 65–80.

Eurostat (2005) *Gender Gaps in the Reconciliation between Work and Family Life*. Statistics in Focus 4/2005. Brussels: Eurostat.

Faggian, A., McCann, P. and Sheppard, S. (2006) 'An analysis of ethnic differences in UK graduate migration behaviour' *Annals of Regional Science* Vol. 40 [2] pp 461-71.

Field, F. (1989) *Losing Out: The emergence of Britain's Underclass*. Oxford: Blackwell

Field, J. (2003) *Social Capital*. London: Routledge

Fielding, N. & Thomas, H. (2008) 'Qualitative interviewing' in N. Gilbert (ed.) *Researching Social Life* (3rd ed.), London: Sage.

Fischer, C. (1982) *To Dwell Among Friends: Personal Networks in Town and City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Foley, M. W. and Edwards, B. (1999) 'Is it Time to Disinvest in Social Capital?' *Journal of Public Policy*. Vol. 19 [2] pp141-73

Furlong, A. and Cartmel, F. (1997) *Young People and Social Change*. Buckingham: Open University Press

Geys, B. and Murdoch, Z. (2010) Measuring the 'Bridging' versus 'Bonding' Nature of Social Networks' *Sociology* Vol. 44 [3] pp523-40.

Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, A. L. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine

Glendinning, A.; Nuttall, M.; Hendry, L.; Kloep, M. and Wood, S. (2003) 'Rural Communities and well-being: a good place to grow up?' *The Sociological Review*, No. 51, pp129-56

Goldthorpe, J. (1980) *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon

Goldthorpe, J. (1996) 'Class Analysis and the Reorientation of Class Theory: The case of Persisting differentials in Educational Attainment' *British Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 47 [3] pp 481-505

Goldthorpe, J. and Bevan, P. (1977) 'The study of social stratification in Great Britain: 1946-1976'. *Social Science Information* 16 [3/4] pp279-334

Goldthorpe, J. and Marshall, G. (1992) 'The promising future of class analysis' *Sociology* Vol. 26 [3] pp381-49

Gorard, S. with Adnett, N.; May, H.; Slack, K.; Smith, E. and Thomas, L. (2007) *Overcoming the barriers to higher education*. Trentham: Stoke on Trent

Gorard, S. with Taylor, C. (2004) *Combining Methods in Educational and Social Research*. Maidenhead: Open University Press

Granovetter, M. (1973) 'The Strength of Weak Ties' *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 78 [6] pp1360-80

Granovetter, M. (1982) 'The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited'. *Sociological Theory*. Vol. 1 pp201-33

Green, A. E. and White, R. J. (2007) *Attachment to Place: Social Networks, Mobility and Prospects of Young People*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Gregg, P. and Tominey, E. (2005) 'The wage scar from youth unemployment' *Labour Economics* 12 pp487-509

Grix, J. (2001) 'Social Capital as a Concept in the Social Sciences: The Current State of the Debate' *Democratization* Vol. 8 [3] pp189-210

Gubbay, J. (1997) 'A Marxist Critique of Weberian class analyses' *Sociology* Vol. 31 [1] pp73-89

Halfacree, K. (1993) 'Locality and social representation: space, discourse and alternative definitions of the rural' *Journal of Rural Studies* Vol. 9 [1] pp23-37

Hammer, T. (2003) 'The Probability for Unemployed Young People to Re-Enter Education or Employment: a comparative study in six Northern European countries' *British Journal of Sociology of Education*. Vol. 24 [2] pp209-23

Hamnett, C. Ramsden, M. and Butler, T. (2007) 'Social Background, Ethnicity, School Composition and Educational Attainment in East London' *Urban Studies* Vol. 44 [7] pp1255-80

Hardill, I. and Dwyer, P. (2011) 'Delivering Public Services in the Mixed Economy of Welfare: Perspectives from the Voluntary and Community Sector in Rural England' *Journal of Social Policy* Vol. 40 [1] pp157-72

Tudor Hart, J. (1971) 'The Inverse Care Law' *Lancet* 1 pp405-12

Hayden, C., Williamson, T. and Webber, R. (2007) 'Schools, Pupil Behaviour and Young Offenders: Using Postcode Classification to Target behaviour Support and Crime Prevention Programmes' *British Journal of Criminology* 47 pp293-310

Haythornthwaite, C. (2005) 'Social Networks and Internet Connectivity Effects' *Information, Communication and Society* Vol. 8 [2] pp125-47

Heath, S. (2007) 'Widening the gap: pre-university gap years and the 'economy of experience'' *British Journal of Sociology of Education* Vol. 28 [1] pp89-103

Heath, S.; Charles, V.; Crow, G. and Wiles, R. (2007) 'Informed consent, gatekeepers and go-betweens: negotiating consent in child- and youth- oriented institutions' *British Educational Research Journal* Vol. 33[3] pp403-17

Heley, J. (2010) 'The new squirearchy and emergent cultures of the new middle classes in rural areas' *Journal of Rural Studies* 26 pp321-331

Hendry, L. B.; Kloep, M. and Wood, S. (2002) 'Young People Talking About Adolescent Rural Crowds and Social Settings'. *Journal of Youth Studies* vol. 5 [4] pp357-74

Hoare, A. and Corver, M. (2010) 'The Regional Geography of New Young Graduate Labour in the UK'. *Regional Studies* Vol. 44 [4] pp477-94

Hodge, I., Dunn, J., Monk, S. and Fitzgerald, M. (2002) 'Barriers to participation in residual rural labour markets' *Work, Employment and Society* Vol. 16. [3] pp457-76

Hodge, I. and Monk, S. (2004) 'The economic diversity of rural England: stylised fallacies and uncertain evidence' *Journal of Rural Studies* Vol. 20 [3]

Holland, J. (2009) 'Young People and Social Capital: Uses and Abuses?' *Young* Vol. 17 [4] pp331-50

Holland, J.; Reynolds, T. and Weller, S. (2007) 'Transitions, Networks and Communities: The Significance of Social Capital in the Lives of Children and Young People'. *Journal of Youth Studies* vol. 10 [1] pp97-116

Holland, J., Thomson, R. and Henderson, S. (2006) *Qualitative Longitudinal Research: A Discussion Paper*. Families & Social Capital ESRC Research Group Working Paper No. 21

House of Commons Transport Committee (2011) *Bus Services After the Spending Review*. London: The Stationery Office

House of Commons Work and Pensions Committee (2012) *Youth Unemployment and the Youth Contract*. London: The Stationery Office

Huby, M. et al (2009) *Social and Environmental Inequalities in Rural Areas: Full Research Report, ESRC End of Award Report, RES-229-25-0004*. Swindon: ESRC

Hutchens, S. (1994) *Living in a Predicament: Young People Surviving Unemployment*. Aldershot: Avesbury

Institute for Social and Economic Research (2008). *British Household Panel Survey, waves 1-17 (1991-2008) User Documentation: Rural-Urban Indicator*. Colchester: ISER. Available online at:
<http://www.esds.ac.uk/doc/6032%5Cmrdoc%5Cpdf%5C6032userguide.pdf>

Irwin, S. (2010) 'Working across qualitative and quantitative data. Childhood, youth and social inequalities', *Forum 21. European Journal on Child and Youth Research* 6 [12]: 58-63

James, P.D. (1992) *The Children of Men*. London: Faber and Faber

Jones, A. (2004) *Review of Gap Year Provision*. Department for Skills and Education Research Brief RB555

Joshi, H. (2001) 'Is there a place for area-based initiatives?' *Environment and Planning A* pp1349-52

Keeble, D. and Taylor, P. (1995) 'Enterprising Behaviour and the Urban-Rural Shift'. *Urban Studies* Vol. 32 [6] pp975-997.

Kraut, R., Patterson, M., Lundmark, V., Kiesler, S., Mukopadhyay, T., and Scherlis, W. (1998) 'Internet Paradox: A Social Technology the Reduces Social Involvement and Psychological Well-Being?' *American Psychologist* Vol. 53 [9]pp1017-31

Kraut, R. Kiesler, S. Boneva, B., Cummings, J. Helgeson, V., and Crawford, A. (2002) 'Internet Paradox Revisited'. *Journal of Social Issues* Vol. 58 [1] pp49-72

Lawrence, M. (1997) 'Liminality, Power and the Hyperreal Rural' *Journal of Rural Studies* Vol. 13 [1] pp1-17

Leonard (2004) 'Bonding and Bridging Social Capital: Reflections from Belfast'. *Sociology* vol. 38 [5] pp927-44

Li, Y. and Marsh, D. (2008) 'New Forms of Participation: Searching for Expert Citizens and Everyday Makers'. *British Journal of Political Science* 38 pp247-72

Li, Y., Savage, M. and Pickles, A. (2003) 'Social Capital and social exclusion in England and Wales' (1972-1999). *British Journal of Sociology* Vol. 54 [4] pp497-526

Lin, N. (2001) *Social Capital*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Lindsay, C. McCracken, M. and McQuaid, R. (2003) 'Unemployment Duration and employability in remote rural labour markets' *Journal of Rural Studies* Vol. 19 [2] pp187-200

Little, J. (1997) 'Employment marginality and women's self identity' in P. Cloke and J. Little (eds.) *Contested Countryside Cultures*. London: Routledge, pp138-157

Lowe, P. And Speakman, L. (2006) 'The Greying Countryside' in P. Lowe and L. Speakman (eds.) *The Ageing Countryside*. London: Age Concern, pp9-28

MacDonald, R. (1997) 'Youth, exclusion and the millennium' in R. MacDonald (ed.) *Youth, the 'Underclass and Social Exclusion*. London: Routledge

MacDonald, R. and Marsh, J. (2005) *Disconnected Youth? Growing up in Britain's Poor Neighbourhoods*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

MacDonald, R. and Shildrick, T. (2007) Street Corner Society: Leisure Careers, Youth (sub)culture and Social Exclusion' *Leisure Studies* vol. 26 [3] pp339-55

MacDonald, R.; Shildrick, T.; Webster, C. and Simpson, D. (2005) Growing Up in Poor Neighbourhoods: 'The Significance of Class and Place in the Extended Transitions of "Socially Excluded" Adults' *Sociology* vol. 39 [5] pp873-91

MacInnes, T., Kenway, P. and Parekh, A. (2009) *Monitoring Poverty and Social Exclusion 2009*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Malik, S. (2012) 'Unpaid work scheme ruling at high court could prompt a wave of benefit rebates' *The Guardian*, 6th August 2012. Available online at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2012/aug/06/unpaid-work-scheme-benefits-rebate?intcmp=239>

Marshall, G. (1997) *Repositioning class: social inequality in industrial societies*. London: Sage

Marshall, B., Aylett, S., Mludzinski, T. And Mortimore, R. (2010) *Rural Insights Resident Survey 2009*. IPSOS MORI/ Commission for Rural Communities

Marx, K. (1982) *The Poverty of Philosophy*. New York: International Publishers (original 1847)

Marx, K. (2000) 'Capital' in D. McLellan (ed.) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, 2nd edition (originally 1867)

Marx, K. And Engels, F. (2005) *The Communist Manifesto* London: Penguin (original 1848)

Mathews, R., Pendakur, R. and Young, N. (2009) 'Social Capital, Labour Markets and Job-Finding in Urban and Rural Regions: comparing paths to employment in prosperous cities and stressed rural regions in Canada' *The Sociological Review* vol. 57 [3] pp306-330

- McCormick, J. and Philo, C. (1995) 'Where is Poverty? The hidden geography of poverty in the United Kingdom' in C. Philo (ed.) *Off the Map: The social geography of poverty in the UK*. London: Child Poverty Action Group pp1-22
- McCulloch, A. (2001) 'Reply: Ward-level deprivation and individual social and economic outcomes in the British Household Panel Survey' *Environment and Planning A* Vol. 33 pp1365-9
- Midgley, J. and Bradshaw, R. (2006) *Should I stay or should I go? Rural youth transitions*. IPPR
- Milbourne, P. (2004) 'The local geographies of poverty: a rural case study' *Geoforum* 35, pp559-575
- Milbourne, P. (2007) 'Re-populating rural studies: migrations, movements and mobilities' *Journal of Rural Studies* 23[3], 381-386.
- Milbourne, P. (2010) 'Putting Poverty and Welfare in Place'. *Policy and Politics* Vol. 38 [1] pp153-69
- Miles, M.B and Huberman, A. M. (1994) *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. London: Sage, 2nd edition
- Mitchell, R. (2001) 'Multi-level modelling might not be the answer' *Environment and Planning A* Vol. 33 pp1357-60
- Moseley, M. and Pahl, R. (2007) *Social Capital in Rural Areas: A Report for Defra*. RERC: London
- Murdoch, J. and Pratt, A. (1997) 'From the Power of Topography to the Topography of Power: A discourse on strange ruralities' in P. Cloke and J. Little (eds.) *Contested Countryside Cultures*. London: Routledge, pp51-69
- Murray, C. (1990) *The Emerging British Underclass*. London: Institute of Economic Affairs
- Murray, C. (1994) *Underclass: The Crisis Deepens*. London: Institute of Economic Affairs
- NatCen (2011) *Formative Evaluation of V, The National Young Volunteers Service: Interim report*. London: NatCen Social Research
- NatCen (2012) *Evaluation of National Citizen Service Pilots: Interim report*. London: NatCen Social Research
- National Audit Office (2012) *Adult Apprenticeships*. London: The Stationery Office
- Negrón, R. (2012) 'Audio Recording Everyday Talk' *Field Methods* Vol. 24[3] pp292-309

- Ní Laoire, C. (2001) 'A Matter of Life and Death? Men, Masculinities and Staying 'Behind' in Rural Ireland' *Sociologia Ruralis* Vol. 41 [2] pp220-36
- Noble, M. and Wright, G. (2000) 'Identifying Poverty in rural England' *Policy and Politics* Vol. 28 [3] pp293-308
- Noble, M.; Wright, G.; Dibben, C.; Smith, G. McLennan, D.; Antilla, C.; Barnes, H.; Mokhtar, C.; Noble, S.; Avenell, D.; Gardner, J.; Covizzi, I. And Lloyd, M. (2004) *Indices of Deprivation 2004*. London: Office for the Deputy Prime Minister
- Noble, M.; Wright, G.; Smith, G. And Dibben, C. (2006) *Measuring Multiple Deprivation at the small area level*. Environment and Planning 38, pp169-185
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation development (2008) *Jobs For Youth*. UK: OECD Publishing
- Oxford Consultants for Social Inclusion (2012) *Getting the measure of rural deprivation in Wales*. Cardiff: Local Government Data Unit ~ Wales
- Pakulski, J. (2005) 'Foundations of a post-class analysis' in E.O. Wright (ed.) *Approaches to Class Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp152-79
- Paldam, M. (2000) 'Social Capital: One or Many? Definition and measurement' *Journal of Economic Surveys* Vol. 14 [5] pp629-53
- Palen, J.J. (1979) 'The Urban Nexus: towards the Year 2000' in A. Hawley (ed.) *Societal Growth*. New York: Free Press, pp141-56
- Parcel T. L., and Dufur, M. J. (2001) 'Capital at Home and at School: Effects on Student Achievement'. *Social Forces* Vol. 79 [3] pp881-912
- Patiniotis, J. and Holdsworth, C. (2005) 'Seize that Chance! Leaving Home and Transitions to Higher Education' *Journal of Youth Studies* Vol. 8 [1] pp81-95.
- Payne, R.A. and Abel, G. A. (2012) 'UK indices of multiple deprivation – a way to make comparisons across constituent countries easier' *Office for National Statistics Health Statistics Quarterly* 53
- Phillimore, J., Goodson, L. and Thornhill, J. (2008) *Migrants from A8 Countries and Housing in the East Midlands*. Centre for Urban and Regional Studies for Decent and Safe Homes.
- Phimister, E.; Theodossiou, I. and Upward, R. (2006) 'Is it easier to escape low pay in urban areas? Evidence from the United Kingdom'. *Environment and Planning A*. Vol. 38, pp693-710
- Pilcher, F. and Wallace, C. (2009) 'Social Capital and Social Class in Europe: The Role of Social Networks in Social Stratification' *European Sociological Review* Vol. 25 [1] pp319-32

Porfeli, E., Wang, C., Audette, R., McColl, A. and Algozzine, B. (2009) 'Influence of Social and Community Capital on Student Achievement in a Large Urban School District' *Education and Urban Society* Vol. 42 [1] pp72-95

Portes, A. (1998) 'Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology' *Annual Review of Sociology* Vol. 24 [1] pp1-24

Pouliakas, K. and Theodossiou, I. (2010) 'Differences in the job satisfaction of high-paid and low-paid workers across Europe'. *International Labour Review*, vol. 149, no. 1, pp. 1-29.

Powell, M. Boyne, G. and Ashworth, R. (2001) 'Towards a geography of people and place poverty' *Policy and Politics* Vol. 29 [3] pp243-58

The Princes Trust (2007) *The Cost of Exclusion: Counting the cost of youth disadvantage in the UK*

Putnam, R. (1995) 'Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital' *Journal of Democracy* vol. 6 [1] pp65-78

Putnam, R. (2000) *Bowling Alone*. New York: Simon and Schuster

Raffo, C. and Reeves, M. (2000) 'Youth Transitions and social Exclusion: Developments in Social Capital Theory' *Journal of Youth Studies* Vol. 3 [2] pp147-66

Rizou, M. and Walsh, P. P. (2011) 'Is there a Rural-Urban Divide? Location and Productivity of UK Manufacturing'. *Regional Studies* Vol. 45 [5] pp641-56

Roberts, K. (1995) *Youth Unemployment in Modern Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Rose, D. (1995) 'Official Social Classifications in the UK'. *Social Research Update* 9. Guildford: University of Surrey accessed at 11am 4/4/2010 from <http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU9.html>

Rowlingson, K. (2011) *Does income inequality cause health and social problems?* York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

Rowlingson, K. and McKay, S. (2012) *Wealth and the Wealthy*. Bristol: Policy Press

Russell, H. (1999) 'Friends in Low Places: Gender, Unemployment and Sociability' *Work, Employment and Society* Vol. 13 [2] pp205-224

Salverda, W. and Mayhew, K. (2010) 'Capitalist economies and wage inequality' *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* Vol. 25 [1] pp126-54

Savage, M. (2000) *Class Analysis and Social Transformation*. Buckingham: Open University Press

Scott, J. (1996) *Stratification & Power: Structures of Class, Status and Command*. Cambridge: Polity

Scottish Executive (2005) *Literature Review of the NEET Group*

Seale, C. (1999) *The Quality of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage

Shaw, L.H and Gant, L. M. (2002) 'In Defense of the Internet: The Relationship between Internet Communication and Depression, Loneliness Self-Esteem, and Perceived Social Support' *CyberPsychology & Behaviour*. Vol. 5 [2] pp157-171

Sherman, J. (2006) 'Coping with Rural Poverty: Economic Survival and Moral Capital in Rural America' *Social Forces* Vol. 85 [2] pp891-914

Singer, J. D and Willett, J. B. (2003) *Applied Longitudinal Data Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Skifter Andersen, H. (2002) 'Excluded Places: the Interaction Between Segregation, Urban Decay and Deprived Neighbourhoods' *Housing Theory and Society* 19 pp153-69

Sleight, P. (2004) 'An introductory review of geodemographic information systems' *Journal of Targeting, Measurement and Analysis for Marketing* Vol. 12 [4] pp379-88

Smith, G., Noble, M. and Wright, G. (2001) 'Do we care about area effects?' *Environment and Planning A* Vol. 33 pp1335-69

Smith, N., Davis, A. and Hirsch, D. (2010) *A minimum income standard for rural households*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation/ Commission for Rural Communities.

Social Exclusion Unit (2001) *A New Commitment to Neighbourhood Renewal: National Strategy Action Plan*. London: Cabinet Office

Spielhofer, T., Golden, S., Evans, K., Marshall, H., Mundy, E., Pomati, M. and Styles, B. (2010) *Barriers to Participation in Education and Training*. London: Department for Education

Spielhofer, T., Golden, S. and Evans, K. (2011) *Young People's Aspirations in Rural Areas*. Slough: National Foundation for Educational Research

Steinfeld, C., Ellison, N.B. and Lampe, C. (2008) 'Social capital, self-esteem and use of online social network sites: a longitudinal analysis' *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology* 29 pp434-445

Stone, W. And Hughes, J. (2002) *Social Capital: Empirical meaning and measurement validity*. Australian Institute of Family Studies: Melbourne

Subrahmanyam, K. Reich, S.M., Waechter, N. and Espinoza, G. (2008) 'Online and offline social networks: Use of social networking sites by emerging adults' *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology* 29 pp420-433

Tabachnick, B.G and Fidell, L.S. (1983) *Using Multivariate Statistics*. New York: Harper & Row

Taylor, M. (2008) *Living Working Countryside: The Taylor Review of Rural Economy and Affordable Housing*. London: Department for Communities and Local Government

Thomson, R., Henderson, S. and Holland, J. (2003) 'Making the most of what you've got? Resources, values and inequalities in young people's transitions to adulthood' *Educational Review* Vol. 55 (1): 33-46

Tomai, M., Rosa, V. Bebane, M. E., D'Acunti, A., Bendetti, M. and Francescato, D. (2010) 'Virtual Communities in schools as tools to promote social capital with high school students' *Computers and Education* 54 pp265-74

Townsend, P. (1979) *Poverty in the United Kingdom: A Survey of Household Resources and Standards of Living*. Harmondsworth: Penguin

Tyldum, G. (2012) 'Ethics or access? Balancing informed consent against the application of institutional, economic or emotional pressures in recruiting respondents for research' *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* Vol. 15[3] pp199-210

Valentine, G.; Holloway, S.; Knell, C. and Jayne, M. (2008) 'Drinking Places: Young People and cultures of alcohol consumption in rural environments' *Journal of Rural Studies* Vol. 24 [1] pp 28-40

Valkenburg, P., Peter, J. and Schoutne, A. P. (2006) 'Friend Networking Sites and Their Relationship to Adolescents' Well-Being and Social Self-Esteem' *CyberPsychology and Behaviour* Vol. 9 [5] pp584-590

Valkenburg, P. and Peter, J. (2007) 'Preadolescents' and Adolescents' Online Communication and Their Closeness to Friends' *Developmental Psychology* Vol. 43 [2] pp267-77

Van Deth, J. W. (2003) 'Measuring social capital: orthodoxies and continuing controversies' *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* Vol. 6 [1] pp79-92

Verbeke, G. and Molenberghs, G. (2009) *Linear Mixed Models for Longitudinal Data*. New York: Springer

Vyronides, M. (2007) 'Social and cultural capital in educational research: issues of operationalisation and measurement'. *British Educational Research Journal*. Vol. 33 [6] pp867-85

Watkin, S. and Jones, M. (2008) 'Twenty-first century employment and training in the countryside? The rural New Deal' experience' in M. Woods (ed.) *New Labour's Countryside*. Bristol: Policy Press pp221-39

- Watt, G. (2002) 'The Inverse care law today' *Lancet* 360 pp252-4
- Webber, D., Curry, N. and Plumridge, A. (2009) 'Business Productivity and Area Productivity in Rural England'. *Regional Studies* Vol. 43 [5].
- Webber, R. (2009) 'Response to 'The Coming Crisis of Empirical Sociology': An Outline of the Research Potential of Administrative and Transactional Data' *Sociology* Vol. 43 [1] pp169-78
- Webber, R. and Butler, T. (2007) 'Classifying Pupils by Where They Live: How Well Does This Predict Variations in Their GCSE Results?' *Urban Studies* Vol. 44 [7] pp1229-53
- Weber, B., Jensen, L., Miller, K., Mosley, J. and Fisher, M. (2005) 'A Critical Review of Rural Poverty Literature: Is There Truly A Rural Effect?' *International Regional Science Review* Vol. 28 [4] pp381-414
- Webster, C.; Simpson, D.; MacDonald, R. Abbas, A.; Cieslik, M.; Shildrick, T. And Simpson, M. (2004) *Poor Transitions: Social exclusion and young adults*. Bristol: Policy Press
- Wellman, B., Haase, A. Q. Witte, J. and Hampton, K. (2001) 'Does the Internet Increase, Decrease or Supplement Social Capital?' *American Behavioural Scientist* Vol. 45 [3] pp436-55
- West, B. T. (2009) 'Analysing Longitudinal Data with the Mixed Models Procedure in SPSS' *Evaluation and the Health Professions* Vol. 32, pp207-28
- West, B.T., Welch, K.B. and Galecki, A. T. (2007) *Linear Mixed Models*. Boca Raton: Chapman & Hall/CRC
- Wilcox, S. (2006) *The geography of affordable and unaffordable housing*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Wilkinson, R. and Pickett, K. (2007) 'The problems of relative deprivation: Why some societies do better than others' *Social Science and Medicine* 65 pp1965-78
- Wilkinson, R. and Pickett, K. (2008) 'Income Inequality and Socioeconomic Gradients in Mortality' *American Journal of Public Health* Vol. 98 [4] pp699-704
- Willis, P. (1977) *Learning to Labour*. Farnborough: Saxon House
- Woolley, C. M. (2009) 'Meeting the Mixed Methods Challenge of Integration in a Sociological Study of Structure and Agency' *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* Vol. 3 [7] pp7-25
- Wright, E. O. (1997) *Class Counts: Comparative Studies in Class Analysis* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Wright, E. O. (2005) 'Foundations of a neo-Marxist class analysis' in E.O. Wright (ed.) *Approaches to Class Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp4-30

Yates, S. and Payne, M. (2006) 'Not so NEET? A Critique of the Use of 'NEET' in Setting targets for Interventions with Young People'. *Journal of Youth Studies* vol. 9 [3] pp329-44

Appendix chapter 4A: Descriptive statistics for Local Authority Districts

Table A4A.1: % of 18-24 year olds claiming for less than 6 months by LAD classification, September 2009. Source: Nomis

Rural Urban	N LADs	Mean	Median	Std. D	Minimum	Maximum
Major Urban	71	7.34	7.62	2.29	2.40	12.76
Large Urban	39	6.23	5.71	1.92	2.96	10.36
Other Urban	58	7.05	7.37	2.31	1.54	11.93
Significant rural	55	5.99	5.76	1.80	2.30	9.72
Rural-50	48	5.79	5.99	1.40	3.17	9.34
Rural-80	55	4.76	4.69	1.49	.00	8.09
Total	326	6.26	6.18	2.12	.00	12.76

Table A4A.2: % of 18-24 year olds claiming for over 6 months by LAD classification, September 2009. Source: Nomis

Rural Urban	N LADs	Mean	Median	Std. D	Minimum	Maximum
Major Urban	71	1.72	1.55	.89	.42	3.76
Large Urban	39	1.64	1.48	.81	.53	4.09
Other Urban	58	1.78	1.76	.75	.40	3.64
Significant rural	55	1.45	1.21	.81	.51	4.64
Rural-50	48	1.31	1.31	.54	.40	2.89
Rural-80	55	1.16	1.14	.53	.00	3.01
Total	326	1.52	1.38	.77	.00	4.64

Table A4A.3: % of those under 24 claiming for 12 months or more by LAD classification, September 2009. Source: Nomis

Rural Urban	N LADs	Mean	Median	Std. D	Minimum	Maximum
Major Urban	71	1.62	1.00	1.35	.00	6.00
Large Urban	39	2.13	2.00	1.77	1.00	10.00
Other Urban	58	1.69	2.00	.98	.00	5.00
Significant rural	55	1.61	1.00	1.52	.00	10.00
Rural-50	48	1.48	1.00	.90	.00	4.00
Rural-80	54	1.97	2.00	1.54	.00	6.00
Total	325	1.72	1.00	1.36	.00	10.00

Percentages calculated from 2008 mid-year population estimates and latest claimant figures from Nomisweb, September 2009. Health warning: last tables use population estimates for 18-24 year olds and include long term unemployed under age 24. Potentially, 17 year olds included in claimant counts and not in population estimates.

Table A4A.4: Unemployment rates by region, Feb 2010.

Source :<http://www.statistics.gov.uk/StatBase/Product.asp?vlnk=15084>

Region	Rate (%)
North East	9.3
North West	8.5
Yorkshire & the Humber	9.1
East Midlands	7.2
West Midlands	9.4
East	6.5
London	9.1
South East	6.2
South West	6.4
England	7.9
Wales	8.6
Scotland	7.6
Northern Ireland	6.0
United Kingdom	7.8

Table A4A.5: List of LADs in West Midlands

LAD	Rural/urban	Population	% Rural
Birmingham	1	977364	0.03
Coventry	2	301118	0.75
Dudley	1	394886	0
Sandwell	1	282986	0
Solihull	1	199493	9.52
Walsall	1	253239	1.02
Wolverhampton	1	239458	0
Herefordshire, County	5	174931	66.53
Telford and Wrekin	3	158246	15.98
Shropshire	5	283393	74.45
Stoke-on-Trent	2	240599	0.39
Cannock Chase	4	92308	33.93
East Staffordshire	4	103643	37.46
Lichfield	5	93171	59.34
Newcastle-under-L	2	122141	19.66
South Staffordshire	4	106059	40.14
Stafford	4	120575	43.17
Staffordshire Moorlands	5	94672	64.32
Tamworth	3	74412	0.13
North Warwickshire	5	62058	76.85
Nuneaton and Bedworth	3	119191	2.01
Rugby	4	87464	26.09
Stratford-on-Avon	6	111589	99.7
Warwick	4	125922	30.14
Bromsgrove	4	87879	30.59
Malvern Hills	5	72155	52.91
Redditch	3	78817	2.46
Worcester	3	93300	0.14
Wychavon	6	112961	99.33
Wyre Forest	4	97219	42.98

Table A4A.6: West Midlands: % of 18-24 year olds claiming for under 6 months. Source: Nomis 2009

Urban rural	Mean	N	Std. D	Median	Minimum	Maximum
MU (1)	10.96	6	1.77	11.18	8.57	12.76
LU (2)	6.92	3	1.66	6.96	5.25	8.55
OU (3)	8.19	5	.81	8.19	7.12	9.15
SR (4)	7.07	8	1.59	6.73	4.54	8.99
R50 (5)	6.35	6	.85	6.19	5.14	7.50
R80 (6)	4.95	2	1.30	4.95	4.03	5.86
Total	7.73	30	2.22	7.31	4.03	12.76

Table A4A.7: West Midlands: Young claimants, over 6 months. Source: Nomis 2009

Urban rural	Mean	N	Std. D	Median	Minimum	Maximum
MU (1)	3.21	6	.64	3.36	2.03	3.76
LU (2)	2.13	3	.88	1.67	1.58	3.14
OU (3)	2.37	5	.24	2.36	2.06	2.68
SR (4)	1.89	8	.83	1.86	.74	2.98
R50 (5)	1.39	6	.18	1.37	1.13	1.60
R80 (6)	1.38	2	.58	1.38	.97	1.79
Total	2.12	30	.86	2.03	.74	3.76

Table A4A.8: West Midlands: Young claimants over 12 months. Source: Nomis 2009

Urban rural	Mean	N	Std. D	Median	Minimum	Maximum
MU (1)	2.83	6	2.50	2.50	1.00	6.00
LU (2)	1.67	3	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00
OU (3)	1.60	5	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00
SR (4)	1.63	8	1.00	1.00	.00	6.00
R50 (5)	1.17	6	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00
R80 (6)	2.00	2	2.00	2.00	1.00	3.00
Total	1.80	30	1.00	1.00	.00	6.00

Table A4A.9: West Midlands: 18-24 year olds unemployed for 12 months or more. Source: Nomis 2009

Urban rural	Mean	N	Std. D	Median	Minimum	Maximum
Urban	1.96	22	1.50	2.00	.00	6.00
Rural	1.38	8	.74	1.00	1.00	3.00
Total	1.80	30	1.35	1.00	.00	6.00

Table A4A.10: Rural/ urban population of GORs by LAD classification count and %. Source: Neighbourhood Statistics

GOR	Urban count	Rural count	Urban %	Rural %
North East	10	2	83.3%	16.7%
North West	32	7	82.1%	17.9%
Yorks/ Humber	14	7	66.7%	33.3%
East Midlands	22	18	55.0%	45.0%
West Midlands	22	8	73.3%	26.7%
East of England	29	18	61.7%	38.3%
London	33	0	100.0%	.0%
South East	47	20	70.1%	29.9%
South West	14	23	37.8%	62.2%
Total	223	103	68.4%	31.6%

Appendix chapter 4B: Fieldwork materials

This appendix contains documents used in the fieldwork. The interview outline is included first. This rough guide simply served as a checklist for the topics to be covered. As mentioned in chapters 4, 5 and 6, a semi-structured interview format was chosen to strike a balance between consistency and flexibility. In practice, interviews often took different courses according to how the individual(s) in question responded to each item. The remaining documents are the cover letter sent to gatekeepers, participant information sheet, and the consent form.

Interview outline

Preliminaries

Age

Family: live with parents, are they working, have children of their own?

Occupation of parents if applicable

Location

What kind of area live/grew up in..ie suburb, village..is it local? Have they moved? When?

Perception of local area – happy here? Good for young people generally?

More specific views on locality: crime, community, opportunities.

Any reason why holds these views?

Housing situation – what type of property, tenure (owner occupied, private rent, social rent)?

Current activities

Work- pay, promotion prospects, permanent or temporary, enjoyment, description, skill, status

How did they get the job? Are there people who can find work for them if needed? Ever done this?

Ever used jobcentre, connexions or other youth services?

What experiences did they have? Were these based locally? Was it helpful?

Education and training- how long has been on course, how long it lasts and incentives. If not in education, why not? Ask about history if appropriate (may not be due to age or reluctance)

What does being in education/going to university mean to the participant?

Involvement in sport, social, community organisations, other extracurricular pursuits

How they partake in activities mentioned above with reference to travel, costs, time management

Future plans in work and education. Chosen career path or specific uni course? Reasons for this?

Ever changed mind, when and why?

Was location an issue?

Inactivity: summer jobs, plans for gap year, volunteering, other interests sport art music etc.

Transport

How do you get to school/work/college? How long does it take? How far do you live?

Do they drive? Own a car? Opinion on public transport locally and in general

Networks

Extent of support networks: do friends and family live locally?

Are there many people who can help? Lend money, socialise, listen etc.

To what extent have parents/ family been involved in their education?

Does this differ according to gender or class in their opinion?

Interest in politics, general trustworthiness in others (local or otherwise)

Trust in institutions: schools, police, government

Location again

Desire to relocate – is it normal for young people to want to move? Rural to urban or vice versa, or to a similar area – what reasons?

Can location be a disadvantage? Does growing up in a rural/poor etc. area determine life chances?

Are there dis/advantages to being wealthy living in a poor area or poor in a wealthier area?

General thoughts about situation of young people in terms of opportunities: work, education, housing, lifestyle- locally and nationally.



UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM



Dear Sir/ Madam

I am undertaking a research project funded by the Economic and Social Research Council in the Institute of Applied Social Studies at the University of Birmingham. The study is on youth opportunities and outcomes in education and employment, in particular comparing rural and urban areas in Britain. An important aspect of this research is the experiences of young people concerning how living in an urban or rural location has affected their education and fortunes in the labour market. There is a lack of research specifically addressing youth unemployment in rural areas, and this project aims to shed light on whether young people outside of major towns and cities face different difficulties to urban counterparts.

As part of this study, I want to interview young people in different locations across the West Midlands, and I ask that your pupils/students/jobseekers are given permission to participate through your institution. The topics for discussion are current status in education and employment (and history when applicable), plans for continuing with learning or work, and whether these have been affected by the area in which they live. All interviewees will be reimbursed for any travel expenses and given a £10 Tesco voucher for their participation. Participants will be asked to return for a follow-up interview 6-9 months later. They reserve the right to refuse this, and to withdraw from the study at any time. Furthermore, it is crucial that prospective interviewees are not pressurised into taking part. The study has passed through the university's ethical review process and I have also received CRB clearance to conduct research with participants under 18.

The information which you supply and that which may be collected as part of the research project will be entered into a filing system or database and will only be accessed by authorised personnel involved in the project. The information will be processed by the University of Birmingham in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998. No identifiable personal data will be published.

If you would be willing to participate in this study, please reply to confirm.

Martin Culliney PhD candidate at the University of Birmingham [REDACTED]

Project supervised by Dr Sin Yi Cheung and Professor Steve McKay, Institute of Applied Social Studies, University of Birmingham



UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM



I am undertaking a doctoral research project funded by the Economic and Social Research Council in the Institute of Applied Social Studies at the University of Birmingham. The topic is youth opportunities and outcomes in education and employment, in particular comparing rural and urban areas in Britain. There is a lack of research specifically addressing youth unemployment in rural areas, and this project aims to shed light on whether young people outside of major towns and cities face different difficulties to urban counterparts. An important aspect of this research is the experiences of how living in an urban or rural location has affected their progress through education and into the labour market. Therefore, your experiences of work and education as a young person are important to the research.

Learning the opinions and experiences of young people around these issues is obviously important to this study. As such, I am looking to interview people between the ages of 16 and 24 as part of the project. The topics to be discussed are their current status with regard to education and employment (and history when applicable), their plans for continuing with learning or work, and whether any of the above have been affected by the area in which they live.

Interviews will last around 45 minutes. All interviewees will be reimbursed for any travel expenses and given a £10 Tesco voucher for their participation. Participants will be asked to return for a follow-up interview 6-9 months later, and are able to refuse this if they wish. Those participating in second interviews will receive the same payment as for the first interview. Interviewees reserve the right to not answer any questions they feel uncomfortable with, and to withdraw from the study or contact the Citizens Advice Bureau (08444 771010) at any time to raise any concerns. Interviews will be conducted in the University of Birmingham, or at an institutional setting familiar to the participant, such as their school. The decision to take part is solely that of the interviewee. Withdrawing from the study will not require reimbursement of rewards given for participation. The information will be retained by the University of Birmingham and will only be used for the purpose of research, and statistical and audit purposes. No identifiable personal data will be published.

If you would like to participate, kindly put your contact details at the bottom of this sheet, and we can arrange a convenient time for an interview.

Martin Culliney, PhD candidate at the University of Birmingham

Name.....

Phone number/e-mail address.....



UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM



This study is on youth opportunities and outcomes in education and employment, in particular comparing rural and urban areas in Britain. An important aspect of this research is the experiences of how living in an urban or rural location has affected their progress through education and into the labour market. Therefore, your experiences of work and education as a young person are important to the research.

The information which you supply and that which may be collected as part of the research project will be entered into a filing system or database and will only be accessed by authorised personnel involved in the project. The information will be retained by the University of Birmingham and will only be used for the purpose of research, and statistical and audit purposes. By supplying this information you are consenting to the University storing your information for the purposes stated above. The information will be processed by the University of Birmingham in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998. No identifiable personal data will be published.

Participants experiencing distress or discomfort are free to withdraw from the study at any stage. They are encouraged to contact the Citizens Advice Bureau Birmingham (08444 771010) to discuss any issues which may arise.

- I confirm that I have read and understand the participant information leaflet for this study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions if necessary and have had these answered satisfactorily.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. If I withdraw my data will be removed from the study and will be destroyed.
- I understand that my personal data will be processed for the purposes detailed above, in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.
- Based upon the above, I agree to take part in this study.

Name of participant..... Date.....Signature.....

Name of researcher..... Date..... Signature.....

Appendix 6: Fieldwork phase two participant profiles

Hayley

This 16-year old female was first interviewed alongside a schoolmate at a rural comprehensive school around two months before they were due to sit GCSEs. She was originally from a major city and had intentions to return there one day. Her aim was to study childcare at college before going to university to study midwifery. She suspected that she had dyslexia but was undiagnosed. Consequently, she was strongly opposed to enrolling at the local college as when she had entered the application process, they had done little to assess her needs or offer support. We met again after the summer holidays and she was then enrolled at that very college. Having been unable to start the college course mentioned previously after failing her GCSEs, she was doing retakes in the hope of being able to continue on the same career path outlined during our initial interview.

Kevin

Was NEET at the time of the first interview and was recruited by a youth worker in a rural town. He had left school with only three GCSEs and had done occasional casual work in addition to holding a retail position for several months when living in a different town. He sometimes made money from selling fish or game that he had caught although he admitted this was unreliable. These activities were more hobbies than occupations, but he aimed to become a gamekeeper, despite expressing doubts about the prospects for a young person being able to enter that field. When we met again seven months later he had secured an apprenticeship in that sector, having been informed of the opportunity by someone he had met at the youth centre which was the venue for both of our meetings. Due to the remote location of his workplace, he said he would have been unable to maintain this employment without independent transport, and arrived at the interview on a moped, acquired through a local lease scheme.

Gemma

I met Gemma at the same rural youth centre as Kevin. She was aged 18 and NEET at the time of first interview. Since leaving school, she had not done any paid work and her only attempt at education or training, when enrolled on a part-time childcare programme at a local, council-operated training centre, ended sourly as she was asked to leave for not keeping up with work – an allegation she denies. Seven months later she had still found no work and was back at the same training centre studying IT, again part-time. Although she was adamant that she would not return there, the lack of local options forced her to reconsider. She elected to take a different course as the time she had spent looking for childcare work without getting a breakthrough led her to conclude that the local market was saturated and moving into different sector might improve her prospects.

Chelsea

Chelsea was aged 17 at our first interview and was then on the V-talent programme. She had been expelled from mainstream schools following a series of violent incidents involving both pupils and teachers and spent the remainder of her compulsory schooling in specialist provision. During this time, she met a course tutor who was a profoundly positive influence and this relationship seemed to be a catalyst for change in her life. She stopped getting in trouble, developed an interest in outdoor pursuits and began thinking about what she would like to do for a career. By the time of our second interview Chelsea had secured an apprenticeship in business administration, her first job aside from irregular casual work for relatives, having completed the V programme and gained all of the associated certification. She reflected positively on the scheme, expressing disappointment that it was no longer running and praising it for enabling her to be involved in constructive activities such as mentoring school pupils.

Dean

This 18 year old male living in urban area was on V-talent when we first met, with the interview arranged by the same urban college that recruited Chelsea. He had joined this programme having been NEET beforehand. Dean had finished school with 5 GCSE at A*-C but this did not include Maths, which he claims to have attempted on six occasions without success. He had also failed to complete his A-levels, with the death of his mother at this time and subsequent family turmoil proving too disruptive. Not having maths has proven to be a disadvantage to him as he describes his interests as mostly vocational. At the second interview, V-talent had finished and he was NEET again. His time on the programme had helped him to build experience in events management and he had considered seeking work in retail, although he still held aspirations to be a holiday resort entertainer. Dean was busy with various extra-curricular activities including voluntary work as a football coach and student radio broadcaster, but ultimately was unemployed despite his time on the V programme.

Jenny

This 19-year old female was living with foster parents and taking A-levels at an FE college in a rural town when we first met. She had retaken some subjects after an unsuccessful first year doing AS levels, but was then on track to study business management at university. Her efforts to find a job had been fruitless, a fact she attributed to the remote location where she lived combined with her inability to drive. I met her again at a university campus roughly two hours' drive from the original study location, and she had gained a place on the course which was her insurance choice. She had managed the transition to a more urban environment well, although the student town has only 60,000 residents and she was accustomed to moving house having spent several years in care. She also

revealed that she had not found any paid work over the summer but had volunteered at a local church.

Shilpa

I interviewed this 18-year old female twice at an urban comprehensive school. On the first occasion, she had been studying A-levels and doing occasional work as a catwalk model at fashion shows. She gained the grades required for her insurance choice and the second interview took place during the autumn term when she returned home from university. She was studying in a large city around two hours away and was pleased with her experience so far, despite having considered staying at home and doing a degree at a local institution and having been unable to find work since relocating.

Mark

This 18 year old male was on an employability course for NEET youth at a rural college at the time of both the first and second interview. He had been forced to leave a public services course at another institution after being caught with soft drugs and ended up on this programme as he was looking to assess his future options. He held a part-time job as a kitchen porter which he felt did not give him enough hours but was unable to find other work. In our first meeting, he outlined his plan to move to a major city along with two friends, where they intended to take a course in sound engineering and find work to cover their costs. At our second interview, he had been forced to abandon this plan as he was unable to raise money for moving expenses and accommodation. He had also lost his job during the interim.

Bethany

I met this 17 year-old female at the same rural college that recruited Mark, where she was on the same employability programme for NEET youth. She combined this with voluntary work at a nursery, but was unable to secure a paid job there. Her position was made more difficult by the remoteness of her location - her family home was an isolated dwelling, a ten minute drive from the nearest bus stop – and the fact that she could not drive. Despite this, she was fond of living in a rural area and saw transport as the problem as opposed to the location itself. By the time of the second interview she had started an apprenticeship at a nursery only 15 minutes' drive from her house but was reliant on lifts from her parents in order to attend work and college day release. She still intended to remain in her local area but was keen to start driving to increase her independence.

Gary

Gary was 23 and living alone in a flat in a suburb of a major city. He finished school but did not achieve 5 A*-C and was working part-time as a handyman in a position he gained through personal contacts. He aimed to go to college or find full-time work but by the time we met for a second interview he was still in the same position. His wages and benefits did not leave him much disposable income

but he was content to be employed having spent a prolonged period as NEET prior to the taking part in the research. While he had not made the transitions he hoped to make by the follow-up stage, he was reasonably happy overall considering his history of unemployment.

Appendix chapter 7A: Descriptive statistics for original BHPS 6032 rural/urban categories

England and Wales

Table A7A.1: BHPS wave 17 respondents by rural/urban location: England and Wales

Category	% All ages	% Age 16-24
Urban sparse	.4	.6
Town and fringe sparse	1.6	1.4
Village sparse	1.8	2.0
Hamlet and isolated dwellings sparse	1.8	1.6
Urban less sparse	71.9	75.2
Town and fringe less sparse	11.5	9.6
Village sparse	7.4	6.5
Hamlet and isolated dwellings less sparse	3.6	3.1
RURAL	28.1	24.8
URBAN	71.9	75.2
N	9922	1524

Table A7A.2: BHPS wave 17 respondents by rural/urban location: England and Wales. $\chi^2 = 5.298$, df = 7, ns

Category	Male	Female	N
Urban sparse	50.0%	50.0%	10
Town and fringe sparse	39.1%	60.9%	23
Village sparse	37.5%	62.5%	32
Hamlet and isolated dwellings sparse	38.5%	61.5%	26
Urban less sparse	45.2%	54.8%	1086
Town and fringe less sparse	37.8%	62.2%	143
Village sparse	44.0%	56.0%	100
Hamlet and isolated dwellings less sparse	52.4%	47.6%	42
TOTAL	44.3%	55.7%	-
N	647	815	1462

Table A7A.3: Rural/urban classification for England and Wales by employment status Sept 2007. BHPS wave 17 respondents aged under 25. $\chi^2 = 30.838$, df= 21, ns.

Category	Employed	Unemployed	In FTE	Other	N
Urban sparse	60.0%	20.0%	10.0%	10.0%	10
Town and fringe sparse	63.2%	10.5%	15.8%	10.5%	19
Village sparse	36.7%	20.0%	33.3%	10.0%	30
Hamlet and isolated dwellings sparse	25.0%	10.0%	45.0%	20.0%	20
Urban less sparse	52.8%	7.7%	29.5%	10.0%	943
Town and fringe less sparse	54.2%	11.7%	26.7%	7.5%	120
Village sparse	47.0%	4.8%	41.0%	7.2%	83
Hamlet and isolated dwellings less sparse	44.1%	8.8%	44.1%	2.9%	34
TOTAL	51.7%	8.4%	30.3%	9.5%	-
N	651	106	382	120	1259

Table A7A.4: Rural/urban classification for England and Wales by highest level of educational qualification achieved Sept 2007. BHPS wave 17 respondents aged under 25. $\chi^2 = 30.302$, df= 21, ns.

Category	Degree	A level	GCSE	None of these	N
Urban sparse	20.0%	40.0%	40.0%	.0%	10
Town and fringe sparse	63.2%	10.5%	15.8%	10.5%	23
Village sparse	36.7%	20.0%	33.3%	10.0%	32
Hamlet and isolated dwellings sparse	25.0%	10.0%	45.0%	20.0%	26
Urban less sparse	52.8%	7.7%	29.5%	10.0%	1048
Town and fringe less sparse	54.2%	11.7%	26.7%	7.5%	131
Village sparse	47.0%	4.8%	41.0%	7.2%	94
Hamlet and isolated dwellings less sparse	44.1%	8.8%	44.1%	2.9%	38
TOTAL	51.7%	8.4%	30.3%	9.5%	-
N	651	106	382	120	1402

Table A7A.5: Rural/urban classification for England and Wales by occupational class Sept 2007. BHPS wave 17 respondents aged under 25. $\chi^2 = 14.243$, df= 21, ns.

Category	Service	Intermediate	Manual	N
Urban sparse	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	5
Town and fringe sparse	18.8%	43.8%	37.5%	16
Village sparse	8.3%	41.7%	50.0%	12
Hamlet and isolated dwellings sparse	12.5%	62.5%	25.0%	8
Urban less sparse	26.0%	52.6%	21.5%	508
Town and fringe less sparse	23.3%	54.8%	21.9%	73
Village sparse	17.9%	48.7%	33.3%	39
Hamlet and isolated dwellings less sparse	21.1%	47.4%	31.6%	19
TOTAL	24.6%	51.9%	23.5%	-
N	167	353	160	680

Scotland

Table A7A.6: BHPS wave 17 respondents by rural/urban location: Scotland

Category	% All ages	% Age 16-24
Large urban	6.2	5.9
Other urban	5.4	5.3
Accessible small town	1.7	2.2
Remote small town	0.5	0.6
Very remote small town	0.1	0
Accessible rural	2.4	1.1
Remote rural	0.5	0.2
Very remote rural	0.4	0.3
RURAL	34.9	31.6
URBAN	65.1	68.4
N	2565	367

Table A7A.7: Rural/urban classification for Scotland by gender Sept 2007. BHPS wave 17 respondents aged under 25. $\chi^2 = 2.099$, df= 6, ns.

Category	Male	Female	N
Large urban	44.9%	55.1%	127
Other urban	49.6%	50.4%	113
Accessible small town	48.9%	51.1%	45
Remote small town	35.7%	64.3%	14
Very remote small town	-	-	-
Accessible rural	47.8%	52.2%	14
Remote rural	60.0%	40.0%	23
Very remote rural	33.3%	66.7%	5
Total	46.8%	53.2%	6
N	156	177	333

Table A7A.8: Rural/urban classification for Scotland by employment status Sept 2007. BHPS wave 17 respondents aged under 25. $\chi^2 = 21.647$, df= 18, ns.

Category	Employed	Unemployed	FTE	Other	N
Large urban	46.3%	9.9%	38.8%	5.0%	121
Other urban	50.5%	5.8%	38.8%	4.9%	103
Accessible small town	40.5%	19.0%	31.0%	9.5%	42
Remote small town	53.8%	.0%	46.2%	.0%	13
Very remote small town	-	-	-	-	-
Accessible rural	52.4%	4.8%	33.3%	9.5%	21
Remote rural	80.0%	.0%	.0%	20.0%	5
Very remote rural	50.0%	33.3%	16.7%	.0%	6
Total	48.2%	9.3%	36.7%	5.8%	-
N	150	29	114	18	311

Table A7A.9: Rural/urban classification for Scotland by highest level of educational attainment Sept 2007. BHPS wave 17 respondents aged under 25. $\chi^2 = 25.214$, df= 18, ns

Category	Degree	A level	GCSE	None	N
Large urban	13.8%	43.9%	36.6%	5.7%	123
Other urban	9.8%	36.6%	50.0%	3.6%	112
Accessible small town	4.7%	37.2%	58.1%	.0%	43
Remote small town	7.1%	35.7%	35.7%	21.4%	14
Very remote small town	-	-	-	-	-
Accessible rural	13.0%	30.4%	52.2%	4.3%	23
Remote rural	.0%	25.0%	50.0%	25.0%	4
Very remote rural	16.7%	16.7%	66.7%	.0%	100.0%
Total	10.8%	38.5%	45.8%	4.9%	-
N	35	125	149	16	325

Table A7A.10: Rural/urban classification for Scotland by occupational class Sept 2007. BHPS wave 17 respondents aged under 25. $\chi^2 = 16.218$, df= 12, ns

Category	Service	Intermediate	Manual	N
Large urban	23.0%	52.5%	24.6%	61
Other urban	13.3%	61.7%	25.0%	60
Accessible small town	13.6%	63.6%	22.7%	22
Remote small town	.0%	55.6%	44.4%	9
Very remote small town	-	-	-	-
Accessible rural	.0%	60.0%	40.0%	10
Remote rural	.0%	.0%	100.0%	2
Very remote rural	50.0%	.0%	50.0%	2
Total	15.7%	56.6%	27.7%	-
N	26	94	46	166

Northern Ireland

Table A7A.11: BHPS wave 17 respondents by rural/urban classification: Northern Ireland

Category	% All ages	% Age 16-24
Belfast Metropolitan Urban Area	29.1	29.1
Derry Urban Area	3.9	4.3
Large town	14.2	12.3
Medium town	5.7	4.8
Small town	7.4	10.5
Intermediate settlement	4.9	4.3
Village	5.0	5.4
Small village, hamlet or open country	29.9	29.3
RURAL	47.1	49.6
URBAN	52.9	50.4
N	2344	351

Table A7A.12: Rural/urban classification for Northern Ireland by gender Sept 2007. BHPS wave 17 respondents aged under 25. $\chi^2 = 3.589$, df= 7, ns.

Category	Male	Female	N
Belfast Metropolitan Urban Area	43.1%	56.9%	102
Derry Urban Area	40.0%	60.0%	15
Large town	40.0%	60.0%	43
Medium town	39.5%	60.5%	17
Small town	35.3%	64.7%	37
Intermediate settlement	45.9%	54.1%	15
Village	26.7%	73.3%	19
Small village, hamlet or open country	31.6%	68.4%	103
TOTAL	45.6%	54.4%	-
N	147	204	351

Table A7A.13: Rural/urban classification for Northern Ireland by highest academic qualification achieved Sept 2007. BHPS wave 17 respondents aged under 25. $\chi^2 = 27.406$, df= 21, ns.

Category	Employed	Unemployed	FTE	Other	N
Belfast Metropolitan Urban Area	10.9%	28.7%	41.6%	18.8%	101
Derry Urban Area	28.6%	21.4%	35.7%	14.3%	14
Large town	.0%	26.2%	54.8%	19.0%	42
Medium town	.0%	11.8%	70.6%	17.6%	17
Small town	8.1%	40.5%	35.1%	16.2%	37
Intermediate settlement	7.1%	35.7%	50.0%	7.1%	14
Village	12.5%	18.8%	43.8%	25.0%	16
Small village, hamlet or open country	7.2%	30.9%	51.5%	10.3%	97
TOTAL	8.3%	29.0%	47.0%	15.7%	-
N	28	98	159	53	338

Table A7A.14: Rural/urban classification for Northern Ireland by highest academic qualification achieved Sept 2007. BHPS wave 17 respondents aged under 25. $\chi^2 = 2.000$, df= 1, ns.

Category	Service	Intermediate	N
Belfast Metropolitan Urban Area	100.0%	0.0%	1
Small village, hamlet or open country	0.0%	100.0%	1
TOTAL	8.3%	29.0%	-
N	1	1	2

Appendix chapter 7B

Table A7B.1: Regression model excluding outliers identified in original model. DV: usual net monthly pay (£). BHPS wave 17 respondents aged under 25 and in full-time work. N=676.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B(SE)	Beta	B(SE)	Beta	B(SE)	Beta
(Constant)	1091.72(37.41)***		759.64(69.19)***		763.96(79.57)***	
Rural (ref urban)	-94.75(27.63)**	-.130	-84.28(25.32)**	-.115	-78.47(25.44)**	-.097
Parental class (ref manual)						
No class data	-135.10(39.46)**	-.166	-76.73(36.67)*	-.094	-72.65(36.63)*	-.091
Service class	17.18(62.46)	.012	30.86(57.21)	.022	22.77(57.14)	.009
Intermediate class	-98.60(69.34)	-.060	-91.56(63.49)	-.056	-81.10(63.40)	-.050
Social capital						
Networks	12.05(13.19)	.034	10.08(12.10)	.028	10.75(12.08)	.010
Norms	83.44(12.55)***	.252	55.34(11.75)***	.167	50.04(11.93)***	.155
Aged under 21 (ref 21-24)			271.74(26.28)***	.364	256.00(26.84)***	.332
Male (ref female)			121.69(22.38)***	.184	131.64(22.65)***	.220
Highest ac. qualification (ref none)						
Has degree					102.76(51.43)*	.142
Has A level/equivalent					33.01(47.50)	.082
Has GCSE/equivalent					13.58(46.23)	.045
Still in full time education					-58.73(89.71)	-.025
R2		.091		.234		.245

Table A7B.2: regression model excluding London. N= 656

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B(SE)	Beta	B(SE)	Beta	B(SE)	Beta
(Constant)	1094.56(37.95)***		787.22(71.41)***		777.51(81.73)***	
Rural (ref urban)	-89.60(28.77)**	.120	-78.07(26.39)**	-.105	-72.65(26.48)**	-.097
Parental class (ref manual)						
No class data	-140.69(40.22)**	-.171	-78.36(37.51)*	-.095	-74.90(37.46)*	-.091
Service class	6.69(64.58)	.005	24.06(59.21)	.017	12.65(59.13)	.009
Intermediate class	-103.21(71.03)	-.063	-93.65(65.12)	-.057	-82.96(64.97)	-.050
Social capital						
Networks	2.26(13.78)	.006	2.73(12.65)	.007	3.74(12.62)	.010
Norms	84.68(13.08)***	.250	58.29(12.23)***	.172	52.76(12.40)***	.155
Aged under 21 (ref 21-24)			269.23(27.32)***	.353	252.74(27.87)***	.332
Male (ref female)			136.91(23.35)***	.202	149.50(23.68)***	.220
Highest ac. qualification (ref none)						
Has degree					126.82(53.34)*	.142
Has A level/equivalent					59.54(49.00)	.082
Has GCSE/equivalent					31.03(47.70)	.045
Still in full time education					-64.88(92.28)	-.025
R2		.091		.234		.245

Table A7B.3: Usual net pay per month (£): full-time workers only. BHPS wave 17, respondents aged under 25

	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Median	Minimum	Maximum
Rural has car	960.05	160	321.334	934.86	173	2000+
Rural no car	777.30	68	257.749	778.12	217	1777
Urban has car	1081.06	317	353.766	1040.00	133	2000+
Urban no car	851.36	214	295.424	822.94	27	2000+
Total	963.57	759	341.573	930.72	27	2000+

Table A7B.4: Model with location/car use. n=680.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B (SE)	Beta	B (SE)	Beta	B (SE)	Beta
(Constant)	853.25 (55.03)***		650.69(75.59)***		652.27(85.44)***	
Rural with car	183.26(49.10)***	.218	112.56(46.53)*	.134	108.84(46.78)*	.129
Urban with car	287.61(45.37)***	.421	215.42(43.09)***	.315	206.27(43.51)***	.302
Urban no car	100.92(47.41)*	.134	68.15(44.37)	.091	63.31(44.76)	.084
Parental class (ref manual)						
Class unknown	-103.18(38.95)**	-.125	-56.89(36.77)	-.069	-54.31(36.78)	-.066
Intermediate class	-43.62(69.05)	-.026	-48.30(64.35)	-.029	-40.09(64.29)	-.024
Service class	19.95(61.74)	.014	34.08(57.57)	.024	25.61(57.57)	.018
Networks	1.30(13.06)	.004	1.98(12.19)	.005	2.63(12.18)	.007
Norms	61.51(12.67)***	.182	41.74(11.97)**	.123	36.91(12.15)**	.109
Aged under 21 (ref 21-24)			238.65(27.17)***	.313	225.32(27.68)***	.295
Sex			-125.50(22.52)***	-.185	-135.57(22.82)***	-.200
Highest ac. Qual. (ref none)						
Has degree					104.65(51.77)*	.118
Highest academic qual: A level					45.73(47.69)	.063
Highest academic qual:GCSE					20.91(46.42)	.031
Still in full time education					-49.39(91.25)	-.018
R2	.156		.269		.277	

Table A7B.5: Model with location/car use. Without class n=680.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B (SE)	Beta	B (SE)	Beta	B (SE)	Beta
(Constant)	761.36(41.42)***		580.78(63.35)***		590.23(76.44)***	
Rural with car	185.19(49.39)***	.220	110.15(46.57)*	.131	106.39(46.78)*	.127
Urban with car	305.63 (45.35)***	.448	223.12(43.02)***	.327	212.49(43.44)***	.311
Urban no car	106.28(47.64)*	.142	68.59(44.40)	.091	63.34(44.76)	.084
Networks	2.25(13.14)	.006	2.49(12.21)	.007	3.12(12.19)	.009
Norms	63.67(12.62)***	.188	42.55(11.88)***	.126	37.28(12.06)**	.110
Aged under 21 (ref 21-24)			249.15(26.67)***	.326	234.19(27.23)***	.307
Sex			-123.04(22.52)***	-.182	-133.88(22.83)***	-.198
Highest ac. Qual. (ref none)						
Has degree					107.49(51.64)*	.121
Highest academic qual: A level					44.44(47.65)	.061
Highest academic qual:GCSE					18.25(46.35)	.027
Still in full time education					-55.81(91.28)	-.021
R2	.135		.263		.273	

Appendix chapter 8: Descriptive statistics

Table A8.1: Age of respondents aged under 25 in wave 1 BHPS.

Wave	Frequencies	%
15	16	1.0
16	163	10.2
17	180	11.3
18	165	10.4
19	172	10.8
20	177	11.1
21	164	10.3
22	189	11.9
23	190	11.9
24	178	11.2
Total	1594	100.0

Table A8.2: Gender of respondents aged under 25 in wave 1 BHPS.

	Frequencies	%
Male	817	51.3
Female	777	48.7
N	1594	100.0

Table A8.3: Rural/urban location of respondents aged under 25 in wave 1 BHPS.

	Frequencies	%
Rural	274	17.2
Urban	1320	82.8
N	1594	100.0

Table A8.4: Respondent gender for each person-period observation point, BHPS waves 1-18, ages under 25 in wave 1.

	Frequencies	%
Male	9080	48.2
Female	9618	51.0
N	18698	99.2

Table A8.5: Current rural/urban location of respondents for each person-period observation point, BHPS waves 1-18, respondents aged under 25 in wave 1.

	Frequencies	%
Rural	3719	19.7
Urban	15125	80.2
N	18844	100.0

Table A8.6: Number of respondents aged under 25 in wave 1 BHPS remaining in each year of survey.

Year	N	Cum. %
1991	1594	100
1992	1333	83.6
1993	1255	78.7
1994	1197	75.1
1995	1130	70.9
1996	1140	71.5
1997	1094	68.6
1998	1062	66.6
1999	1016	63.7
2000	986	61.9
2001	979	61.4
2002	945	59.3
2003	905	56.8
2004	892	56
2005	856	53.7
2006	836	52.4
2007	822	51.6
2008	806	50.6

Table A8.7: BHPS wave 1 respondents aged under 25 in wave 1 and remaining in wave 18 by gender and whether they have migrated. Chi-square = .917, df=1, ns

	Male %	Female%	Total%
Has never migrated	64.9	68.2	66.6
Has migrated	35.1	31.8	33.4
N	350	402	752

Table A8.8: Age of first rural/urban migration by gender

	N	Mean	Std. D	Median	Minimum	Maximum
Male	123	26.97	5.249	26.00	17	39
Female	128	27.05	5.121	27.00	18	41
Total	251	27.01	5.174	27.00	17	41

Table A8.9: Age of return migration by gender. BHPS wave 1 respondents under 25 remaining in wave 18.

	N	Mean	Std. D	Median	Minimum	Maximum
Male	68	28.49	4.673	29.00	18	39
Female	70	30.03	4.706	30.00	19	40
Total	138	29.27	4.736	29.00	18	40

Table A8.10: Life table: survival analysis for BHPS waves 1-18 with respondents aged under 25 in wave 1: Urban

Wave	N entering interval	N withdrawn	Risk set	N events	Cumulative survival	Hazard rate	H.R. SE
1	15381	1320	14721.0	0	1.00	.011	.001
2	14061	1038	13542.0	47	1.00	.010	.001
3	12976	992	12480.0	35	.99	.010	.001
4	11949	954	11472.0	27	.99	.008	.001
5	10968	889	10523.5	32	.99	.007	.001
6	10047	900	9597.0	27	.99	.007	.001
7	9120	855	8692.5	31	.98	.006	.001
7	8234	830	7819.0	32	.98	.005	.001
9	7372	798	6973.0	27	.97	.005	.001
10	6547	781	6156.5	19	.97	.005	.001
11	5747	773	5360.5	27	.97	.005	.001
12	4947	742	4576.0	31	.96	.005	.001
13	4174	718	3815.0	22	.95	.008	.001
14	3434	712	3078.0	19	.95	.007	.002
15	2703	680	2363.0	20	.94	.009	.002
16	2003	666	1670.0	14	.93	.016	.003
17	1323	646	1000.0	21	.91	.016	.004
18	656	642	335.0	14	.87	.000	.000

Table A8.11: Life table: survival analysis for BHPS waves 1-18 with respondents aged under 25 in wave 1: Rural

Wave	N entering interval	N withdrawn	Risk set	N events	Cumulative survival	Hazard rate	H.R. S.E
1	3467	274	3330.0	0	1.00	.006	.001
2	3193	224	3081.0	24	.99	.007	.001
3	2945	201	2844.5	27	.98	.009	.002
4	2717	195	2619.5	21	.97	.008	.002
5	2501	177	2412.5	32	.96	.008	.002
6	2292	191	2196.5	22	.95	.008	.002
7	2079	193	1982.5	15	.95	.005	.002
7	1871	177	1782.5	23	.93	.006	.002
9	1671	178	1582.0	13	.93	.004	.002
10	1480	178	1391.0	8	.92	.007	.002
11	1294	167	1210.5	12	.91	.004	.002
12	1115	158	1036.0	14	.90	.005	.002
13	943	154	866.0	11	.89	.005	.002
14	778	157	699.5	4	.88	.003	.002
15	617	151	541.5	5	.87	.002	.002
16	461	151	385.5	5	.86	.010	.005
17	305	150	230.0	5	.84	.018	.009
18	150	141	79.5	9	.75	.000	.000

Table A8.12: LMMs with RPI adjusted usual net monthly pay as DV. Model A log pay with pay>0, model B log pay with full-time workers only, model C raw pay capped at £3000, model D raw pay capped at £3000, full-time workers only.

Parameter	Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D
Intercept	5.792 (.033)***	6.121 (.020)***	368.56 (13.88)***	409.94 (13.16)***
Wave	.063 (.003)***	.071 (.002)***	44.48 (2.24)***	63.83 (2.29)***
Current rural (reference urban)	-.039 (.053)	.007 (.028)	-24.31 (26.51)	-14.67 (24.72)
From rural (reference urban)	-.018 (.070)	-.086 (.039)*	-1.23 (31.79)	-25.85 (29.33)
Male (reference female)	.204 (.043)***	.084 (.026)**	38.05 (18.23)*	33.88 (16.71)*
Interaction effects				
Current rural * wave (reference urban)	-.000 (.005)	-.001 (.003)	2.38 (2.62)	2.63 (2.44)
From rural* wave (reference urban)	-.006 (.007)	-.001 (.004)	-10.86 (4.26)*	-8.59 (4.12)*
Male* wave (reference female)	.021 (.004)***	.005 (.002)	29.59 (2.98)***	12.55 (2.90)***
AIC	25655.461	1742.050	198604.199	136132.781
BIC	25693.136	1778.010	198641.874	136168.740