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Table of Contents

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Article

Roma Children and Young People in Bulgaria: Patterns of Risk and Effective Protection in Relation to Child Sexual Exploitation

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Abstract
This article examines patterns of risk regarding child sexual exploitation (CSE). There is specific focus on those living in alternative care, child sexual exploitation and trafficking among Roma communities in Bulgaria and the UK. Data is drawn from a desk-based literature review and partnership work with Bulgarian and British academics and practitioners to explore the issues in both countries. Although there is limited statistical data on CSE and children in care across Europe and the risk-factors for Roma children and young people are still not being fully recognised, we can draw on what is known in Bulgaria to inform practice in the UK with emerging Roma communities. Research on CSE more generally can also inform awareness of risk factors particularly around care systems. Comparative information about what is known in the UK and Bulgaria is considered in order to make some recommendations for international prevention, protection efforts, and prosecution strategies for the future.

Keywords
child sexual exploitation; institutional care; risk; Roma; social inclusion

Issue
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1. Introduction

There are ten to twelve million Roma living in Europe. There is extensive evidence attesting to the poverty and discrimination experienced by Roma in all European countries, and a high level of concern at the movement of Roma into different parts of Europe, reflected in negative media coverage and public attitudes. The socio-economic disadvantage experienced by the Roma community has particular implications for the safety and well-being of children and young people, and this has become increasingly apparent in relation to the issue of Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE). This is an issue which has attracted attention at European policy level since the early 1990s, when the Palermo Protocol, aimed at preventing, suppressing and punishing trafficking in persons, including trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation, was issued.

The Council of Europe (2007, Article 18) defines Child Sexual Exploitation as:

> engaging in sexual activities with a child where use is made of coercion, force or threats; or abuse is made of a recognised position of trust, authority or influence over the child, including within the family; or abuse is made of a particularly vulnerable situation of the child, notably because of a mental or physical disability or a situation of dependence.

There are major difficulties with the reliability of data,

but the Council of Europe (2012) estimates that among every five children in Europe one will be a victim of CSE. Child Sexual Exploitation can be conceptualised as part of the spectrum of child abuse, and can take multiple forms, which range from grooming by an individual to more organised forms of exploitation, which may incorporate the exploitation of groups of young people and may include the trafficking and movement of young people both within and between different nation states (Department for Education, 2011; ECPAT UK, 2011). Poverty and different forms of socio-economic disadvantage place children and young people at greater risk of child sexual exploitation, and also contributes to the children affected being marginalised or "hidden" from public view (Pearce, 2009). Those who are living in alternative care or missing from care provision are at increased risk of CSE, though care should be taken in assuming the nature of causal connections between living in alternative care and being exploited—so, for example, the exploitation may precede entry to care and continue during the placement (Brodie, Melrose, Pearce, & Warrington, 2011). These risks are usually related to wider patterns of disadvantage, such as a lack of adult advocacy and lack of protective structures, for example limited educational opportunities. Although international data is even more limited still, the existing evidence suggests that children living in alternative care internationally are also at heightened risk of this form of maltreatment (SOS Children's Villages International & University of Bedfordshire, 2014).

The focus of this paper is to examine the risk factors associated specifically with the Roma community and the increased likelihood that Roma children and young people will experience trafficking and alternative care, usually in the form of institutions. Roma communities are among the most marginalised communities and observing their risk-factors will inform new learning which can be applied to other vulnerable groups of children and young people. Research based information from Bulgaria and the UK will also be utilised to identify new strategies to reduce abuse and Roma's communities' marginalisation as this plays a part in their vulnerability to CSE in the UK and Bulgaria.

Using such comparative information is not, of course, without difficulty. Bulgaria and the UK represent very different social, political and economic contexts with important historical differences in their policy and practice approaches to the care of children separated from their families. International comparison of care systems is notoriously difficult (Thoburn, 2007) in the context of variations in definition, resulting in differences in data collection, structural arrangements such as the balance between foster and residential care, and the relationship between child welfare policy and the type of welfare state (Esping-Anderson, 1990). At the same time, researchers have also drawn attention to the value of such an approach in the field of child welfare, especially in a political context where international protocols play a significant role in driving national policy. Additionally, there is an ongoing need to recognise child sexual exploitation as a transnational and trans-European phenomenon, and that the prevention of such exploitation requires shared learning and action.

2. Patterns of Risk: Vulnerabilities to Child Sexual Exploitation

Roma are among the poorest communities in Europe. In Bulgaria, Roma have poor access to healthcare, education and employment and are consequently trapped in a cycle of poverty. "Infant mortality is high, family planning is often too expensive and abandonment is common. Unemployment stands at 80–85% and less than 1% of Roma children complete a secondary education" (The Trussell Trust, 2015).

In the UK the Roma were described in 2009 as "hidden communities" (European Dialogue, 2009) as there are many unidentified Roma accessing schools, health care and welfare and work systems. This is because they have not ascribed by choice or simply have no contact with services, and have therefore gone unnoticed. Roma from Central Eastern Europe initially arrived in the UK as asylum seekers and today as EU citizens. Feteke (2013) suggests that Roma tend to settle in urban multi-ethnic areas, with the largest populations in the North West and London, although there are significant populations in Yorkshire and the Humber, East Midlands and West Midlands. There is very little data on the total Roma population, although numbers are estimated to be around 200,000 (Brown, Scullion, & Martin, 2013). Despite the heightened attention to CSE in England (Jay, 2015), data on CSE among the Roma population is currently unreported, although anecdotal reports from professionals suggest that the number of children in care is rising. In Rotherham Roma children are three times more likely to end up in institutional care and foster care (Cox, 2013). Yet the reasons for entering care are in part about cultural divides that relate to different legal and social expectations e.g. poor school attendance, chastising children and a lack of boundaries and children's involvements in petty crime such as street begging.

These cultural divides are apparent in the UK and in Bulgaria and it is clear that social services in both countries need to know more about Roma culture and their risk factors in relation to CSE in order to make appropriate decisions and work with the community to prevent Roma being further criminalised and having their children placed into care. While the experience of Roma is distinct in view of the entrenched and widespread nature of the discrimination experienced, it is also possible to conceptualise the Roma experience as

reflecting wider structural patterns relating to care. Families who experience social work intervention are likely to be experiencing considerable stress and will be known to social services, but do not receive the help they need either to prevent entry to care, or a timely decision for the child to enter care (Masson et al., 2008). Thus although this article focuses on Roma particularly, the key messages are relevant to other vulnerable groups.

The State Agency for Child Protection (2013) in Bulgaria shows that numbers of children who experience violence is rising, which could be evidence of better recognition and reporting of abuse. Petrova-Dimitrova (2005) categorised those children most at risk of abuse in Bulgaria:

- Children living on the streets;
- Children in institutions, the risk is here from children to children and from staff;
- Children in poor and marginalised families, especially from ethnic minorities. Roma girls aged 10–17 are at very high risk as they are victims of theft or sale for trafficking and prostitution;
- Young people (12–15) who have problematic relations with parents and adults. They disengage from education and consequently are at high risk of sexual abuse and prostitution.

Roma families would be represented in all four categories due to wider social exclusion towards their community. Because Roma community are not socially supported or included they are often living in poverty and find the costs of bringing up their children hard to bear. Research suggests that many Roma families give up their children to institutions due to wider welfare issues, as discussed in the following section.

3. Institutional Care in Bulgaria and the Roma Community

There are links between institutionalisation and CSE as young people in institutions are at risk from adults and peers who may target residential units for the purposes of abuse and staff who fail to notice or report abuse. Children and young people entering care systems often have complex histories of abuse and disadvantage, and this can make them more vulnerable both to individual abusers and organised groups. Moreover, when institutions put their own needs before children's, abusive behaviours can become normalised, leading to sexual abuse (NCA, 2013). Roma children and young people are particularly over represented in the institutional care system. Researchers (Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, 2011) visited 15 Bulgarian children's institutions in which a total of 809 children lived, of whom 510 were Roma[1]. The main reasons for Roma children's institutionalisation appear to be family poverty and low educational achievement which can lead to the migration of the parents in search of employment and in turn the abandonment of children. Inadequate housing conditions, a lack of community-based services for Roma children and families and lack of effective family planning among Roma women also raises the number entering care. Once in care, Roma children's chances of being adopted or placed into foster care are also reduced due to widespread racial prejudice (Eurochild, 2012b). Prevention is complex as there are wider welfare issues at stake and a multitude of issues to be addressed and abandonment and trafficking are two such issues, which are discussed next.

4. Abandonment and Care Systems

The Social Assistance Agency (2009) reported 3,597 cases of abandonment of children in Bulgaria. Roma children are at higher risk of being abandoned or left in institutions because their parents live in poverty, are ill, imprisoned or looking for work away from where they live. Social workers summarised the high-risk characteristics of Roma women who leave their children in institutions voluntarily or whose children are protected from risky environments:

- Women who left school early, married early and had their first child between 13-16 years of age and have many children by the time they are 30;
- Women separated from their original husbands, who live in poverty as they depend on poor paid work (collecting garbage, ironing and begging);
- Mothers who migrate in search of income (occupation is often unknown and may well be prostitution) and leave their children with parents, who become ill and the children enter care.

Once these children enter institutions mothers lose contact with their children even though they keep parental rights (Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, 2011). Children often run away from state care and many are Roma. Any child who lives on the street and is not in education is particularly vulnerable to CSE and trafficking, and they are often involved in prostitution and drug-abuse.

Again, the Roma and Bulgarian experience should be considered in the context of international trends in residential care. Children who are in "alternative care" are those who are not living with or being cared for by their biological parents. Their situations are often complex and the Convention on the Rights of the Child

[1] These issues are well known but there are no official statistics because institutional data does not monitor children's ethnic identity.

(UNCRC, 1989) recognises they may need additional protection from harm. Article 20 describes alternative care as including "inter alia, foster placement, kafala of Islamic law, adoption or if necessary placement in suitable institutions for the care of children". In the Bulgarian and UK contexts, institutional or family foster care are the main placements for Roma children and therefore the focus of this article.

Institutional care describes residential settings where children and young people are cared for by adults employed for this purpose. Foster care is a form of accommodation for children who are cared for in a smaller, family based setting by one or two carers. Accurate data on those living in institutions is hard to obtain. It has been estimated that more than 2 million children are in institutional care around the world, with more than 800,000 in Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CEE/CIS). This global estimate is likely to be severely underestimated due to under-reporting and lack of reliable data. Many institutions are unregistered and many countries do not regularly collect and report data on children in institutional care (UNICEF, 2010).

International evidence attests to the degree of marginalisation and stigma associated with institutional care (Bazalgette, 2014; Morgan, 2007). Bilson and Cox (2007) suggest that this is in part due to the continuing "rescue mentality" or belief that children are better off away from their own families. Fox-Harding (1997) has shown that this mentality has persisted into the 21st century in the UK even though foster care is now preferable to institutions. In Bulgaria institutions have historically been relied on as a safety net for social workers, and treated as a long-term solution rather than one which seeks to reintegrate children with their families. The historic and economic reasons such as the breakup of the USSR and a lack of policy directives regarding alternative placements also resulted in the promotion of institutional care. Yet large institutions have a negative impact on children's physical and cognitive development, emotional security, attachment, cultural and personal identity (Browne, 2005; Eurochild, 2012a). Hanlon (2007) outlines the different forms of inequality to which children living in care are subject, including inequalities of resource, power and representation and love and care as well as the more measurable disadvantages in respect to education, employment and other future life outcomes. As shown above, these inequalities are compounded for the already disadvantaged Roma community. At the same time, even in countries where the use of institutions has diminished, residential care continues to represent an option for a minority, and does not seem likely to disappear (Cliffe & Berridge, 1991; Rahilly & Hendry, 2014).

Institutional care for all groups gradually fell out of favour during the 20th century, and this trend continues internationally. Throughout Europe, deinstitutionalisation is a political priority as there have been central concerns about the quality of care and the effect of large institutional care on children's development. Institutional care is also expensive. The de-institutionalisation agenda focussed on replacing large institutions with community-based services which include foster care arrangements where children are placed in smaller, care environments where they can develop attachment through closer relationships with key adults. Yet progress is slow, for example the Commissioner for Human Rights Strasbourg reported that Romania needs to show a stronger commitment to effectively protecting the human rights of persons with disabilities, children and Roma as they are isolated from society in a growing number of institutions, where they often face inhumane and degrading treatment and, in some cases, deliberate abuse (Council of Europe, 2014). Often this is related to a lack of welfare infrastructure. A foster care pilot in Albania, for example, found that it was possible to find and support kin foster placements, including foster care for Roma children. However, when funding was withdrawn, the lack of capacity in the welfare system meant that support for these families was no longer available (Stevens, Connolly, & Milligan, 2013).

5. Trafficking

The movement and trafficking of children and young people for the purposes of child sexual exploitation has become an issue of international significance and has been addressed through the UN's Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (2000). The protocol's definition of trafficking lists prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation alongside forced labour, slavery or similar practices, and the removal of organs. Research in the UK has found evidence of sexual exploitation involving the movement of children and young people within the country and from outside (see, for example, Marie and Skidmore (2007), Pearce, Hynes and Bovarnick (2009), and Scotland's Commissioner for Children and Young People and Centre for Rural Childhood, Perth College UHI (2011)).

There is growing awareness of the issue of trafficking in the UK, but while there is some consensus that this is a growing phenomenon there is ongoing debate regarding the scale and nature of the issue (Rigby, Malloch, & Hamilton-Smith, 2012). Within this debate there has been considerable concern at the numbers of young people who have been or at risk of trafficking and who are placed in residential care, but then go missing (ECPAT UK, 2011; Marie & Skidmore, 2007; Scotland's Commissioner for Children and Young People, & Centre for Rural Childhood, Perth College UHI, 2011). In a review of young people in one local authority area who had been trafficked into the UK, over half of the 60 cases went missing within a week of arrival

(Harris & Robinson, 2007). This may be the result of abduction—and further trafficking within the UK—or the young person may run away.

Existing evidence emphasises the complexity of the processes associated with trafficking, and that multiple forms of abuse may have taken place. It is therefore important that the problem of trafficking is not reduced to one of sexual exploitation alone. Young people are likely to be very fearful and therefore unwilling to disclose what has happened to them. Young people report encountering barriers including language, suspicion and criminalisation (Pearce et al., 2009). Within residential care, evidence suggests that staff do not have sufficient awareness or training regarding trafficking, and that resources are frequently not available to ensure the high level of supervision and specialist intervention required.

More generally, it is recognised that practice in this area is complex, and that further work to evaluate the effectiveness of different interventions is required (Rigby et al., 2012). However, there is agreement that the welfare of the child or young person must be paramount, that they should be helped to make their views known and given information about what is happening to them. Children and young people who are trafficked should be recognised as victims of abuse, and the trauma of their experiences should be recognised. In these cases the provision of safe accommodation is crucial, but is too often unavailable and children and young people continue to be placed at risk (ECPAT UK, 2011; Pearce et al., 2009; Shuker, 2013).

In Bulgaria, there is limited information about those missing from care and the links to trafficking. Police and NGOs reported that most victims of trafficking are identified abroad, following a police raid or with NGOs working proactively with those in protection/sex work (Roma Rights Centre, 2011). Bulgaria is one of the few countries in Europe that have a national referral mechanism for victims of trafficking.

Still, according to anti-trafficking practitioners there has not yet been a case where parents who have trafficked or exploited their own children and have had their parental rights taken away. Often after 6 months in a crisis centre, children are returned home where they continue to be exploited. It is very difficult for children to testify against their own relatives. The Centre for the Study of Democracy suggest that at policy level child victims are addressed but there is a lack of understanding of the interconnectedness between different aspects of child trafficking. Tensions within trafficking reflect those in social care and CSE as there is conflict between the repressive and protective function of the state; a child can be a victim and an offender at the same time (Centre for the Study of Democracy, 2012, p. 22).

Roma constitute a disproportionally high number of persons trafficked because of poverty and growing up in state care. Within Bulgaria women and children are most often induced into prostitution in the towns on the Black Sea coast and border areas. Countries of destination for Bulgarian trafficking victims are the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Austria, Italy, Germany, the United States, the Czech Republic, Finland, Greece, Spain, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Switzerland, Turkey, Cyprus and Macedonia. Roma women and children represent 15–80% of all trafficking victims. Some Bulgarian children are induced into street begging and petty theft within Bulgaria, Greece, Italy and the UK (Center for the Study of Democracy, 2012). Traditional stereotypes regarding the mobility of the Roma community are also problematic in respect to the prevention and detection of child sexual exploitation and other forms of abuse. For example, in the context of trafficking it is important to recognise that migration refers to the voluntary movement of people which leads to improvements in life, as opposed to trafficking which is a form of modern day slavery, involving enforced, not voluntary movement (ERRC, 2011).

These findings reinforce the need for appropriate cultural awareness raising and multi-agency working. Pro-active and collaborative working to prevent CSE and trafficking is the overarching point made throughout the literature. Joined up international strategies are needed in identifying, supporting and reintegration of victims. What we also learn from these findings is that wider social exclusion affects Roma's welfare and this has consequences for their children's risk factors to CSE and routes into care and in the family setting. Subjected to poverty, violence and unequal treatment by services which should support their needs, Roma children are severely disadvantaged.

6. Effective Protection

Increasingly there is international movement of citizens and in order to facilitate appropriate care and protection of children professionals need to work with families and communities. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 34 states that all children should be protected from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. The UN article 20 also states that children in alternative care must be protected. This process is not simple. The specific issues in Bulgaria are different to those in the UK, but some key elements regarding risk factors are similar and can be useful as a focus for awareness raising and prevention work.

6.1. Links between Care and CSE

In regards to child protection systems there are several issues are worthy of consideration at this point. It is clear that managing and dealing with child abuse is complex due to a combination of factors at different levels.

In Bulgaria, the Child Protection Act was adopted in

2001 and systems for identifying, recording and, consequently, addressing different forms of abuse are still developing. The basic principles of child protection in Bulgaria relate to those in other European countries, including the UK. In the UK safeguarding is a Local Authority's responsibility and the Local Safeguarding Children's Board (LSCB) is the key method for ensuring that relevant organisations in each local area are working together to safeguard children, they monitor and evaluate practice and review any deaths of children in their areas. At grassroots, delivery levels there are also differences in practice.

In Bulgaria there is no threshold system, or a means to match different kinds of cases with different services. This means that the average social work can hold a caseload over a hundred, compared to UK workers who typically have around a quarter of that number (Community Care, 2013). Carrying such workloads brings real challenges in prioritising work, especially preventative strategies. In the UK there are thresholds in place, but there are still challenges related to the focus of work. Evaluations of safeguarding board arrangements in the UK found that professionals were committed to safeguarding as a shared responsibility, but tensions did exist as to whether they should embrace wider safeguarding issues or a narrower focus on protecting children from harm (France, Munro, & Waring, 2010).

Increasing resource issues means that raising awareness of the nature of CSE is an important prevention strategy among wider professional body, families and communities. Pro-active, well-coordinated partnership approaches are vital in preventing child sexual exploitation. Where organisations such as the police, children's services and NGOs work together to *identify and address* child sexual exploitation, a significant number of cases have come to light. On the other hand where agencies do not routinely engage victims and collect data, few cases appear (CEOP, 2011). Agencies which do not proactively look for child exploitation will as a result not find it (CEOP, 2011). Better data collection on the ethnicity of victims and those at risk of CSE and who are in care and missing from care would help build up a more informed picture of the issues in Bulgaria and UK, and other European countries and would allow agencies to work together on evidenced-based action plans. Training and support for a wide range of practitioners as well as awareness raising among Roma communities in both Bulgaria and the UK is needed to help professionals and communities alike to recognise and report CSE. Community awareness would need to be culturally appropriate and would be best delivered by a community champion model which has proved to be effective in raising awareness of sensitive issues in different communities (Bostock, 2015).

Research from other countries, but especially the UK, has highlighted that factors which may increase vulnerability to CSE—prior abuse, neglect, family dysfunction, educational difficulties, substance misuse and a history of running away—are also factors that are present in the histories of young people entering residential care. Again, these factors do not determine that sexual exploitation will take place, but they may mean that the young person is more vulnerable to sexual exploitation and the relationship or material goods that may be offered. It is also increasingly evident that children who have experienced multiple difficulties and have complex life histories are more likely to be defined as "problematic" and as bringing problems on themselves by "placing themselves at risk". This culture of blame makes it difficult for young people to find help and to escape exploitation. This issue is likely to be magnified in the case of Roma children and young people, whose families will often have had negative and discriminatory experience of wider society and the authorities.

In Bulgaria there is relatively high tolerance towards sexual abuse of girls over 14. Girls of 14 are living with men of 40 but this will not be recorded as child abuse if parents approve. Where the girls are Roma, no one can make institutions take action (Petrova-Dimitrova, 2005). Child marriage represents the most prevalent form of sexual abuse and exploitation of children, especially girls. While child marriage is criminalised in Bulgaria for children under 16, crimes related to marriage are not identified and prosecuted. Forced marriage continues to be practiced among certain Roma communities. A common reason for trafficking of young Roma women in Bulgaria is that they marry too early, from the age of 14) after the husband "steals the girl" and after a few years of marriage these girls escape and are then vulnerable to trafficking and/or prostitution. Raising awareness to change public and professional perceptions around blame, consent and legislation is therefore necessary to prevent CSE.

In the UK, media reports highlight institutional abuse cases, however residential care can be the service responding to prior experience of sexual exploitation, rather than being the source of the problem. If residential care is a turning point in respect of a young person's vulnerability to sexual exploitation then staff must feel adequately informed and confident in supporting these needs. For those in care, research suggests that there is value in linking residential units with a wider network of services for young people (youth work services, advocacy learning mentors) as this maximises young people's opportunities to form positive relationships with professionals (Brodie et al., 2011). Lessons learnt in the UK and elsewhere suggest that it is also important to consider the contact arrangements between children in care and existing parents, so that placements might be short-term and children remain in contact with their families, and this could be applied to Bulgarian contexts where children are left by parents in

institutions long-term even though they still have parental responsibility. The geographical distance is relevant here as the closer the care setting to the family the easier contact can be and this can also reduce the risk factors associated with CSE and trafficking.

6.2. Wider Welfare Issues

Discrimination and cultural expectation of Roma affects the support they receive and consequently the care of their children, even though the UNCRC states that due regard shall be paid to the desirability of continuity in a child's upbringing and to the child's ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic background (Celcis, 2012), Roma children are still abandoned to institutions where their cultural needs and long-term social inclusion is severely restricted. More generally, it is clear that children and young people living in care and experiencing poverty as family dysfunction are especially vulnerable. Children living in dysfunctional family situations are vulnerable due to wider welfare issues such as poverty and unemployment which can affect their entire community's social inclusion. Some families do resort to trafficking their own children or involving them in prostitution purely as a survival strategy. Thus any preventative work must consider wider social welfare issues of high-risk families as well as appropriate support for victims. Prevention might include family planning, health and welfare support, access and retention in education and offering training and employment opportunities for particularly vulnerable groups such as Roma. Prevention might also include awareness raising about education and care to help new migrant Roma communities understand legal expectations regarding child protection and prevent child neglect, exploitation and children's entry into care. Such an approach needs to be in partnership with the community, ensuring that awareness raising activities are planned and delivered together to develop meaningful and respectful resources and relationships which can ultimately prevent child abuse and exploitation and address social exclusion.

7. Conclusion

The focus of this paper has been to examine the CSE risk factors associated specifically on the Roma community in the hope that this will inform new learning which can be applied to other vulnerable groups of children and young people. The aim is also that this new learning would result in action to work preventative together to reduce the occurrence of CSE. Child protection procedures and responsibilities need to be revised continuously and training needs to be available for all adults involved in the care of vulnerable young people to ensure they can spot the signs of CSE and know—how and who to report concerns to. Professionals also need to understand and appreciate different cultural needs and the reality of discrimination upon Roma communities' lives to help advance their marginalised position in society. There are connections between being a child in care, or leaving care, and vulnerability to CSE and this article has offer a comparison of factors between two European countries. Effective multi-agency working at policy and grassroots levels is key to preventing CSE and entry into care and further international comparisons to develop new strategies would certainly enable lessons to be shared and prevention strategies to be applied more broadly in an international context.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

A Conceptual Shift in Studies of Belonging and the Politics of Belonging

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Abstract
The study of belonging, its underlying notions, and the politics of belonging shows that social, political, and territorial demarcations are still based on essentialist conceptions of the collective. These are often applied and reproduced in the social sciences as a result of methodological nationalism. Space-sensitive studies of migration and globalization and a return to the material have recently challenged social constructivist lines of argumentation and have provoked a conceptual shift from analytical categories with inherent spatiality, territoriality, and boundary marking to concepts based on movement and flow. In this paper the analysis of belonging and the related politics of belonging in migration studies incorporates space as an analytical category that cross-cuts established categorizations such as race, class, gender, and stage in the life cycle, and integrates a material semiotic perspective more systematically into the study of social relations at the intersection of the social categories mentioned. A new concept of belonging is defined which reflects the complex relations that individuals have with other people, circulating objects, artefacts, and changing social, political, and cultural landscapes, thus mirroring both the material conditions and the underlying power relations. Such an understanding of belonging proceeds from social naturalizations and fixations to the multiplicity and situatedness of individual attachments, which entangle social, imagined, and sensual-material relations that are constantly re-articulated and re-negotiated by actors in their day-to-day practices. In such a reading, belonging comes into being as a result of individual life stories, versatile contexts, and situated experiences and acts. In times of constant exchange through travel, mass media, and communication technologies, the conceptualization of belonging questions established sociocultural and political demarcations, indicates the compatibility of ascribed socio-cultural difference and stresses the permeability of borderlines. A space-sensitive theorization of social relations and belonging opens up new perspectives on the question of how social collectives are naturalized and by whom, and under which conditions they open up to new forms of belonging; it thus brings forth new findings about collectivization, social mobilization, and change.

Keywords
belonging; citizenship; creative activism; intersectionality; Madrid; politics of belonging; religious place-making; space; Spain

Issue
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1. Introduction

People often resort to notions of belonging that are tied to territoriality, memorizations of landscapes, lifestyles, and cultural imprints, which are even reinforced in the context of migration. Senses of deprivation are stressed and gain particular meaning as the challenges in the country of immigration pressurize the immigrants, endanger their livelihoods, and increase their perceived loss of home. Essentialized ideas about the collective are reproduced that are based on primordiality and origin. Scholars of migration studies continue these "groupist" imaginations by using methods that refer to national and ethnic belongings without inquir-

ing into context and individual background.

One challenge faced by social scientists and scholars of migration studies lies in the attempt to avoid using naturalized concepts of belonging, which seem to have been overcome in theory but still remain in academic practice due to "methodological nationalism" (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller, 2006) or essentialism in research designs. A genealogical understanding of belonging, inherent in social sciences and Western binary thinking, risks taking social collectives for granted while uncoupling from the analysis of impact factors such as biographical particularities and institutional power claims (state apparatuses, cf. Althusser, 2010 [1971]), and the influence of concrete socio-political and cultural contexts (Wimmer, 2009, p. 244), even when the analysis is accompanied by reflection from an intersectional or interdependent perspective. Antonsich (2010, p. 645) argues that many scholars of the social sciences, geography and cultural studies assume that belonging is a self-explanatory term that subdivides societies into nations, cultures, classes, ethnicities, and sexualities or that stands at the intersection of them, when it is qualified as multiculturalism or cosmopolitanism (cf. Anthias, 2006; Yuval-Davis, 2011). Taking pre-defined cultural, political, or social groups as obvious "units of analysis" is an established paradigm that emanates from the assumption that the same regularities exist in the social world as in the natural world (Belina, 2013, p. 35 after Abler, Adams, & Gould, 1971, p. 216), involving clear spatial distances and measurable biophysical processes. This so-called geo-determinism, when applied to the study of social relations and migration, is grounded in a concept that imagines space as a biophysical container. According to that assumption, sociocultural groups are supposed to possess a core character that renders behavioural patterns and conflicts immutable (for critiques see Barth, 1969; Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Wimmer, 2009, p. 244f), and this assumption is translated into various and diverse politics of belonging without integrating the manifold practices that produce new forms of belonging. These new forms of belonging are visible and significant, and they describe, besides socio-cultural, ethnic, or racial ascriptions and the related meta-structures (ethnic, national, religious belonging), also situated and changing everyday belongingness.

In order to avoid bounded analytical categories and methodological essentialism in migration studies, it is necessary to draw attention to the creative poetic acts within everyday practices and how they transgress dominant ideologies, political practices, and the politics of social boundary making (Lefebvre, 2006; de Certeau, 1980; Joas, 1994). Concepts at the interface of disciplinary thinking that are sensitive to social and material attachments and socio-spatial production processes need to be integrated more systematically into conceptual thinking. With concepts that also reflect the "meta-philosophy of the everyday" in the analysis of social relations, to speak with Lefebvre, the traditional occidental and binary thinking that reduces social action to the dialectic between social thought and social practice can be overcome (Schmid, 2005).

In the present paper a concept and definition of belonging is developed with the aim of revealing socio-spatial production processes and integrating a material-semiotic perspective into studies of migration and collectivization. Through an interdisciplinary research perspective, conventional notions of the collective are challenged, with a shift from categories with inherent spatialities, territoriality, and boundary making to concepts based on movement and flow. The starting point for the following conceptual reflection upon belonging is anchored in the colloquial meaning of the term: defined as a "circumstance connected with a person or thing", to belong is "to be appropriate or connected with" (Oxford Dictionary, 1989). In this basic definition, the importance of things, infrastructures, artefacts, and material culture in general for the production of belonging is stressed, as is the constant appropriation and remaking of space. The heterogeneity of actors involved in collective processes indicates the immediacy and situatedness of belonging and unveils its underlying spatial and temporal interdependencies.

Research on which the paper is based was conducted within the "Research Network on Latin America: Ethnicity, Citizenship, Belonging", whose researchers investigated processes of social inclusion and exclusion in Latin American societies via the operationalization of the three key terms ethnicity, citizenship, and belonging. A sub-project dealt with the importance of space by using it as an analytical category for studying social dynamics in migration communities. From the example of (Latin American) migrants in Spain/Madrid, (re)productions and (re)presentations of belonging were studied between the years 2010–2014 against the background of different cultural and political practices.

2. The Concept of Belonging and the Related Politics of Belonging

When we examine different social science definitions of belonging, we find that the concept ranges from a personal feeling, the sense of belonging to a certain group, place, or social location, to the understanding of belonging as a resource that can be used to draw social demarcations and establish border regimes, the so-called politics of belonging (Antonsich, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2011). The politics of belonging is the "arena of contestation" (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 18) of people and groups with similar senses of belonging. It is necessary first to describe the established social science definitions of belonging and move on to the politics thereafter.

2.1. The Concept of Belonging

Ethnicity and citizenship, both concepts operationalized by the abovementioned Research Network and used as sub-categories of belonging (cf., Albiez, Castro, Jüssen, Youkhana, 2011), are well known in various disciplines and have long been discussed in social sciences and history (for ethnicity cf., Anderson, 1983; Barth, 1969; Elwert, 1989; Gabbert, 2006; Pedone, 2003; and for citizenship, Conrad & Kocka, 2001; Isin & Turner, 2002; Cachón Rodríguez, 2009), but belonging is still a rather new theoretical term. Belonging has often been used interchangeably with the term identity (Antonsich, 2010; Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011), and has been used as a synonym of, or in association with, citizenship, which is agreed to be an entitlement describing a contractual relationship between a person and the state (Antonsich, 2010, Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 47). Belonging has recently been conceptualized in studies of migration, in sociology, and in anthropology (Anthias, 2006, 2009; Bogner & Rosenthal, 2009; Christensen, 2009; Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2011; Savage, Bagnall, & Longhurst, 2005; Social Issues Research Centre [SIRC], 2007; Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2011) in order to better understand political contestations and their ethnic (Büschges & Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2007; Ströbele-Gregor, 2010; Yashar, 2005; for Africa see Lentz, 2006)[1] and religious legitimizations (Castells, 2002 [1997]; Haynes, 2009). With respect to migration studies, where belonging is increasingly contested between and among "host" and "guest" communities, Yuval-Davis (2006) and Anthias (2006, 2008) have made important contributions to the theorization of belonging. According to Yuval-Davis (2006, p. 199f), belonging is about a) different social locations that emerge along different power axes and social categorizations, b) individuals' identifications and emotional attachments, and c) shared ethical and political value systems. Using an intersectional approach, belonging is defined as a dynamic process, constructed and negotiated along multiple axes of difference, such as class, race, gender, stage in life cycle, sexuality, and ability (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 200). By locating the concept at the interface of different categorizations of the social and their multiple effects of producing unbelonging in the case of inequality and exclusion, the authors introduce an intersectional approach in order to better understand related social contestations. Intersectional approaches were introduced as a theoretical and methodological perspective by feminist theorists in order to include women as the subject of research more systematically and to stress gender as an analytical category (Maj, 2013; McCall, 2005). Yuval-Davis justifies the importance of intersectional approaches by arguing that social locations of belonging are never constructed along a single power axis but refer to different social sections and are therefore multidimensional. To her, "Intersectionality is a metaphorical term, aimed at evoking images of a road intersection, with an intermediate or contested number of intersecting roads, depending on the various users of the terms and how many social divisions are considered in a particular intersectional analysis" (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 6). The attraction of this is its consideration of multiple narratives of belonging, influenced by different historical trajectories, and of social realities that are able to form senses of belonging far beyond those tied to ancestry, authenticity, and places of origin.

According to Anthias, belonging is situated at the interface between the local and the global, and by that means is able to dissolve the binary semantic of these spatial dimensions. Anthias (2006, 2008) introduced the term "translocational positionalities" to contest the inherent spatialities of concepts of belonging and identity, to break with essentialized categorizations of social difference, and to stress the growing complexity of forms of otherness. Here, the spatial reference is twofold and reflects the importance of place-based interaction on the one hand, and movement on the other, or, to speak with Urry (2000, p. 133, after Clifford, 1992), the dialectic of roots and routes. Anthias' term corresponds to the debate on transnational identities and critically reflects upon notions of diaspora, hybridity, and cosmopolitanism by pointing to social relations that are not necessarily linked to bounded and predefined groups. The concept of "translocational positionality" also describes people's positionalities within the complex and shifting life-worlds of an individual (26f). By this interpretation of belonging, Anthias bridges the analytical gap between structure and agency, between different scales and localities, and sensitizes for processes of social exclusion at the intersection of different categorizations. Antonsich (2010, p. 650), too, stresses the spatial reference of belonging, which often relates to specific localities and territorialities. Space here can be both a geographic place and a symbolic space described as familiarity, comfort, security, and, to come back to Yuval-Davis' term, an emotional attachment, a feeling of being at home. To Antonsich, belonging is closely linked to a "sense of self" narrated by a personal, intimate, and existential dimension rather than a social resource discursively used to draw boundaries (Antonsich, 2010, p. 647). Senses of belonging used to mobilize collective identities, to create social, cultural, and territorial boundaries, or to allocate citizenship rights is where feelings of place-belongingness translate into "regimes of belonging". The latter term was coined by Pfaff-Czarnecka (2011) to describe the transition from senses of belonging to the politics of belonging by means of creating institutionalized patterns of belonging that are bounded and

[1] The issue of "first-comers" and "late comers" was discussed by Lentz (2006), who showed how these categories served to control mobility and settlement patterns.

can also be exclusive. In her view these regimes of belonging insist upon investment of time and resources (Pfaff-Czarnecka, 2013, p. 17), and can be both open or closed to newcomers, for example in transnational immigrant societies.

2.2. The Politics of Belonging

The politics of belonging are the political arenas related to different notions of belonging, be they ethnic, national, cultural, and/or religious, or cosmopolitan. Migrants relate and resort to different political projects of belonging, which describe relevant contestations and indicate both inclusionary and exclusionary social realities. The most influential political project of belonging remains the nation state, with nationalism forming the ideological ground, and (state) citizenship relating people to national territories (Isin & Turner, 2007; Yuval Davis, 2011).[2] Other political projects, such as ethnic and religious communities as well as multinational enterprises, are attributively organized alongside national boundaries even though they operate across them. For this reason the following section concentrates on citizenship and national belonging, and on how national belonging is legitimized and enacted.

2.3. Nationalism and the Nation State

Yuval-Davis (2011) organizes the "national question" of the politics of belonging around three main issues: the nation and the nation state, homelands and the construction of national boundaries, and autochthonic politics. Ernest Gellner, in his influential book on nations and nationalism, has described nationalism as a

> "theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones and, in particular, that ethnic boundaries within a given state—a contingency already formally excluded by the principle in its general formulation—should not separate the power holders from the rest". (1983, p. 1)

This interpretation links social or ethnic diversity under the banner of a nation and creates a new, but even stronger political demarcation. The nation state is the political project of nationalism and this is where the allocation of citizenship and citizenship rights meets imaginations of national belonging and a "feeling of loyalty" within national boundaries (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 81).[3] Homelands are described by Yuval-Davis as inscriptions of a physical nature, as the spatial locations on which the boundaries of a nation state are based. Within this political project different ethnic groupings are or can be involved, through a rudimentary commitment to ethnic and / or cultural diversity. However, "conviviality of difference" (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 99), does not, in turn, hold true for autochthonic politics, described and analysed by Peter Geschiere in the African and European case. According to him, the notion of autochthony plays a crucial role in the formation of belonging within globalizing structures as "some sort of primordial claim" (Geschiere, 2011, p. 175). In his view, the recent "upsurge of autochthony" and related notions of belonging are rooted in extending neoliberal reforms worldwide (Geschiere, 2011). Thus, development guidelines and the belief that decentralization is a panacea providing improvements in livelihoods are contributing to a re-"invention of tradition",[4] which he illustrates with two examples: the return to community and chieftancy as an area of political orientation in Africa, and the rise of the New Right in Europe.

However, the politics of belonging, or "the dirty work of boundary maintenance",[5] also includes challenges by political agents in order to gain empowerment and "power of" something, rather than maintaining "power over" people (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 20). This can be exemplified though developments in Latin America and the rise of, and political projects by, indigenous rights movement. The pluri-national state, for instance, is a concept that indigenous rights movements in Bolivia and Ecuador used after receiving governmental responsibility, in order to empower indigenous groups and to preserve tenure and access to natural resources. In Europe, the debate reflects the aspirations of the "New Right" to separate the European populations. According to xenophobic parties and movements that have recently arisen on the political right, such as PEGIDA (Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes)[6] in Germany, a "multi-ethnic society" is naturally unstable and must be avoided in order to sustain the nation and its homeland and to prevent so-called ethnic conflicts. What seems to be a legitimate claim by ethnic minorities in the Latin American context is an instrument of domination by the majority society in the European context. The examples show that the production of (pluri-)national ideologies is based on conceptions of authenticity of an

[2] The "right to migrate" or the right of those who migrate is often neglected, despite the fact that, since the work of Hannah Arendt about refugees between the two world wars, it has been a topic of human rights debates and has recently been applied to members of the European Union (*ius migrandi*).

[3] Gilroy (1987, p. 59f) also states that nationhood and state citizenship remain an absolute source of patriotism, common values, shared morality, and related political contestations.

[4] Hobsbawm and Ranger's book, "The Invention of Tradition" (1983) developed this concept in order to analyse ritual and symbolism within the nation state.

[5] Yuval-Davis (2006, p. 204) after Crowley (1999).

[6] Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident.

"imagined community" (Anderson, 1983) that have often been invented and reworked by contemporary elites (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983).

2.3. Citizenship

Dominant conceptualizations of citizenship derive from the underlying idea that only the state can confer and define citizenship rights. Contemporary and liberal theoretical thinking about citizenship has mainly been influenced by Marshall (1950) and his famous triad of civil, political, and social rights alongside responsibilities, which the subjects of citizenship, the citizens, hold and are obliged to fulfil.[7] Brubaker (2009) points to (state) citizenships' internal inclusiveness and external exclusiveness, which is why the rights of migrants are debated in regard to the concept. In the view of this theoretical strand of thinking about citizenship, it is always the state that defines the limits of migrants' rights (Joppke, 2010; cf., Albiez et al., 2011).

Over the past two decades, dominant (state) citizenship ideas have been challenged by post-national, transnational (Ong, 1999), global, or cosmopolitan notions of citizenship (Isin, 2009, p. 369) as well as by (multi)cultural (Kymlicka, 1995) and religious (Levitt, 2004) forms of citizenship. Cultural citizenship, as it is termed by Rosaldo (1989), encompasses the necessity of including differences and diversity in dominant discursive and institutional practices, for example those of a nation state. To give consideration to the de-nationalization of politics and economies, political transformations, and the rise of trans-local social relations, a more open conception of citizenship has recently been receiving increasing attention. In this, citizenship is understood as a practice of empowerment rather than a strategy of domination. It is argued that the politics of citizenship need to acknowledge the different sites, scales, and actors involved (Isin, 2009). In this strand of argumentation citizenship is more about a continuum, rather than a dichotomy of being either included in the political project or excluded (Yuval-Davis, 2011). The multi-layered components of citizenship should be studied by "acts of citizenship", a term coined by Isin (2009) in order to describe political activism in contentious politics (cf., Janoschka & Sequera, 2011). According to him, the "acts of citizenship" become effective across social and political demarcations in order to build new political landscapes for national and international activism, feminist rights movements (Yuval-Davis, 1997), or urban place making (Lepovsky & Frazer, 2003; Youkhana, 2014b). Thus, the actors of citizenship are not necessarily those who hold the citizenship or a passport. The various fields of contestation (sites) and scopes of application (scales) of citizenship leave fixed and given boundaries, and instead define citizenship as being formed through contestation and struggles (Isin, 2009, p. 370). Furthermore, new political and social landscapes are closely linked to new media and communication technologies based around networks which, as argued by Castells (1996), are contributing to a fundamental change in (political) culture through the interconnectedness and relationality of different social and political fields.

3. Including Space as a Social Category in Order to Study Belonging

The citizenship debate shows that belonging is produced beyond ethnic or national boundaries but is contested on interrelated sites, scales, and networks. The question now is why do these "groupist" and "substantialist" conceptions (Brubaker, 2009, p. 28) of belonging and the related politics of belonging persist? Why do we still link the socio-cultural to spatial / territorial terms (Belina, 2013, p. 35), without giving adequate attention to the complex interdependencies of social relations? A critical approach would enrich social constructivist approaches that ontologically still separate the material from the social, and instead include material conditions in the study of social relations and in the analysis of the strategic and political use of essential and naturalized forms of belonging. In fact, the materiality of belonging, such as the power of symbolic forms (Bourdieu, 1992; Magerski, 2005) and deduced intentionalities (Gell, 1998),[8] as well as the manifold bio-physical and technological processes (Leitner et al., 2008, p. 158) that regulate and mediate social relations (Pierce, Martin, & Murphy, 2011, p. 57), are often ignored in studies of migration.

3.1. Space-Sensitive Approaches

Drawing on French phenomenology (Merleau-Ponty) and German dialectics (Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche) and integrating a "meta-philosophy of the everyday", Lefebvre makes a distinctive claim for the analysis of social relations and productions. Space is understood neither as an absolute or measurable container, nor as a socially constructed or abstract entity, but as a differential unit that connects material and social elements and moments to the analysis of socio-spatial productions (Schmid, 2005, p. 271f). Lefebvre describes a triadic dialectic of social reality by connecting three corresponding moments of social formation, namely

[7] As Isin and Turner summarize, "modern citizenship rights that draw from the nation-state typically include civil (free speech and movement, the rule of law), political (voting, seeking electoral office) and social (welfare, unemployment insurance and health care) rights" (Isin & Turner, 2002, p. 3).

[8] Alfred Gell (1998, p. 13f), in his influential work on "Art and Agency", provides the basis for the investigation of a new scientific field in which objects merge with human beings through the existence of social relations between humans and things, and between humans through things in an art work or artefact.

social thought, social practice, and the poetic and creative act (Schmid, 2005, p. 111, 192). The social is lived, perceived, and conceived in space, while also creating space socially (Lefebvre, 2006, p. 335f). In comparison to the occidental binary focus on the dialectic between social thought and social practice, he argues that creativity, reflective action in a specific situation, is especially important for the study of social processes in cities, where transformation through contradictory social practices are most visible (Lefebvre, 2006). Through this theory of the production of space, the incorporation of material conditions, knowledge, meaning, and their entanglement in everyday practices, Lefebvre (2006, p. 330f; see Schmid, 2005, p. 10) opens up new perspectives for the study of belonging. The concept includes social rationality in practice and cultural implicitness in thought. The balancing relation between thought (abstractions) and practice (given conditions) introduced by Hegel and further developed into historical materialism by Marx uses teleological explanations to understand collective action. In Lefebvre's triadic epistemology, this rationality of dialectics is drawn upon, but is at the same questioned with regard to what is accepted as "given" and "real" belonging. The study of the creative acts, the third aspect of socio-spatial production processes, brings to light the simultaneous performances of heterogeneous actors that reflect power relations in productions of belonging. Creative acts show how social formations and belonging are realized and come into being (see Schmid, 2008, p. 31) in certain situations, and they illustrate belonging as a dynamic rather than fixed social fact, which can also be rooted in choices and experiences rather than in imposed identities, genealogies, and positionalities.

Citing post-structuralist geographers (such as Amin & Thrift, 2002), Doreen Massey (2005) associates space with dynamism and thus qualities of openness, heterogeneity, and liveliness, rather than translating space into a map with sharp edges and a topography, roads, fields, and villages. Space is seen as a product based on the interlocking of natural, social, political, economic, and cultural bits and pieces that simultaneously interact. With regard to collective culture in urban public spaces, Massey is discussing the production of collectives in contemporary urban life that are produced in situations of "throwntogetherness", which is, in Amin's (2008, p. 11) view, a positive social reflex of people in their relation to space and other (material) bodies within them, such as the urban infrastructure, buildings, streets, etc. This "situated multiplicity" in a confined public space may produce social effects and senses of belonging (Amin, 2008).

3.2. Space as Cross-Cutting Social Category in Intersectional Approaches

Although the introduction of space as a social rather than just a geographic category highlights some important issues in the study of social relations and the understanding of an intertwined and interdependent system at the interface of race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, and other categorizations, it also challenges the intersectional approach described above. Nakano-Glenn (2011, p. 6) draws attention to traps connected to the use of intersectional approaches that often rely on given and self-explanatory social categories. She favours an expansion of the study of inequality and social exclusion to "more active and coming-into-being approaches" (Nakano-Glenn, 2011, p. 5) by using terminologies such as assemblages and articulations that have crystallized out of approaches in science and technology studies.

As regards the study of assemblages, Latour (2005) opens up new perspectives on the study of social action by stressing relational and network terms in order to understand social relations. And by introducing objects and their agency to social studies, it is indicated that non-humans are not just the "hapless bearers of symbolic projection" (Latour, 2005, p. 10), but are situatively involved in interactions with humans in order to enact and perform the formation of the collective. The performativity of belonging and of the politics of belonging is also stressed by Antonsich and Yuval Davis. Following the feminist theorist Judith Butler as well as Vikki Bell (1999) and Anne-Marie Fortier (2000), Yuval-Davis (2011, p. 15f) states: "Specific repetitive practices, relating to specific social and cultural spaces, which link individual and collective behaviour, are crucial for the construction and reproduction of identity narratives and constructions of attachment". Latour (2005, p. 217) argues that the consideration of attachments should be prior to consideration of actors as objects of research, in order to shed light on the enactments of social formations and how they perform and stabilize (unequal) social and power relations.

Intersectional approaches draw attention to the complex interdependencies of social formations and relations, but do so without integrating space and the multiple and heterogeneous bodies within it. Consequently, the approach is conceptually not well placed to consider also the socio-material relations mentioned above, for instance artefacts, technologies, and urban infrastructures. Therefore, the intersectionality approach needs to go beyond reflection upon the established analytical categories and how they interact, correlate, or multiply processes of social exclusion and inequality. Interdependent reflection needs to add the material background to the analysis, or, as suggested by Lefebvre, to add space as an analytical category in social studies. A space-sensitive approach, and thus a material perspective on the study of social relations and collective action, shows on the one hand how and with which instruments different aspects of belonging such as class (socio-economic), gender and race (body or corporeal aspects),

ethnicity, and ethical/political value systems (representative and performative aspects) assemble in certain locations and situations. It unveils the underlying power relations that are reflected in the associations of heterogeneous actors and shows how conceptions and the related politics of belonging are enforced and made durable by ideological state apparatuses. On the other hand, a space-sensitive approach similarly allows for the analysis of instruments that are used to overcome the container function of social formations and institutions (Hamel, Lustiger-Thaler, & Maheu, 2000) by focusing on socio-spatial production processes that are based on the everyday tactics and poetics (de Certeau, 1980) of people who resist social classifications and allocations. Adding space as a social category can, finally, reveal the entanglements, interfaces, and crosslinks of different regimes of belonging in order to visualize the self-determining, creative, and diversifying dynamics behind social ordering and "othering" (cf., Law, 2011, p. 32).

3.3. A Space-Sensitive Definition of Belonging

In order to develop distinctive methods for the study of belonging I here move beyond disciplinary approaches which often hamper a more holistic view of processes of collectivization. With regard to the spatial and material perspectives described above, a new definition of the concept of belonging stresses the creativity of collective action in the face of changing daily situations and contexts, including both individual particularities and biographical positionalities as well as the social position within hegemonic structures. Therefore I define belonging as:

> a socio-material resource that arises by means of multiple and situated appropriation processes. Belonging describes alterable attachments that can be social, imagined, and sensual-material in nature. The material-semiotic and space-sensitive study of belonging reveals activities that produce belonging on different temporal and spatial platforms and within more or less institutionalized (repeated, performed, etc.) everyday practices, (imposed) rituals, and "regimes of belonging".

The concept of belonging defined here incorporates materiality by paying more attention to the entangled material-semiotic aspects of social reality:

1. The corporeal and the individual experiences that people have because of their physical dispositions (external and self-ascriptions by phenotype), ethnic ascription, their gender, embodied experiences, and internalized biographies including the creative poetic acts and enactments of belonging;
2. Tenure relations and the allocation of resources (implied in production factors, including work, soil, capital, and information and communications, and livelihoods and material conditions in general), and the related political enforcement strategies, technologies, infrastructures, and microphysics (cf., Walters, 2013);
3. Objects / artefacts or material cultural productions, forms, and images, which serve (not just) as bearers of agency and which are techniques of representation and signification that are also used to categorize people socially and to carry forward ideologies of social boundary marking (cf., Althusser, 2010 [1971]; Hall, 1985; Papadopoulus & Tsianos, 2007).

Thus, belonging comes into being between people and things, and between people and people, through material conditions. A more fluid and less bounded conception of belonging can be imagined as a rhizomatic and chaotic network composed of multiple attachments of heterogeneous actors that are not distinguished ontologically, which is why agency and telos can be assigned to both humans and non-humans (Law, 2011, p. 34). The study of belonging assemblages, or the *agencement* (collection of agency) in the French terminology of Deleuze and Guattari, brings to light a social reality beyond the social, natural, or conceptual framing and scaling. Such a concept marks a break from a sociology that defines the social as a matter of fact rather than a matter of concern (Latour, 2005). It shows how humans are constantly in the "process of becoming" (cf., Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2007) by means of materializations and enactments of the collective that are implied in the process of belonging.

4. The Space-Sensitive Study of Belonging

In the framework of the "Research Network on Latin America: Ethnicity, Citizenship, Belonging" the relevance of space for the concept of belonging was studied by looking at different articulations of belonging in specific socio-cultural and socio-political arenas, taking the example of migrants in Madrid. Between 2010 and 2014, research was conducted around spaces of representation, institutions, and events where belonging is repeatedly and situatively performed.[9] The following descriptions illustrate the study of belonging and the politics of belonging, through the example of religious practices, namely the veneration of a replica of the Vir-

[9] A portfolio of approved anthropological, sociological, and geographical methods was used and combined into an interdisciplinary research perspective. The methods ranged from videography, to better analyse the rich semantics of performed belongings, through to interview techniques (expert, biographic, ethnographic interviews and inquiries), and participatory observation.

gin of Cisne in a Catholic congregation, and creative activism through graffiti and urban art, both studied in the neighbourhood of Lavapiés, an immigrant and formerly working class neighbourhood in Madrid. The artefacts presented and the material cultural productions both represent power claims, which are made to bring forward both ideologies of social boundary marking and empowerment through creative poetic acts.

4.1. Place-Making and the Politics of Belonging with the Virgin of Cisne[10]

Religious institutions such as the Catholic Church are gaining in importance again in the wake of the economic crisis in Spain. They act as a reference point and meeting place which keeps the faith community together. Tangible assistance is offered and transnational communication structures and family bonds are sustained. With help of replicas of patron saints imported from Latin America, the Catholic Church serves as a place of remembrance that produces and reproduces senses of belongings that date back to the early colonial era (on the Virgin of Guadalupe compare Favrot Peterson, 1992; Zires, 1994). The social relations of migrants are manifested in a space that symbolizes the power and glory of the former colonial regime and a political project of belonging that started with the proselytization and spiritual, political, and economic domination of the Americas by the Catholic Church.

An art work, the figure of the *Virgen del Cisne*, is here analysed for its relevance to the production and performativity of belonging in different spaces of representation in the migration of Latin Americans to Spain; the analysis thus deals with power negotiations by means of an artefact that comes into action laden with different intentions. By the import of a replica of the *Virgen del Cisne*, a religious artefact from Ecuador of colonial origin was activated in Madrid with local as well as national and transregional significance. Attempts by the immigrant "Asociación Virgen del Cisne" to (re)appropriate a religious space, to empower the immigrant community and, at the same time, to use the Virgin to legitimize entrepreneurial activities, draws attention also to the identity politics of the Catholic Church in Spain. The empowerment of the members of the association through organized processions and the appropriation of the *Virgen del Cisne*, assessed as a strong partner, to speak with Alfred Gell, was an affront to the Catholic Church. The Church and the association contested the interpretative dominance over the figure, and in response to the Latin American immigrants the Catholic Church found it necessary to return to its own history by making powerful religious symbols, imported from Europe and reinterpreted in Latin America, available once more in Spain. The conflict that arose between the Ecuadorian/Latin American community in Madrid and the congregation of San Lorenzo in Lavapiés about control over the symbolically charged artefact indicates the continuity of notions of belonging that were ideologized in Christian terms during the Conquista in order to support and legitimize feudalism and Catholicism.[11] While the Church is increasingly losing ground in Spain, its intervention into both the religious practices and the politics of migration is all the more important for the attempted reconstitution of its claims to power.[12] Both parties in the conflict, the association and the Catholic Church, used the figure of the *Virgen del Cisne* to justify their intentions, to bring together the followers in their own interests, and thus to create emotional and cognitive identifications through the symbolic valorization of religious spaces (place making). These hidden mechanisms of "symbolic power" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 82) are based on repetitive practices and rituals related to the *Virgen del Cisne* and the establishment of an object-human relationship through which the worshippers unconsciously internalize the interests of both institutions.

Humans can achieve and legitimize power over other humans through sacralized objects.[13] This correlation between objects and power is evident in studies of religion in which social institutions are to be legitimized by setting the objects in the reference framework of a holy cosmos (cf., Berger, 1973, p. 33). In the case of the *Virgen del Cisne* power was produced and maintained by means of symbolic acts, rites, and processions (Bell, 1997, p. 91f) backed by art objects and religious artefacts.

4.2. Creative Activism and Art as Acts of Citizenship[14]

Creative activism and urban art are increasingly being

[10] This section is based on my article recently published in Youkhana (2014b, pp. 149-174).

[11] To this day, the Virgin Mary serves as a link between the Amer-Indian and the European worlds and is thus a product of the trans-Atlantic migration dynamics and transcultural processes. By means of association with their country of origin, she serves as the patron saint for Latin American emigrants (Nabham-Warren, 2006, p. 246). She is, according to García (2005, p. 15), part of an autochthonous collective and territorial identity. The religious locations characterized by her are perceived by believers as islands in an endless sea of foreignness (Jansen & Keval, 2003, p. 44), a focus for their dreams, wishes, and expectations of the life in the new country.

[12] The Marian veneration of Latin American migrants is in addition a social resource for the construction of collective identity, and it is also an instrument with which institutions can improve the integration of immigrants in the host countries (García, 2005; Itçaina, 2006).

[13] This deduced intentionality leads Gell to conclude that things also have agency which therefore can strongly influence social relations: "I view art as a system of action intended to change the world" (Gell, 1998, p. 46).

[14] The case study of creative activism was published in Youkhana, E. (2014a, pp. 172-186).

used as an instrument to collectively re-appropriate the urban space and thus articulate urban belonging and citizenship. In cities worldwide, where different politics of place stimulate capitalist appropriation, the urban space is becoming an arena of international and entrepreneurial competition symbolizing national domination and power. In turn, individuals and groups use the public space as a laboratory for resistance, creative acts and as a medium of communication. As such, creative activism, here exemplified by urban art in Lavapiés, where the politics of place and urban restructuring displace less advantaged people (Youkhana & Sebaly, 2014), is a manner of articulation for those who are largely excluded from social, political, cultural, and economic participation. Collectives are built through joint action and corporeal experiences that are translated into the production of situated forms of urban belonging. By drawing on space-sensitive and situationist approaches (Debord, 1957) and the power of creativity as an important moment in the analysis of action (Lefebvre, 2006), the example shows how collective action and belonging are produced under conditions of contentious politics and social and territorial exclusion.

Urban art and graffiti are expressions of more general ideas, beliefs, and convictions and are thus subject to conflicts about power over signification and interpretation as well as about access to common urban infrastructures and resources. The urban landscape plays an important role as it serves as an instrument for exercising power by symbolic staging (Heinrich, 2013, p. 7; after Alber, 1997, p. 274). Through the reservation of urban arenas by economic and political institutions and through the creation of a well-structured system of symbols, neoliberal ideologies are conveyed through the public space. Dominant tenure and property rights and the related urban administration necessarily exclude those who are not part of the new entrepreneurialism (Windzio, 2010, p. 93f). Through the interventions of graffiti and urban art that demonstrate and expose this structuring, the artists challenge the power relations represented in the urban forms (Gabbert, 2007, p. 46). New urban meanings are created by turning the poetics of the art piece into political activism.

However, little attention has been paid to the role of these performances in contentious politics (Waldner & Dobratz, 2013, p. 377) and as a representation mechanism for protest movements against urban regeneration and revanchism (cf., Youkhana & Sebaly, 2014). The latest protest movements worldwide have shown that art performances help the producers to escape from voicelessness, to denounce social exclusion and their lack of rights and access to common resources (Abaza, 2013; Waldner & Dobratz, 2013, p. 381f; after Hanauer, 2011). Graffiti and urban art, since the emergence of New York graffiti, have been used as instruments for protest and a means to produce new forms of (urban) belonging and enact citizenship by those who are ignored by the polity (Baudrillard, 1978; López, 1998). Madrid is a case in point: a global city that exemplifies the new urban geography and politics of territorial and social exclusion.[15] A key factor in the reconfiguration of the city is the transformation of the historic city center, which plays a significant role in the urban dynamics of Madrid. The urban renaissance includes rehabilitation projects, and redesign and control of communal locations, and has led to changes in social tenancy, as well as gentrification and displacement of less advantaged people such as immigrant groups in so-called distressed neighborhoods (Blasius & Friedrichs, 2008; Youkhana & Sebaly, 2014). In Lavapiés, a working class and immigrant neighborhood in Madrid, various demonstrations of political urban art are questioning the codes of property rights and belonging by raising sensitivity to the exclusionary character of society (Abarca Sanchís, 2015). The following examples are just a selection of countless art performances in the neighborhood of Lavapíes that represent the practice of urban art as political protest. It can be shown that the art performances are attached to the urban infrastructure, dark niches, places where the countless surveillance cameras that control the public space cannot reach, but where passers-by were provoked by initially inconspicuous images. The figures show selected images of urban art in Lavapiés that were taken in 2011 and 2012 during and immediately after the onset of the 15M movement, which began on May 15 2011 in Spain and is known as one pioneer of the later worldwide Occupy movement.

Figure 1 shows an armed Spanish police officer as the shadow of the street post, indicating the state surveillance that has increased significantly in the neighborhood. The image is provocative because it has been fixed in front of a police training center. In Figure 2, the image of an African mother carrying her baby is integrated into the street furniture, demonstrating her belonging to the neighborhood. Figure 3 shows a sticker of the Three Magi being pursued by a helicopter—a strong image designed to raise sensitivity to the politics of social exclusion, racist identity controls, and Islamophobia[16] in Spanish society, which includes significant numbers of Arabs and Muslims.

These examples of urban art in Madrid show that the city is serving as the organism, the holistic system within which the "new urbanism of the everyday" is emerging through "transitivity", "daily rhythms", and

[15] Characterized as one of the 20 most important global cities, Madrid is an important hub for the finance and logistics sectors and the third largest city in the EU, after London and Berlin, with over 3.3 million inhabitants in the city (and over 6.5 million in the metropolitan region) (Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2012).

[16] Especially after the bomb attacks in the central station of Atocha, Madrid, in 2005.

"situated footprint effects" (see Amin & Thrift, 2002, p. 7). Creative political acts, urban art, and strategies to inscribe the city with creative tactics and poetics are questioning dominant tenure and property rights and are producing new forms of urban belonging by associating spatial shapes with socio-spatial practices. They arise from a political landscape that has built on the potential of those who need to set up home in a situation of transitivity, under conditions of un-belonging and the lack of citizenship rights. However, creative activism in the face of neoliberal politics and revanchist urban governments is under increasing pressure to legitimize itself, which makes mechanisms of self-reflection more necessary than ever.

Figure 1. Doctor Foquet Street (Sebaly).

Figure 2. Embajadores Street (Youkhana).

Figure 3. Political stencil in Argumosa Street (Youkhana).

5. Conclusion

The paper showed how groupist perspectives on the social interact with concepts of belonging and the related politics of belonging, through the example of the nation state and citizenship, which are still today the most important reference points for social and territorial demarcations and exclusion. Avoiding methodological nationalism, a concept of belonging was developed that includes space as an analytical category and that adopts a material-semiotic perspective on the study of social formation. With a new definition of belonging,

the concept analytically integrates the material in three ways: through corporeal and embodied experiences and internalized biographies; through tenure relations, the allocation of resources, and the related enforcement strategies, technologies, infrastructures, and microphysics; and through objects and artefacts that serve as bearers of agency and represent signification procedures.

The selected case studies of the Virgin of Cisne and creative activism and urban art in Madrid showed under which conditions of social inequality and power asymmetries belonging is produced and (re)presented. The case studies do justice both to the bounded and naturalized notions of belonging and to the open and reflexive notions of belonging that are implied in different practices and projects of belonging. On the one hand, belonging is revealed as a bounded conception that relies on imposed collective identities that are reproduced in order to legitimize cultural hegemony and social and political domination while hampering emancipatory forces, as seen in the example of the Virgen del Cisne. On the other hand, it was shown that belonging increasingly derives from complex interconnections through mediating objects, including urban forms, infrastructures, and signs, as demonstrated by the uncommissioned and politically motivated urban art in Madrid. What Baumann (2000) calls the "central human experience" and the lived circulation of people, concepts, and objects, is most intensively felt in situations of migration. Our codes of the social become destabilized, which creates, according to Waldmann (2011, p. 159), a (new) social figure of a traveller, a nomad (cf., Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2007) who also enjoys the lack of rootedness while changing the conditions of her material existence in an ongoing process of becoming (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2007, p. 223). Of course, the complex interconnections can also stabilize these codes by returning to primordial claims in precarious socio-economic conditions. The productions of belonging are then related to senses of un-belonging triggered by exclusionary migration politics, as has been experienced by migrants in Spain and Europe in recent years and diaspora communities in general.

This paper is not an attempt to deny trajectories, dependencies and inequalities that are located at the intersection of different social categories and contestations. Instead the paper offers some thoughts about how to shift studies of belonging from ideas of vertical, rooted, and path-dependent constructions to equally valid notions of a more open, grassy social landscape[17] with horizontal and situated relations, for example in public urban or virtual spaces, which also describe social reality. Approaching belonging from what is performed as belonging and how it is enacted in certain situations allow us to better understand which instruments are used in processes of "othering" (Spivak, 1985) or distancing, and by whom these processes are sustained. And it brings to prominence the question of when and under which conditions new belongings are produced. It unveils the politics and socio-economic settings that are connected to the multiple sources of social inequality and shows how they are translated into signification procedures, knowledge systems, ideologies and institutions that often serve to legitimize social and territorial exclusion and establish border regimes. It is all the more amazing how commonality and mutuality beyond a given national or ethnic position function successfully on the part of multi-national entrepreneurialism and the financial world, and, as Çağlar and Glick-Schiller (2011, p. 5) mention, how the neoliberal rescaling and restructuring have disrupted fixed notions of territoriality and bounded political units. Why then should migrants stick to their genealogies of belonging, the imagined roots, and related political boundaries, when they hamper both movement and processes of becoming, and thus also the human right to take responsibility for one's own life?

[17] The images and distinction of "rooted" and "grassy" social relations, the binary opposition of vertical and horizontal social relations, is taken from the book "A thousand plateaus" by Deleuze and Guattari, who depicts Western binary thinking and related ideas about the social world and exposes their reductionism.

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The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Constructing "Ideal Victim" Stories of Bosnian War Survivors

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Abstract
Previous research on victimhood during and after the Bosnian war has emphasized the importance of narratives but has not focused on narratives about victimhood or analyzed post-war interviews as a competition for victimhood. This article tries to fill this gap using stories told by survivors of the Bosnian war during the 1990s. In this analysis of the retold experiences of 27 survivors of the war in northwestern Bosnia, the aim is to describe the informants' portrayal of "victimhood" as a social phenomenon as well as analyzing the discursive patterns that contribute to constructing the category "victim". When, after the war, different categories claim a "victim" status, it sparks a competition for victimhood. All informants are eager to present themselves as victims while at the same time the other categories' victim status are downplayed. In this reproduction of competition for the victim role, all demarcations that were played out so successfully during the war live on.

Keywords
Bosnia; crime; narrative; perpetrator; victim; victimhood; war

Issue
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1. Introduction

Previous research on victimhood during the Bosnian war often has presented a one-sided picture of the "victim" and "perpetrator". The picture of victims is often exemplified by killed or raped and displaced adults and children. The picture of perpetrators is exemplified by soldiers or policemen who have displaced, raped, and killed civilians. Some research on the post-war society in Bosnia, however, presents a more complex picture of the "victim" and "perpetrator". Victims are partly exemplified by individuals killed in the war and partly by individuals who survived the war but lost relatives or were displaced or raped during the war. The picture of the perpetrator is exemplified partly by former soldiers and policemen who had killed and raped as well as participated in the displacement, and partly by economic perpetrators who became rich during the war (Androff, 2012; Delpla, 2007; Fischer & Petrović-Ziemer, 2013; French, 2009; Helms, 2007; Kiza, Rathgeber, & Rohne, 2006; Stefansson, 2007; Steflja, 2010; Stover & Shigekane, 2004; Webster, 2007; White, 2003; Zarkov, 2007; Zdravković-Zonta, 2009). These two concepts of "victim" and "perpetrator" are objects of a general post-war discussion on a symbolic level. This social phenomenon becomes clear during trials at tribunals (Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2015; ICTY, 2015a, 2015b) where war crimes are dealt with or in other general inter-human and inter-institutional interaction, but as my research shows, the correlative discussion also appears in research interviews.

The Bosnian war can be seen as a particularly illustrative case of war sociology, based on the ethnic mix of the population prior to the war. War antagonists often knew each other from before the war. Serbian soldiers and policemen carried out mass executions, forced flight, and systematic rape and set up concentration camps in their effort to drive away Bosniacs[1] and Croats from northwestern Bosnia and Herzegovina.

[1] Bosnian Muslims began to identify themselves as Bosniacs during the war. The term "Bosniac" is actually an old word meaning "Bosnian", which is now used both in an official context and everyday language.

The warfare was directly targeted against civilians (Case No.: IT-95-8-S; Case No.: IT-97-24-T; Case No.: IT-98-30/1-A; Case No.: IT-99-36-T; Case No.: IT-99-36-T; Case No.: IT-97-24-T. J).

Post-war Bosnians do not portray their victimhood only in relation to the war as a whole but also in relation to the specific actions of themselves and others during and after the war (Basic, 2015a, 2015d). How is one's victim status decided? Being an "ideal victim" seems desirable here; it upholds some sort of general status that can be set next to other status groups, for example "war criminals" (Christie, 1986). This study shows that stories of Bosnian war survivors are built on these and other social categorizations.

The article analyzes verbally depicted experiences of 27 survivors from the war in northwestern Bosnia and Herzegovina. One aim of the article is to describe how the actors portray the social phenomenon of "victimhood", and the second is to analyze discursive patterns that interplay in the creation of the terms "victim" and "perpetrator". My research question is: How do the interviewees describe victimhood after the war? With this study, I try to access the phenomena of victimhood by analyzing the interviewees' stories, namely their own descriptions in relation to themselves and others (Baker, 1993[2006]; Blumer, 1986[1969]; Riessman, 1993).

In the following, I attempt to illustrate how victimization markers and the creation of the terms "victim" and "perpetrator" are exposed when interviewees talk about (a) war victimhood, (b) post-war victimhood, and (c) economic victimhood.

The following analysis showed that the Bosnian War survivors, in telling of war and its aftermath, attempt to establish their suffering as the worst. I argue that this is important for two reasons: 1) it illustrates that victimhood for these survivors is a desirable status, and 2) the survivors are claiming the legitimacy of their victimhood in relation to other victims, not just perpetrators.

2. Analytical Starting Points

This study joins those narrative traditions within sociology where spoken stories are considered as being based on experiences as well as being discoursive. The general starting point of the study is interactionistic with focus on how people present their social reality (Baker, 1993[2006]; Blumer, 1986[1969]; Riessman, 1993). The interviewees' stories as well as the analysis of them could, in light of this perspective, be seen as activities that create meaning. Narratives are interpretative because they attempt to explain the world, but they also need to be interpreted. In this way, different social phenomena, such as conflict, competition, and victimhood, are created and re-created. In addition to this general starting point, I perceive the terms "conflict", "competition", "conflict point of interest", "social norm" and "ideal victim" as particularly relevant components in the specific stories that I have analyzed.

2.1. Conflict and Competition

Simmel (1955[1908]) understands social interaction as an interpersonal interaction—an interplay that can assume and display a variety of social forms. Conflict and competition, for example, are specific forms of interaction. Such forms of interaction often emerge in the post-war relations between the individuals and groups. Simmel (1955[1908]) argues that, in contrast to perfunctory understanding that implies that conflict disrupts the relations between parties, conflicts should rather be seen as an expression of the actors' powerful involvement in a situation, and conflicts fulfill an integrative function between involved parties.

Simmel (1955[1908], pp. 61-108) argues that conflicts and competition may keep fighting parties concentrated on a point of interest. Simmel (1955[1908], pp. 61-108) argues that points of interest enable struggle between fighting actors. He believes that focus on mutual points enables antagonism in the same way that absence of focus or the lack of conflict objects dampens tensions. Collins (2004, pp. 34, 79-109, 150-151, 183-222) offers similar thoughts, arguing that social life is shaped through a series of rituals in which individuals are interlinked when a common point of interest awakens their attention. When people move between different situations, earlier situations merge with the new ones. In consecutive interactions, involved individuals show respect and appreciation on behalf of objects seen as especially important.

When writing about conflicts, competition, and conflict points of interest in the following analysis, I am addressing the *verbal struggle* that occurs in analyzed sequences of the empirical material (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997). From these sequences, different images of "victims" and "perpetrators" emerge.

2.2. Status of "Victim" and "Perpetrator"

This article contributes to a rich literature on war/genocide and victimhood. Some of this literature also addresses the "competition of victims". For example Bartov (2000), Moeller (1996), Olick (2005) and Olick and Demetriou (2006) discuss German claims to victimhood after the Second World War, claims that were often made by comparison to Jews. Furthermore, Holstein and Miller (1990) talk specifically about "victim contests". They argue that notions of victimhood reflect morality and claims about right/wrong, insiders/outsiders, etc.

Christie's (1972) study on concentration camp guards during World War II in Norway is imbued with a certain war interaction that includes the maintenance

of normality in various relations, partly between those guards working for the Germans, killing and torturing in the Norwegian camps, and partly between Yugoslav war prisoners who had been placed in Norwegian concentration camps and the Norwegian general public after the war (Christie, 1986). This relationship seems to be characterized by closeness and distance between actors where collective expectations of what is culturally desirable are defined (societal norms). Some guards portray the detainees as dirty and dangerous perpetrators—a threat against wartime's existing order. The general consciousness, after the war, portrays the guards as mad and evil perpetrators because in Norway, after the war, there was a need for a dehumanized picture of the enemy, a real and distant perpetrator. The result from Christie's study shows that the guards killing and torturing in the camps were ordinary Norwegians, and his point is that other Norwegians in wartime Norway would have done the same as those guards if they were the same age, had the same educational background, and had found themselves in the same situation.

Christie's (1972, 1986) studies show a connection between societal norms and the "victim" and "perpetrator" statuses. Collective expectations of that which is culturally desirable are sometimes informal and unspoken and thus difficult for an outsider to understand. These norms often become clear when someone violates them and the environment reacts. Through this reaction, an image of the "ideal victim" is created. With the term "ideal victim", Christie (1986) wants to describe that individual or individuals who, when subjects of crime, most easily will obtain the legitimate status of a victim: the individual should be "weak" and have a respectable purpose or honorable intentions when the attack occurs, and it should not be possible to blame the individual for being there. Furthermore, the ideal victim needs to have some influence to claim victim status. Ideal victims need and "create" ideal perpetrators. The perpetrator is expected to be large, mean, inhuman, and evil and without relation to the victim. The ideal perpetrator is a distant creature. He or she is a stranger who is not regarded as totally human (Christie, 1986).

The study of Lois Presser (2013) paints a diversified image of the social reality, especially in a war situation, where an act seen as righteous for one side is the worst atrocity for the other. The split logic of the diversified reality is produced and reproduced, inter alia, through stories. These stories produce and reproduce dominant actors in these violent situations (perpetrator), actors who acquire some kind of *permit* to hurt the inferior actor (victim). In an interesting way, Presser highlights how the dominant actors define themselves as being so *powerless* that they could not avoid hurting the inferiors. The dominant actors are given a permit from society to use violence, but they also seem to have been caught in a *violence-interactive web* without a way out.

Presser (2013) writes that Tutsis in Rwanda, prior to and during the genocide in 1994, were called "cockroaches" and "dogs" and that Jews in Nazi Germany were called "rats". Disparaging those who are the target of a violent attack means that an object of lesser complexity than the perpetrator is created, which confirms the *justification* of the violence. Presser notes that dominant perpetrators are often under the influence of stories that are produced, reproduced, and distributed throughout the society. She argues that the new social order that emerges in society during war results in the dehumanization of victims.

The "victim" category is not an objective category; it is in fact created during interaction between individuals, in the definition of the specific social situation. It could be seen as an abstraction or a social type (Åkerström, 2001; Bartov, 2000; Brewer & Hayes, 2011, 2013; Christie, 1986; Confino, 2005; Holstein & Miller, 1990; Kidron, 2004, 2012; Maier, 1993; Moeller, 1996; Olick, 2005; Olick & Demetriou, 2006). According to Holstein and Miller (1990) and Åkerström (2001), victimhood could also be seen as a product of moral creativity. It should not be possible to question the moral responsibility of an ideal victim. Brewer and Hayes (2011, 2013) argue that the portrayal of an ideal victim often has real consequences—that it does not exist only as a mental construction. For a specific category to achieve victim status, there must be some common interest that acts on behalf of the victims; in other words, there must be someone who has an interest in ensuring that the category achieves victim status. These activities sometimes take place on an institutional level and could be transferred to an individual level, as a conversation topic, for instance (Åkerström, 2001; Androff, 2012; Bartov, 2000; Brewer & Hayes, 2011, 2013; Christie, 1986; Confino, 2005; Delpla, 2007; Fischer & Petrović-Ziemer, 2013; French, 2009; Helms, 2007; Holstein & Miller, 1990; Kiza, Rathgeber, & Rohne, 2006; Kidron, 2004, 2012; Maier, 1993; Moeller, 1996; Stefansson, 2007; Steflja, 2010; Stover & Shigekane, 2004; Olick, 2005; Olick & Demetriou, 2006; Webster, 2007; White, 2003; Zarkov, 2007; Zdravković-Zonta, 2009).

The competition over the victim role is a comprehensive and tension-filled theme in my analysis. The viewpoints of the above-mentioned theorists seem useful in serving my goal of understanding the interviewees' stories about victimhood, both as an analytical starting point and as a subject for nuance.

3. Method

The material for this study was collected through qualitatively oriented interviews with 27 survivors from the war in northwestern Bosnia and Herzegovina. The ma-

terial was gathered during two phases. During phase one, March and November 2004, I carried out field work in Ljubija, a community in northwestern Bosnia.

Ljubija is a part of the Prijedor municipality. Before the war, the residents of Ljubija lived in two administrative areas (Mjesne zajednice). Upper Ljubija was ethnically diverse, and the residents lived in flats for the most part. Lower Ljubija was predominately inhabited by Bosniacs, and they mostly lived in single-family houses. The Ljubia region is known for its mineral wealth. There was plenty of iron ore, quartz, black coal, and clay for burning bricks as well as mineral-rich water. Most residents worked at the iron mine before the war. The war began in Ljubija in the beginning of the summer of 1992 when Serbian soldiers and police took over control of the local administrative government without armed resistance (Case No.: IT-97-24-T.; Case No.: IT-99-36-T.).

In Ljubija, I interviewed 14 people who were living there at that time and performed observations at coffee shops, bus stops, and the local marketplace and on buses. I also collected and analyzed current local newspapers being sold in Ljubija during my stay. I interviewed two women and five men who had spent the entire war in Ljubija, together with three women and four men who had been expelled from the town during the war but had returned afterwards. Six of these fourteen interviewees were Serbian, three were Croats, and five were Bosniacs.

Ljubija is a small community. Most of the pre-war population knew each other or had at least heard of one another. I experienced the beginning of the war in Ljubija personally as a member of those groups of people who were expelled from the area. I knew from before the war most of the interviewees and those mentioned during the interviews. I also possessed earlier knowledge about some of the events that were described in the interviews, which occurred during the war. Thus, the fictitious names that appear in the analysis (for example, Milanko, Dragan, Sveto, Milorad, Klan, Planić Mirzet, Savo Knezevic, Alma and Senada Husic, Bela, Laki, and Laic) are real people who are not unknown to me. This association, of course, affected the execution of the study. I was, on one hand, aware of the possible danger that my acquaintance with some informants and my knowledge about certain war events could affect the scientific nature of the text—and I worked intensely and continuously to be value-free in the analysis. On the other hand, my own experiences, from the war in Bosnia helped me more easily recognize, understand, and analyze social phenomena such as war victimhood.

During the second phase, April through June 2006, nine former concentration camp detainees were interviewed. They were placed in the concentration camps by Serbian soldiers and police even though they were civilians during the war. These individuals who were interviewed, together with four relatives, all now live in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. Three women and ten men were interviewed. The majority of the interviewees come from the municipality of Prijedor (to which Ljubija belongs). Ten interviewees are Bosniacs and three are Croats. Parts of the material collected in 2004 and 2006 have been analyzed in other reports and articles. These analyses are based on the above-described material and with partly different research questions (Basic, 2005, 2007, 2013, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d).

To understand the dynamics concerning the upholding of the victim and perpetrator, this study analyzes a limited context in northwestern Bosnia, more specifically the area around Prijedor. I seek to place my discussion in relation to other studies on Bosnia and the region so that the reader can understand the extremely polarized environment that exists partly because of collectively targeted crime during the war (including concentration camps, systematic rape, mass executions, etc.), and partly because of the competition for victimhood after the war.

From the above, we see that informants belong to different ethnic groups, but the informants' ethnic background is not specified in the analysis that follows. I have not focused on ethnic background, hoping that this approach results instead in pointing the analytic focus towards social phenomena such as victimhood and competition.

When preparing for the interviews, I used an interview guide designed after, among other influences, the above theoretical interests. During the interviews, I strived for a conversation-oriented style in which the interviewer takes the role of a sounding board and conversation partner rather than an interrogator; the interview is designed as a so-called "active interview" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). The interviews lasted between one and four hours and were carried out in the Bosnian language. A voice recorder was used in all interviews, and all informants agreed to that. The interviewees were informed about the study's aim, and I pointed out that they could terminate their participation at any time.

The material was transcribed in the Bosnian language, usually the same day or the days just following the interview to ensure good documentation and to comment with details[2]. By commenting in the transcript, I produced a "categorization of data" (Ryen, 2004, pp. 110-112, 123-127). In encoding the statements, markers for victimhood and competition for the victim role were identified in the material. My choice of empirical examples was guided by the study's aim and how distinctly those empirical examples illustrated

[2] Relevant parts of the transcribed material were translated by an interpreter (some parts I translated personally). The aid of an interpreter has been helpful to minimize loss of important nuances.

the analytical point I wanted to highlight. For this reason, some of the more eloquent informants are heard more often than others.

The material from the interviews is analyzed based on a tradition from the qualitative method (see Silverman, 2006[1993], as an example). The above-mentioned theoretical interests—Simmel's view on competition and Christie's term "the ideal victim"—are not only applied here but also are challenged and modified with nuance.

This study shows that the analyzed post-war stories seem to be marked by competition for the role of victim. Here I want to emphasize that although this study aims at understanding the interviewees' stories, which sometimes speak of violent crimes experienced during the war, it does not seek to identify or point out individuals or groups as guilty. The interviewees' distribution of responsibility is at the center, namely their victim images, reproaches, accusations, and condemnations.

4. War Victim

Individuals who were expelled from northwestern Bosnia during the war in the 1990s are, in legal terms, a recognized victim. They were subjects of crimes against humanity, and most were subjects of various types of violent crimes (Case No.: IT-95-8-S.; Case No.: IT-97-24-T.; Case No.: IT-98-30/1-A.; Case No.: IT-99-36-T.). Many perpetrators have been sentenced by the Hague Tribunal and the Bosnia and Herzegovina Tribunal on war crimes (Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2015; ICTY 2015a, 2015b).

An analysis based on Christie's (1986) view regarding the informants' stories about the expulsion from northwestern Bosnia could add nuance to the images of the "victim" and "perpetrator". Pre-war acquaintances between the antagonists could further complicate the definition of an "ideal victim". Serbian soldiers and policemen and Bosniac and Croatian civilians in northwestern Bosnia often knew each other well from before the war, which has probably affected descriptions after the war.

Here is an example of altered relations with neighbors and acquaintances in Milanko's story. Milanko was a child during the war, and he told me how he saw his neighbors being battered and executed. He stayed in northwestern Bosnia during and after the war. These are Milanko's words on the spread of excessive violence during the war:

> I feel sick from it, they put on their uniforms and go out to the villages to rape and kill women. Not just Dragan but also Sveto and Milorad and a bunch of others. How do they sleep now, do they worry for their children?….They abducted Planic Mirzet before my eyes. Milorad and the son of Sava Knezevic were the guilty ones. It was Milorad in person who deported Alma and Senada Husic, together with many others, from Ljubija….In 1992, 1993, it was Milorad, Sveto, Klan who ruled and decided, they were gods. They did as they pleased. I just don't understand why nobody arrests them now?

In Milanko's story, we see that the conflict is portrayed through personified terminology (it is "Mirzet", "Dragan", "Sveto", "Milorad", and others) and maybe because of this personification, it is done in rather accusatory terms. The perpetrators' actions are most clearly shaped through concrete drama and described in terms of "uniform", "rape and kill women", and "arrests".

In categorizing a person as a perpetrator, one also instructs others to identify the result of the acts by the perpetrator. Attributing to someone a perpetrator status implicitly points out the perpetrator's complementary contrast—the victims (Åkerström 2001; Androff, 2012; Bartov, 2000; Brewer and Hayes 2011, 2013; Christie 1986; Delpla, 2007; Confino, 2005; Fischer, Petrović-Ziemer, 2013; French, 2009; Helms, 2007; Holstein and Miller 1990; Kidron, 2004, 2012; Kiza, Rathgeber, Rohne, 2006; Maier, 1993; Moeller, 1996; Olick, 2005; Olick and Demetriou, 2006; Stefansson, 2007; Steflja, 2010; Stover, Shigekane, 2004; Webster, 2007; White, 2003; Zarkov, 2007; Zdravković-Zonta, 2009). The previous empirical example shows how "perpetrator" and "victim" are constituted at the same time: The acts of the perpetrator take evident form as concrete drama and an explicit designation.

In Milanko's description "Planic Mirzet", "Alma and Senada Husic", and "many others, from Ljubija" are portrayed as ideal victims according to Christie's conceptual apparatus. These individuals are portrayed as weak during the war, and their purpose and intent cannot be seen as dishonorable. The perpetrators "Dragan", "Sveto", "Milorad", and "a bunch of others" are depicted as big and evil. What problematizes the image of an "ideal victim" in Christie's term is that the perpetrators and victims are not strangers to one another. They know each other well from before, and there are relations between them.

Milanko also demands law enforcement action against those who clearly meet the definition of a perpetrator ("I just don't understand why nobody arrests them now?"). He seems, by emphasizing the others' victim status, to construct a distinction against the perpetrators.

We see examples of relations after the war, concerning trials and interpersonal and inter-institutional interaction in research reports from war-victim organizations. A predominant number of Bosniac and Croat war-victim organizations appreciate and accept the efforts of tribunals, in contrast to Serbian war-victim organizations, which often distance themselves from the tribunals' findings (Delpla, 2007, pp. 228-229). Steflja (2010) argues that this administration of justice may

cement the antagonism and social identities that were actualized during the war. Another important point made by researchers, in noting that these actions, on the institutional level, frequently get transmitted to the individual level (Åkerström, 2001; Androff, 2012; Bartov, 2000; Brewer & Hayes, 2011, 2013; Christie, 1986; Delpla, 2007; Confino, 2005; Fischer & Petrović-Ziemer, 2013; French, 2009; Helms, 2007; Holstein & Miller, 1990; Kidron, 2004, 2012; Kiza, Rathgeber, & Rohne, 2006; Maier, 1993; Moeller, 1996; Olick, 2005; Olick & Demetriou, 2006; Stefansson, 2007; Steflja, 2010; Stover & Shigekane, 2004; Webster, 2007; White, 2003; Zarkov, 2007; Zdravković-Zonta, 2009). The stories in my empirical material seem to be influenced by (or comply with) the rhetoric of war-victim organizations and the tribunals.

In addition to the distinction between "victim" and "perpetrator", the descriptions also reveal a closeness between the antagonists. Nesim is a former concentration camp detainee now living in the Scandinavian countries. He was handed over to the soldiers during an attack on his village. Here is his description of the transport to the concentration camp:

> Those sitting in the van started looting, they wore camouflage uniforms, Ray-Ban sunglasses, black gloves, we were shocked, the impossible had become possible….When I saw how they beat those men which they picked up, and when I saw who guarded them by the railway, they were my workmates, this made the shock even bigger. One of them had worked with me for 14 years, and we had gone through good and bad times together, we shared everything with each other...I just froze.

Nesim places himself in a clear victim role, and he portrays the soldiers and policemen who expelled him and his neighbors as dangerous. Descriptions of objects such as "camouflage uniforms", "Ray-Ban sunglasses" and "black gloves" are used in an effort to depict the soldiers' actions as threatening. Nesim also uses dramaturgy when he talks about the shock he experienced ("the impossible had become possible"). When Nesim accentuates his victim role, he upholds and enhances the image of the perpetrators using dramaturgy and charged conflict points of interest.

Several interviewees who were displaced from northwestern Bosnia said that they saw their friends, neighbors, or workmates while they were being exiled. Continuing with Nesim's description of the situation when "old friends" came and battered two inmates:

> Nesim: One was frightened, everyone knew Crni, he was a maniac. I knew Crni from before when he worked as a waiter at the station and was normal. Now everyone was mad. I knew most of them, and it was hard finding a place to hide.

That which Nesim emphasizes in his story is fear, assault, and death in the camps. The reason for the difficulty in clearly defining "the ideal victim", according to Christie's (1986) perspective, is to be seen in Nesim's depiction. My interviewees claim that those who suffered in the camps knew their tormentors. This familiarity can complicate a clear definition of the ideal victim according to Christie. Even Nesim's portrayal of the perpetrators may give them some kind of victim role when they are described as mad ("he worked as a waiter at the station and was normal. Now everyone was mad"). Furthermore, what Nesim perceives as war crime others may perceive as deeds of heroism. Reality can be multifaceted, especially in a wartime situation, where something that is perceived as a righteous deed by one side could be seen as a hideous crime by the other. This is probably most clear in reports from the Hague Tribunal and the Bosnia and Herzegovina tribunal on war crime (Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2015; ICTY, 2015a, 2015b). A large majority of those indicted by the Tribunal begin their statement with the words "nisam kriv" ("not guilty").

Presser (2013) means that the social reality is diversified, especially in a war situation. In the eyes of the perpetrators, this war victim was a deviator who did not respect the current social order (or rather the current disintegration of social order according to victim's perspective) and therefore should be punished. Interviewee dramatizes the described situation, aiming at presenting the perpetrators' actions as morally despicable and the victim position as a typical example of submission and weakness (Åkerström, 2001; Androff, 2012; Bartov, 2000; Brewer & Hayes, 2011, 2013; Christie, 1986; Delpla, 2007; Confino, 2005; Fischer & Petrović-Ziemer, 2013; French, 2009; Helms, 2007; Holstein & Miller, 1990; Kidron, 2004, 2012; Kiza, Rathgeber, & Rohne, 2006; Maier, 1993; Moeller, 1996; Olick, 2005; Olick & Demetriou, 2006; Stefansson, 2007; Steflja, 2010; Stover, Shigekane, 2004; Webster, 2007; White, 2003; Zarkov, 2007; Zdravković-Zonta, 2009). The image of the perpetrators and victim does not seem to exist merely as a construction of the mind. It seems that stories about perpetrators and victim still live, even long after the war.

Implicitly, interviewees creates the correct morality when they rejects the actions of the perpetrators. In other words, interviewees' rejection, which reveals itself during the conversation, contains a moral meaning. Interviewees construct the morally correct action regarding the perpetrators action in contrast to that which they told us.

Stories about war violence, victim and perpetrator are examples of a certain war interaction that includes upholding normality in different relations, partly between perpetrators and victim, and partly between the perpetrators and the narrator. These stories are permeated with retold distance between actors where the

war's social order is defined. The interviewed in this study portray the perpetrators as dangerous, mad, and evil—on one hand as a clear threat to the pre-war prevailing order, and on the other, as an ideal enemy, a real but distant criminal.

5. Post-War Victim

Examining interviews, observations, and articles in newspapers, I found that developments during and after the war in northwestern Bosnia led to individuals' being categorized in four ways. The "remainders" consist of individuals who lived in northwestern Bosnia prior to, during, and after the war. Dragan, Milanko, Sveto, Milorad, Klan, and Crni belong to this group. Then we have the "returnees", comprising those individuals who were expelled from northwestern Bosnia during the war and now have returned to their pre-war addresses (returnees). Individuals mentioned here who are in this group are Bela and Laki. The "refugees" are individuals who came as refugees to northwestern Bosnia from other parts of Bosnia and Croatia and now have settled in the new area (i.e., like Ljubo, who appears later on). Finally, we have the "diaspora", the individuals who were expelled from northwestern Bosnia during the war and stayed in their new countries. The "diaspora" is represented by Planic Mirzet and Nesim, who both live in Sweden, together with Alma and Senada Husic, who both live in the USA. Individuals belonging to the "diaspora" usually spend their vacations in Bosnia.

The individuals who appear in the material seem to be relatively melded together, and interaction between them exists. Members of the different groups talk to each other when they meet in the streets or cafés in Ljubija (field notes). Analyzed newspapers also exhibit an image that could be seen as a common denominator for all four categories—all are constructed as an antipode to former politicians who are portrayed as corrupt and criminal.

In the interview narratives, however, there are clear distinctions; categorizations are made on the basis of being victims of the war. Conflict competition produces jealousy. For example, the "remainders" and "refugees" see the "returnees" and "diaspora" in a negative way. On the one hand, "returnees" and "diaspora" have a better economic situation than the "remainders" and "refugees", which has created jealousy. On the other hand, the "refugees" do not want to assimilate and have in time become the majority in northwestern Bosnia, which in turn has forced the "remainders" to follow their norms and values.

When people began returning to northwestern Bosnia, relationships changed between the involved parties. The area was flooded with "refugees" who arrived during the war. They lived in the houses and flats of "returnees" and sabotaged their return. On one side, we have new perpetrators ("refugees") who, during the return, were assigned the role of distant threatening actors as strangers in the community (Bartov, 2000; Christie, 1972, 1986; Holstein & Miller, 1990; Simmel, 1964[1950], pp. 402-408; Moeller, 1996; Olick, 2005; Olick & Demetriou, 2006). On the other side, we have victims who received help and recognition from the surrounding allies and the local police, which made the *ideal* in the very concept disappear. Members of the returnees and diaspora were no longer "weak".

Christie (1986) argues that the ideal victim role requires an ideal perpetrator who is expected to be big, evil, and a stranger. During the war in northwestern Bosnia, the "returnees" and the "diaspora" confronted the "perpetrators", as mentioned in the previous section, who appeared big, evil, and inhuman. However, they were obstructed from being *ideal* perpetrators because they were not unknown to their victims. They were neighbors, living in the same town, being workmates, which meant that there was a relationship between victim and perpetrators.

Markers of victimhood and the construction of the terms "victim" and "perpetrator" appear in the analysis of stories about returning after the war and refugees' arriving during the war. The following quotations give us an example of returnee stories in which a wartime perpetrator appears. Bela and Laki describe their first visit to the community from which they were expelled during the war:

> Bela: Ranka and Anka (both friends of the interviewee) became pale-white, I asked them what was wrong, and they answered, here comes Laic. He had raped them lots of times during the war. I asked him what he wanted, and he answered that he had come to pay a visit to his neighbors. I told the police, and they chased him away. Go to hell you fucking pig, whom did you come to visit? (Bela talks angrily and shows how she "aimed" at Laic.)

> Laki: Personally, I was not afraid. I was not a pig like they (war-time perpetrators), not even during the war, they should be afraid and ashamed. They killed innocent people, women, and children, I did not.

In these interviews, Bela and Laki portray themselves as both wartime and post-war victims. They separate the "returnees" from the "remainders". Conflict points of interest appearing in the description are "raped them lots of times", "you fucking pig", and "they killed innocent people, women, and children". Bela and Laki point out that it was the "remainders" who raped women and killed, and abused during the war. Following Christie's (1986) analysis of ideal victims, there is a reason the "returnees" are portrayed as victims. They described themselves as weak during the war and in some way even now when returning. They came to vis-

it their home town from which they were expelled during the war and where they, using Christie's words, had a respectable errand when the expulsion took place (during the war). No one can criticize them for having been in northwestern Bosnia in 1992 or for being there after the war.

The development of events in other parts of Bosnia and Croatia flooded northwestern Bosnia with "refugees". These individuals could be seen as victims—the refugee status is often charged with victimhood. "Refugees" occupied the houses and flats of "returnees" and, according to informants belonging to the "remainders", "returnees", and "diaspora", they actively sabotaged their efforts to return. These new perpetrators ("refugees") were, after the war, given the role of distant actors, strangers in the society (Simmel, 1964[1950], pp. 402-408) as well as being viewed as dangerous and threatening perpetrators (Christie, 1972; Christie, 1986). In an interview with the author[3], Laki describes the refugees' resistance to return, and Milorad and Sveto describe the decay in society that came with the "refugees":

> Laki: On St. Peter's Day, they (refugees) gathered round the church, and the drunkards' stories were all the same: Let's go to the mountains and beat up the Turks (demeaning word for Bosniacs). They came and then there was trouble.
>
> Milorad: At my first contact with them (refugees), I thought they cannot be normal but after spending every day, for five years, with them, they become normal to you….You can see for yourself what Ljubija is like nowadays. It is wonderful for someone who has lived in the mountains without running water, electricity, and water closets. For someone like that, asphalt is the pinnacle, but all those who lived here before know what it was like then. The cinema, bowling alley, everything is ruined. The sports arena, Miner's House, everything is ruined.
>
> Sveto: Downstairs from me, you hear chickens, where Said (Sveto's acquaintance) used to live. People and chickens do not live together, they never had. I don't know where they used to live before. Let us go to the pub tonight and you will see. The way they behave and talk is outrageous….We are a minority, we have no place there anymore. Before it was only five percent of those who visited the pub who had rubber boots and sheepskin vests, the rest had jeans or other normal clothes. Nowadays, the majority wear rubber boots and sheepskin vests.

[3] The transcripts is part of a single conversation between Laki, Milorad, Sveto and the author.

Studies on the post-war relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina show that relations between the "victim" and "perpetrator" are characterized by a combination of rejection and closeness as well as competition between them (Åkerström, 2001; Androff, 2012; Bartov, 2000; Brewer & Hayes 2011, 2013; Christie 1986; Delpla, 2007; Confino, 2005; Fischer & Petrović-Ziemer, 2013; French, 2009; Helms, 2007; Holstein & Miller, 1990; Kidron, 2004, 2012; Kiza, Rathgeber, & Rohne, 2006; Maier, 1993; Moeller, 1996; Olick, 2005; Olick & Demetriou, 2006; Stefansson, 2007; Steflja, 2010; Stover & Shigekane, 2004; Webster, 2007; White, 2003; Zarkov, 2007; Zdravković-Zonta, 2009).

In the prior quotation, Laki, Milorad, and Sveto seem to agree that the criticism raised against the "refugees" is well founded. The conflict points of interest can be seen when they say: "everything is ruined", "we are a minority", and "beat up the Turks". "Refugees" are depicted as a threat, they destroy the environment ("everything is ruined"), and they are rowdy ("there was trouble"). Laki, Milorad, and Sveto portray their own victimhood in relation to the decay of society and newly arrived "refugees".

In this context, "refugees" are portrayed as a community hazard or as external actors or, using Simmel's terminology, as strangers. According to Simmel (1964[1950], pp. 402-408), strangeness is characterized by a combination of nearness and remoteness, respectively nonchalance and commitment. The foreigner's position in the group depends on nearness versus remoteness throughout the relationship. When the issue of distance towards the foreigner is more dominant than nearness, we have a special relationship with the stranger—he is not a member of the actual group, but he is present.

In the Stefansson (2007) analysis, we can see that refugees who arrive at a community during the war can be perceived as a danger and a threat (as an "invasion" and "attack"). These individuals are often presented as dirty, poor, and primitive. This perception could be interpreted as an articulated identity construction carried out by individuals who want to describe themselves as different, being clean, rich, and modern.

In the depiction that Laki, Milorad, and Sveto sketch, there is a similar relationship. These actors' rhetoric projects the image of "the refugees" as strangers and a danger to society. Those refugees who ended up in northwestern Bosnia are described as the worst thing a society might experience. They are singled out as guilty for the cultural decline and the destruction of infrastructure.

The language in these quotations conveys an image of great polarization between the categories. On one side, we have the "remainders" and "returnees" and on the other the "refugees". The informants declare themselves as distant from the "refugees", but still there are signs of nearness between them. The actors

portray themselves as being part of two entities, one of which consists of "remainders" and "returnees" and the other of "refugees". A competition at a symbolic level emerges between the two entities. The quotations may be seen as an arena for different swings between "us" and "the others" in which the image of victimhood is upheld. The conflict points of interest reproduce a certain competition because they keep the demarcation between victim and perpetrator alive.

Victim attribution often becomes a subject for discussions and negotiations (Åkerström, 2001; Androff, 2012; Bartov, 2000; Brewer & Hayes, 2011, 2013; Christie, 1986; Delpla, 2007; Confino, 2005; Fischer & Petrović-Ziemer, 2013; French, 2009; Helms, 2007; Holstein & Miller, 1990; Kidron, 2004, 2012; Kiza, Rathgeber, & Rohne, 2006; Maier, 1993; Moeller, 1996; Olick, 2005; Olick & Demetriou, 2006; Stefansson, 2007; Steflja, 2010; Stover, Shigekane, 2004; Webster, 2007; White, 2003; Zarkov, 2007; Zdravković-Zonta, 2009). Changing circumstances in the context may motivate different descriptions while similar petitions of victims can emerge from seemingly different situations. In this study, we have seen that everybody portrays themselves as victims but that a big difference appears among the different victim categories. To be tortured, killed, or banished is a dissimilar type of victimhood from feeling discriminated against or feeling that the environment is destroyed by primitive refugees. The latter example is about how the environment acted on the divergence of the collective expectations about what is culturally desirable in the society. In this reaction, a picture of "danger" is partly portrayed: a "threat" against society and the picture of an "ideal perpetrator" (Christie, 1972, 2001).

6. Economic Victim

Markers for victimhood and the creation of the concepts "victim" and "perpetrator" are also made visible in stories about the riches of "returnees" and "diaspora". Ljubo is a "refugee" who prior to the war was an industrial worker in a town in northern Bosnia. During and after the war, he worked in an elementary school in northwestern Bosnia. He notes how "the rich get richer" after the war:

> Do you know what I think is wrong here? Many people were expelled from here, that is a fact. Many have stayed also. Those who stayed do not have any money to buy their flats and those who live abroad can afford to buy out their flats and then sell them for 30,000 Marks[4]. They (diaspora) come on vacation here, and at the same time they earn money. Where's justice in that, I would confiscate everything (the returners' and diaspora's properties).

[4] Approximately 15,000 euro.

Ljubo does not describe himself as the ideal victim, according to Christie (1986). Ljubo, amongst other things, draws attention to the following points of interest: the lack of justice after the war. Ljubo's story reflects considerable jealousy. He displays envy and remoteness towards "returnees" and "diaspora". Ljubo is claiming the property of those abroad because this property makes the rich richer; in actuality, it means that those treated unjustly before are still treated unjustly. When we reach so far into the discussion, we could ask this question: Who is the victim in this situation? Earlier we have pointed out that "the ideal" disappeared when returning. Now, in addition to "returnees" and "diaspora", we have "remainders" and "refugees" who could claim the victim status. They are poor, weak, and dependent on the financial resources possessed by returnees and the diaspora. "Remainders" and "refugees" are portrayed as *economic victims* while "returnees" and "diaspora" are portrayed as some kind of *profiteers* (or economic perpetrators). Radovan and Lana, who both stayed in northwestern Bosnia before, during, and after the war, explain this problem as follows:

> Radovan: It is easy for these from Prijedor, they have returned with money and received donations in order to repair their houses. Gino (a mutual acquaintance who was expelled from northwestern Bosnia now living in Austria) should thank the Serbs because he would never have such a car if it wasn't for them.
>
> Lana: Another problem is that the returnees have money, the refugees are at the bottom, and this creates a rift. Hate rises, but no one thinks about who deserves to be hated, the returnee or the politician who hasn't given me anything even though I fought.

Some points of interest charged with importance concern the economic success of the "diaspora" and "returnees" owing to their expulsion during the war and the surrounding world's recognition after the war ("received donations" and "would never have such a car"). Radovan's and Lana's description portrays "diaspora" and "returnees" as rich. Those with a bad economic situation are victims, too, according to their description.

The competition of victimhood after the war in Bosnia can be analyzed as a clear battle about meanings in victim status. The arguments of the interviewees depend on the different interpretations that imply the alternative enunciation about who the victim is. The actors apply different meanings to victim status when they ascribe themselves or the other position as victim and perpetrator, and motivations differ. It seems that the different ascriptions of a status as victim or perpetrator that are analyzed in this study are rhetorical productions that partly define "victim" and "perpe-

trator" and partly the argument that itself constructs the definition.

7. Concluding Remarks

This article analyzes the retold experiences of 27 survivors from the war in Bosnia. The primary goal was to describe how actors present the social phenomenon of "victimhood", and the secondary aim was to analyze discursive patterns that contribute to constructing the terms "victim" and "perpetrator". Previous studies have often presented a one-sided picture of the "victim" and "perpetrator" during and after the Bosnian war. Researchers have emphasized the importance of narratives, but they have not focused on narratives about victimhood or analyzed post-war interviews as a competition for victimhood that can produce jealousy.

Development taking place during and after the war has led to populations' being described based on four categories. One consists of "remainders", namely those who before, during, and after the war have lived in northwestern Bosnia. Another is "refugees", those who were expelled from other parts of Bosnia and Croatia into northwestern Bosnia. The third is made up of "returnees", those who were expelled from northwestern Bosnia during the war but have returned afterwards. The fourth is the "diaspora", individuals who were expelled from the area during the war and stayed in the new country.

Within the dynamics of upholding the victim and perpetrator, there has arisen a competition for the victim role after the war (Christie, 1986; Bartov, 2000; Moeller, 1996; Olick, 2005; Olick & Demetriou, 2006; Holstein & Miller, 1990). The competition among the "remainders", "refugees", "returnees", and "diaspora" seems to take place on a symbolic level, and the conflict points of interest are often found in the descriptions of the war-time and post-war periods (Simmel, 1955[1908], pp. 61-108). The remainders argue that the refugees, for instance, do not want to assimilate, that in time they have become the majority of the society's population, which in turn pressures the remainders to follow the refugees' norms and values. Furthermore, the returnees and the diaspora are criticized for having a better economy than remainders and refugees, making the latter jealous.

All interviewees portray themselves as victims, but it seems that they all are about to lose that status. Those who remained might do so because they are still under the shadow of war events; the refugees because they are portrayed as strangers and fit the role of ideal perpetrators; and finally, the returnees and diaspora because they have achieved recognition from the surroundings and have a better economic situation. This situation can produce and reproduce a certain competition for victimhood that re-creates and revitalizes those collective demarcations that were played out so clearly and in such a macabre fashion during the war.

Interpersonal interactions that caused the war violence continue even after the violent situation is over. Recollections from perpetrators and victim of the war do not exist only as verbal constructions in Bosnia of today. Stories about violent situations live their own lives after the war and continue being important to individuals and social life. Individuals who were expelled from northwestern Bosnia during the war in the 1990s are, in a legal sense, in a recognized victim category. They suffered crimes against humanity, including most types of violent crimes (Case No.: IT-95-8-S; Case No.: IT-97-24-T.; Case No.: IT-98-30/1-A; Case No.: IT-99-36-T). Several perpetrators were sentenced by the Hague Tribunal and the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina on War Crime (Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2015; ICTY, 2015a, 2015b). The crimes committed in Prijedor and Ljubija are qualified as genocide according to indictments against former Serbian leaders Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić (Case No.: IT-09-92-PT; Case No.: IT-95-5/18-PT). All of the interviewees in this study experienced and survived the war in northwestern Bosnia. These individuals have a present, ongoing relation with these communities: Some live there permanently, and some spend their summers in Prijedor and/or Ljubija (Basic, 2015a, 2015d). An analysis of the processing of experienced or described violent situations in a society that exists as a product of a series of violent acts during the war must be conducted in parallel both at the institutional and individual levels. Institutions in the administrative entity Republika Srpska (to which Prijedor and Ljubija now belong administratively) deny genocide, and this approach to war-time events becomes a central theme in future, post-war analysis of the phenomena "victimhood," and "reconciliation" (compare Becirevics' (2010) analysis of denial of genocide in Bosnia). The existence of Republika Srpska is based on genocide committed in Prijedor, Ljubija, and other towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Case No.: IT-09-92-PT; Case No.: IT-95-5/18-PT; Case No.: IT-97-24-T; Case No.: IT-99-36-T). Denial of genocide enhances post-war, interactive and discursive competition for the status of "victim". Therefore, it is very important to analyze the political elite's denial of the systematic acts of violence during the war that have been conveyed by the Hague Tribunal, the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina on War Crime, and Bosnian media. The narratives in my empirical material seem to be influenced by (or coherent with) the rhetoric mediated in these fora. When informants emphasize extermination and the systematization of violence during the war, they produce and reproduce the image of a mutual struggle on a collective level. The aim of this struggle seems to be that the described acts of violence be recognized as genocide (Becirevic, 2010; Bartov, 2000; Confino, 2005; Kidron, 2012).

The stories of the actors after the war in Bosnia

play an essential role in the tension-filled mosaic of everyday interaction where politics and legal actions in Bosnian society and individual identity formation and recreation combine when the individual grapples with issues such as: How shall I move on after the war? Should I forgive the perpetrators, and in that case, how? Thus, it is important to study the narratives of these actors. Throughout their narrations, some individuals can make a confession or exert a certain self-esteem; others can take the chance to explain for themselves and the audience, to express regret over their actions and possibly restore their social status. Without this type of processing, war victims risk living an existence without confession, and the war perpetrators risk becoming permanently bound to their acts—what Simmel (1955[1908], p. 121) calls "the most horrible irreconcilability"—clearly an unstable future foundation for a post-war society.

One interesting question that could not be answered with this article is if—and in the case of yes, how—these different categories analyzed here attract attention in Bosnia today, where the ethnic conflicts that created the war now once again are gaining power. Another interesting perspective on these problems, which could not be investigated in this study, is how the different victim categories will be understood in the future. What significance will be given to war and post-war victims and economic victims in the development of Bosnian society?

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Conflict of Interests

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Article

Discrimination of Second-Generation Professionals in Leadership Positions

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Abstract
This article, based on interviews from the Dutch Pathways to Success Project, investigates how Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions experience and deal with subtle discrimination at work. We argue that subtle discrimination in organizations remains a reality for second-generation professionals in leadership positions. Because organizations are penetrated by power processes in society at large, these professionals are perceived not only on the basis of their position within the organization, but also on the basis of their marginalized ethnic group background. We show this through the existence of subtle discriminatory practices at three organizational levels—that of supervisors, same-level colleagues and subordinates—which may take place at one or more of these levels. When dealing with subtle discrimination, Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions show an awareness of organizational power and hierarchies. This awareness amounts to various forms of "micro-emancipation" by the second generation—adapted to the organizational level (supervisors, same-level colleagues and subordinates) they are dealing with—that question and challenge subtle discrimination in organizations.

Keywords
discrimination; ethnic; leadership; organization; power; second generation; work

Issue
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1. Introduction

In March 2015, the Dutch Prime Minister stated in a newspaper article that labour market discrimination in the Netherlands exists, but that he could do nothing about it on a structural level (Metro, 2015). He claimed that migrants and second and third generation descendants of migrants always face opposition and discrimination, no matter where they live and added, rather paradoxically, that the solution to labour market discrimination lies in the hands of those being discriminated against. It is up to them to "fight their way in" (authors' translation) and to not give up.

The Prime Minister's attitude towards a structural injustice in Dutch society signals a context in which the existence of labour market discrimination has only very recently been publicly acknowledged. The Netherlands has long been known for its history of tolerance towards many aspects of social life. And along with this history of tolerance, there has been an assumed absence of racism in Dutch society (Vasta, 2007, p. 715). Even though there have been indications for some time now that discrimination exists in various fields in the Netherlands (Jungbluth, 2010; Siebers, 2010), such as

the labour market with its higher levels of ethnic minority unemployment, regardless of educational level (Andriessen, Fernee, & Wittebrood, 2014; Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2012), the reluctance to address racism and discrimination (Ellemers & Barreto, 2009; Ghorashi, 2014; Vasta, 2007) remains.

The Dutch labour market context thus seems to be one where assumed self-reliance and agency leave people to fend for themselves when facing discrimination based on their ethnic background, either when trying to enter the labour market or within their organizations. It is within this context that we aim to understand how people experience and deal with discrimination in the workplace. In order to do so, we will focus on the Pathways to Success Project (PSP) interviews with second-generation professionals with a Turkish or Moroccan background, working in leadership positions. They can be seen as the active "go-getters" the Dutch Prime Minister envisions, as they seem to be successfully climbing the corporate ladder.

The PSP interviews are indeed stories of "success". But they also show that discrimination at work occurs, and is often expressed in ways that leave second-generation professionals wondering if it is discrimination at all. Moreover, discrimination is perpetrated by supervisors, same-level colleagues and subordinates alike. Our aim is to unravel the ways in which discrimination towards second-generation professionals in leadership positions resonates within different organizational relationships. We therefore pose the following research question*: How do Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals working in leadership positions experience and deal with subtle discrimination in different organizational relationships—such as with supervisors, co-managers and subordinates—within an organization?*

We want to contribute to the body of literature on discrimination in organizations by showing that discrimination can still affect people who can be considered to "have fought their way in". Discrimination in the labour market or workplace is not only experienced by job seekers or people occupying subordinate positions, but also by those in leadership positions. We will argue that this is partly due to the characteristics of subtle discrimination, which make it difficult to pinpoint certain behaviour or comments as discrimination. It is also due to characteristics of the Dutch context, whereby organizations may be penetrated by power processes in society at large through which ethnic minorities can be marginalized. This penetration may contribute to an organizational climate in which Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals still face discrimination in the workplace even though they have climbed the corporate ladder into leadership positions.

The structure of the article is as follows. We will first explore the concepts of discrimination, boundaries, power and agency. We will then present a methodological overview of our research, followed by an analysis of our interviews. In the conclusion, we will provide an answer to the central question posed in this article.

2. Theoretical framework

Discrimination and power are intertwined concepts, and both have blatant and hidden ways of manifesting themselves (cf. Van Laer & Janssens, 2011). When studying how second-generation professionals in leadership positions experience discrimination in organizations, we therefore explore both concepts theoretically. Furthermore, as discrimination can be seen as both an expression of societal boundaries (cf. Lamont, 2002, p. 243), and a mechanism for reinforcing these boundaries (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011; Vasta, 2007), we aim to link how discrimination and boundaries can be connected theoretically. Lastly, we will theoretically connect power and agency, as on the one hand, enabling action is inherent to the concept of power (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 280; cf. Scott, 2008, p. 38), while on the other hand, agency can be limited by organizational structures, such as hierarchy, which are put into place through power.

2.1. Discrimination, Subtle Discrimination and Boundaries

Blatant discrimination refers to unequal treatment arising from an explicit belief among individuals that members of certain social groups are inherently inferior (Ellemers & Barreto, 2009, p. 750). This belief translates into negative treatment of individuals based on their alleged group membership instead of their individual merits (Kloek, Peters, & Sijtsma, 2013, p. 407). Blatant discrimination is thus reflected in clearly identifiable unfair treatment, leading to visible structural outcomes, such as denial of employment for ethnic minorities (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011, p. 1205). Yet, this open rejection of individuals based on their group membership is increasingly becoming a thing of the past (cf. Coenders, Scheepers, Sniderman, & Verberk, 2001; Deitch et al., 2003; Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997), as discrimination is legally forbidden in many Western countries and publicly spurned.

The fact that blatant discrimination is forbidden and frowned upon does not, however, mean that unequal treatment based on group membership no longer exists. Discrimination has become more subtle (Zick, Pettigrew, & Wagner, 2008), differing from its blatant predecessor due to its hidden and everyday form. Subtle discrimination can be understood as behaviour "…entrenched in common, everyday interactions, taking the shape of harassment, jokes, incivility, avoidance, and other types of disrespectful treatment" (Van

Laer & Janssens, 2011, p. 1205). It pervades everyday situations and is characterized by covertness (Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997), occurring specifically in situations in which perpetrators can "hide" their intentions, maintaining the image of being non-discriminatory (Ellemers & Barreto, 2009; Deitch et al., 2003; Van Laer & Janssens, 2011). This makes subtle discrimination difficult to recognize and address when on the receiving end of it.

The concealed aspect of subtle discrimination points to its institutionalized nature; it reflects "…the covert expression of socially acceptable anti-minority views" (Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997, p. 57). The social acceptability of these views can lead to a perpetuation of societal differences between people of ethnic minority and native-parentage descent, "fix[ing] the barriers preventing a new generation of skilled and educated minorities to escape their weak [starting—IW] position" (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011, p.1220).

These barriers can be understood as boundaries, which are social constructs, created in a specific historical, political and social context (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011, p. 1206). Boundaries function as mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion (Barth, 1994), indicating who belongs within the boundary lines and who does not (Alba, 2005). Boundaries can thus act to maintain structural inequalities, while simultaneously hiding them from the public eye, as they are built-in, unquestioned parts of the system (Vasta, 2007, p. 728). These undisputed parts of the system are exacerbated by predominantly negative public debates and media coverage on ethnic minorities (cf. Kloek et al., 2013, p. 406; Van Reekum & Duyvendak, 2012; Vasta, 2007, p. 71) and fear of societal changes caused by supposedly unbridgeable cultural differences inherent to "the other" (Ghorashi, 2014).

The hidden and institutionalized way in which subtle discrimination operates doesn't necessarily lead to subtle outcomes (Deitch et al., 2003, p. 1317; Van Laer & Janssens, 2011; Sue et al., 2007). Moreover, the outcomes of subtle discrimination are more detrimental for some groups than for others (Verkuyten, 2002). Muslims throughout Europe run the greatest risk regarding stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination and social exclusion (Allen & Nielsen, 2002; Kloek et al., 2013; Van Laer & Janssens, 2011; Vasta, 2007; Verkuyten, 2002; Zick et al., 2008). This could concern their religion, culture or social position (Foner & Alba, 2008; Kloek et al., 2013; Vasta, 2007; Verkuyten, 2002).

Subtle discrimination thus results in nearly invisible boundaries being drawn in all layers of society around a specifically targeted group of people, while impeding recognition of these boundaries. This can easily turn into a situation in which people experiencing subtle discrimination—for instance in the workplace—are rendered disempowered to act upon it.

2.2. Power, Subtle Power and Agency in Organizations

Power is ubiquitous in organizations (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 285). And power, just like discrimination, has both blatant and subtle manifestations, resulting in more and less visible expressions of it (cf. Lukes, 1986). Power can be understood as the ability of a person to intentionally influence the behaviour of other people in line with what is deemed necessary by the person wielding the power (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 239; Scott, 2008, p. 29). This open power play "…rel[ies] upon identifiable acts that shape the behaviour of others" (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 240) and results from hierarchy and uneven power distribution (Wilson & Thompson, 2001, p. 65). Yet, this idea of power only provides a partial explanation when looking at how power in organizations works. Exercising power cannot be solely equated to holding a position of authority. Other, more structural and therefore more concealed and subtle, aspects also play a role (Scott, 2008, p. 29; Fleming & Spicer, 2014).

Subtle forms of power share a common feature in that they are considered to be structural. This implies that subtle power reaches into the way people think about and reflect upon power dynamics, accepting them not only as a given, but even as constituting the natural order (Foldy, 2002, p. 97). And this "natural order" suggests that for a more complete picture of power, societal structures must also be taken into account (cf. Lukes, 1986; Scott, 2008; Van Laer & Janssens, 2011). Societal structures, bearing hegemonic beliefs and opinions from larger society, penetrate organizations (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011, pp. 1206-1207), making one's societal background relevant in addition to one's organizational function. Organizations can therefore be seen as reflections of broader society, reproducing inequality rather than inventing it (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 150).

Van Laer and Janssens (2011) show that societal background indeed reaches into organizations. Their study portrays ethnic-minority professionals who are faced with "…subtle discrimination in the workplace [that] can be understood as micro-expressions of macro-level power dynamics that operate in ambiguous ways and are based on processes of subtle power" (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011, p. 1219). Their respondents experienced so-called "racial micro-aggressions" (Sue et al., 2007, pp. 275-277), reflecting negative images about the ethnic group with which the professionals are associated, but so subtly that the negative images remain unchallenged and are reproduced (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011, p. 1214). Moreover, racial micro-aggressions aren't limited to class and can thus equally affect upper-middle class professionals (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011).

However, employees experiencing subtle power and subtle discrimination in the workplace aren't mere

passive recipients (Wilson & Thompson, 2001, p. 75; cf. Ghorashi & Ponzoni, 2014). People reflect on their circumstances, weighing their ability for successful action, as power not only constrains, but also enables actions (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 280; Scott, 2008, p. 38). These actions may vary, but their commonality is that when employees decide to act, they are likely to do this by complying with company rules that cannot be bent, while acting as change-agents whenever they see possibilities to do so (Foldy, 2002, p. 97; Zanoni & Janssens, 2007, p. 1389). This agency can be understood as deliberate action or deliberate inactivity, and it points to employees' ability to "function as…definers, interpreters, and appliers of institutional elements" (Scott, 2008, p. 223).

As opposed to grand forms of social change which have been the kind of agency envisaged in relation to blatant expressions of power, agency vis-à-vis subtle power and subtle discrimination in organizations will not lead directly to large-scale changes. The type of agency which is increasingly utilized against hegemonic normalized structures is "micro-emancipation" (Zanoni & Janssens, 2007, p. 1377). This type of agency is "fragmentary and temporary" (Zanoni & Janssens, 2007, p. 1395) rather than containing "successive moves towards a predetermined state of liberation" (Alvesson and Willmott in Zanoni & Janssens, 2007, p. 1377). As such it is akin to the idea of "tempered radicals" (Meyerson and Scully in Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 275), a term used for employees who "slowly and patiently change the way leaders understand themselves in relation to important social justice issues within the firm" (Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 275). Micro-emancipation enables resisting power, for instance through creating awareness. By exposing the subtleness of power and discrimination in an organization, even if it's only on an individual level, micro-emancipation might amount to questioning organizational structures. And this could potentially lead to changes beyond the individual level (Zanoni & Janssens, 2011, pp. 1394-1395), reviewing and reshaping the hegemonic negotiated order (Wilson & Thompson, 2001, p. 76).

3. Pathways to Success Project Methodology

3.1. The Pathways to Success Project

The Pathways to Success Project (PSP) is a qualitative study that was conducted in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the Netherlands. The study was initiated because of earlier findings from TIES[1], showing that a quarter of the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second generation is in or has finished higher education. This finding not only opposes the societal tendency to view this group as problematic, it also inspires us to understand how these people have managed to get where they are, taking into account their school trajectories, labour market experiences, and social activities.

We selected respondents on the basis of one of the three criteria we used for defining "success":

1. Having finished higher education (BA and/or MA), or
2. Managing at least five people in a professional occupation, or
3. Earning more than €2000 net/month.

Through this definition we have tried to objectify the concept of success. Yet, we are aware that success can mean different things to different people, allowing for a different setup of the same study, embedded in a different way of defining the concept. Furthermore, we are aware that by selecting people based on how successful we deem them to be, we are selecting on our dependent variable.

We chose semi-structured interviews for data collection. Because we employed multiple interviewers to cover our sample-size, we needed a fixed questionnaire ensuring that all respondents would be asked the same topics, while simultaneously allowing interviewers the liberty to probe, and interviewees the liberty to address issues beyond the questionnaire (Gomm, 2008, p. 229; Gilbert, 2008, p. 247).

3.2. Analyzing Discrimination

We interviewed 40 Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions. The interviews took 60 to 90 minutes, and were voice-recorded and transcribed by the interviewers. The transcripts were subsequently coded by the PSP research team, using the qualitative computer program "Kwalitan".

The coding and analysis of discrimination was sometimes challenging. Respondents seemed reluctant to label their experiences in the workplace as "discrimination". This could have its origin in the specific Dutch context in which talking about discrimination can be seen as claiming the mantle of victimhood (cf. Ellemers & Barreto, 2009). But it could also be due to the so-called "achievement narrative" (Konyali, 2014), through which successful second-generation professionals try to avoid victimization by emphasizing their individual skills and accomplishments. Talking about discrimination at work seems to run contrary to this achievement narrative, unless it is framed in terms of overcoming discrimination, for instance through hard work and resilience.

[1] TIES stands for The Integration of the European Second generation, a large-scale international study on the second generation in Europe, conducted in eight countries encompassing 15 European cities, during 2007 and 2008.

We conducted the analysis using the following steps: firstly, the PSP interview contained one open question on discrimination in organizations in which we stated that discrimination occurs in all organizations and subsequently asked about respondents' experiences. Through this outspoken question we obtained reflections by respondents on work situations in relation to discrimination. These reflections led the majority of the interviewees to talk about situations in which they felt that something wasn't quite right, but they questioned whether these situations could be labelled as "discrimination". Some interviewees explicitly mentioned "subtle discrimination" when talking about these incidents.

Secondly, throughout the interview section on labour market experiences, interviewees referred to work situations in which they felt uneasy about things said or done by others in their organizations. Again, the majority of these examples were accompanied by question marks from the interviewees as to whether it was discrimination they were faced with.

The PSP research team coded the above-mentioned situations as "subtle discrimination", because the descriptions showed commonalities with characteristics of subtle discrimination: often the incidents happened in circumstances which allowed for more than one interpretation of the incident. Moreover, the incidents usually happened during average, seemingly innocent interactions, in which all of a sudden things were said or done that made the interviewees wonder why they felt hurt or unjustly treated.

We consequently grouped these incidents into four categories, as all of the incidents mentioned by the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions fitted into one of them: 1) missed promotions; 2) jokes; 3) comments on and disturbing questions about Muslims and Islam; and 4) questioning of their authority to lead. We are aware that missing out on a promotion or questioning of authority is hardly subtle; however, we labelled them "subtle discrimination" as interviewees mentioned that they only suspected that they had been surpassed or challenged on their authority to lead because of their ethnic background, but could not be sure that this was the case.

The next step in our analysis ascribed instances of subtle discrimination to either a supervisor, a same-level colleague or a subordinate. This division resulted from the fact that jokes and comments/questions happened at all three levels, but missed promotions were unique to the relationship with supervisors and questioning of authority to lead was unique to the relationship with subordinates. Furthermore, the division also resulted from the fact that the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals showed different responses depending on which organizational level they were dealing with.

3.3. The Respondents

The PSP respondents all come from labour migrant families. The majority of their parents worked in low-skilled jobs after arriving in the Netherlands and had little to no knowledge of the Dutch education system. The Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions thus had to pave their own way through school, university and into the labour market, with little instrumental help from their parents (Elitesproject, 2015).

The respondents work in both public (education, government, health care, social work) and private (commercial managers in a bank, business, accountancy, IT and consultancy, and lawyers) sectors. Most respondents work in paid employment. A small minority works as self-employed bosses.

The interviewees consisted of 26 men and 14 women with a mean age of 31 years. The youngest respondents, in paid employment and self-employed leadership positions, are 25 years old and both are men. The oldest respondents in paid employment and self-employed leadership positions are both women, whereby the former is 41 and the latter is 46 years old. We had 20 respondents in leadership positions from Amsterdam and 20 from Rotterdam. Their experiences with subtle discrimination in the workplace will be highlighted in the next section.

4. Subtle Discrimination in the Workplace

Subtle discrimination in the workplace is a reality for many of our PSP respondents in leadership positions. They experience subtle discrimination in different organizational relationships and consequently have to deal with supervisors, same-level colleagues and subordinates. These multi-level experiences with subtle discrimination appear to typify the second generation in leadership positions. Their position within the organization goes hand-in-hand with negative opinions in Dutch society about ethnic minorities (Kloek et al., 2013; Van Reekum & Duyvendak, 2012; Vasta, 2007), permeating organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Van Laer & Janssens, p. 2011) and rendering the second generation vulnerable to subtle forms of power (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011, pp. 1206-1207).

As these subtle forms of power are not solely linked to organizational hierarchy but also to hegemonic, built-in and undisputed structures in larger society, the second generation in leadership positions experiences subtle discrimination mainly through being associated with a group bearing negative connotations. They seem to serve as "tokens" by being highly visible in the organization as newcomers in positions of power, and having stereotypes attributed to them by the dominant group, as they are often seen as representatives of their (ethnic) group rather than as individuals (Kanter,

1977). This renders tokens vulnerable (Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998), allowing them no room for mistakes. Moreover, in cases where they represent a group with negative connotations, they have to work hard to reverse this image by presenting a good example. And working hard and presenting a good example are indeed strategies used by the PSP respondents.

4.1. Subtle Discrimination and Agency at the Supervisor Level

Although subtle discrimination by supervisors occurs, members of the second generation in leadership positions generally feel valued by their supervisors. The majority states that there is room for their ambitions. They discuss these ambitions with their supervisors, to find out what is needed to meet the functional demands for promotion, and how to obtain financial support for additional courses. However, the second generation in leadership positions is a numerical rarity in most organizations, making them highly visible and prone to the token-role (Kanter, 1977). This heightened visibility might lead to above-average performance pressure, possibly explaining their belief that they need to work harder than colleagues from a native parentage background to get ahead in their career. This belief is rooted in the experience of missing out on promotions. Yet, respondents are careful to label a missed promotion as "discrimination", even if being passed over for advancement can have major consequences for their career. This is to be expected, as such a claim is often hard to sustain:

> No, I"ve told a colleague that another colleague got promoted and I didn't but I don't have any hard evidence….But like I said, I don't have evidence. In large organizations, these decisions are made behind closed doors. That makes it hard to prove. You can't do anything about it….I had had a very good year [in the organization—IW] but well, what is said is that others were better. You can disagree but there's little point in protesting. (*Turkish-Dutch male, IT consultant, Rotterdam*)

> The only thing I can conclude is that white colleagues get ahead far quicker than coloured colleagues. That's a conclusion I made for myself. (*Moroccan-Dutch male, Chief Information Management, Amsterdam*)

In addition to withholding promotion opportunities, subtle discrimination by supervisors also comes in the form of jokes. Jokes are made within a context where the second generation in leadership positions are newcomers to a field where the rules of the game have already been set (Keskiner, 2013, pp. 21-22). This, combined with coming from an ethnic and religious group about which negative stereotypes are dominant in society, results in them being targets of discriminatory jokes, as their rare numbers and marginalized group status can set them apart:

> I came back from a ski trip. I came back to work after driving for twelve hours and everybody entered the room and one of the partners [in a Law firm—IW] saw me and says: "Hey [name respondent—IW], my car has been stolen, do you know where it is?" Yes, so you enter the room, ok, and my reaction was: "Well, what kind of car is it? A Volvo? Ah, already on its way to Russia then." Everybody laughing. Those are things that could be considered prejudice and I can't and won't change the way people express themselves. Fine. It's not troubling me. I'm still here and it's not such a big deal…. (*Turkish-Dutch male, Lawyer, Amsterdam*)

> I've had comments by some of the partners [from the Law firm—IW]. And…, it makes you wonder if it's just ignorance, or that…should I place it in a context of discrimination? These things you want to forget. But I do think, I'm a pretty open person, so I joke too, and self-mockery is important. But when someone else takes over the mockery, and pushes it to a limit….That has happened, but not too often. (*Moroccan-Dutch male, Lawyer, Amsterdam*)

In dealing with subtle discrimination by supervisors, our interviewees employ various forms of agency. Their response to missed promotions is of a subtle nature, whereby they work even harder to achieve their goals. This is an active strategy to counter the disempowerment of feeling surpassed for a promotion because of ethnicity or religion, but they do not explicitly communicate this strategy. They simply do it, expecting it to pay off in the future, as they know their qualities are recognized, even if it takes more effort than with colleagues of native parentage background:

> I didn't really notice that I was heavily discriminated….Do other people or ethnic majority people get more chances than I do? Sure. In the beginning, when someone got a promotion and I didn't, then I would think: "why him and not me?" Getting promoted is always [a—IW] subjective [decision—IW]. Perhaps there's only one spot available. You have to work harder, and then you get it. (*Moroccan-Dutch male, Accountant, Rotterdam*)

The interviewees respond to jokes by joking back in some cases, confronting their supervisors in other cases or ignoring the jokes altogether. They weigh whether the jokes pose a career threat. When they do respond, they do so through subtly joking back, thereby turning the tables, making use of the organizational

culture in which jokes are acceptable (cf. Foldy, 2002; cf. Zanoni & Janssens, 2007):

> I have a very quick feeling for it and I know how to bend it into something funny from my part, to prevent an embarrassing moment. Not even for myself but for others. I know that if I want to, I can have him, but I also know that that won't get me anywhere. (*Turkish-Dutch male, Lawyer, Amsterdam*)

Being denied an upward career move, and contemplating if this is connected to subtle discrimination, is uniquely linked to second generation leaders and their supervisors. Jokes are not. The second generation in leadership positions also faces jokes by colleagues working in similar managerial functions. How does subtle discrimination operate at an equal organizational level?

4.2. Subtle Discrimination and Agency at the Colleague Level

Subtle discrimination by colleagues working on the same organizational level comes in the form of jokes, but members of the second generation in leadership positions also feel that they need to justify identity aspects, such as their ethnic or religious background. The pressure to adapt and hide certain aspects of one's identity does not necessarily equal discrimination, but uneasiness prevails. There is a sliding scale; at what point does one take negative remarks by colleagues about religious customs like abstaining from alcohol or wearing a veil personally, or after how many times does being asked about Islamic festivities become annoying? The quote below gives an impression of the sort of situations people have to deal with:

> There have been conversations that happened on a personal level. They [co-workers—IW] are talking about something negative and then they start asking you questions, out of the blue. Questions like "do you also have a prayer rug at home?", or "things are done differently in your culture, right?" These are subtle, sometimes insinuating things. I try not to take it too seriously. (*Moroccan-Dutch male, Municipality Manager, Amsterdam*).

Respondents also talked about same-level colleagues asking questions and posing comments that are not without judgment, as they reflect mainstream negative opinions and debates in the Netherlands concerning Muslims in particular (Van Reekum & Duyvendak, 2012; Vasta, 2007). The second generation, as presumed representatives of their group (cf. Kanter, 1977), need to account for the behaviour of others, to whom they are only connected through ethnicity or religion. They are no longer addressed as individuals but as spokespeople, supposedly capable of explaining the behaviour of strangers, simply because these strangers come from the same ethnic or religious background:

> I remember that there was this ethnic minority individual who had done something, which became a news item. Then colleagues would ask me "What's the matter with this person?" Then I feel like, I don't know this person, he's not my brother. (*Moroccan-Dutch female, IT Project Manager, Amsterdam*)

> Certain conversations happen and you somehow feel it's about you. I have to say, it doesn't happen that frequently in my job. But, sometimes, things are said…, when something is covered by the news, something concerning Islam….So, it's not even that I'm being discriminated but things are said sometimes that are hurtful to you. (*Moroccan-Dutch female, Head Service Department, Amsterdam*)

The interviewees considered that being held responsible for others' actions on the basis of a shared ethnicity or religious background is a form of discrimination that they cannot really stand up against, since nothing has been said or done against them personally (cf. Verkuyten, 2002). It is in these sort of situations that same-level colleagues omit identity markers that are more salient for the workplace, while it is precisely these professional identity markers that could advance second-generation acceptance within the organization (Waldring, Crul, & Ghorashi, 2014; Wimmer, 2008).

Although the nature of the remarks by same-level colleagues make them difficult to respond to, reactions by the second generation are quite explicit. It seems that respondents are less willing to accept these subtle forms of discrimination from their colleagues than from their supervisors. Not only does the second generation joke back harshly when confronted with discriminatory jokes, they also openly confront their colleagues with the stereotypical nature of their comments. They discuss issues, questioning the status quo:

> When I even sense something like that [discrimination—IW], I immediately call their remarks into question. Look, for example, I have double nationality. I have a Dutch and a Turkish passport. And every now and then, during lunch, we have a discussion about this. People tell me I should have only one [passport—IW] blabla. Then I asked them: why?… Why, in God's name can I only have one and why should I have to choose between Dutch and Turkish nationality? How am I supposed to make that choice? And then I just bounce it back. I just ask open questions and then you see that they start to think for themselves instead of following the crowd. (*Turkish-Dutch male, Commercial Project Manager, Rotterdam*)

> When someone makes a nasty comment about veils or something like that, I would be the person to confront them immediately, and not always in the nicest of manners. Because, let's be real, it's mostly the [ethnic—IW] Dutch commenting on the Moroccans. But I retaliate with a range of topics and then it's suddenly quiet. So yes, it is…, of course it's discrimination. And you hear "Muslims this and Muslims that". Then I will be the one stating clearly: "Listen, I'm a Muslim too and I feel addressed [by your comments—IW], and I don't agree with them." (*Moroccan-Dutch male, Chief Bailiff, Amsterdam*)

Members of the second generation push their possibilities as resisting individuals to the limits at this organizational level, refusing to be treated unfairly. Their individual strategy is a textbook case of micro-emancipation, whereby they not only defend what is important to them personally but also aim to change their colleagues" attitudes and behaviours concerning ethnic minorities in general or Islam, more so than when they are dealing with their supervisors (cf. Zanoni & Janssens, 2007).

The negative discourses on ethnic minorities in the Netherlands clearly resonate within organizations. This is not limited to supervisors and same-level colleagues. Second-generation professionals in leadership positions also experience subtle discrimination by subordinates.

4.3. Subtle Discrimination and Agency at the Subordinate Level

Questioning of authority to lead plays a prominent role at the level of subordinates. Members of the second generation in leadership positions describe various experiences with subtle discrimination by subordinates. What these cases share is scrutiny by employees of the capabilities of their second-generation supervisors. These supervisors are among the first from their ethnic group to hold positions of power in organizations, and this poses a sharp contrast to the overall division of power in society, where marginalization mostly befalls those of Turkish and Moroccan descent (Kloek et al., 2013; cf. Slay & Smith, 2011; Verkuyten, 2002). The negative stereotypes associated with their ethnic and religious group lead to a situation in which members of the second generation in leadership positions cannot afford any error and permanently have to show they possess leadership skills. They therefore emphasize that their leadership role has to be earned, as their subordinates feel reservations about them. Such reservations are less common if managers are from a native-parentage background:

> The acceptance, they [employees—IW] do accept it. But there is, as a figure of speech, some sort of run-up period, a period in which people simply have to get used to the fact that you're of Moroccan descent, that you've had a certain education and, yes, that you will have to tell them what to do. It takes a while, and I think it takes a while longer than with others. (*Moroccan-Dutch male, Lawyer, Amsterdam*)

> I came across someone whom I had to supervise, well, he was older than me. And he thought: "I'm older, and you're supervising me?" I could tell that he didn't listen to me. On top of that came my Turkish background….He would make jokes. Just a little, not really offensive but always directed towards Turks and Moroccans. (*Turkish-Dutch male, Coordinator Test engineer, Amsterdam*)

When it comes to subordinates, the second generation is most cautious in their dealings with subtle discrimination. They address prejudice and stereotypes by their employees but they try to refrain from getting into an open power play with people who they already surpass in rank. Moreover, they try to gain acceptance by showing their employees that stereotypes and prejudice are not applicable to individuals, thereby circumventing "role entrapment", through which they are "forced…into playing limited and caricatured roles in the system" (Kanter, 1977, p. 980). Their non-conformance to stereotyped roles does not come through distancing themselves from their ethnic group (cf. Konyali, 2014), but through finding common ground with the ethnic-majority group based on their professional identity and their competences as "good managers" (Waldring et al., 2014).

> I think it is very difficult to gain acceptance. Respect is something you have to earn, and the way to do this is by setting goals together. Setting goals that are manageable and realistic, and trying to reach them together….When you do this often enough, then you know how the work is going and you're involved with your team at the same time. Just keep on communicating with them. (*Moroccan-Dutch male, IT Consultant, Rotterdam*)

> Yes, it's about the skills you possess….Not to brag, but I'm better at communicating than all the other guys here. If I hadn't been, and I had been just a manager and not a salesperson myself, they would have eaten me alive. You have to show them every day that you're better than they are [at the job—IW]. (*Moroccan-Dutch male, Chief Social Worker, Rotterdam*)

This choice of profiling their professional identity shows that identity can be seen as situational. Yet, "how we self-identify is only part of the equation" (Jenkins in Foldy, 2002, p. 98) and self-identification can be limited by how others perceive us (Van Laer &

Janssens, 2014). Therefore, validation of our identity by others is required (cf. Wimmer, 2008, p. 1035). And although this validation sometimes comes over time, when it comes, the second generation in leadership positions runs the risk of merely being seen as "exceptions to the rule", setting them apart from their ethnic group while the negative stereotypes about the entire group remain (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011).

5. Conclusion

The concept of power is important when considering how Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions experience and deal with subtle discrimination in the workplace. We will firstly argue that hegemonic, "hidden" power plays a role in understanding how experiences with subtle discrimination continue to be a reality for the second generation in leadership positions from the Pathways to Success Project. Secondly, we will indicate how dealing with these experiences takes into account the more "open", hierarchic power dynamics that are present in organizational hierarchies.

5.1. Subtle Discrimination and Hegemonic Power

The Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions from the PSP are faced with subtle discrimination at various organizational levels. The expressions of subtle discrimination by supervisors, same-level colleagues and subordinates differ to some extent, but patterns from larger society penetrate organizations at all three levels. The Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions experience missed promotions, jokes, comments, questions and challenges to their authority, not necessarily based on their individual performance or behaviour, but on their ethnic and religious group membership. They have to deal with subtle discrimination because they are seen as part of a group that currently holds a marginal position in Dutch society. This societal marginalization, that is obviously not applicable to the second generation in leadership positions from PSP (cf. Van Laer & Janssens, 2011), wrongly comes to the fore in organizational interactions, leading to situations and interactions in which their organizational role is sometimes overshadowed by their alleged societal background (cf. DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 150).

These interactions make it clear that hidden, hegemonic power is in operation, leading to the perpetuation of subtle discrimination, even when people manage to reach leadership positions. This hegemonic power is systemic, in the sense that it is part of societal structures and discourses that remain largely unquestioned in daily life (Vasta, 2007). Yet, although this power is unquestioned, it does not go unnoticed as it causes structural inequalities in society (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011; Deitch et al., 2003) that are reflected in organizational life (Siebers, 2010; Van Laer & Janssens, 2011), so that subtle discrimination remains a reality for the Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions.

5.2. Agency and Hierarchy

Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions act upon subtle discrimination at all three organizational levels. They do so in a variety of ways. This difference in reactions comes to the fore most clearly in the case of jokes, as supervisors, same-level colleagues and subordinates alike employ this type of subtle discrimination. The reactions by second-generation professionals to jokes seem to reflect a consideration of the organizational hierarchies, rather than a consideration of the type of subtle discrimination. They appear to weigh up who they are dealing with in order to establish how they should respond to subtle discrimination. Subtle discrimination is confronted most openly when it comes from same-level colleagues. But in the two cases where authority and hierarchy are more obvious, namely supervisors and subordinates, Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions keep their responses subtle. They don't openly challenge either their supervisors, or their subordinates, but rather opt for a subtle joke back, a one-on-one talk or they push their organizational identity to the fore (cf. Waldring et al., 2014; cf. Wimmer, 2008).

This awareness of and dealing with organizational hierarchies and power in the face of subtle discrimination, shows how Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions reflect on their organizational context. They wield their power in different relationships of authority, employing various forms of agency to fit with the situation and people they are dealing with. In the case of supervisors and subordinates, they act as "tempered radicals" (Meyerson and Scully in Fleming & Spicer, 2014, p. 275) who slowly work their way towards changing opinions, even if it's just on an individual level. With their same-level colleagues, the confrontations are more open, but still on an individual level. These confrontations most likely will not lead to large-scale changes within the organization, but they constitute an example of micro-emancipation through which second-generation professionals attempt to create awareness among their colleagues that judging people based on their group membership is unfair and that certain beliefs about ethnic minorities are based on prejudice.

The Dutch Prime Minister's principle of "fighting your way in" as the key to overcoming labour market discrimination, can be challenged. We have tried to show in this article that subtle discrimination can still af-

fect second-generation professionals in leadership positions because systemic inequalities permeate various organizational relationships. They are faced with hegemonic power that can lead to situations in which their organizational position is overruled by their marginalized ethnic background, rendering them vulnerable to subtle discrimination despite their position of authority.

How Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch second-generation professionals in leadership positions deal with these exclusionary acts involves an awareness of organizational hierarchies. On the one hand, their possibilities to act as change-agents are limited. This is mainly due to the multiple layers of exclusions they are dealing with in their daily professional settings, as well as the organizational hierarchies they have to take into consideration when addressing subtle discrimination. On the other hand, their awareness of organizational power and hierarchies is used for forms of micro-emancipation, through which they deal with subtle discrimination in different ways, depending on whom they are confronted with. This awareness and subsequent custom-made agency cannot be expected to resolve subtle discrimination in the workplace, but it could possibly hold the key to questioning and challenging hegemonic power structures and relationships in organizations.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Editorial

Introduction to "Indicators and Measurement of Social Inclusion"

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Abstract
The papers in the special issue cover some of the most significant methodological and conceptual issues in the measurement of social inclusion. While it is recognised that the concept is a contested one, for the purposes of the present editorial I offer the World Bank definition: Social Inclusion (SI) refers to the process of improving the terms for individuals and groups to take part in society.

Keywords
concept; indicators; measurement; mental health; social inclusion

Issue
This editorial is part of the special issue "Indicators and Measurement of Social Inclusion", edited by Professor Peter Huxley (Bangor University, UK).

Social inclusion is a global phenomenon, and this is reflected in the range of papers in this special issue. Three are from Europe, and one each from Australia and Canada. Our own work on the measurement of social inclusion has been conducted in Hong Kong and Singapore (Chan, Evans, Chiu, Huxley, & Ng, 2014).

The papers in the special issue cover some of the most significant methodological and conceptual issues in the measurement of social inclusion. While it is recognised that the concept is a contested one, for the purposes of the present editorial I offer the World Bank definition: Social Inclusion (SI) refers to the process of improving the terms for individuals and groups to take part in society.

A number of measures of social inclusion have been developed for use in primary research in clinical and intervention studies. Two of such instruments feature in the present volume, the Social Inclusion Scale (Wilson and Secker), and the Support Needs Questionnaire (Davis and Burns). Wilson and Secker originally developed the SIS for an evaluation of an arts projects for people with mental health problems and here they report on a validation exercise conducted with students. Davis and Burns developed the SNQ for the evaluation of mental health recovery services in South London. Both illustrate the potential for social inclusion measures to inform clinical practice, programme evaluation and outcome measurement.

For both of the reported instruments, aspects of reliability and validity are good, but there is clearly scope for more work on sensitivity to change over time, and potential item redundancy. The same research is also needed in respect of the Social and Communities Opportunities Profile (Huxley et al., 2011) and the Chinese version the SCOPE-C (Chan et al., 2014).

Wilson and Secker point out there is currently no gold standard measure of social inclusion, nor is there *exact* agreement upon the indicators of social inclusion. It is, nevertheless, interesting that all the papers and work in Asia come to similar general conclusions about the nature of the indicators of inclusion, which is that they encompass (as Cok Vrooman and colleagues put it) , material well-being, social participation, rights and normative integration. Gingrich and Lightman also point to the material, social and relational aspects of inclusion. A number of studies of normative integration make use of national census or national survey data to conduct secondary analyses of factors associated with social inclusion, as is the case with the contributions of Gingrich and Lightman, and Miranti and Yu. The use of

census and other national surveys to provide questions to populate social inclusion domains means that research samples can be described and compared to national results using the same questions.

Although, as Byrne (2005) has suggested social inclusion happens in a particular time and place, the present volume and work in Asia, shows that there is a broad measure of agreement on domain content around the world. The life domains reflect the wider conceptualisation referred to in the last paragraph: employment, finance, leisure, social activity and participation, family and friends, housing and living situation, and safety.

The questions designed to elicit inclusion status within domains need to be thought of as being context specific. For instance, in the UK, two-car ownership has been used as a proxy for material well-being, as it is closely related to social class. In Hong-Kong however, this question has almost no variance, and an alternative is required.

The contributions to this volume (eg, Cok Vrooman et al., and Miranti and Yu) confirm that a failure to promote social inclusion in young people may scar them for life, and better health and greater material well-being, and employment are all predictors of inclusion. With increasing international mobility and migration issues, the resolution of social inclusion problems will be of urgent importance in the coming years. In the same way that the concept of "quality of life" has entered into the collective consciousness, so the term social inclusion can be expected to become more accepted and widespread, in social policy and academia. We hope that the reader finds food for further thought (and research) in these articles on measurement and indicators.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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About the Author

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Professor Huxley has published over 160 peer reviewed articles and eleven books. He was the first Professor of Psychiatric Social Work in the UK and the first social worker to be the Head of a School of Psychiatry, both at Manchester University. He was the first Professor of Social Work at the Institute of Psychiatry in London and the first Director of the Department of Health funded Social Care Workforce Research Unit. He has developed three quality of life measures, two social inclusion measures and measures of service satisfaction, and social capital.

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Article

Validation of the Social Inclusion Scale with Students

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Abstract
Interventions (such as participatory arts projects) aimed at increasing social inclusion are increasingly in operation, as social inclusion is proving to play a key role in recovery from mental ill health and the promotion of mental wellbeing. These interventions require evaluation with a systematically developed and validated measure of social inclusion; however, a "gold-standard" measure does not yet exist. The Social Inclusion Scale (SIS) has three subscales measuring social isolation, relations and acceptance. This scale has been partially validated with arts and mental health project users, demonstrating good internal consistency. However, test-retest reliability and construct validity require assessment, along with validation in the general population. The present study aimed to validate the SIS in a sample of university students. Test-retest reliability, internal consistency, and convergent validity (one aspect of construct validity) were assessed by comparing SIS scores with scores on other measures of social inclusion and related concepts. Participants completed the measures at two time-points seven-to-14 days apart. The SIS demonstrated high internal consistency and test-retest reliability, although convergent validity was less well-established and possible reasons for this are discussed. This systematic validation of the SIS represents a further step towards the establishment of a "gold-standard" measure of social inclusion.

Keywords
internal consistency; mental health; psychometrics; scale validation; social inclusion; Social Inclusion Scale; test-retest reliability; validity

Issue
This article is part of the special issue "Indicators and Measurement of Social Inclusion", edited by Professor Peter Huxley (Bangor University, UK).

1. Introduction

This paper describes the validation of the Social Inclusion Scale (SIS) with a sample of university students. By way of introduction the concept of social inclusion and previous development of the SIS are outlined. The methods used for the present study are then described, covering participant recruitment and power analysis, the materials selected for comparison with the SIS (Berry, Rodgers, & Dear, 2007; Huxley et al., 2012; Tennant et al., 2007) and the procedures for data collection and analysis. Results are presented in relation to internal consistency, test-retest reliability and convergent validity (one aspect of construct validity).

1.1. Social Inclusion

Social inclusion is defined in the European Union as having the opportunities and resources to participate fully in economic, social and cultural life and to enjoy a standard of wellbeing that is considered normal in the society in which we live (Commission of the European

Communities, 2000). Three dimensions of inclusion have been identified: experiences of friendships, feeling worthwhile through meaningful activities and hopefulness (Davidson, Stayner, Nickou, Styron, & Chinman, 2001). Social inclusion is a multidimensional concept encompassing physical aspects (e.g., housing), psychological aspects (e.g., a sense of belonging), social aspects (e.g., friendships), and occupational aspects (e.g., leisure: Le Boutillier & Croucher, 2010). Social inclusion can increase mental health and reduce mental illness, help to promote recovery, and provide both mental and physical health gains (e.g., Boardman, 2003; Waddell & Burton, 2006; Whiteford, Cullen, & Baingana, 2005).

Social inclusion overlaps with the following concepts: social quality; social participation; citizenship; social capital; social networks; wellbeing and quality of life. Understanding of the concept of social inclusion and its relationship to these concepts is at an early stage (McKenzie, Whitely, & Weich, 2002). There is also debate about the relationship between social inclusion and social exclusion. Although often viewed as opposite ends of a single continuum, when conceptualisations of social exclusion are examined these commonly identify dimensions that focus on the one hand on political, economic and social structures, and on the other hand on social relationships based on mutual acceptance (Burchardt, Le Grand, & Piachaud, 2002; Huxley & Thornicroft, 2003). Thus Secker (2010) argues that it is more helpful to separate out the two concepts and to think of exclusion as operating on a structural level through barriers that work to exclude individuals and groups from full participation in society, akin to the complex disadvantage described by Jenkins (2011), while inclusion operates on an individual or group level and relates to the extent to which people are accepted and feel they belong within different social contexts.

As yet there is no "gold-standard" measure of social inclusion (Huxley et al., 2012; Secker, Hacking, Kent, Shenton, & Spandler, 2009). This is problematic, as social inclusion is proving to play a key role in the establishment of mental health and wellbeing; which in turn has led to interventions (such as community-based arts-for-health activities) aimed at increasing social inclusion; which require evaluation with a systematically developed and validated measure of social inclusion.

1.2. Development of the Social Inclusion Scale (SIS)

In order to address this problem, Secker et al. (2009) recently developed the SIS. Secker and colleagues initially derived concepts associated with social inclusion from the literature (bonding and bridging social capital; social acceptance; neighbourhood cohesion and engagement in leisure and cultural activity; citizenship; perceived security of housing tenure; and occupational activity), and modified questions from measures of these concepts to produce the SIS. This was then piloted with (and modified by) arts and mental health service users and a service user research group. The revised measure had 22 items and three subscales: Social Isolation, Social Relations and Social Acceptance, covering concepts relating to friendship and family, sense of belonging and social opportunities.

The SIS has so far been validated with 88 arts and mental health project users (encompassing a range of mental health difficulties). The SIS as a whole (alpha = 0.85) and its separate subscales (Social Isolation = 0.76; Social Acceptance = 0.76; Social Relations = 0.70) demonstrated good internal consistency (Secker et al., 2009). Secker et al. (2009) also assessed how the scale related to two measures of similar constructs: the Clinical Outcomes in Routine Evaluation (CORE: a measure of overall mental health; Evans et al., 2000) and a measure of empowerment (Schafer, 2000). The SIS was significantly correlated with both of these measures (with poor mental health associated with low levels of social inclusion, and high levels of social inclusion associated with high levels of empowerment). In addition, a shortened version of the SIS (12 items) has been shown to be responsive to change over time brought about by a specific intervention designed to promote social inclusion (Margrove, SE-SURG, Heydinrych, & Secker, 2013). However, test-retest reliability and construct validity of the SIS requires assessment (Huxley et al., 2012; Secker et al., 2009). Furthermore, Huxley et al. (2012) and Secker et al. (2009) have pointed out the need to validate the SIS in the general population.

1.3. Study Aims

The aim of the present research was to validate the full and shortened versions of the SIS in a non-clinical population of university students, by establishing its internal consistency, convergent validity and test-retest reliability. If the measure demonstrates its suitability for use in this population, this will add to the evidence base for the SIS and contribute towards establishing a "gold-standard" measure of social inclusion.

2. Methods

2.1. Recruitment

Following receipt of ethical approval from the Anglia Ruskin University (ARU) Faculty Research Ethics Committee, students at ARU were invited to take part via faculty emails lists, posters and flyers around the university campuses. The inclusion criteria required participants to be aged 18 and over, and a student at ARU (full-time or part-time, undergraduate or postgraduate).

2.2. Power Analysis

Cohen's Statistical Power Analysis (Cohen, 1988, 1992) is one of the most popular approaches in the behavioural sciences in calculating the required sample size (e.g., Cappelleri & Darlington, 1994; Chuan, 2006). According to Cohen Statistical Power Analysis for Pearson Product Moment Correlation, a sample of 85 participants is necessary for a power of 0.80 (B = 0.2), for a medium effect size (r = 0.30) and a significant alpha of 0.05. The number of participants completing both questionnaire packs exceeded this target (see Section 3.1).

2.3. Materials

2.3.1. The Social Inclusion Scale (SIS: Secker et al., 2009)

The SIS was developed during the national study of arts and mental health (Hacking, Secker, Spandler, Kent, & Shenton, 2008; Secker et al., 2009). The measure has 22 items and three subscales: Social Isolation, Social Relations and Social Acceptance. Two items fitted well into two subscales and were therefore included in both scales when calculating subscale scores; three items did not fit into any subscale and were included as separate items (see Table 1). The concepts underpinning the subscales are as follows: social isolation refers to the amount of contact an individual has with people and society; social acceptance refers to a person's sense of being accepted within their social contexts; and social relations refers to relationships between people. This measure has demonstrated good internal consistency and concurrent validity amongst arts and mental health project users (Secker et al., 2009). The scale consists of statements in which participants choose the option on a Likert scale ("*Not at all*", "*Not particularly*", "*Yes a bit*" and "*Yes definitely*") that best describes their relationships with other people over the last month. The overall score is the sum of each item; the score of each subscale is the sum of each item in that subscale. As the SIS was originally developed for use in a mental health sample, the wording of three of the questions in this scale was not suitable for the present population. Therefore, the wording of two questions was modified: "*I have been involved in a group not just for mental health*" was changed to "*I have been involved in a group not just for my university studies*" (which can be modified depending on the group of interest); and "*I have felt some people look down on me because of my mental health needs"* was changed to "*I have felt some people look down on me because of how I am"*. One question was removed due to lack of relevance to the population sample: "*my social life has been mainly related to mental health, or people who use mental health services."*

Table 1. SIS items and subscales.

Subscale	Item
Social Isolation	I have felt terribly alone and isolated
	I have felt accepted by my friends
	I have been out socially with friends
	I have felt I am playing a useful part in society*
	I have friends I see or talk to every week*
Social Relations	I have felt I am playing a useful part in society*
	I have felt what I do is valued by others
	I have been to new places
	I have learnt something about other cultures
	I have been involved in a group not just for my university studies
	I have done some cultural activity
	I have felt some people look down on me because of how I am
	I have felt unsafe to walk alone in my neighbourhood in daylight
Social Acceptance	I have friends I see or talk to every week*
	I have felt accepted by my neighbours
	I have felt accepted by my family
	I have felt clear about my rights
	I have felt free to express my beliefs
Individual Items	I have felt insecure about where I live
	I have done a sport, game or physical activity
	I have helped out at a charity or local group

* Items in more than one subscale.

2.3.2. Selection of Comparison Measures

Convergent validity (one aspect of construct validity) is when several different methods for obtaining the same information about a given trait or concept produce similar results. Validity is usually expressed as a correlation coefficient between two sets of data (levels $\geq$0.7 are generally accepted as representing good validity, e.g., Litwin, 1995). In order to assess the convergent validity of the SIS, correlations would need to be carried out between scores on the SIS and scores on other already validated measures of social inclusion. As previously discussed, there is no "gold-standard" measure of social inclusion. Following a literature search, currently available measures of social inclusion (and related concepts) were identified. Those measures deemed most suitable were the Satisfaction with Opportunities (Sat Opps) and Perceived Opportunities (Perceived Opps) subscales of the SCOPE, the 15-item "Big 7" ACPQ, the Perceived Time and Perceived Enjoyment subscales of the ACPQ. A number of other measures were located; however, the majority were unsuitable

for the following reasons: they were developed for an evaluation of a specific service (e.g., Bates, 2005; Davis & Lindley, 1999; Marino-Francis & Worral-Davies, 2010; Williamson & Allen, 2006); they were developed specifically for use in, and/or only validated within, a different country and/or culture (e.g., Lev-Wiesel, 2003; Van Brakel, Anderson, & Mutatkar, 2006); were developed for use in a specific population not relevant to the present research (e.g. Sibley et al., 2006, developed a measure to evaluate social inclusion/exclusion as a result of a physical disability); consisted of a measure of exclusion as opposed to inclusion (e.g., De Jong, Gierveld, & van Tilburg, 2006); had shown poor validity/reliability (e.g., Lelieveldt, 2004); had not been validated at all (e.g., Stickley & Shaw, 2006); or were designed as an interview and were not suitable for adaptation to a self-report questionnaire (e.g., Gordon et al., 1999; Mezey et al., 2012). The Resource Generator-UK (RG-UK) (Webber & Huxley, 2007), a measure of social capital, was also located. The RG-UK has been validated in a UK general population sample (and demonstrated good test-retest reliability, internal consistency, and concurrent validity). The measure asks respondents about access to a fixed list of social resources that represent multiple domains of social capital and their relationship to the person through whom they could access that resource. It is a 27-item self-report questionnaire with four subscales (domestic resources, expert advice, personal skills, and problem solving) with a yes/no response format. However, one key difference between this measure and the SIS is that it has no questions relating to emotional support (which means it is not entirely comparable). As well as the collection of such "objective" data, understanding is also needed of whether individuals actually feel included (i.e., "subjective" data). How individuals feel is thought to be a critical factor in their social inclusion (e.g., Sayce & Morris, 1999), and mental health service users have acknowledged that their internal world affects whether they feel socially included or excluded (Smyth, Harries, & Dorer, 2011). Prince and Prince (2002) have also found that individuals with mental health difficulties experience fear and rejection and lack a sense of connection and belonging, despite being physically involved in their community. Such individuals are, therefore, not socially included unless they feel included (Onken, Craig, Ridgway, Ralph, & Cook, 2007; Pinfold, 2000). It is also worth noting that the problem solving scale reliability was poor (r = 0.35). Therefore, this measure was also not included in the present validation study.

It is also important to assess whether the SIS significantly relates to validated measures of similar constructs. Therefore, the SIS was compared with a validated measure of mental wellbeing (the WEMWBS), given that greater social inclusion is associated with greater mental wellbeing. The selected measures are described below.

2.3.3. The Social and Community Opportunities Profile (SCOPE: Huxley et al., 2012)

The SCOPE includes both objective and subjective measures of social inclusion. The SCOPE short version (48 items) has shown good internal consistency (overall), good test-retest reliability (in a student sample at two week follow-up), and was able to discriminate between mental health groups. The SCOPE consists of various response formats (for example individual items consist of yes/no responses, or open response). In addition to these individual items, there are two subscales: SatOpps and Perceived Opps. SatOpps items (n = 11) are measured on a seven-point Likert Scale (ranging from "*delighted"* to "*terrible"*: alpha = 0.77) and Perceived Opps items (n = 5) are measured on a five-point Likert scale (ranging from "*opportunities are extremely restricted"* to "*there are plenty of opportunities"*: alpha = 0.62). As the reliability and consistency of the SatOpps and Perceived Opps subscales have been assessed (and found to be acceptable) only these items were included in the present study (16 items).

2.3.4. The Australian Community Participation Questionnaire (ACPQ: Berry et al., 2007)

The original 67-item ACPQ is made up of 14 factors, which consist of different types of community participation. However, only seven types of community participation (contact with immediate household, extended family, friends, and neighbours; organised community activities; religious observance; and active interest in current affairs) were found to be significantly associated with fewer symptoms of distress (and this finding was later replicated: Berry & Welsh, 2010). These were named the "Big 7". Upon contacting the author the 15-item version of the ACPQ (which was also used by Huxley et al. (2012) as a comparative measure to assess the construct validity of the SCOPE) was provided. This measure contains three overarching dimensions of community participation: informal social connectedness, civic engagement, and political participation. This measure was found to significantly correlate with both the SatOpps and Perceived Opps subscales of the SCOPE short version. In a further study that has employed the ACPQ (Berry & Shipley, 2009), subjective perceptions about community participation were added (including questions about thoughts and feelings about participation), which were recommended for use by the author. These questions tell you whether the respondent feels he/she is spending sufficient time participating irrespective of how much time he/she is actually spending participating. This is, therefore, a measure of perceived gap between the degree of inclusion desired and the degree that is thought to actually occur. Although internal consistency and relation to a related construct (distress) has been assessed for

the shortened version of the ACPQ; the test-retest reliability has not been assessed. It is also worth noting that this was validated in an Australian sample, which may mean it is not as suitable for a UK sample. Therefore, the present research assessed the internal consistency and test-retest reliability of the measure in a UK sample.

2.3.5. The Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Wellbeing Scale (WEMWBS: Tennant et al., 2007)

The WEMWBS measures positive affect, psychological functioning and interpersonal relationships. Mental wellbeing is more than the absence of mental illness, and the scale covers only positive aspects of mental health. A measure of mental wellbeing was chosen in preference to a measure of mental ill health, in order to correspond with the increasing emphasis in health policy on promoting positive mental health (Department of Health, 2011). The WEMWBS is an ordinal scale consisting of 14 positively phrased statements rated on Likert scales: "*None of the time*", "*Rarely*", "*Some of the time*", "*Often*" and "*All of the time*". The overall score is the sum of each item with a higher score reflecting higher mental wellbeing. This scale has demonstrated high internal consistency, construct validity, discriminant validity, and test-retest reliability across a range of populations (e.g., Bartram, Yadegarfar, Sinclair, & Baldwin, 2011; Clarke et al., 2011, Tennant et al., 2007).

2.4. Hypotheses

It was firstly hypothesised that Cronbach's alpha for the SIS as a whole, its three subscales, and the short-form version would be $\geq$0.70 demonstrating good internal consistency (e.g., Carmines & Zeller, 1991; Litwin, 1995). Secondly, it was hypothesised that SIS scores at both time points (one-to-two weeks apart) would be significantly positively correlated (correlation coefficient $\geq$0.70; demonstrating good test-retest reliability). The third hypothesis was that scores on the SIS would be significantly correlated with scores on the selected measures of related concepts (with correlation coefficients $\geq$0.70), demonstrating good convergent validity.

2.5. Procedure

An invitation email with the information sheet attached was sent to students at ARU via faculty email lists and a research student mailbase. The information sheet outlined the purpose of the study, what participation would involve, and reassured of the right to refuse to participate (with no action required if they did not wish to participate). Participants were asked to email the researcher if they would like to take part. The researcher then emailed Questionnaire Pack 1 to the participant (consisting of the SIS, the SCOPE Sat Opps and Perceived Opps subscales, the 15-item "Big 7" ACPQ, the Perceived Time and Perceived Enjoyment subscales of the ACPQ, and the WEMWBS). The first page of the questionnaire also asked for demographic information (age, gender and ethnicity). Receipt of a completed questionnaire was taken as consent to participate (as explained in the information sheet). Upon receipt of the questionnaire each participant was allocated a participant code that was used on all questionnaire materials. A password-protected computer database (which matched participants' email addresses and participant codes) was used in order to email Questionnaire Pack 2 (identical to Questionnaire Pack 1) to each participant seven days after receiving their Questionnaire Pack 1. The code was also used to match up Questionnaire Packs 1 and 2 in the data analysis. The researcher requested receipt of the completed Questionnaire Pack 2 within seven days. If it was not received within seven days one email reminder was sent. Upon receipt of Questionnaire Pack 2 participants were thanked for their participation. At the end of data collection a prize draw took place in which ten participants were randomly selected to receive a £20 thank-you voucher (and were notified via email).

2.6. Data Analysis

Prior to data analysis, the questionnaire data were checked for normality via histograms, box-plots, and skewness and kurtosis z-scores (<±1.96). Where data were normally distributed, Pearson's correlations were conducted. Where data were non-normally distributed, Spearman's rho correlations were conducted.

In order to calculate the internal consistency of the SIS, Cronbach's alpha was calculated for the scale as a whole and its three subscales. Cronbach's alpha $\geq$0.7 is generally considered as acceptable (e.g., Carmines & Zeller, 1991; Litwin, 1995; Nunnally, 1967; Zait & Bertea, 2011).

In order to assess the test-retest reliability of the SIS, questionnaire scores (total and subscale scores) at time point one were correlated with scores at time point two. Assessing correlation coefficients is the standard measure of test-retest reliability, with *r* values $\geq$0.7 considered as indicating good test-retest reliability (e.g., Carmines & Zeller, 1991; Litwin, 1995).

In order to assess the convergent validity of the scale, correlations were carried out between SIS scores (overall and subscales) and SCOPE scores (SatOpps and Perceived Opps subscales: 16 items), "Big 7" ACPQ and Perceived Time and Perceived Enjoyment scores (29 items), and WEMWBS scores (14 items).

3. Results

3.1. Sample

103 participants completed the questionnaires at time

1, and 95 participants completed the questionnaires at time 2 (92.23% response rate at time 2). The mean number of days between questionnaires was 9.67 (*SD* = 3.08), with a minimum of seven days and a maximum of 19 days. Out of the 103 participants at time one 22 participants were male (21.6%) and 80 participants were female (78.4%), with one participant not stating their gender. Participant's mean age was 31.37 (*SD* = 13.04) ranging from age 18 to 66 (three participants did not state their age). Four participants did not state their ethnicity, the remaining 99 participants defined their ethnicity as follows: 65.7% White British (*n* = 65); 6.1% British Asian (*n* = 6); 5.1% White (*n* = 5); 4% African (*n* = 4); 4% Asian (*n* = 4); 3% Mixed (*n* = 3); 3% Black (*n* = 3); 2% White Irish (*n* = 2); 2% White European (*n* = 2); 2% Southern European (*n* = 2); 1% Eastern European (*n* = 1); 1% Middle Eastern (*n* = 1); and 1% Non-British Irish (*n* = 1). The make-up of the 95 participants who completed both questionnaire packs was as follows: 20.2% male (*n* = 19) and 79.8% female (*n* = 75), mean age = 31.87 (*SD* = 13.34), 67% White British.

3.2. Internal Consistency

Cronbach's alpha was calculated for scores at time 1 in order to assess the internal consistency of the measures. Cronbach's alpha for the full-version SIS was 0.80 (indicating high internal consistency). Internal consistency was subsequently assessed for the SIS with the three individual items which did not fit into the subscales removed. Cronbach's alpha remained unchanged. Cronbach's alpha for the Social Isolation subscale was 0.65, for the Social Acceptance subscale Cronbach's alpha was 0.54, and for the Social Relations subscale Cronbach's alpha was 0.71. The 12-item short-form version of the SIS demonstrated high internal consistency (0.75). See Table 2 for internal consistency statistics for each questionnaire measure.

Cronbach's alpha was also calculated using "scale if item deleted" to assess whether the SIS subscales would have greater internal consistency if any items were deleted (see Table 3). As can be seen in Table 3, the internal consistency of the Social Isolation subscale did not improve with any items deleted. However, this was not the case with the other two subscales. Cronbach's alpha for the Social Relations subscale was found to increase upon the removal of two of its items ("*I have felt some people look down on me because of how I am"* and "*I have felt unsafe to walk alone in my neighbourhood"*). When both items were removed, Cronbach's alpha increased further to 0.74. The Social Acceptance subscale demonstrated the poorest internal consistency (0.54), however this increased to 0.63 upon removal of one item ("*I have friends I see or talk to every week"*).

Table 2. Cronbach's alpha for each questionnaire at time 1.

Measure	Cronbach's alpha
SIS Total Mean	**0.80***
Social Acceptance (SIS subscale)	**0.54**
Social Relations (SIS subscale)	**0.71***
Social Isolation (SIS subscale)	**0.65**
SIS 12-Item Short Form	**0.75***
SatOpps (SCOPE subscale)	0.80*
Perceived Opps (SCOPE subscale)	0.54
15-item "Big 7" (ACPQ)	0.80*
Perceived Time (ACPQ)	0.65
Perceived Enjoyment (ACPQ)	0.47
WEMWBS	0.90*

* ≥0.70.

Table 3. Cronbach's alpha using "scale if item deleted".

SIS subscale	Cronbach's alpha
Social Isolation Total (5 items)	**0.65**
Item 1 deleted	0.59
Item 2 deleted	0.61
Item 3 deleted	0.65
Item 4 deleted	0.57
Item 5 deleted	0.55
Social Relations Total (8 items)	**0.71**
Item 1 deleted	0.65
Item 2 deleted	0.65
Item 3 deleted	0.69
Item 4 deleted	0.69
Item 5 deleted	0.68
Item 6 deleted	0.65
Item 7 deleted	0.72*
Item 8 deleted	0.72*
Social Acceptance Total (5 items)	**0.54**
Item 1 deleted	0.63*
Item 2 deleted	0.38
Item 3 deleted	0.50
Item 4 deleted	0.44
Item 5 deleted	0.39

* improved internal consistency when removed.

3.3. Test Re-Test Reliability

Some of the questionnaire data at time points 1 and 2 were non-normally distributed; therefore, Spearman's correlations were carried out for mean questionnaire scores at times 1 and 2 (see Table 4). Alpha was adjusted to 0.005 in order to account for multiple correlations (0.05/11=0.005: to account for 11 correlations).

3.4. Convergent Validity

In order to assess the convergent validity of the SIS, Spearman's correlations were carried out between the SIS (overall mean scores, subscale mean scores, and short-form mean scores) and all other measures at

time 1 (see Table 5). Significant alpha was adjusted to 0.01 in order to account for five sets of scores (SIS overall mean, Social Acceptance mean, Social Isolation mean, Social Relations mean, and short-form mean) being correlated with each measure (0.05/5 = 0.01). For the Perceived Opps subscale of the SCOPE, lower scores reflect greater social inclusion and so a negative correlation with SIS scores was expected. Negative correlations were also expected between SIS scores and Perceived Time (ACPQ) scores, as lower scores on this scale also represent greater social inclusion.

Table 4. Test-retest reliability assessment for each measure at times 1 and 2.

Measure (T1 and T2)	r_s	p
SIS Total Mean	**0.80***	**<0.001****
Social Acceptance (SIS subscale)	**0.72***	**<0.001****
Social Relations (SIS subscale)	**0.71***	**<0.001****
Social Isolation (SIS subscale)	**0.80***	**<0.001****
SIS 12-item Short Form	**0.73***	**<0.001****
SatOpps (SCOPE subscale)	0.83*	<0.001**
Perceived Opps (SCOPE subscale)	0.78*	<0.001**
15-item "Big 7" (ACPQ)	0.88*	<0.001**
Perceived Time (ACPQ)	0.66	<0.001**
Perceived Enjoyment (ACPQ)	0.67	<0.001**
WEMWBS	0.79*	<0.001**

* $r_s \geq 0.70$; ** $p < 0.005$

4. Conclusions

Social inclusion is a multi-dimensional concept that involves having the opportunities and resources to participate fully in economic, social and cultural life, and enjoying a standard of wellbeing considered normal in the society in which we live (Commission of the European Communities, 2000). The SIS assesses multiple aspects of social inclusion, including psychological aspects (such as a sense of belonging), social aspects (such as relationships with family and friends), occupational aspects (such as engagement with culture and leisure activities), and physical aspects (such as security with one's living environment). The SIS measures the respondents' feelings and perceptions of their social inclusion in relation to these aspects, as an individual cannot be considered socially included unless they feel socially included (e.g., Onken et al., 2007; Pinfold, 2000). Raising levels of social inclusion has become an important part of the mental health strategy as it has been found to increase mental health and wellbeing. Increasing concerns regarding levels of social inclusion in mental health populations have led to a number of interventions (such as participatory arts projects) aimed at increasing social inclusion. Outcome evaluation of such interventions is essential for assessing whether they are successful in achieving their aims. Many participatory arts project evaluations assess the effect of their interventions on wellbeing and quality of life (e.g., Hillman, 2002), of which there are already validated measures. However, these projects also aim to improve social inclusion of which there is presently no "gold-standard" validated measure. It has been acknowledged that there is a lack of evidence about the efficacy of such interventions in increasing service users' social inclusion, largely due to a lack of suitable measure (e.g., Bates & Repper, 2001; Dorer, Harries, & Marston, 2009). Therefore, a validated "gold-standard" measure of social inclusion is required. The SIS had already been partially validated (having demonstrated good internal consistency, concurrent validity, and responsiveness to change in a mental health population), but required further reliability and validity testing (e.g. test-retest reliability and construct validity), in both mental health service user and general population samples. The present research study aimed to validate the SIS in a sample of university students, by establishing its internal consistency, convergent validity and test-retest reliability.

It was firstly hypothesised that the SIS as a whole, its three subscales, and the 12-item short-form version would demonstrate high internal consistency. As expected, the SIS as whole (Cronbach's alpha = 0.80), the Social Relations subscale (Cronbach's alpha = 0.71) and the short-form version (Cronbach's alpha = 0.75) demonstrated high internal consistency. The Social Isolation (0.65) and Social Acceptance (0.54) subscales, however, did not demonstrate acceptable internal consistency. The Social Acceptance subscale (which showed the lowest internal consistency) did demonstrate improved internal consistency (0.63) with one item deleted. Therefore, in future use of the SIS in a non-clinical population, the item "*I have friends I see or talk to every week*" should be retained, but should only be used in the calculation of the Social Isolation subscale not in the Social Acceptance subscale. It is also worth considering the complete removal of the three items which did not fit into the three subscales in previously reported analysis (Secker et al., 2009). This is due to the present finding that the internal consistency of the SIS remained unchanged upon the removal of these items.

The ACPQ was validated in a UK sample for the first time, with the "Big 7" demonstrating high internal consistency (0.80) and test re-test reliability (0.88). However, the Perceived Time and Perceived Enjoyment ACPQ subscales did not demonstrate acceptable internal consistency or test-retest reliability (<0.70). This requires further investigation in order to assess whether these scales are suitable for use with UK samples.

Secondly, it was hypothesised that SIS scores at both time points (one-to-two weeks apart) would be significantly positively correlated with correlation coefficients $\geq$0.70; demonstrating good test-retest reliability. As expected the SIS as a whole, its three subscales and the short-form version demonstrated high test-retest reliability.

Table 5. Spearman's correlations between the SIS and other measures.

	SIS Total Mean		Social Acceptance		Social Isolation		Social Relations		SIS Short Form	
Measure	r_s	p	r_s	p	r_s	p	r_s	p	r_s	p
SatOpps	0.634	<0.001**	0.591	<0.001**	0.595	<0.001**	0.520	<0.001**	0.541	<0.001**
Perceived Opps	–0.360	0.001**	–0.282	0.004**	–0.384	0.001**	–0.303	0.002**	–0.274	0.007**
Big 7 ACPQ	0.589	<0.001**	0.476	<0.001**	0.518	<0.001**	0.432	<0.001**	0.571	<0.001**
Perceived Time	–0.309	0.002**	–0.177	0.075	–0.250	0.011	–0.286	0.004**	–0.242	0.019
Perceived Enjoyment	0.437	<0.001**	0.354	0.001**	0.395	<0.001**	0.351	<0.001**	0.482	<0.001**
WEMWBS	0.674	<0.001**	0.602	<0.001**	0.521	<0.001**	0.584	<0.001**	0.610	<0.001**

* $r_s \geq 0.70$; ** $p < 0.01$.

The third hypothesis was that scores on the SIS would be significantly correlated with scores on measures of related concepts, and that correlation coefficients would be greater than 0.70; demonstrating convergent validity. As expected the SIS as a whole was significantly positively correlated with SatOpps (SCOPE), Big 7 ACPQ, Perceived Enjoyment (ACPQ) and WEMWBS scores, and significantly negatively correlated with Perceived Opps (SCOPE) and Perceived Time (ACPQ) scores. However, none of the correlation coefficients were >0.70. Scores on the Social Acceptance SIS subscale and the short-form version of the SIS were significantly correlated (in expected directions) with all measures except the Perceived Time (ACPQ) subscale. Again all coefficients were <0.70. Scores on the Social Isolation and Social Relations SIS subscales were significantly correlated (in expected directions) with all measures. However, again all coefficients were <0.70.

The results demonstrate that the SIS as whole has high internal consistency and test-retest reliability, but convergent validity is less clear. This may be due to the lack of a "gold-standard" measure to use as a comparison: the comparative measures used were the most suitable measures available but have each only been partially validated (except for the WEMWBS). Therefore, it is not clear whether the lower than expected correlation coefficients are due to which measure. The WEMWBS is the only comparative measure used which has been thoroughly validated in various populations, and had the highest correlation coefficient with the SIS as a whole (0.674), only just falling short of the 0.70 cut-off for high validity. Following completion of another research project (validating the SIS with a mental health service user sample), the contrasted-groups approach will also be used to further assess the construct validity of the SIS. This is where two groups thought to be high and low in the construct being measured are compared on the measure of the construct. The mean scores of the two groups should differ significantly in the expected direction if the instrument is valid (e.g. DeVon et al., 2007). It is hypothesised that mental health service users will have significantly lower social inclusion scores than the present sample. Following collection of questionnaire data from the mental health service user sample, an independent t-test (or a Mann Whitney *U* test if the data are non-normally distributed) will be used to assess whether there is a significant difference between scores on the SIS for these samples (as will be reported in a forthcoming article following the completion of data collection).

It is important to acknowledge some limitations of the present research study. Firstly, the sample consisted of only students from one university. However, the large sample (exceeding the required sample size) was representative of a range of ages and ethnicities (due to the inclusion of all types of students). However, the sample was not equally representative of males and females. One further limitation is that not all participants who completed questionnaire pack 2 completed and returned it within 14 days. However, results remained unchanged with the nine participants who exceeded the 14 days removed from the analysis.

In conclusion, the SIS demonstrates high internal consistency and test-retest reliability in a sample of university students. The ability to reach a conclusion regarding the convergent validity of the SIS is limited by the lack of available fully validated and relevant measures to compare the SIS with. Further analysis upon completion of this study with a mental health service user sample, will provide further insight into the construct validity of the SIS through contrasted-groups analysis (i.e., comparison between general population and mental health service user scores). The establishment of the SIS as a "gold-standard" measure of social inclusion is progressing. If the SIS continues to be demonstrated as a reliable and valid measure, it will serve as a useful tool in outcome evaluation of participatory arts projects (and other interventions intended to improve social inclusion).

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

The Development and Properties of the Support Needs Questionnaire

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Abstract
The Support Needs Questionnaire (SNQ) measures the support people with severe mental illness need to attain valued social roles as a route to social inclusion. Its design derives from Wolfensberger's Social Role Valorisation theory. It is a clinical tool comprising a comprehensive lifestyle inventory of "universal basic" and "disability" needs; and "revalorisation needs" arising from social devaluation and deep exclusion. The SNQ comprises eight discreet sub-scales based on O'Brien's Five Service Accomplishments, the domains of which include Community Presence, Community Participation, Choice and Control, Social Roles and Respect, Skills and Competencies, and Finance. There are also two descriptive sub-scales: Physical and Mental Health. The item set was developed collaboratively with service users. This paper introduces the SNQ, its design rationale and development, and investigates aspects of its reliability, validity and utility. Care co-ordinators in a Community Mental Health Team rated eighty-two service users' support needs at a two week interval using the SNQ, the Global Assessment Scale and the MARC-2. The SNQ is shown to have high test-retest reliability, good construct and concurrent validity, and good discriminatory power. It exhibited no floor or ceiling effects with the reference population. It could be used with a more diverse population. The descriptive sub-scales were weakest. The population profile showed moderate support was required for physical integration but high levels for social integration which is consistent with previous research. The SNQ has some good psychometric properties. Future research should address internal consistency and potential item redundancy, determine inter-rater reliability and change sensitivity.

Keywords
assessment; mental health; SRV; person-centred planning; personalisation; social inclusion; recovery

Issue
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1. Introduction

The SNQ measures the degree of support required by people with severe and enduring mental health conditions to achieve a socially inclusive lifestyle. It shares many underlying concepts with contemporary comprehensive social inclusion measures such as the Social and Community Opportunities Profile (SCOPE: Huxley et al., 2012).

The SNQ also attempts to measure the support people need to ameliorate damage to their identity caused by prolonged exposure to social devaluation (Kristiansen, 1998), stigma, discrimination and prejudice (Thornicroft, 2006; Wilkinson & Marmot, 2003) and the negative practical, financial and social consequences that impede recovery (Allen, Balfour, Bell, & Marmot, 2014; Levitas et al., 2007).

The multidimensional context of damaged social

identity is increasingly recognised as significantly reducing service users' potential for personal recovery (Andresen, Oades, & Caputi, 2003, 2006, 2011; Glover, 2012; Le Boutillier et al., 2011) and clinical recovery, which are now understood to be mutually reinforcing (Davidson & Tondora, 2006; Glover, 2012; Slade, 2009). Multidimensional disadvantage is the *sine qua non* of deep exclusion (Levitas et al., 2007; Miliband, 2006).

The SNQ was designed to lead to balanced individual service plans that address the above issues by promoting personal and clinical recovery in the broadest terms.

This paper places the SNQ in context and describes its design rationale derived from Social Role Valorisation theory (SRV: Wolfensberger, 1983). The procedure for investigating aspects of the SNQ's reliability and validity is outlined and the results presented and discussed with reference to its performance against established psychometric criteria and conceptually related instruments. Utility, study limitations and future research requirements are noted.

1.1. Background

There is a long running debate in the literature on mental health assessment about how need should be conceptualised particularly in relation to social inclusion. The debate encompasses the domains of need that should be assessed, from which stakeholder perspective they should be chosen and the relative merits of objective and subjective judgements.

The recognition of the significance of social inclusion and exclusion for recovery has prompted intensified development and testing of a diverse set of social inclusion measures, their design informed by this debate. From early beginnings, where one or more social inclusion domains might be included in a primarily clinical instrument, new single issue inclusion-focussed scales have extended to wider concept coverage and the development of comprehensive inclusion measures. An ever growing set of design criteria have also emerged. A brief commentary follows to place the SNQ in its design context.

An early review by Lelliott (2000) highlighted the bias within the field towards developing solely service provider oriented assessment measures. Criteria for evaluating assessments to meet service user and professional requirements were proposed. Lelliott argued that instruments should go beyond clinical concerns and be comprehensive to cover the socially inclusive domains of work, employment, financial security, valued accommodation, choice and control over living circumstances, and maintaining relationships.

It was hoped this domain combination would lead to "balanced" service interventions to ameliorate clinical problems and reduce the broad impact of social exclusion.

The range of design criteria mentioned at that time, in addition to reliability and validity, included simplicity, being quick to learn and use in "real world" practice, meaningful individual and aggregate data and change sensitivity. Other criteria have emerged since. Particularly relevant to the present study are an explicit theoretical base, multi-layered and multidimensional unmet need focus, low cost, easy interpretation, completion by service users and staff in partnership, subjective and objective measures and a wide range of uses (Coombs, Nicholas, & Pirkis, 2013; Davenport, 2006; Hampson, Killaspy, Mynors-Wallis, & Meier, 2011; Huxley et al., 2012; Levitas et al., 2007).

Lelliott mentions the Camberwell Assessment of Need (CAN: Phelan et al., 1995) and the Avon Mental Health Measure (AMHM: LeGrand, 1996), now in its second iteration as "My View" (Health Care Improvement Scotland, 2011) as good examples.

The CAN establishes need in 22 domains. Accommodation, self-care, physical health, psychotic symptoms, daytime activities, relationships, education and benefits are relevant here. It assesses support services availability, met and unmet needs, appropriateness of support level and user satisfaction. It has service user and staff versions and good psychometric properties but agreement between staff and service user ratings is often low (Slade, Phelan, Thornicroft, & Parkman, 1996).

The AMHM, designed by service users and professionals encourages partnership between service users and staff by articulating needs from the service user perspective. It includes a social integration/community participation scale, physical health, behaviour, access and mental health domains.

By 2006 Davenport observed a shift away from focussing solely on clinical needs towards identifying need for services and social supports. She mentions the promotion of social inclusion and recovery in NICE guidelines as new drivers of domain choice and suggested clinicians and service users collaborate on assessment.

Davenport mentions the CAN and also the Carers and Users Expectations of Services (CUES: Royal College of Psychiatrists et al., 2002) as containing socially inclusive domains. Relevant here are the CUES' domains of life and service choices, consultation and control, stigma and discrimination.

Recently Huxley et al. (2012) reviewed this field specifically for social inclusion measures whilst validating the SCOPE. Huxley's group has developed the SCOPE over many years. It is one of the most accepted and comprehensive measures of social inclusion (Coombs et al., 2013). It comprises a comprehensive domain set, derived from concept mapping of many stakeholder perspectives, subjective, objective and quality of life measures. It has good psychometric properties and is useable by the general population and mental health service users.

In their review, Huxley and colleagues identified two measures theoretically close to the SNQ. They also cite an early, conceptually identical version of the SNQ

itself (Davis & Lindley, 1999).

The Social Inclusion Scale (SIS: Hacking, Secker, Spandler, Kent, & Shenton, 2008) was designed to measure social acceptance, social isolation and social relations outcomes in Arts and Mental Health projects. The SIS has objective and subjective elements, is concise, quick and easy to complete. It has been validated with mental health service users and students. It has some good psychometric properties and continues to be developed (Wilson & Secker, in press).

The Inclusion Web (Bates, 2005) identifies the number and spread of valued relationships service users have and their use of mainstream community places in the domains of employment, education, volunteering, arts and culture, faith and meaning, family and neighbourhood, sports and exercise, and in services. The Inclusion Web essentially explores community participation and community presence. It is quick and easy to complete by service users and a support worker and leads to person-centred planning. The Inclusion Web has some good psychometric properties and is change sensitive (Hacking & Bates, 2008).

Huxley and colleagues (2012) noted that all the SNQ's domains emerged in the concept mapping they conducted to validate the SCOPE. They state, "It is not clear how Davis and Lindley arrived at the domains or the statements *(of the SNQ).* However obtained, the concept mapping exercise provides some post hoc validation for the choice of domains or vice-versa!" (p. 106). This paper's next section describes the SNQ's design rationale and, it is hoped, answers the question implied above.

1.2. Design Rationale

The SNQ was developed over many years clinical practice during which time we too recognised the need for "balanced" assessments (Lelliott, 2000). Our experience also led us to add a third layer to assessment and goal planning requiring social inclusion assessments to promote service plans actively seeking the amelioration of unacknowledged damage to social identity resulting from leading a socially devalued lifestyle (Kristiansen, 1998). Our approach is in line with professional commentaries (e.g. Huxley, 2001; Huxley et al., 2007) and services users' calls (e.g. Turner-Crowson & Wallcraft, 2002) for services to address the social and psychological consequences of deep exclusion (Miliband, 2006), and extends this to measuring the support required to meet these needs.

In Learning Disabilities, SRV theory has guided services in addressing these issues for over thirty years. Focussing on person-centred planning, SRV targets services and culturally valued social supports to address service users' needs using inclusive (Department of Health [DOH], 2010) and personalised means (Think Local Act Personal, 2015). This approach is now being implemented in mental health services.

SRV has been cited as having informed many successful service delivery practices that support people to obtain, grow into and get rooted in valued social roles (Tyree, Kendrick, & Block, 2011)—the cornerstones of inclusive practice. The SNQ's conceptual spine is based on John O'Brien's (1987) interpretation of SRV, the Five Service Accomplishments. These frame the goal domains of person-centred planning.

SRV proposes several perspectives and practices to address these issues. Three sets of need are identified. Kristiansen (1998) describes the first two as "universal basic needs" everyone has, for access to sustenance, shelter and affiliation, and "unique individual needs" that some people have arising from a specific condition such as an illness. SRV proposes a third kind of need that often goes unrecognised, for "revalorisation", or the restoration of damaged personal and social identity. Clinical experience tells us acknowledging this is the beginning of addressing deep exclusion and was central to the SNQ's design.

Multi-layered unmet need (Huxley & Thornicroft, 2003; Levitas, 2006; Morgan, Burns, Fitzpatrick, Pinfold, & Priebe, 2007) is fundamental to descriptions of social exclusion (Levitas et al., 2007) whilst addressing these multi-level unmet needs is central to promoting social inclusion (Cabinet Office—Social Exclusion Task Force, 2007). Addressing multi-level unmet need is important to successful "personalisation" (Bola, Coldham, & Robinson, 2014) and indicative of progressive service cultures (Walker, Perkins, & Repper, 2014). The "revalorisation" of identity is recognised as a recovery dimension and is found in recent conceptual frameworks for understanding clinical and personal recovery, although the language used differs (Andressen et al., 2003, 2006, 2011; Slade et al., 2011).

We designed an SRV derived assessment instrument to address multi-level need whilst accommodating commentators' recommendations for evaluating real world performance. Our aim was to conjoin the assessment of personal and clinical recovery needs with "revalorisation" needs, to facilitate individual service plans that address personal development and clinical change concurrently.

1.3. Research Aims

The following study describes the initial development and basic psychometric properties of the SNQ, including test-retest reliability, internal construct validity, concurrent validity and utility.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

Participants were five female and two male care co-

ordinators in the rehabilitation and recovery service (DOH, 2002) of a Community Mental Health Team (CMHT), including two G and one F-Grade Nurses, one Senior Occupational Therapist, one Care Manager, one Senior Care Manager and one Clinical Psychologist. Most had considerable post-qualification SRV informed experience including using earlier versions of the SNQ (*M* = 4.3 yrs; range 1–8).

Care co-ordinators had to have known service users for six months, meeting weekly. Raters conducted SNQ ratings for service users for whom they were the sole care co-ordinator. Different raters therefore rated different service users. To standardise the SNQ, care co-ordinators rated the needs of eighty-two CMHT service users.

Ethical approval was obtained from a Local NHS Research Ethics Committee.

2.2. Design

A within subjects repeated measures design was used to determine test-retest reliability.

The Global Assessment Scale (GAS: Endicot, Spitzer, Fleiss, & Cohen, 1976) and the MARC-2 (Huxley et al., 2000) were used to establish concurrent validity as they were being introduced into the local service system at the time of this study to evaluate a service reconfiguration. The MARC-2 was used to record demographic data.

2.3. Setting

The study was conducted in a predominantly white middle-class suburb with pockets of severe social deprivation.

The evolving SNQ was central to the team's clinical approach as part of a "Getting to Know You" process (Brost, Johnson, Wagner, & Deprey, 1982) that led to Lifestyle Planning (O'Brien, 1987). The CMHT's service model provided health and social care to reduce personal distress and enhance social inclusion.

2.4. Questionnaire Development

The SNQ's item pool originated from staffs' unstructured clinical checklists, item choice being influenced by SRV thinking. The SNQ's present item set results from gradually restructuring these checklists into six SRV construct based item sets and two empirically derived item sets then regularly reviewing items for their perceived value to staff and service users.

Team members were clinically experienced having worked in resettlement, rehabilitation, residential care, assertive outreach and employment oriented services (n > 50 yrs). Many service users (n > 150) views were incorporated over ten years. Item pool revisions were agreed annually to continually enhance face validity.

The SNQ's item pool was further refined for the present study. 160 items were retained for their perceived clinical value and fit within the construct boundaries suggested by SRV.

We recognise prioritising comprehensiveness in the item pool would lead to statistical redundancy in the item set. From a pure design perspective this is undesirable but in this instance it was viewed as a requirement to maintain care standards and fulfil the design rationale. Formalisation of the SNQ was designed to bring rigour to identifying individual need and allow data aggregation to produce a population support needs profile, whilst maintaining an established and valued clinical tool.

2.5. Materials

The SNQ comprises eight discreet sub-scales (each printed with its own title, italicised below). Sub-scales contain 18–21 items. The total item set is 160. The first five sub-scales follow O'Brien's Five Service Accomplishments with the sixth concept determined by the authors. The sub-scales are Community Presence *(Living in their community)*, Community Participation *(Getting involved in their community)*, Choice and Control *(Making their own decisions)*, Social Roles and Respect *(Being respected)*, Competence and Skills *(Building on my client's strengths)* and Finance *(Money matters)*. Two further sub-scales include clinical problem items assessing Physical Health *(Being fit and healthy)* and Mental Health *(My client's peace of mind).*

The first six sub-scales measure support for "universal basic needs". The final two measure "unique individual needs". All sub-scales contain "revalorisation" items.

The first six sub-scales use seven-point scales ranging from "No Help" to "A Great Deal of Help". The final two sub-scales measure frequency on a seven-point scale from "Never" to "Always" allowing for "Never" to record no problem.

Each sub-scale contains a "criterion" question as the final item. This global sub-scale construct rating can be correlated with the remaining sub-scale items to obtain an internal validity measure. The full scale or SNQ total score aggregates the eight sub-scale scores indicating an overall level of support need.

The GAS, a global measure of psychiatric disability, was used as one measure of concurrent validity. The GAS is simple, has predictive power (Phelan, Wykes, & Goldman, 1994) and has been used in similar research (e.g. Phelan et al., 1995). The MARC-2 collected demographics, service use data, and comparable service user problem ratings. The MARC-2 has been used extensively in similar research (Huxley, 1997; Huxley, Reilly, & Robinshaw, 1999). As a further measure of concurrent validity, *a priori* comparisons were agreed between specific MARC-2 categorical problem ratings and conceptually similar SNQ sub-scales (Table 1). Scores were then compared.

Table 1. Conceptual relationship map between categorical MARC-2 problem severity ratings and SNQ sub-scales.

MARC-2 problem severity rating	SNQ sub-scale/s
Relationship problems	Community Participation Social Roles & Respect
Daily Occupation	Social Roles & Respect Competence & Skills
Homemaking	Competence & Skills
Self-neglect	Physical Health
Personal care	Physical Health
Finances	Finance

2.6. Procedure

To obtain consensus about the wording, meaning and sub-scale item location, team members including the study raters, attended two 1.5 hour workshops with the principal author and an independent service user consultant to conduct a detailed analysis of sub-scale items. Consensus on the rating scales' wording was also achieved.

The SNQ was then re-checked for face, content and consensual validities amongst current staff and service users by the independent service user consultant who also reviewed the wording to be more ordinary by accommodating low reading age and attending to good grammar and lack of ambiguity.

GAS and MARC-2 training was provided to raters by independent researchers from Durham University. Training was provided in using the GAS because of its reported variable reliability (r = 0.62 to 0.91) (Dworkin et al., 1990). The inter-rater reliability of the MARC-2 is 87%. Its internal reliability using Cronbach's "α" is 0.83 (Huxley et al., 2000).

SNQ test-retest reliability was determined by rating service users' needs with the SNQ twice (T_1 & T_2) at a two/three week interval without conferring. Raters completed GAS and MARC-2s in the same week as, but after the second SNQ rating. GAS ratings recorded service users' lowest functioning during the preceding month.

3. Results

3.1. Sample

The study sample's characteristics are shown in Table 2. The continuously distributed data including age, length of illness, GAS and relevant MARC-2 scores' distributions were inspected visually and were normal.

The population were predominantly male with an ethnic distribution typical of outer London. Mean age was 47.82 years. A mean of 20.94 years of service use and a mean of 1.35 admissions in the preceding two years suggested a population with long term problems. A mean GAS score of 38.91 and past formal Mental Health Act status in 63.4% suggested a severely disabled population. The main diagnosis was schizophrenia (70.72%). Most were single (65.1%), lived alone (38.6%) or with non-family (30.1%) in their own homes (67.8%).

The study population was demographically similar to those in comparable research (Phelan, Wykes, & Goldman, 1994; Phelan et al., 1995). Fifty percent were within the GAS range of having "serious symptomatology" and being "unable to function in most areas". Compared with large-scale studies (n = 3000; Huxley et al., 1999) the present study population was severely disabled and likely to experience unmet need.

There were no significant associations between SNQ full-scale totals and diagnosis, gender, onset age, ethnicity, marital status, previous two years admissions, past Mental Health Act status or who people lived with. There were statistically significant correlations between higher levels of overall support needs for inclusion and health (SNQ totals) and increasing age (r = 0.28, p = 0.013), years ill (r = 0.40, p < 0.001) and years using services (r = 0.42, p < 0.001). These relationships might be expected clinically as the older members of the study population had spent many years living in long-stay hospitals.

Given the small sample size in this study it is not possible to be specific about gender or race effects on support needs.

3.2. Rater Independence

Small numbers of raters, each scoring different service users, can cause restricted variance in scores. Therefore it was important to establish whether SNQ scores resulted from a similar rating style across raters or genuine differences in service user characteristics. Otherwise it could be argued the psychometric tests applied are simply measuring the extent to which raters have a similar rating style.

To account for this, scatter plots of the distribution patterns of each rater's scores on each sub-scale, the SNQ total score and the GAS were compared. These patterns were inspected visually and compared across raters and against the combined raters' distribution of scores on the same measures. Visual inspection revealed no discernible shared distribution patterns, central tendency or other distribution features. Individual rater's patterns did not match each other's distribution patterns or the raters' collective distribution pattern. Numerical means, standard deviations and ranges were also visually examined producing the same results. The remaining psychometric tests were performed assuming ratings were likely to be independent and any properties found would result from the SNQ's capacity to measure service user characteristics not rating style.

Table 2. SNQ reference population demographics.

Factor	Mean	SD	Range
Age	47.82	13.65	24–76
Onset age	26.11	10.15	8–55
Years ill	21.86	13.78	1–51
Years using services	20.94	13.93	2–51
Last 2yrs admissions	1.35	2.12	0–12
GAS	38.91	13.56	11–81
Gender	53 Men (64.6%)	29 Women (35.4%)	
MHA status	52 Yes (63.4%)	30 No (36.6%)	
	Category	**Frequency**	**%**
Ethnicity	White British	70	80.0
	Afro-Caribbean	2	2.3
	British Asian	2	2.3
	Other/Don't Know	8	8.8
Diagnosis	Schizophrenia	57	70.72
	Paranoid Psychosis	2	2.44
	Manic Depression	8	9.76
	Psychotic Depression	3	3.66
	Anxiety/Depression	4	4.88
	Other	8	8.54
Status	Single	53	65.1
	Divorced	15	18.1
	Separated	3	3.6
	Married	6	7.2
	Widowed	5	6.0
Living situation	Alone	31	38.6
	Parents	11	13.3
	Spouse/partner	5	6.0
	Spouse/children	3	3.6
	Children/single parent	1	1.2
	Other family	6	7.2
	Non-family	25	30.1
Accommodation	Homeless	2	2.4
	Own home (unsupported)	25	32.1
	Own home (supported)	30	35.7
	Shared home	3	3.6
	Residential home	16	19.0
	Nursing home	6	7.1

3.3. Exploratory Analysis

Up to five missing items per sub-scale were replaceable with the same sub-scale mean. The total number of missing items at T_1 was 91 (T_2 = 94) from a total 13,120 data points (<1%). The SNQ full-scale total, all SNQ sub-scale totals and GAS scores were normally distributed, with non-significant results on the Kolmogorov-Smirnov goodness of fit test (Stephens, 1974) and visual inspection of box and whisker plots and histograms, thus allowing the use of parametric tests. There was slight positive skewing only on Community Presence, which when transformed with the formula Log_{10}(1+variable) produced a normal curve, using the above methods. Outliers were meaningful and included. Kurtosis appeared minimal using the above methods. No further formal testing was conducted.

Descriptive (pre-transformation for Community Presence) statistics for SNQ full-scale total and sub-scale totals at T_1, and the GAS are shown in Table 3. MARC-2 categorical problem severity levels were comparable with previous research (Huxley et al., 1999) with similar populations (see Table 7).

3.4. Internal Construct Validity

Two-tailed Pearson's "r" correlations between the SNQ sub-scale totals excluding the sub-scale criterion question score and the sub-scale criterion question score itself were all significant ($p < 0.001$) (n = 82) (Table 4). This result may present a way forwards for a short version of the SNQ. The criterion questions could be a potential source of items although such an instrument would have a very different purpose to that of the clinically comprehensive full version.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics for SNQ total, sub-scale scores and GAS ratings at T_1.

Scale (combined)	Full scale	Mean	SD	Range	Items	*n*
SNQ total (sub-scales 1–8)	1120	573.00	159.92	244–964	160	82
1. Community Presence	140	59.14	29.98	23–137	20	82
2. Community Participation	140	90.44	30.83	30–140	20	82
3. Choice & Control	126	66.97	25.74	22–124	18	82
4. Social Roles & Respect	133	73.50	22.65	25–123	19	82
5. Competence & Skills	147	77.02	26.15	27–143	21	82
6. Finance	140	72.80	31.54	20–136	20	82
7. Physical Health	147	60.85	20.61	21–117	21	82
8. Mental Health	147	72.26	16.41	36–116	21	82
GAS	100	38.91	13.56	11–81	(10)	82

Table 4. Internal construct validity and test-retest reliability for SNQ sub-scales and SNQ total.

SNQ sub-scales at T_1 (sub-scales 1–8)	*n*	Pearson's "r"	Pearson's "r" (2-tailed)	Sub-scale Items
		Internal Validity	Test-retest Reliability	*N*
1. Community Presence	73	0.83*	0.91*	20
2. Community Participation	72	0.84*	0.87*	20
3. Choice & Control	77	0.82*	0.89*	18
4. Social Roles & Respect	75	0.82*	0.90*	19
5. Competence & Skills	73	0.52*	0.92*	21
6. Finance	74	0.86*	0.93*	20
7. Physical Health	72	0.52*	0.88*	21
8. Mental Health	76	0.48*	0.88*	21
SNQ total (1–8 combined)			0.92*	160
SNQ (1–6 combined)			0.93*	118
SNQ (7–8 combined)			0.89*	42

Note: * $p < 0.001$ ($n = 82$).

3.5. Test-retest Reliability

Two-tailed Pearson's "*r*" product moment correlations between T_1 and T_2 were all significant at $p < 0.001$ ($n = 82$). Correlational test-retest reliability of the SNQ full-scale total was 0.92. Because different measurement scales are used in the first six and last two sub-scales their reliability and validity were calculated separately (Table 4). Correlational test-retest reliability for the first six sub-scales combined was 0.93, and the last two combined 0.89. The correlation between the SNQ full-scale total at T_1 and the first six sub-scales was 0.98, and 0.64 with the last two.

To determine any consistent mean score drift across raters, a two-tailed t-test was computed for each sub-scale, the combined first six and last two sub-scales (for the same reasons given above) and the SNQ full-scale total (Table 5). The first three sub-scales showed no significant drift. The remaining five sub-scales, the first six and last two sub-scales combined and the SNQ full-scale total showed small statistically significant downwards drift between T_1 and T_2.

3.6. Concurrent Validity

T_1 and T_2 SNQ full-scale totals, combined first six and combined last two sub-scale totals, and individual sub-scale total scores were significantly negatively (because they are calibrated in opposite directions) correlated with the GAS ($n = 82$) (Table 6).

Concurrent validity was explored further by comparing *a priori* determined conceptually related MARC-2 three-point categorical problem severity ratings (see Table 1) and T_1 SNQ total scores.

One-way ANOVAs (two-tailed) followed by Scheffé multiple range tests (Salkind, 2010) were used to distinguish significant differences between ratings on the categorical scales of the MARC-2.

SNQ total scores for people with severe problems (and moderate problems for personal care rated on the MARC-2) were significantly greater than scores for people with moderate and/or no problems in all domains except relationship problems (Table 7, upper section).

Conceptually related MARC-2 problem severity ratings and SNQ sub-scale scores were compared. One-way ANOVAs (two-tailed) followed by Scheffé multiple range tests were conducted to distinguish significant differences between categories.

In all instances people with severe problems (on MARC-2 categorical scores) had significantly higher support needs (SNQ sub-scale scores) than people rated with no problems on the MARC-2. In some instances people with severe problems also had significantly higher support needs than people with moderate problems. For others, people with moderate problems had significantly higher support needs than people without problems (Table 7, lower section).

Table 5. Test-retest reliability drift for SNQ total and sub-scales.

SNQ total & sub-scales	Mean T_1	Mean T_2	Mean Diff	SD	"t" (2-tail)	Df	*P*	n	Full Scale
1. Community Presence	59.15	57.82	1.33	13.31	0.91	81	0.367	20	140
2. Community Participation	90.44	88.15	2.29	15.68	1.32	81	0.190	20	140
3. Choice & Control	66.97	65.25	1.71	11.53	1.34	81	0.183	18	126
4. Social Roles & Respect	73.50	70.70	2.80	9.70	2.61	81	0.011*	19	133
5. Competence & Skills	77.02	73.65	3.36	10.50	2.90	81	0.005*	21	147
6. Finance	72.80	69.22	3.59	12.01	2.70	81	0.008*	20	140
7. Physical Health	60.86	58.22	2.63	10.16	2.35	81	0.021*	21	147
8. Mental Health	72.26	69.59	2.67	8.45	2.86	81	0.005*	21	147
SNQ total (1–8 combined)	573.00	552.62	20.39	61.78	2.99	81	0.004*	160	1120
SNQ (1–6 combined)	439.89	424.81	15.08	54.07	2.53	81	0.014*	118	826
SNQ (7–8 combined)	133.86	127.81	6.05	15.48	3.54	81	0.001*	42	294

Note: * $p < 0.05$ ($n = 82$).

Table 6. Concurrent validity of SNQ total and sub-scales with GAS using Pearson's "*r*".

Scale	GAS vs T_1 (*r*)	*p* (T_1)	GAS vs T_2 (*r*)	*p* (T_2)
SNQ total (1–8 combined)	-0.57	<0.001	-0.54	<0.001
SNQ (1–6 combined)	-0.56	<0.001	-0.53	<0.001
SNQ (7–8 combined)	-0.34	0.002	-0.38	0.001
1. Community Presence	-0.48	<0.001	-0.46	<0.001
2. Community Participation	-0.54	<0.001	-0.47	<0.001
3. Choice & Control	-0.45	<0.001	-0.75	<0.001
4. Social Roles & Respect	-0.52	<0.001	-0.65	<0.001
5. Competence & Skills	-0.54	<0.001	-0.49	<0.001
6. Finance	-0.37	0.001	-0.36	0.001
7. Physical Health	-0.38	<0.001	-0.39	<0.001
8. Mental Health	-0.24	0.03	-0.26	0.017

Table 7. MARC-2 problem severity rating scores versus SNQ full-scale total and sub-scale scores.

MARC-2 versus SNQ full-scale total (sub-scales 1–8)	"*F*"	*P*	*d.f.*	SNQ Mean for "None"	SNQ Mean for "Moderate"	SNQ Mean for "Severe"
Relationships	2.3456	0.1027	2,76	435	526	526
Homemaking	18.0290	<0.0001	2,77	411	481	608**
Occupation	7.3542	0.0012	2,77	412	476	559**
Self-Neglect	3.6510	0.0307	2,75	498	538	659*
Personal Care	14.0487	<0.0001	2,77	428	532*	608*
Finances	3.1928	0.0465	2,77	483	517	606*
MARC-2 vs SNQ sub-scales						
Relationships vs Community Participation	4.5147	0.0140	2,76	72	87	101*
Relationships vs Social Roles & Respect	5.3923	0.0065	2,76	57	72	81*
Homemaking vs Competence & Skills	22.8528	<0.0001	2,77	57	69	97**
Daily Occupation vs Social Roles & Respect	6.0866	0.0035	2,77	58	67	80**
Daily Occupation vs Competence & Skills	6.7116	0.0021	2,77	62	68	86**
Self-Neglect vs Physical Health	3.5200	0.0346	2,75	59	64	83*
Personal Care vs Physical Health	12.4880	<0.0001	2,77	48	63*	75*
Financial vs Finances	3.5900	0.0323	2,77	66	72	96*

Note: * significantly higher SNQ score compared to MARC-2 "none" score; ** significantly higher SNQ score compared to MARC-2 "moderate"; "none" scores.

3.7. Utility

To explore the SNQ's utility the principal researcher and the independent service user consultant directly observed raters' behaviour and obtained their verbal self-reports.

Raters said they were familiar with the SNQ and used it before service users' Lifestyle Planning reviews. They liked the format and the separation of scales into distinct constructs. They said the questions were highly relevant to their clinical practice. They showed interest in knowing how their ratings might compare with service users' and families' ratings.

Raters were concerned at completing all the sub-scales in one sitting without service user input. The research methodology was at odds with their usual practice of completing sub-scales singly with service users.

They said their approach would be better for individual person-centred planning as they routinely used the SNQ as a structured interview not a "test".

Raters took fifteen-twenty minutes to complete the SNQ reporting that it took longer in practice to fully involve service users in single sub-scale "discussions".

4. Discussion

4.1. Study Limitations

The main methodological challenge of the present study was the necessity to investigate a clinical assessment instrument in vivo. Service users' needs were rated by a small number of staff who knew them well enough to do so accurately. Each rater rated different service users. This did not allow for the measurement of inter-rater reliability which is a limitation.

Given these constraints the authors consider the present method a sufficient test of the above issues. A more ideal scenario would involve many raters rating the same service users. This might be possible in an Assertive Outreach Team because all service users should be well known to all team members (Cupitt, 2013).

Our use of the GAS should be noted. The GAS was developed in the late 1970s and has been superseded by the modified Global Assessment of Functioning (GAF: Hall, 1995). The GAF has modified criteria, better instructions and psychometric properties (Aas, 2011) designed to reduce biasing caused to the GAS's other aspects by its inclusion of symptomatology ratings. The GAF would have been better used in this study. However the service was using the GAS for other purposes and it was not possible to introduce an additional alternative assessment to validate the SNQ. We did however provide training to compensate for the GAS's reported low reliability. The GAF would be preferred over other GAS derivatives because they address the biasing issue by removing symptomatology ratings (e.g. the SOFAS: Morosini, Magliano, Brambilla, Ugolini, & Pioli, 2000) but we required these to assess the construct validity of the SNQ's Mental Health sub-scale.

The SNQ requires further item analysis to check for redundancy, and assess, and if necessary, increase internal consistency through the "alpha if item deleted" method (Raykov, 2008). This approach can reduce redundancy by indicating those items that can be removed where their deletion increases internal consistency. However a careful balance needs to be struck between developing a psychometrically valid instrument and maintaining a comprehensive clinical tool that facilitates collaborative, rich, clinical conversations about need. Likewise if the validity of the sub-scale criterion questions could be established this might lead to a psychometrically robust short-form of the SNQ, but its use would be limited to providing aggregated data for service evaluation purposes.

4.2. Which Needs Required What Levels of Support?

Aggregate population sub-scale profiles identified Community Participation as the highest support need, the mean rating being between "a fair amount of help" and "a good deal of help". The least support need was for Community Presence, the mean rating being "a bit of help". This is congruent with hospital closure studies that found physical integration was more successful than social integration (Knapp et al., 1992; Leff, 1995). It was likely that this population was deeply excluded. This would be consistent with many of the study population having lived in hospital for long periods.

Physical Health support needs were second lowest having a mean rating of less than "a bit of help". This could represent unrecognised need, as is often reported (DOH, 2006), or may be because this CMHT made physical health a priority.

4.3. Psychometric Evaluation and Implications for Future Research

The exploratory analyses of the SNQ full-scale and sub-scales revealed some good scale properties. Sub-scales showed normal distributions. There was good spread and no floor or ceiling effects. The SNQ was well calibrated for its reference population. It should be suitable for use with populations having a wider disability range.

There was no drift over time in scores on the first three sub-scales. The remaining five and the SNQ full-scale total showed small statistically significant but clinically insignificant downward drift.

Test-retest reliability of the SNQ full-scale total and all sub-scale totals was high and significantly correlated. However it would be appropriate to investigate test-retest reliability at the item level in future research.

In addition to item test-retest reliability, internal consistency analysis is required and is likely to show redundancy. Internal validity was good with the sub-scale criterion items showing possibilities for developing an SNQ short form if combined with an internal consistency analysis.

Concurrent validity for the SNQ full-scale total with the MARC-2 was good and comparable with an established needs assessment in mental health (Phelan et al., 1995) and good for the first five sub-scales. The Finance, Physical Health and Mental Health sub-scales had the lowest correlations with the SNQ full-scale total and only moderate concurrent validity with the GAS. Most sub-scales' internal validity was high. For Competence and Skills, Physical Health and Mental Health it was good.

No significant scale construction problems were identified in the first six sub-scales except relatively lower internal validity on Competence and Skills. The poorer internal validity for Physical and Mental Health may be due to using a frequency rating. However, it is

more likely this results from the greater diversity of concepts used in their construction compared to the more focussed SRV derived sub-scales. This requires further investigation.

The moderate concurrent validity with the GAS for the Finance, Physical and Mental Health sub-scales may also be due to the above. The most likely explanation however would be the conceptual dissimilarity of the Finance and Physical Health sub-scales to those of the GAS. The high concurrent validity for the Physical Health and Finance sub-scales with MARC-2 problem severity ratings on personal care and self-neglect supports this. The low concurrent validity for the Mental Health sub-scale remains a concern.

Concurrent validity for the Community Participation, Social Roles and Respect, and Competence and Skills sub-scales was also high compared to the MARC-2's conceptually similar problem severity ratings of relationships, homemaking and daily occupation problems.

The SRV derived sub-scales were designed to measure support to meet 'universal basic needs'. The problem identification scales were designed to measure support for meeting 'unique individual needs'. It would be interesting to conduct a factor analytic study to investigate whether the SNQ's underlying conceptual structure suggests the above is a valid separation of 'kinds of need'.

4.4. Utility

Raters completed the full item set in reasonable time but found scoring all sub-scales at once at odds with routine clinical practice. They said it seemed artificial without service user involvement. Their usual practice involved working through each sub-scale on a separate occasion with full user participation. They reported the most helpful method in guiding individual service planning was rating different sub-scales on separate occasions.

5. Conclusions

Within the context of necessary methodological limitations this study has demonstrated that the SNQ can differentiate between service users' relatively low support needs to achieve community presence and high levels for community participation (Knapp et al., 1992; Leff, 1995). The SNQ has good reliability and validity in most domains, especially those derived from SRV. Sub-scales not derived from SRV were weaker. The low concurrent validity with the GAS for the Finance and Physical Health sub-scales could be expected but not for the Mental Health sub-scale. In the latter two sub-scales using frequency to measure support, rather than amount per se, may have confounded the results.

To address the limits of the present study further research is warranted, including an investigation of any differences to be found in care co-ordinator and service user/carer ratings (Slade et al., 1996; Slade, Thornicroft, Loftus, Phelan, & Wykes, 1999), its internal consistency, inter-rater reliability; test-retest reliability at the individual item level and change sensitivity. Factor analysis and item reduction would be important for developing the SNQ as a research instrument, particularly as an outcome measure, although this would necessarily reduce its comprehensiveness as a clinical tool. Other areas for investigation should address respondent burden and obtain a more detailed subjective appreciation from staff, service users and carers.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Descendants of Hardship: Prevalence, Drivers and Scarring Effects of Social Exclusion in Childhood

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Abstract
The social exclusion of children is problematic for two reasons. Young people typically inherit their marginal position from their family, and therefore cannot be held responsible for their hardship themselves; and social exclusion in childhood may affect their wellbeing and subsequent development, possibly leading to a "scarring effect" in later life. In this contribution we develop an instrument for measuring social exclusion among children. Social exclusion is regarded as a theoretical construct with four sub-dimensions: material deprivation, limited social participation, inadequate access to social rights, and a lack of normative integration. First we analyse data from a survey of 2,200 Dutch children, which contains a large set of social exclusion items. We applied nonlinear principal components analysis in order to construct a multidimensional scale. Measured in this way, the prevalence of social exclusion among children is 4.5%. Boys and children living in large families are more likely to experience social exclusion than girls and children with few siblings. The parental level of education and dependency on social security benefits are also important driving factors of childhood social exclusion. Subsequently we investigate the scarring effect. Longitudinal administrative income and household data covering 25 years were combined with a new survey of just under 1,000 Dutch adults, a third of whom were poor as a child. The survey assessed their past and current degree of social exclusion, and their health and psychosocial development, educational career, past family circumstances, etc. In an absolute sense scarring turns out to have been limited during this period: a very large majority of those who were poor or excluded as a child are above the threshold values in adult life. However, the "descendants of hardship" are still more likely to be socially excluded as adults than people who grew up in more favourable conditions. A causal analysis suggests that low educational achievements are the main mediator of scarring risks.

Keywords
children; nonlinear principal components analysis; poverty; scarring effect; social exclusion

Issue
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1. Introduction

When social exclusion affects children, it tends to be regarded as a more serious social problem than when it occurs among adults. This may be partly a matter of principle on the part of policymakers, parents and the public at large. Typically, according to this view children cannot be held responsible for the social and cul-

tural problems they experience, as these mostly reflect the marginal position of their families and the institutional deficiencies of their society. Thus, socially excluded children are not regarded as the agents of their own misery, but rather as descendants of the hardships imposed upon them by their social environment. In more practical terms, social exclusion of children is often considered problematic because it is assumed to generate negative consequences for personal development, social integration and status attainment. In the short run, marginalised children may be hampered in their cognitive, social and emotional development, they may lag behind at school, and they may be unable to build positive social relationships with their peers. Over a longer period of time, social exclusion during childhood is presumed to translate into school dropout and low educational attainment, high unemployment and benefit dependency, poor job prospects, lower incomes and delinquent behaviour, thus ensuring the reproduction of social exclusion from one generation to the next. This is not only a loss for adults who may experience "scarring effects" as a result of the hardships they encountered in early life, in the sense that poverty and social exclusion may persist throughout their life course and possibly have other unfavourable outcomes such as a low level of education, low labour participation rate and poor health. It may also be suboptimal from a collective point of view: society may be worse off if social exclusion during childhood translates into a more limited development of human capital and work skills, lower productivity and labour market participation, higher crime and unemployment rates, higher social expenditure, more social unrest and less social integration.

Starting from these social policy issues, the Netherlands Institute for Social Research|SCP conducted a large-scale research programme on childhood social exclusion which addressed the following research questions:

- How should social exclusion be conceptualised in the case of children?
- Is it possible to operationalise index measures for social exclusion among children which cover the general construct and the theoretical subdimensions?
- What is the current prevalence of social exclusion among children in the Netherlands; and what are the main short-term driving factors?
- Do "scarring effects" occur among adults who experienced poverty and social exclusion as a child?

In the next section we will first discuss some conceptual issues. We then present our data and methodology before turning to the empirical aspects: index construction and the short and long-term analysis of social exclusion. In the final section we summarise our conclusions.

2. Conceptualising the Social Exclusion of Children

In general terms social exclusion refers to people who experience an accumulation of disadvantage in the society in which they live. It may be regarded as a specific form of social inequality: socially excluded people lag behind in terms of what it takes to be a fully fledged member of society. Conceived in this way, social exclusion has been linked to people who fall behind structurally in terms of resources, such as migrants and the marginalised urban underclass (e.g., Lewis, 1969; Wilson, 1987), but also to cultural conflicts between insiders and outsiders in small communities (e.g., Elias & Scotson, 1965). The retrenchment measures that many nations introduced with regard to social security and health care from the 1980s on (Levy, 2010; Pierson, 1996) led to a re-emergence of social exclusion as a policy theme, as these reforms made it more likely that vulnerable people would fall behind the rest of society. This may have been reinforced by the rise in migration, the growing importance of educational credentials in job allocation, and new information technologies that people with limited skills may not be able to master. In its Europe 2020 programme, the EU expressed the goal of reducing the number of people who are at risk of poverty or social exclusion (AROPE) by 20 million (European Commission, 2011). A monitoring instrument was developed for this purpose which combined relative poverty, severe material deprivation and work intensity at household level (Eurostat, 2014).

In their literature review, Jehoel-Gijsbers (2004) and Vrooman and Hoff (2013) point out that research into social exclusion among adults was mostly inspired by two theoretical schools: an Anglo-Saxon line and a French tradition (see also Fahey, 2010; Hills, LeGrand, & Piachaud, 2002; Øyen, 1997; Pantazis, Gordon, & Levitas, 2006; Room, 1997). The Anglo-Saxon tradition had its roots in the notion of "relative deprivation": the idea that people typically regard themselves as badly off or well-to-do compared to others they deem important (their reference group). This became a key tenet of American functionalist sociology (e.g., Merton & Rossi, 1968), and in Britain it was a central element in the work of Runciman (1966) and Townsend (1979). This British school favoured an objective approach in terms of social indicators: it emphasised the empirical analysis of social exclusion, mainly regarded as a form of relative material deprivation. The French tradition, on the other hand, harks back to the work of Durkheim (1897), especially where he tries to explain suicide in terms of "anomie" (normlessness: a condition in which a society or community provides little moral guidance to its members). When unemployment rose in France during the 1970s and 1980s, and new social assistance

legislation was introduced, the concept of social exclusion became a key issue in the French policy debate (cf., Paugam, 1996). Here the socio-cultural meaning of the term was stressed: social disintegration and an inability to maintain social relations. This was mostly linked to the demise of traditional solidarity at family and community level, and a lack of effective social rights on the part of the national state.

From this literature review Jehoel-Gijsbers (2004) and Vrooman and Hoff (2013) concluded that social exclusion theoretically relates to four different dimensions. Two of these are forms of socio-cultural exclusion, in line with the French tradition. *Limited social participation* means that people maintain few contacts with others, have small social networks, and show low social engagement. *A lack of normative integration* occurs when people fail to comply with the dominant norms and values of their community. Two other dimensions derive from the Anglo-Saxon tradition and may be labelled as structural-economic. *Material deprivation* implies that people experience certain deficits, which may be reflected in a lack of basic goods and services for financial reasons, debts, payment arrears, etc. Finally, *inadequate access to basic social rights* occurs when people do not attain essential minimum standards: lack of adequate health care, insufficient educational achievements, and no proper living environment.

Seen from this perspective, social exclusion theoretically occurs if someone is deprived simultaneously on several of these dimensions. In principle, we consider social exclusion and social inclusion as two sides of the same coin. While social inclusion may have stronger connotations of agency—as in governments or the European Union trying to combat social exclusion through policy measures, or organisations claiming to stimulate the careers of ethnic minorities, women or disabled people—there is no logical reason why intervening actors should not be part of the theoretical framework of social exclusion. Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman (2007) state that in analysing the roots of social exclusion one should theoretically include the agents that bring about or solve the phenomenon. This may include various levels: individuals who exclude themselves or solve their own problems (e.g., deciding not to apply for a job, or fervent job-seeking behaviour); businesses and welfare organisations which exclude or include their clients (e.g., by denying someone a bank account because of the postcode in which they live, or by helping women to realise their rights); and communities and (supra)national governments, through the way they treat insiders and outsiders, or attribute legal rights and duties. From this point of view, the concept of social inclusion has little added value, and may even be considered as a case of linguistic amelioration (that is, the opposite of a pejorative expression).

On the other hand, in our theoretical framework we consider it important to distinguish social exclusion from poverty. Sen (1992, p. 109) famously noted that poverty is about "the failure of basic capabilities to reach certain minimally acceptable standards". Poverty is therefore about impossibilities: it makes it difficult to realise the things people generally aspire to at a minimal level. Social exclusion, on the other hand, relates to a lack of "functionings", or actual realisations, in terms of social participation, normative integration, material deprivation and social rights (Sen, 1993, 2000; Jehoel-Gijsbers, Smits, Boelhouwer, & Bierings, 2009, pp. 17-18, 23-24). Money, wealth and other economic resources can be regarded as capabilities that matter in attaining these functionings; and poverty is therefore a risk factor with regard to social exclusion. However, other risk factors (health, level of education, job status) may be involved as well; and theoretically a person may be socially excluded without being poor—and vice versa—as shown in the rather weak correlations often found in empirical studies (e.g., Devicienti & Poggi, 2011; Saraceno, 2001; Whelan, Layte, & Maître, 2004). Poverty theoretically also differs from material deprivation, one of the dimensions of social exclusion. A low income generally makes it difficult to attain the minimum necessities of one's community, while material deprivation refers to an actual lack of consumption. Obviously, persons of small means are likely to be materially deprived, but this is not necessarily the case; for instance, they may be receiving gifts from relatives or partly live off of the land. Finally, material deprivation is only one of the four dimensions of social exclusion. This implies that materially deprived people need not score high on social exclusion: they may partly compensate for their material lack if their social participation is high, if they show high normative integration, or if they have extensive social rights guaranteed by their community or state (e.g., free health care).

While there is an extensive literature on childhood deprivation and its possible impacts (cf., Bradshaw, Hoelscher, & Richardson, 2007; Bradshaw, Martorano, Natali, & Neubourg, 2013; Forrest & Riley, 2004; Gregg & Machin, 1999; Hobcraft, Hango, & Sigle-Rushton, 2004; UNICEF, 2007), the meaning of social exclusion among children is often taken for granted. This is apparent, for example, in various studies which relate the concept to the socio-psychological basis of peer group rejection among teenagers, or to the neurobiological roots and impact of isolation and ostracism among children (Crowley, Wu, Molfese, & Mayes, 2010; Gunther Moor et al., 2012; Hawes et al., 2012; Sebastian, Viding, Williams, & Blakemore, 2010). In this type of research the theoretical meaning of social exclusion among children tends to be left unclear, and its essentially sociological nature is often discarded. In other instances, social exclusion among children is mostly linked to material conditions and little information is provided about trajectories during the life course (see, however, Abello, Gong, Daly, & McNamara, 2012;

Bäckman & Nilsson, 2011; Peruzzi, 2014).

In the current project we presume that, theoretically, the social exclusion concept is the same for children, but that it will be necessary to develop specific indicators which allow for their different needs and social contexts. For children "social participation" does not consist of the degree of social engagement and professional or social networks, but rather of things like hosting birthday parties or playing with friends. Normative integration for adults is likely to refer to work ethic and honesty, while for young people it might be more evident to look at things such as truancy, being suspended from school and delinquent juvenile behaviour (petty theft, vandalism). While payment arrears on rent or mortgage may indicate that adults are materially deprived, in the case of children it would probably make more sense to assess whether they are unable to take part in school trips because of lack of money. And finally, while among adults the dimension "access to basic rights" concerns aspects such as housing, health care and social security, for children it would be more logical to study whether they grow up in a safe neighbourhood, are able to follow the education they want, etc.

The operationalisation of social exclusion for the specific case of children was one of the main elements of the project discussed here, known by its Dutch acronym ASOUK (Poverty and social exclusion among children). We built upon previous work conducted at the Netherlands Institute for Social Research|SCP over the past decade on measuring social exclusion in adults using questionnaires. In its original form the instrument consisted of 72 variables, divided into subscales for the four theoretical sub-dimensions (Jehoel-Gijsbers, 2004; Jehoel-Gijsbers & Vrooman, 2007). Later versions contained fewer items (e.g., Jehoel-Gijsbers & Vrooman, 2008a, 2008b), and Vrooman and Hoff (2013) recently developed an improved and shortened index consisting of 15 items, with three to four indicators for each of the theoretical elements of social exclusion (see also Hoff & Vrooman, 2011). According to this instrument, just under 5% of the adult Dutch population were faced with a serious degree of social exclusion. The adult social exclusion index was also validated in Turkey (Bayram, Bilgel, & Bilgel, 2012) and in a large-scale Dutch health survey (Van Bergen, Hoff, Van Ameijden, & Van Hemert, 2014). As a follow-up to a joint methodological project by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research|SCP and Statistics Netherlands (Jehoel-Gijsbers et al., 2009), Couman and Schmeets (2014) also performed an analysis of the index. This was based on the 2010 Dutch EU-SILC module and resulted in a similar prevalence. The project discussed here is the first to study social exclusion among children from the perspective of these four theoretical dimensions simultaneously, both in the Netherlands and elsewhere. This applies to both the cross-sectional and the longitudinal parts of the current paper.

3. Data and Methodology

In order to answer the first empirical research questions—index construction, prevalence and driving factors of social exclusion—the project started out with a random sampling frame consisting of 40,000 children living in private households, within the age range of 5–17 years in 2008. This was developed by Statistics Netherlands, who also linked each child to its parent(s) or caretaker(s) using the Municipal Personal Records Database. Subsequently parental income data (over 2006) were linked from the Social Assistance Database and the Integral Wages and Benefits Database. From this enriched database Statistics Netherlands then drew a stratified sample of 4,151 children, with an overrepresentation of poor children in households in receipt of social assistance benefit, other poor children, and children from non-Western ethnic minorities. This sample was subsequently provided to Intomart|Gfk, which performed the fieldwork using computer-aided personal interviews. Separate questionnaires for children and their parents were developed by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research|SCP. This included elaborate testing through cognitive interviews. The net response to the final questionnaire was 54% (2,202 completed parent/child interviews). Statistics Netherlands calculated weights based on the original sampling frame, correcting for oversampling and selective response. After weighting, the final sample (ASOUK'08) may be considered representative for the entire population of Dutch children aged 5-18 years; it combines the data from the survey and several administrative databases. Jehoel-Gijsbers (2009, pp. 84-93) and Roest, Lokhorst, & Vrooman (2010) provide more detailed accounts of the data-gathering procedure. The data were also used to assess the ex ante effects of proposed changes in Dutch child income schemes (Hoff & Soede, 2013). The unit of analysis is at individual child level. The survey has been placed in the public domain through the Netherlands Data Archiving and Networked Services (DANS).

In order to analyse scarring effects the ASOUK project used a further combination of administrative data and a dedicated survey (see Guiaux, Roest, & Iedema, 2011 for a more elaborate discussion). The large-scale Income Panel Survey (IPO), developed by Statistics Netherlands and based on data from the Dutch tax administration and other government organisations, was the starting point for the analysis of scarring effects. This administrative panel has been running since the mid-1980s, and currently covers about 94,000 households containing 272,000 persons. IPO makes it possible to assess income sources and levels, household composition, age, etc., and changes therein over a period of more than a quarter of a century. The advantage of the panel is that it is large, accurate (no self-reports) and non-selective (no panel attrition because people no longer wish to participate). However, the da-

ta are obviously limited to what is recorded in the administrative sources, and therefore do not contain information on a number of background variables (such as education) or on social exclusion. Statistics Netherlands provided a sample of 2,068 people who were aged 8–12 years in 1985, in order to gather additional information. The age limits were set in this way because we wanted to analyse a homogeneous primary school group, with sufficient but comparable potential exposure to scarring. Of this group—at the time of the survey aged 32–36 years—996 persons participated in a computer-aided personal interview conducted by Intomart|Gfk in 2009, a response rate of 48%. About a third of the original sample lived in a poor household as a child; the remainder were non-poor. Statistics Netherlands corrected for the oversampling of poor children by providing weights based on the sampling frame. After weighting, the sample may be considered representative for all children aged 8–12 years living in independent households in the Netherlands in 1985. As adults they provided retrospective information about their situation during three life stages: when they were between 8 and 12 years old, between 13 and 18 years old, and in adult life. For all three phases the degree of social exclusion was established and they were asked about the kind of upbringing they had experienced, the education followed, their health status, employment and unemployment, etc. For each survey respondent Statistics Netherlands linked the administrative data that were available from the Income Panel Survey. The unit of analysis is at the level of individual adults from two childhood poverty strata. The survey data were also deposited with DANS.

In order to construct social exclusion scales we used nonlinear principal components analysis. This technique reduces variables to a limited number of uncorrelated dimensions, but unlike classic PCA it also entails a process of optimal quantification. Here, categories are assigned numerical values in such a way as to maximise the accounted-for variance in the transformed variables (see Gifi, 1990; Linting, Meulman, Groenen, & Van der Kooij, 2007; Michailidis & De Leeuw, 1998). Compared to classic PCA, the nonlinear variant has several advantages, mostly because it is able to handle nominal, ordinal and numerical data and does not assume a linear relationship between variables. In the SPSS software package we used, the technique is known as CatPCA. For structural equation modelling the MPlus package was used.

4. Index Construction

As mentioned earlier, the operationalisation of social exclusion has been adapted in order to reflect the specific contexts that children experience. This not only implies that we posed questions reflecting those aspects of social participation, normative integration, material deprivation and access to social rights that were meaningful to children; the questionnaire also had to take account of the fact that children aged 5 years live in different settings from 12 or 16 year-olds. For that reason, some questions were varied according to age, and others were only posed to older children. Appendix A contains an overview of the items we used in the current analysis; Roest et al. (2010) provide a more detailed account. In constructing our indices, we started out by performing nonlinear principal components analyses for three age categories: all children aged 5–17 years, the group over 8 years of age, and the 12+ group. The fact that various questions could not be posed to the very young children (5–7 years) soon turned out to be a major limitation. For instance, they were not questioned about their Internet contacts, an important element of participation among older children; and they only had one item for normative integration. This made it impossible to construct reliable (sub-)indices for this age group.

The choice between the two remaining age categories was less clear-cut. If we were to confine ourselves to young people aged between 12 and 18 years, we would maximise the number of items. This implies in particular that a more reliable scale is available for "normative integration''. The category aged 12 years and over were presented with fourteen items for this sub-dimension, of which nine items remained, with a high internal consistency and clearly relating to defective behaviour (e.g., theft, vandalism, burglary, beating up others). The younger age group only had to answer four items about bullying and problems at school, with only two items remaining. On the other hand, this would result in an instrument with smaller coverage—only relating to children of secondary school age—and the number of cases would drop by 800 if we were to discard children in the 8–11 age bracket, thus decreasing the power of our subsequent analyses. For these reasons we ultimately decided to base our index on the 8+ age group. Several items were excluded, as these applied to a rather small proportion (15% or less) of either the 8-11 year-olds or 12+ category, and the difference between the two age groups was statistically significant. This was the case for items on karting and going to a music festival or discotheque, for example.

Table 1 shows the results of CatPCA-analyses for the children and adolescents aged 8–17 years. The final scale for social participation contains twelve items, varying from taking part in sports and various recreational activities to contacts with friends. The normative integration scale, however, only consists of two items (bullying and being suspended) and has low reliability. The dimension "access to social rights" contains seven items, but these mostly relate to play areas and places to meet other children. It is fairly reliable, but somewhat limited in its coverage: the questions about access to education (e.g., being denied entry) or safety in

the wider neighbourhood could not be included. Finally, the index for material deprivation consists of four items only; however, it is fairly reliable and seems wide enough in terms of validity, as it refers to both basic provisions (a separate bedroom, a suitable place for doing homework) and items of a more luxurious nature (having a mobile phone, an iPod). It should be noted that the general quality of life of Dutch children is quite high. They rank first on UNICEF's overall index of child well-being in 21 developed countries, especially in terms of subjective well-being, health and safety; for instance, the Netherlands has the second-highest percentage of young people who report that they eat breakfast on every schoolday (UNICEF, 2007). This implies that "harder" indicators of material deprivation, such as malnutrition, tend to have limited variance in the Netherlands (at least among the non-hospitalised children studied here), and these were not included.

In order to construct a general social exclusion scale, the object scores of the four sub-dimensions were added together and standardised so as to obtain a summary measure with an average of zero and unity standard deviation. The internal consistency of the scale is acceptable: 0.65 is slightly below the usual norm of 0.70, but this reflects the multidimensional nature of the social exclusion concept. Figure 1 shows the distribution thus obtained for children on the general social exclusion index.

Table 1. Scales for four sub-dimensions of social exclusion (CatPCA, children aged 8−17 years; n = 1782)[a, b].

	Component loadings
Lack of social participation (α=.75)	
Takes part in a sport (no)	.41
How often to the zoo ((almost) never)	.41
How often to an amusement park ((almost) never)	.44
How often to a museum ((almost) never)	.40
How often to the theatre ((almost) never)	.47
How often to the cinema ((almost) never)	.49
How often to a bowling game ((almost) never)	.49
How often to an ice skating rink ((almost) never)	.47
Invite friends to home (never)	.68
Playing with friends, visiting friends (never)	.65
Invited friends for last birthday party (no)	.57
Going to friends' birthday parties (never)	.65
Lack of normative integration (α=.20)	
Bullying others (often)	.65
Suspended from school, sent home by way of punishment (often)	.83
Limited access to social rights (α=.84)	
Sufficient play areas/meeting places in the neighbourhood (no)	.71
Play areas/meeting places sufficiently safe (no)	.70
Play areas/meeting places often damaged (yes)	.74
Play areas/meeting places well-equipped (no)	.77
Safe route to play areas/meeting places (no)	.77
Play areas/meeting places kept clean (no)	.75
Enough going on in the neighbourhood for children/youngsters (no)	.50
Material deprivation (α=.43)	
Has a separate bedroom (no)	.57
Has a suitable place to do homework (no)	.68
Has a mobile phone of his/her own (no)	.62
Has an iPod (no)	.54

Notes: [a] In parentheses: response indicative of social exclusion; [b] The complete list of items is presented in appendix A.
Source: ASOUK'08 data set.

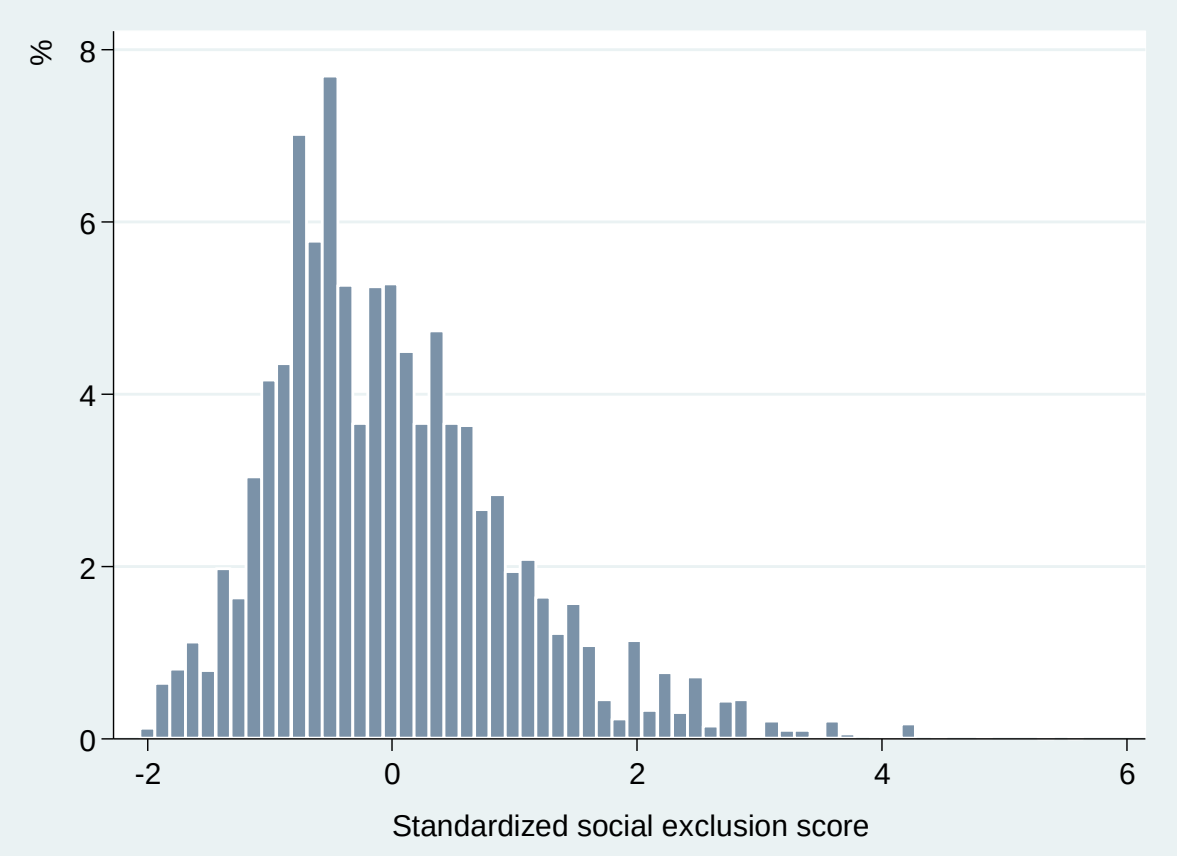

Figure 1. Distribution on the general social exclusion scale for Dutch children aged 8-17 years (CatPCA object scores, weighted sample). Source: ASOUK'08 dataset.

Table 2. Relationships between sub-dimensions and the general social exclusion index for Dutch children (Pearson correlations, weighted sample).

Scale	Lack of social participation	Lack of normative integration	Limited access to social rights	Material deprivation	General social exclusion scale
Lack of social participation	1.00				
Lack of normative integration	0.13**	1.00			
Access to social rights	0.05*	0.03	1.00		
Material deprivation	0.11**	-0.00	-0.11**	1.00	
General social exclusion scale	0.60**	0.54**	0.51**	0.44**	1 .00

Notes: * Significant at $p < 0.05$; ** Significant at $p < 0.01$. Source: ASOUK'08 data set.

Table 2 presents the correlations between the subscales and the general index. It turns out that the overall child social exclusion scale is fairly strongly related to all four sub-dimensions ($0.44 < r < 0.60$). This supports our assumption that the subscales each cover a different aspect of social exclusion. Furthermore, the subscales cannot be reduced to each other: the correlations are generally quite low ($0.00 < r < 0.13$). The weak relationships between the subscales and their strong correlation with the general index corroborates our theoretical notion of social exclusion as a multidimensional concept.

5. Prevalence and Driving Factors of Social Exclusion

Since social exclusion is essentially a relative phenomenon, and our general index is a continuous one, there is no natural threshold which separates the excluded from the non-excluded. In a recent study among Dutch adults we defined threshold values based on gaps that appeared when the distribution on the social exclusion index was plotted against that of subjective feelings of social exclusion (Vrooman & Hoff, 2013). This method cannot be used here, because in the present survey we did not ask about children's subjective feelings of social

exclusion, the content of the social exclusion items differs, and of course the target group of children is quite different.

In order to assess the prevalence of social exclusion we therefore assumed that children with a score equal to or below the mean of the general index may be considered to be not or barely socially excluded. For children with scores above the mean value we defined further cut-off points at one, two and three or more standard deviations above the mean. Table 3 shows the results of this classification into prevalence categories, both in terms of the (weighted) shares of all children, and their absolute numbers.

Table 3. Prevalence of social exclusion among Dutch children, 2008 (in percentages and absolute numbers; general index, weighted sample).

Degree of social exclusion	%	n (x 1000)
Not or barely excluded (equal to or below mean=0.00)	56.6	968.9
Slightly excluded (0.01−1.00)	29.2	499.3
Somewhat excluded (1.01−2.00)	9.8	167.5
Excluded (2.01−3.00)	3.5	59.7
Very excluded (3.01 and higher)	1.0	17.6

Source: ASOUK'08 data set.

Based on our chosen threshold values, 43% of Dutch children may be considered socially excluded to some degree. In most cases this concerns lighter forms of exclusion, but 4.5% can be regarded as excluded or very excluded, corresponding to about 77,000 children aged 8–17 years. In an alternative coding scheme, we divided the range between the theoretical minimum and maximum scores on the index in five equal categories. This led to a lower estimate, with 1.9% of the child population being excluded or very excluded. The difference is due to the fact that the highest empirical scores are considerably below the theoretical maximum: none of the children in our sample attained maximum social exclusion on all 25 items.

With regard to the four subscales, we followed the same procedure as previously (Table 4). Just over 4% are excluded or very excluded in terms of social participation (sports, excursions and contacts with friends); but more than 40% show weaker forms of exclusion in this respect. About 3% of the children are excluded or very excluded as regards lack of normative integration, as indicated by bullying and experiencing disciplinary measures at school. Three-quarters of all children exhibit hardly any defective behaviour of this kind. Exclusion in terms of access to social rights is fairly common, with over 6% of children being excluded or very excluded. However, it should be borne in mind that this subscale relates to the presence of safe, well-equipped and clean play and meeting areas for children. Although this is quite a relevant aspect of their living environment, it does not necessarily imply large deficits in terms of health care or access to education. Finally, about 4% of all Dutch children in the 8–17 age range are excluded or very excluded in terms of material deprivation: they tend to lack a bedroom of their own, a suitable place to do homework, a mobile phone or an iPod. On the other hand, two-thirds are not or barely excluded in this respect.

5.1. Links between Social Exclusion and Risk Factors

Earlier research into social exclusion among adults has identified several risk factors, such as poor health, low subjective well-being, being of non-Western ethnic origin and single parenthood (Jehoel-Gijsbers & Vrooman, 2007, 2008a; Vrooman & Hoff, 2013). The bivariate relationships in Table 5 indicate the risk factors for children, and this is largely in line with the results found for adults earlier. Children whose parents are without work or on benefit, or who have a lower education level or are in poverty, are more likely to be socially excluded. Poverty was measured on the basis of SCP's "modest but adequate" criterion—the number of people with a standardised disposable income below a national budget standard based on a combination of expert opinions and consensual methods, as recommended by Bradshaw and Mayhew (2010); see Soede and Vrooman (2008); Vrooman (2009, pp. 344-426); Hoff et al. (2010) and SCP/CBS (2014). Boys, children of non-Western ethnic origin and children living in large families are also at higher risk of social exclusion. On closer inspection, the gender difference turns out to be due to less social participation and less normative integration among boys. Regional effects are limited (not shown in table): we only found a significant difference between the northern and western regions of the country (NUTS-1 level; largest cities excluded). Social exclusion is somewhat higher in the provinces of Groningen, Friesland and Drenthe, while children living in the western provinces (outside Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) experience less social exclusion. However, the data do not contain information at the level of individual municipalities or neighbourhoods.

After correcting for the impact of other variables, the direct effects of some factors are no longer statistically significant, while the effects of several others become weaker. The most dominant traits that emerge from the multivariate analysis are parental level of education and benefit recipiency of at least one of the parents. The number of siblings and the child's gender also remain influential. Taken together, these characteristics explain 13% of the variance in the social exclusion scale.

Table 4. Prevalence of four aspects of social exclusion among Dutch children, 2008 (in percentages; subscales, weighted sample).

	Lack of social participation	Lack of normative integration	Limited access to social rights	Material deprivation
Not or barely excluded (equal to or below mean=0.00)	54.7	75.8	67.3	65.7
Slightly excluded (0.01−1.00)	30.2	20.2	23.9	26.3
Somewhat excluded (1.01−2.00)	10.9	0.9	2.6	3.9
Excluded (2.01−3.00)	3.3	0.9	2.6	2.8
Very excluded (3.01 and higher)	1.0	2.2	3.6	1.3

Source: ASOUK'08 data set.

Table 5. Relationships between the general social exclusion scale and various risk factors among Dutch children, 2008 (standardised regression coefficients of dummy variables, weighted sample).

	bivariate	multivariate
Gender		
- girl	Ref.	Ref.
- boy	.13**	.14**
Age		
- 8-11 years	Ref.	Ref.
- 12 years or older	-.05	-.06
Ethnic origin		
Dutch	Ref.	Ref.
Foreign, non-Western country	.16**	.07
Foreign, Western country	-.03	-.03
Parent lives with spouse		
- no	Ref.	Ref.
- yes	-.08*	.02
Number of siblings		
- none	Ref.	Ref.
- 1	.01	.03
- 2	.08	.09
- 3	.07	.07
- 4 or more	.16**	.13**
Highest level of education of parents		
- lower secondary or less	Ref.	Ref.
- higher secondary	-.18**	-.10*
- tertiary	-.26**	-.16**
Main source of income at household level[a]		
- wages and salaries	Ref.	Ref.
- business profits	-.04	-.04
- social security benefit	.19**	.06
- other	-.02	-.02
At least one parent in work[b]		
- no	Ref.	Ref.
- yes	-.17**	.03
At least one parent on benefit[b]		
- no	Ref.	Ref.
- yes	.22**	.13*
Child is part of poor household[a]		
- no	Ref.	Ref.
- yes	.11**	.04

Notes: [a] Register data 2008; [b] Self-report by parent; * Significant at $p < 0.05$; ** Significant at $p < 0.01$. Source: ASOUK'08 data set.

Roest et al. (2010) performed a more elaborate multivariate analysis on the same dataset using structural equation modelling (although register data for 2008 were not available at the time). Their findings suggest two pathways towards social exclusion in childhood. The first route consists mainly of financial/economic characteristics: poverty and being out of work lead to material deprivation on the part of parents, which in turns leads to social exclusion of the children. As parents of non-Western origin and those who live alone are more likely to be without paid employment, they are also at greater risk of poverty and material deprivation, which translates into higher social exclusion among their offspring. In addition, there is a social/cognitive route: parents with a low level of education are more likely to experience social exclusion themselves (especially in terms of low social participation), and controlling for all other factors in the structural model, this is a direct determinant of social exclusion in their children. The two pathways identified by Roest et al. (2010) thus indicate rather intricate causal mechanisms. However, because the coefficients are statistically significant but rather low, and also become diluted the further back they are located in the causal chains, there is no single parameter that policymakers can use in seeking to combat social exclusion during childhood.

6. Scarring Effects of Poverty and Social Exclusion?

In line with our theoretical conceptualisation, we drew a distinction between poverty and social exclusion in the study of scarring effects in the ASOUK project. The administrative data allowed us to carry out a detailed analysis of the "reproduction of poverty" from childhood through to adult life. The same definition of poverty was used as in the prevalence study discussed earlier. This analysis showed that, of those people who were living in a poor family as a child in 1985, 7% were still poor as adults in 2008. This may seem rather low, but their poverty risk is almost twice as high as for those who were not poor during childhood, only 4% of whom were poor in 2008. In addition, the adult poverty risk increases if childhood poverty occurred during an extended period of time: people who were poor as a child in both 1985 and 1989 had a 15% risk of being poor as an adult in 2008. Even so, in both cases the majority of people who grew up in poverty were not poor as adults. Poverty during childhood therefore does not automatically imply that those concerned are destined for poverty in later life, at least not in the Netherlands during the period studied in the ASOUK project (Guiaux et al., 2011).

For the three periods in the life of the respondents examined in the scarring effects study, the social exclusion scales diverge from those discussed in the previous section (see Table 6). These differences stem from the need to pose retrospective questions with regard to childhood experiences, and from limitations on the number of items that could be included in the questionnaire. Appendix B lists all scale items for the various ages of our respondents.

Poverty during childhood also increases the risk of social exclusion, both as a child and in later life. The main differences in social exclusion between poor and non-poor children relate to the areas of social participation and material deprivation. Children growing up in a poor family usually did not go on holiday every year, and lacked certain luxury (or even basic) goods. Also, joining a sports club or participating in other social activities was often out of the question in poor families. In some cases, these differences remained in adulthood. However, growing up poor did not affect the other two theoretical aspects of social exclusion: people who were poor in early childhood did not show deficits in terms of normative integration and access to social rights when they reached adolescence or in their adult lives. However, there is a small effect of long term childhood poverty (being poor in both 1985 and 1989) on access to social rights in 2008.

The routes linking poverty and social exclusion during childhood and in later life are presented in a more formalised way in Figure 2. This shows the outcomes of the structural equation model, as estimated in MPlus. It contains the main effects only: a host of other variables gathered in the survey (also mostly translated into scales) were not included because they were insignificant in statistical terms or could not be regarded as mediating factors.

Table 6. Social exclusion scales available in the scarring effects study.

	As child 8-12 years	As child 13-18 years	As adult
Respondent	Lack of social participation	Lack of social participation	Lack of social participation
	Material deprivation	Material deprivation	Material deprivation
		Lack of normative integration	Lack of normative integration
		Limited access to social rights	Limited access to social rights
			General social exclusion index
Parent	Lack of social participation		
	Material deprivation		

Source: Guiaux et al. (2011).

The latter include the number of siblings and changes in household composition (e.g., parental divorce); family climate and parenting skills (consistent behaviour, mutual respect, aggression, cleanliness); parental involvement at school and their support in social activities (attending school plays and sports contests); parents' ability to help with homework for Dutch, English and mathematics; the reading climate (number of books in the household, reading at bedtime); language proficiency (speaking standard Dutch, a local dialect or a foreign language at home); the occurrence of physical or mental illness, disability and unemployment of the parents during the respondent's youth; being bullied at school; being a young parent, etc. The full questionnaire is available in Dutch at www.scp.nl (appendices to Guiaux et al., 2011). The final model as presented here includes those variables that:

a) were potential mediators between poverty/social exclusion in childhood and adult life (as indicated by significant bivariate correlations with both phases); or
b) were correlated with childhood poverty and social exclusion but logically preceded it (e.g. the parent's ethnic origin or education level), implying that it might be a "deeper cause"; and
c) remained significant in the multivariate structural equation model (see Guiaux et al. 2011 for a more detailed discussion, and Appendix C for an overview of the standardised total effects of all model variables).

Two main routes can be distinguished. First, poor children have less access to socioeconomic resources, leading to less participation in all kinds of social activities during their childhood and, as a result of this, to a lower education level. This in turn adversely affects their labour market prospects and income position as an adult. The second route operates via health: poor children more often have health problems, which increases the risk of being unhealthy as an adult. Because of their relatively poor health, they also attain a lower education level, and this again adversely influences their chances on the labour market.

As Figure 2 shows, educational attainment is a central factor in both routes from childhood to adulthood as regards poverty and social exclusion. The role of education actually starts a generation earlier: if the child's father has a low education level, it is more likely that his children will grow up in poverty and that their educational attainment will also be lower. More importantly, there is a strong direct effect of the father's education.

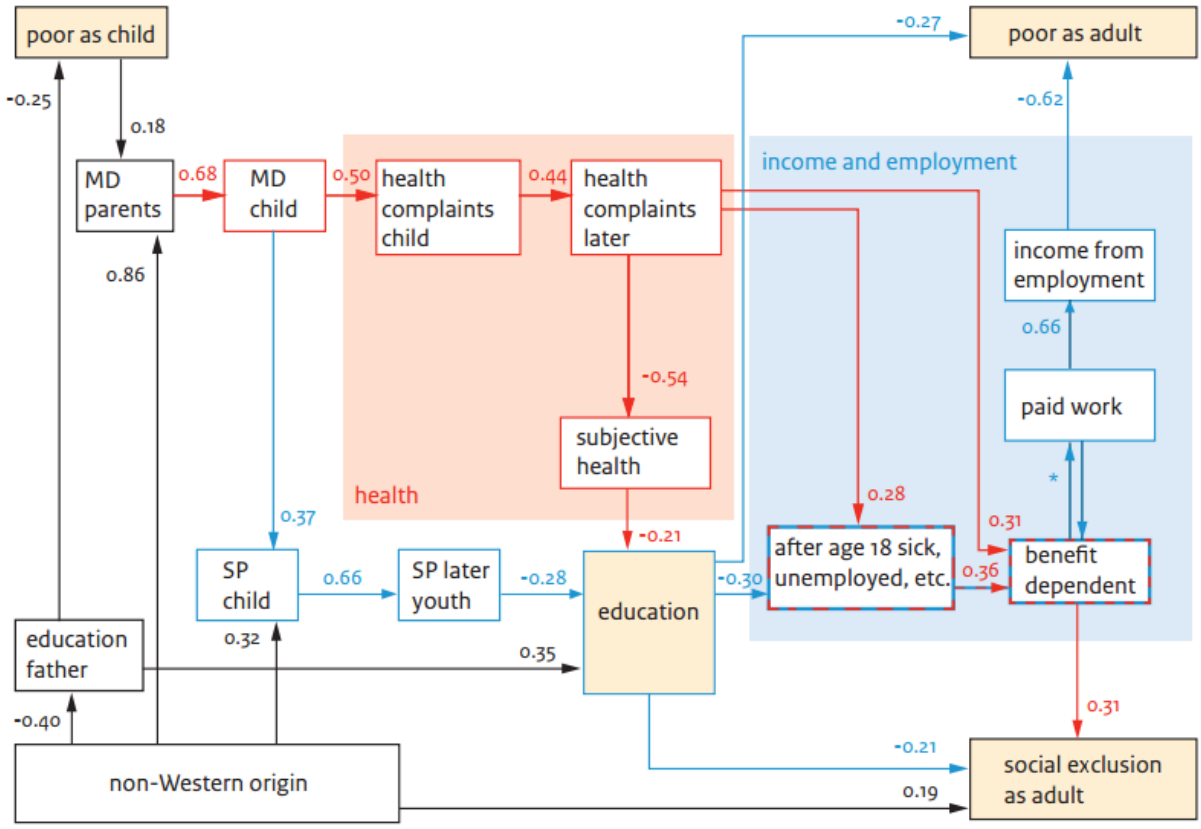

Figure 2. Routes from poverty and social exclusion in childhood to adult life (main standardised effects). Notes: MD = material deprivation; SP = social participation ; * The unstandardised effect was constrained to be equal in the model; after standardisation the parameter values are unequal: paid work = -0.56 (benefit dependent); benefit dependent = -0.08 (paid work). Source: ASOUK'09 data set; Guiaux et al. (2011).

Another important characteristic is the person's ethnic background. A non-Western origin increases both the risk of poverty in childhood and the likelihood of social exclusion in adult life. People of non-Western origin were more often poor as children, experiencing more material deficits and less social participation in their youth. Eventually, this translates into a higher degree of social exclusion.

Whereas education, work, health status, ethnic origin and social participation are crucial in determining poverty and social exclusion in adult life, other characteristics are found to be less important (Guiaux et al., 2011). For instance, there is no independent effect of the family climate: although there is more aggression and a less calm and regular atmosphere in poor families, this does not increase the risk that poor children will develop into poor and socially excluded adults.

Overall, this study shows that poverty in childhood translates to only a limited extent into poverty and social exclusion in later life. However, the 7% of poor children who are still poor in adulthood seem to be indicative of scarring, although the model suggests this is an indirect effect and one that to a large extent depends on preceding factors (father's education, ethnic origin). Policy interventions to combat scarring effects should probably focus on improving the educational attainment of poor children, their health and their social participation. Children with low-educated fathers, with parents of non-Western origin and parents without work need extra attention in this respect.

7. Conclusions

This article provides an overview of the outcomes of a large-scale research project conducted in the Netherlands on social exclusion and poverty among children. The first research question we addressed in this study was how to conceptualise social exclusion in the case of children. Here, we posited that social exclusion is theoretically related to the same four dimensions as for adults: limited social participation, a lack of normative integration, inadequate access to basic social rights, and material deprivation. However, as children differ from adults in their experiences, the meanings of these dimensions are likely to be different as well. The translation of the theoretical dimensions into a measurement instrument appropriate for children was one of the key aims of the study conducted by Roest et al. (2010). This resulted in indicators relating to aspects such as playing with friends (social participation), being suspended from school (normative integration), growing up in a safe neighbourhood (access to basic social rights) and taking part in school trips (material deprivation). For the current study we used these and similar indicators to construct a new index for social exclusion.

A second research question was whether it is actually possible to construct an instrument to measure social exclusion among children, which covers both the general construct and the sub-dimensions using new survey data. In order to answer this question, we first performed nonlinear principal components analyses for each of the sub-dimensions. This resulted in a scale for "limited social participation" consisting of twelve items focusing on contacts with friends and recreational activities. For the sub-dimension "lack of normative integration" the analysis produced a two-item scale, relating to bullying others and suspension from school. "Limited access to social rights" was covered by seven items, relating to the presence and safety of playgrounds and meeting places for children and adolescents. Finally, the scale for material deprivation, the fourth dimension of social exclusion, consisted of some items referring to basic provisions, such as having a separate bedroom and luxury goods such as a mobile phone. Together, these 25 items made up a general scale with acceptable internal consistency. As would be expected with a multidimensional concept, we found rather weak relationships between the subscales, and fairly strong correlations with the general index.

The third research question was concerned with the prevalence and driving factors of social exclusion among children in the Netherlands. Based on the 25-item scale produced and our chosen cut-off points, 43% of Dutch children were found to be socially excluded to some extent. While for most of them the degree of social exclusion is rather low, 4.5% may be considered to be excluded or very excluded. This corresponds to about 77,000 children aged 8–17 years in the Netherlands. One of the main driving factors for social exclusion is the parental level of education: children whose parents attained no more than lower secondary school level are more likely to be socially excluded than those with better educated parents. Another factor which affects the likelihood of being excluded is whether the child lives in a family where one or both parents are receiving social security benefits.

The final research question concerned the "scarring effects" of poverty and social exclusion. The longitudinal ASOUK study covered a period of 23 years, and combined register data on income and household characteristics with a new survey, conducted among adults who were either poor on non-poor as a child. As regards poverty, scarring turned out to be limited (a large majority of poor children were non-poor as adults) but not entirely absent (poor children were at considerably greater risk of being poor as adults). However, structural equation modelling indicates that child poverty has only limited effects on social exclusion in adolescence (and then only in terms of material deprivation and lower social participation); and this, in turn, has rather modest and indirect effects on poverty and social exclusion in adult life. Scarring due to childhood poverty and social exclusion occurs, then, but its effects are mediated by children's educational

achievements; and here we also found a strong direct effect of the father's level of education.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Survey items on social exclusion among children

Inadequate social participation
Items (brief description; response indicating exclusion in parentheses)
Takes part in a sport (no)
Takes part in sports activities organised by a community centre or the local council (no)
Takes swimming lessons (no, also not signed up)
Is a member of the Scouts (no)
Participates in activities through a church:
- church choir (no)
- altar boy (no)
- discussion group (no)
- Bible lessons (no)
- homework supervision (no)
- computer course (no)
- sports (no)
- other activities (no)
Participates in activities through a mosque:
- lessons in Arabic or Turkish language (no)
- lessons about Islam and the Koran (no)
- homework supervision (no)
- computer course (no)
- sports (no)
- other activities (no)
Takes music lessons (no)
Takes singing lessons (no)
Member of a choir (no)
Member of an orchestra (no)
Member of a music group or a rap group (no)
Participates in dancing, ballet or jazz dance (no)
Participates in street dancing (no)
Takes drawing or painting lessons or handicrafts (no)
Member of a drama club (no)
Member of a circus school (no)
Member of a draughts or chess club (no)
Member of a photography or cinema club (no)
Participates in school trips, excursions, outings (never)
Participates in after-school activities:
- homework class (no)[a]
- playing computer games or taking a computer course (no)
- sports (no)
- music (no)
- drama (no)

- drawing, painting or handicrafts (no)
- dancing, ballet or jazz dance (no)
- street dancing, rap group (no)
- typing course (no)[a]
- other activities (no)

Goes to play areas or meeting places:
- playground or street corner (no)
- park, playing field or soccer pitch (no)
- skating track, bicycle cross-country track (no)
- community centre or youth centre (no)

Uses the computer to / for:
- e-mail ((almost) never)[a]
- chat ((almost) never)[a]
- MSN ((almost) never)[a]
- Hyves or other social networking site ((almost) never)[a]

Frequency of going to …:
- the zoo ((almost) never)
- a fair ((almost) never)
- the circus ((almost) never)
- an amusement park ((almost) never)
- a museum ((almost) never)
- a music festival or pop concert ((almost) never)
- the theatre (also for musicals or cabaret) or a concert hall ((almost) never)
- a discotheque or ballroom dancing ((almost) never)
- karting, paintballing or laser games ((almost) never)
- the cinema ((almost) never)
- a bowling game ((almost) never)
- climbing wall ((almost) never)
- ice-skating rink ((almost) never)
- community centre or youth centre ((almost) never)

Went on holiday last summer (no)

Went to a camp last summer holiday (no)

Went on a young persons' vacation week last summer holiday (no)

Contact with family members (less than once a week)

Has really good friends (none)

Has sufficient good friends (no)

Invites friends to own home (never)

Playing with friends, visiting friends (never)

Invited friends for last birthday party (no)

Going to friends' birthday parties (never)

Notes: [a] Item was not presented to children aged under 8 years, [b] Item was not presented to children aged under 12 years.

Inadequate normative integration

Items (brief description; response indicating exclusion in parentheses)
Bullying others (often)
Thinks that good school grades are important (not at all)[a]
Suspended from school, sent home by way of punishment (often)[a]
Skipped school (yes, often)[b]
In the past 12 months:
- took things from a shop without paying (very often) [b]
- applied graffiti to walls or bus shelters with paint or felt-tip pen (very often)[b]
- damaged road signs, lampposts or bus shelters (very often)[b]
- set fire to something on purpose (very often)[b]
- bought something knowing it was stolen (very often)[b]
- stole something from pupils or others at school (very often) [b]
- stole money from parents' purse (very often)[b]
- committed burglary (very often)[b]
- threatened to beat up someone (very often)[b]
- beat someone up (very often)[b]

Notes: [a] Item was not presented to children aged under 8 years, [b] Item was not presented to children aged under 12 years.

Inadequate access to basic social rights

Items (brief description; response indicating exclusion in parentheses)
Sufficient play areas/meeting places in the neighbourhood (no)
Play areas/meeting places sufficiently safe (no)
Play areas/meeting places often damaged (yes)
Play areas/meeting places well-equipped (no)
Safe route to play areas/meeting places (no)
Play areas/meeting places kept clean (no)
Enough going on in the neighbourhood for children/youngsters (no)
Enjoys school (not at all)
People are bullied at school (yes, often)
People are bullied in the neighbourhood (yes, often)
Is bullied him/herself at school or in the neighbourhood (yes, often)
Has been rejected for a training course (yes, more than once)[b]
Has been rejected for trainee post (yes, more than once)[b]
Has been rejected for a (holiday) job (yes, more than once)[b]

Notes: [a] Item was not presented to children aged under 8 years, [b] Item was not presented to children aged under 12 years.

Material deprivation

Items (brief description; response indicating exclusion in parentheses)
Has a separate bedroom (no)
Has a bike of his/her own (no)
Has a suitable place to do homework (no)
Has a games computer of his/her own (no)
Has a mobile phone of his/her own (no)
Has an MP3 player (no)
Has an iPod (no)
Takes presents to friends' birthday parties (never)

Notes: [a] Item was not presented to children aged under 8 years, [b] Item was not presented to children aged under 12 years.

Appendix B

Items in scales on social exclusion as a child (aged 8−12 years and 13−18 years, retrospective) and as an adult (aged 32−36 years)

Inadequate social participation of the parents when the child was 8−12 years old (retrospective)
Items (brief description)
Parents did not engage in voluntary work
Parents seldom or never went out
Parents seldom or never visited friends
Parents seldom or never invited friends to their home
Little or no diversity in contacts[a]

Note: [a] The diversity in contacts reflects the level of engagement in voluntary work by the parents, going out, and visiting and inviting friends.

Material deprivation of the family when the child was 8−12 years old (retrospective)
Items (brief description)
Family did not go on holiday every year
The family situation was humble or poor
Family had to economise
Essential goods lacking in household[a]

Note: [a] Of the following 13 items, at least seven were lacking: telephone, car, garage, washing machine, tumble dryer, dishwasher, refrigerator, camera, slide projector, television, piano, fireplace and central heating.

Inadequate social participation as a child aged 8−12 years (retrospective)
Items (brief description)
Did not take part in a sport
Was not a member of a sports or hobby club
(Almost) never went to the zoo, an amusement park, etc.
Had few or no good friends
Little or no diversity in contacts or activities[a]
Never invited friends to own home
Never visited friends
Never invited friends for birthday party

Note: [a] The diversity in contacts reflects taking part in a sport, club membership, going on a trip, and having friends.

Inadequate social participation as a child aged 13−18 years (retrospective)
Items (brief description)
Did not take part in a sport
Was not member of a sports or hobby club
(Almost) never went to the zoo, an amusement park, etc.
Had few or no good friends
Little or no diversity in contacts or activities[a]

Note: [a] The diversity in contacts reflects taking part in a sport, club membership, going on a trip, and having friends.

Material deprivation as a child aged 8–12 years (retrospective)
Items (brief description)
Did not have a separate bedroom
Did not have a bike of his/her own
Did not regularly get new clothes and shoes
Did not have suitable sports clothing
Did not take part in a sport or was not a member of a hobby club for financial reasons

Material deprivation as a child aged 13–18 years (retrospective)
Items (brief description)
Did not take part in a sport for financial reasons
Was not a member of a hobby club for financial reasons
Did not follow further education for financial reasons
Received less education than wished for because of the costs

Inadequate normative integration as a child aged 13–18 years (retrospective)
Items (brief description)
Regularly or often skipped school
Was sometimes suspended from school, sent home by way of punishment
Was suspended from school permanently
Committed burglary, bought a stolen item or stole from others
Applied graffiti to walls, damaged bus shelters or set fire to something in the street
Sometimes beat someone up or threatened to do so
Had several friends who were in trouble because of an addiction or criminal behaviour
Was (or a member of the household was) a police suspect
Appeared (or a member of the household appeared) in court as a suspect

Inadequate access to basic social rights as a child aged 13–18 years (retrospective)
Items (brief description)
Unsafe upbringing: came into contact with child welfare work
Unsafe upbringing: came into contact with centre for child abuse
Unsafe upbringing: came into contact with Child Welfare Council
Neighbourhood where the family lived at age 13-18 had a bad reputation
Neighbourhood at age 13-18 had worse reputation than at age 8-12
Wanted more or different education
Education interrupted several times

Inadequate social participation as an adult (32–36 years old)
Items (brief description)
Does not engage in voluntary work
Is not member of a sports or hobby club
Rarely or never goes out
Rarely or never meets friends, family or co-workers in free time
Does not or not often go to church
Little or no diversity in contacts[a]

Note: [a] The diversity in contacts reflects the engagement in voluntary work, membership of a club, going out, frequency of contact with family, friends and co-workers, and going to church.

Material deprivation as an adult (32–36 years old)
Items (brief description)
Difficulty making ends meet
Payment arrears
Insufficient income for basic needs (clothing, hot meals, a week's holiday, etc.)
Lacks items such as a car, dishwasher or computer for financial reasons
Unable to meet an unexpected but necessary purchase of 1,000 euros
Has been in contact with a municipal credit bank in the past five years

Inadequate normative integration as an adult (32–36 years old)
Items (brief description)
Thinks it is not important to work hard
Thinks it is not important to work in a precise and well-organised way
Thinks it is not important to be thrifty
Thinks it is not important to be honest
Does not agree that everybody who is able to should work
Thinks it is not important to do one's best at school
Thinks it is not important to complete your education
Agrees with living on benefit rather than having a job
Agrees that it is OK for people in receipt of social assistance benefit to moonlight

Inadequate access to basic social rights as an adult (32–36 years old)
Items (brief description)
Would like to move house within two years
Dissatisfied with home or residential environment
Feels unsafe at night in the neighbourhood
Experiences trouble from people living in the neighbourhood
People in the neighbourhood do not get on well
Neighbourhood has a bad reputation
Did not receive help from the authorities when asked for it
Has at times been rejected as a customer by a bank or mail order company

Social exclusion as an adult, general index (32–36 years old)[a]
Items (brief description)
Inadequate social participation:
- is not a member of a sports or hobby club
- rarely or never goes out
- little or no diversity in contacts[a]
Material deprivation:
- difficulty making ends meet
- payment arrears
- unsufficient income for basic needs (clothing, hot meals, a week's holiday, etc.)
- lacks items such as a car, dishwasher or computer for financial reasons
- unable to meet an unexpected but necessary purchase of 1,000 euros
Inadequate access to basic social rights:
- dissatisfied with home or residential environment
- people in the neighbourhood do not get on well
- neighbourhood has a bad reputation
- did not receive help from the authorities when asked for it
- has at times been rejected as a customer by a bank or mail order company

Note: [a] The subscale on inadequate normative integration did not fit into the general index and was therefore not included.

Appendix C

Standardised estimates of all model variables on social exclusion and being poor in adult life

	Social exclusion as adult	**Poor as adult**
	Bèta	Bèta
Model variables depicted in the graph		
Poor as child	0.01	0.01
Material deprivation child	0.09	0.07
Material deprivation parents	0.07	0.06
Social participation child	0.08	0.09
Social participation later youth (teenager)	0.12	0.14
Health complaints child	-0.01	-0.07
Health complaints later	-0.21	-0.14
Subjective health	-0.11	-0.07
Education	-0.32	-0.34
After age 18 periods of sickness, unemployment, disability	0.14	0.11
Currently benefit-dependent	0.37	0.24
Currently in paid work	-0.03	-0.43
Current income	0.00	-0.62
Education father	-0.11	-0.13
Non-Western origin parents	0.33	0.14
Model variables not depicted in the graph		
Level of current job	-0.08	0.00
Has had multiple jobs since age 18	0.01	0.07
Satisfied with current job	-0.16	0.00
Education partner	-0.08	-0.14
Partner has a job	-0.12	-0.21
Father worked full-time	-0.02	-0.01
Mother worked full-time	-0.01	-0.01
Education mother	0.01	0.01
Lived with both parents at age 8–12	-0.04	-0.02
Lived with both parents at age 13–18	-0.03	-0.02
Family climate	-0.04	0.00
Parents encouraged reading	0.00	0.00
Parents were involved in life of child	0.01	0.01
Parents were interested in activities of child	-0.02	-0.02
Child had good connection with father	0.01	0.01
Child had good connection with mother	0.02	0.02
Subjective health during childhood	-0.03	-0.02
Health mother when respondent was aged 8–12 years	-0.03	-0.01
Health father when respondent was aged 8–12 years	-0.01	-0.02
Well-being as a child	-0.05	0.00
General state of mind	-0.17	0.00

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Article

The Empirical Measurement of a Theoretical Concept: Tracing Social Exclusion among Racial Minority and Migrant Groups in Canada

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Abstract
This paper provides an in-depth description and case application of a conceptual model of *social exclusion*: aiming to advance existing knowledge on how to conceive of and identify this complex idea, evaluate the methodologies used to measure it, and reconsider what is understood about its social realities toward a meaningful and measurable conception of social *in*clusion. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual tools of social fields and systems of capital, our research posits and applies a theoretical framework that permits the measurement of social exclusion as dynamic, social, relational, and material. We begin with a brief review of existing social exclusion research literature, and specifically examine the difficulties and benefits inherent in quantitatively operationalizing a necessarily multifarious theoretical concept. We then introduce our conceptual model of social exclusion and inclusion, which is built on measurable constructs. Using our ongoing program of research as a case study, we briefly present our approach to the quantitative operationalization of social exclusion using secondary data analysis in the Canadian context. Through the development of an Economic Exclusion Index, we demonstrate how our statistical and theoretical analyses evidence intersecting processes of social exclusion which produce consequential gaps and uneven trajectories for migrant individuals and groups compared with Canadian-born, and racial minority groups versus white individuals. To conclude, we consider some methodological implications to advance the empirical measurement of social inclusion.

Keywords
Canada; methodology; secondary data analysis; social exclusion; social inclusion; Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics

Issue
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1. Introduction

The concepts of social exclusion and inclusion (SE/I), according to noted economist Amartya Sen (2000), have potential to "substantially help in the causal as well as constitutive analyses of poverty and deprivation" (p. 47). Yet in their application, the ideas of SE/I often lose their distinctive complexity. For example, it is common in research and policy literatures for social exclusion to be operationalized as a tally of people who lack secure attachments to the labour market, or whose incomes fall below a certain threshold (e.g., Esping-Andersen, Gallie, Hemerijck, & Myles, 2001; Roche, 2000). This "categorical point-of-view" (Good Gingrich, 2003), reflected in the highly criticized policies of the Social Exclusion Unit in the United Kingdom,

falls short due to its conservative and conserving emphasis on individual interventions to address large-scale social inequalities (Byrne, 2005; MacLeavy, 2008). However, given growing disparities both among and within nations, the need to move SE/I theory from ideas to indicators is urgent, as "what we measure shapes what we collectively strive to pursue—and what we pursue determines what we measure" (Stiglitz et al., 2009, p. 9).

Social exclusion scholars observe that its counterpart—social *inclusion*—is widely adopted as an indisputable social value and an inspired direction for social policy and human services. Social inclusion is often equated with *participation* in various social arenas, and interventions focus on increasing individual capacity for incorporation or integration. This ideal of social inclusion implies a "centre" or series of "centres" (Room, 1999; Sin & Chung Yan, 2003) that is inherently and universally beneficial, and mandatory insertion or voluntary engagement in this centre moves an individual from social exclusion to inclusion. In employment-based social welfare systems, for example, social inclusion is assumed to be achieved through paid work (Lightman, 2003). Yet an abundance of research shows that meaningful inclusion is not available for everyone through participation in the labour market, access to social services, or engagement in mainstream society, as these structures and social relations are exclusionary by design (Good Gingrich, 2006; Walcott, 2014). Some have argued that the best that is offered marginalized individuals and groups through insertion or participation in these centres is "unfavourable inclusion" (Sen, 2000) or "subordinate and disadvantaged insertion" (Munck, 2005). Thus, if social inclusion is to provide an innovative focus for tackling stubborn social problems, the empirical analysis of SE/I must examine the nature of the margins and the core (structures), as well as movement and relative positions in relation to them (dynamics). The primary objective of this article is to present an approach for using secondary data to develop measures of SE/I that can be applied beyond our case examples.

We begin with a brief review of existing empirical measures of social exclusion. Subsequently, we posit a conceptual model of SE/I that forms the basis of our indicators and statistical analyses. We then report on our empirical application of this conceptual model in three recent studies in which we used secondary data analysis of the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID), a national Canadian dataset. Specifically, we analysed labour market outcomes and trajectories of individuals and groups to demonstrate intersecting forms of social exclusion in Canada's labour market from 1996–2010. With our analytical priority on social structures and dynamics, our objective here is primarily descriptive rather than predictive or explanatory. Notably, we find racial minority status, along with immigrant status, to operate as defining social attributes in the dispossession and devaluation of material and symbolic forms of personal assets and in the production of social divides. Finally, drawing lessons learned from our own quantitative research and the literature, we conclude by proposing some directions for future research that is focused on further refining indicators and approaches for the measurement of social exclusion to inform social policies and services that effectively advance social inclusion.

2. Background Literature: Existing Measures of Social Exclusion and Inclusion

The majority of existing research on social exclusion is conceptual or qualitative in nature. Such studies provide rich narratives and powerful metaphors to document the compounding and cumulative effects of material and social deprivation, or the "double jeopardy" and "double binds" of social exclusion that reach well beyond simplistic measures of income and wealth (Good Gingrich, 2008, 2012). Within the theoretical literature, there is general consensus that the concept of social exclusion is characterized by the following distinctive features: it is multidimensional; dynamic; occurring in a particular time and place; relative (or comparative); structural, rather than individual, in its sources; relational, having to do with social processes; and its effects are interconnected and compounding (Farrington, 2001; Hyman, Mercado, Galabuzi, & Patychuk, 2011). From this research, it is clear that the ideas of social exclusion and inclusion point toward the complexities of the social world, and are thus used to refer to a wide variety of social and personal ills.

Over the past two decades, researchers have begun to quantitatively operationalize social exclusion. Early efforts relied heavily on familiar and well-used constructs, such as personal or household income and consumption below a poverty line (e.g., Giorgi & Pohoryles, 1999; Tibaijuka & Kaijage, 1995); intra- and international comparisons of uneven income distribution (see, for example, Glennerster, 2000; Stierle, Kaddar, Tchicaya, & Schmidt-Ehry, 1999); insecure labour market attachment (Esping-Andersen et al., 2001; European Commission, 1994); and substandard housing and homelessness (Ginsburg, 1997; Hobcraft, 2000).

Most recent studies operationalizing social exclusion in quantifiable terms use a combination of material and social indicators, thus emphasizing its multidimensional nature (e.g. Levitas et al., 2007; Nolan & Whelan, 2010; Pirani, 2013). While a few researchers focus solely on economic indicators (thus resembling poverty measures) for national or multi-national comparisons (Aldridge, Kenway, MacInnes, & Parekh, 2012; Lechman, 2013), others add subjective measures of social supports and civic involvement to objective conditions such as unemployment and dependency on wel-

fare benefits (Atkinson, 2000; Perri 6, 1996; Spoor, 2013). In Canada, Renahy, Alvarado-Llano, Koh and Quesnel-Vallée (2012) use the National Household Survey Pilot (2008) for a cross-sectional analysis of economic exclusion (as a subjective measure of material deprivation), income and health in four provinces. With a similar emphasis on multidimensional outcomes, Atkinson, Catillon, Marlier and Nolan (2002) propose a list of indicators and a process by which these measures can develop Europe's social agenda. As is common in this literature, Atkinson et al. (2002) do not provide definitions or a theoretical framework for "social exclusion" or "social inclusion", but rather "simply accept here the use of the terms as *shorthand* for a range of concerns considered to be important in setting the European social agenda" (p. 3).

Informed by the considerable refinement and increasing precision of quantitative measures of social exclusion that has occurred in recent decades, our research aims to make several unique contributions to this literature. First, the vast majority of research that attempts to measure social exclusion pertains to the European context, making it problematic for application in other regions of the world. Working in the Canadian context, we utilize a rich national dataset for our analyses. Second, the bulk of existing research focuses on static outcomes of discrete dimensions (e.g., Koti, 2010; Walker & Vajjhala, 2009), thus losing sight of the processes of social exclusion.[1] We exploit longitudinal data in our effort to trace social dynamics that function to keep people stuck in place. Third, perhaps corroborating claims that social exclusion language was "adopted to depoliticize poverty as far as income redistribution was concerned" (Veit-Wilson, 1998, p. 97), non-economic indicators are often limited to subjective experiences and self-reports (Hyman, Meinhard, & Shields, 2011; Michalos et al., 2011), minimizing the everyday/everynight realities (Smith, 1990) of social exclusion that we argue are ultimately material in consequence. Our concern is not the psychological experience (or feelings) of social exclusion apart and separate from the material realities, but rather our indicators are geared toward measuring *intersections* between individual subjective experience and structural material realities. Finally, in order to preserve the relative and relational qualities of the concept of social exclusion, we distinguished between *individual attributes* (such as race/ethnicity, sex, and birthplace) and *acquired capital* or symbolic assets (such as education, credentials, or language skills) to elucidate the social structures and processes that work to make groups and order society.

[1] One notable exception is a life-course analysis of social exclusion using an unusual longitudinal database in Sweden following individuals from birth to 48 years of age (Bäckman & Nilsson, 2011).

3. Theoretical Framework: A Conceptual Model of Social Exclusion

Our working definition of social exclusion is as follows: *The official procedures and everyday practices that function to produce, fortify, and justify economic, spatial, socio-political, and subjective divides* (Lightman & Good Gingrich, 2012). Processes of social *in*clusion, then, must move groups and societies toward the reconciliation of those divides.

Good Gingrich's (2006) conceptual model of SE/I is built on measurable concepts or indicators, and is designed to analyse the dynamics that work to strip individuals and groups of the various types of capital they possess. From this theoretical vantage point, social exclusion signifies a precise set of social processes that denies effective exchange of one's holdings—or capability (Sen, 2000)—and thus cuts off avenues for upward mobility. Thus, social exclusion—and inclusion—has to do with access to all sorts of available resources; but more importantly, outcomes are secured through processes that open or close access to legitimate means of accumulating and converting capital from subordinate social positions. The crucial mechanism through which the four forms of social exclusion are realized—economic, spatial, socio-political, and subjective—is the dispossession and devaluation of all types of capital in everyday social life.

According to sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, the social world is made up of multiple and diverse social *fields* and sub-fields, or arenas of contest and struggle (Bourdieu, 1990). A social field, analogous to a field of play in a highly competitive game of sport, is defined by its own *system of capital*, both material and symbolic, as individuals and groups compete for social and material goods that are effective and valued in that social field. The system of capital operates much like the rules of the game—the specific "perceptions, appreciations, and actions" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 261) that account for the means by which individuals get ahead, or fall behind; the taken-for-granted logic and beliefs that determine the distribution and worth of all available resources in a social field, including those that are economic, and those that need to be converted to have material value. In our research, we understand Canada's labour market to constitute a sub-field within the broader market-state social field that functions according to a precise and familiar system of values or laws—such as "self-interested calculation and unfettered competition for profit" and the "conservative glorification of individual responsibility" (Bourdieu, 2005, pp. 7, 11)—to reproduce its social organization.

Bourdieu defines three primary and broad species of capital, or "the energy of social physics" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 122) that provide the basic working elements

of social exclusion.[2] These types of capital, which are circulated and reproduced in everyday social relations and practices, are *economic, social, and cultural*. Building on Bourdieu's concepts, the intersecting four forms of social exclusion that we identify correspond with the composition and capacity (or symbolic power) of economic, social, and cultural capital held by and accessible to individuals and groups. Specifically, *economic exclusion*, associated with the dispossession of economic capital, can be represented by waged and non-waged income, employment variables, and measures of wealth or personal property. In Canada, economic gaps show up in disparate levels of income (Block, 2010; Couturier & Schepper, 2010), earnings (Elrick & Lightman, 2014; Frenette & Morissette, 2003; Yalnizyan, 2007), wealth (Osberg, 2008; Zhang, 2003), housing conditions (Johnston, 2013; Kim & Boyd, 2009), and affordability of basic necessities (Kerstetter, 2009; Lightman, Herd, & Mitchell, 2008). Social exclusion also works to deny and devalue economic and social capital to produce *spatial exclusion*, concentrating disadvantage that may or may not be associated with low levels of income, and is manifested when whole regions and communities experience abnormally high rates of poor health, infant mortality, and overall poor wellbeing (Ades, Apparicio, & Séguin, 2012; Gilbert, Auger, Wilkins, & Kramer, 2013); lack of available social resources, infrastructure, jobs, and political involvement (Zhao et al., 2010); and even low levels of subjective sense of belonging and trust (Reitz, Banerjee, Phan, & Thompson, 2009).

Socio-political exclusion has to do with the dispossession and devaluation of social and cultural capital, or the denial of social recognition and legitimacy in civic processes, laws and policies, and everyday interactions. Its outcomes can be evaluated in part through access to social benefits and health services, educational activities and credentials, occupational status and secure employment (apart from monetary measures), and recognized positions in public arenas (Fuller & Vosko, 2008; Raphael, 2010; Reitz & Verma, 2004; Wilson et al., 2009). Socio-political exclusion is also apparent in the *absence* of representation in official discourse and documentation. For example, it is well known that the most marginal in many societies—such as First Nations peoples, temporary residents, and unpaid workers—are often non-existent in national surveys, not eligible for public benefits, and unable to access fundamental human rights (Bowker & Star, 2001; Waring, 2013). The empirical analysis of *subjective exclusion*—an inherently dynamic construct as it denotes *process* more than outcomes—measures the ability (or inability) to translate these personal assets into upward mobility. Subjective exclusion is evidenced when non-material (or symbolic) forms of capital (e.g., strong social networks, education, work experience, and language skills) are not readily transferred to material capital for certain social groups. For example, studies consistently report that people who are both immigrants and non-white are more likely to have lower incomes and wages, even after working in Canada for decades (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Pendakur & Woodcock, 2010). Foreign work experience, specifically from "non-traditional source countries", is decreasingly valued in the Canadian labour market (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005); and women do not cash in on education and credentials to the same extent as men (Boudarbat & Connolly, 2013; Javdani, n.d.). In other words, individuals and groups may be denied access to all forms of capital, and even more cogent, the personal assets of those who hold small volumes of capital are afforded limited functional value in social exchanges. The making of kinds, or "group-making" (Bourdieu, 1985, 1987)—through the systematic dispossession and devaluing of material and symbolic forms of capital—is subjective exclusion, and it functions to keep people in place.

Each of the four forms of social exclusion is reported in discrete and sometimes incompatible or competing literatures. The concepts of SE/I permit the integration or transcendence of common disciplinary, methodological, and theoretical divides to examine *intersections* between forms of economic, spatial and socio-political exclusion that reinforce and self-sustain. Our theoretical framework shifts the familiar analytical and intervention focus from social exclusion as a category or kind of individual, to social exclusion as *structures* and *dynamics* that produce and organize groups in society. We propose a vantage point from which both the individual and the social—the micro and the macro—are situated as simultaneous and interacting objects of study. Drawing on Bourdieu's methodological approach to the empirical analysis of social structures (see for example Bourdieu, 1984, 2005) we utilize a two-stage approach to secondary data analysis. First, we examine the relative outcomes and trajectories of individuals, groups, and communities in Canada's labour market. Second, we ask what these findings tell us about the social structures and dynamics of the labour market social field. The overarching objective of the three studies described below was to refine our conceptual model through developing and testing social exclusion and inclusion indicators and statistical models designed to demonstrate specific patterns of inequality and something of the social mechanisms by which such structures are reproduced.

[2] We have extended Bourdieu's concepts of capital production and exchange to develop a conceptual model of social exclusion, as he did not apply his theory of social structures in this way. We have made every effort to preserve the integrity of Bourdieu's concepts and approach.

4. Operationalizing the Concepts of Social Exclusion and Inclusion: A Case Example

4.1. Methodology

Our indicators and statistical models are designed to both conduct comparative analyses of access to material and social assets in Canada's labour market and, subsequently, to trace the ability of individuals and groups to convert non-material assets (social and cultural)[3] into economic capital over time. Thus, we first briefly review our statistical findings in the traditional manner, focusing on significant differences between individual and group outcomes and trajectories. Then, we turn our analysis to social structures and dynamics. Following Bourdieu's lead, we use comparative analysis of our outcome variable to examine the distribution of economic and social resources in the labour market social field ("the structure of the field of production"), and the functional value of non-material assets for individuals and groups ("the mechanisms that determine its functioning") (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 17). For the three studies reported on below, we use secondary analysis of the micro data files of the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID), a representative survey collected by the Canadian government that focuses on labour market activity and income for individuals and families. The SLID was selected because the longitudinal nature of the data and the large and representative sample size were instructive in our efforts to analyse the economic and social trajectories of individuals and groups over time.

4.2. Developing Social Exclusion Measures

4.2.1. Our Independent Variables—Exploring the Making of Kinds

In keeping with our theoretical lens, we operationalized individual attributes, such as immigrant status, ethnicity and "visible minority" status[4], age, and gender as vigorous yet shifting codes of differentiation and schemes of valuation, or "cognitive structures" (Bourdieu, 1989). We note that social categories commonly used in survey datasets (such as immigrant status and ethnicity/race) are conventionally simplistic and falsely dichotomous. We theorized that these common social classifications are not given or natural in the social world, but rather are *produced* through processes and practices of social exclusion that work to systematically deny and devalue material and symbolic assets and serve to justify divisions and distance—gaps—between individuals and groups.

4.2.2. Our Dependent Variable—Tracing Economic and Social Trajectories

Aiming to demonstrate intersecting dynamics of social exclusion, we developed an Economic Exclusion Index as our explanatory measure to trace labour market outcomes and trajectories. Through our theoretical framework, our Economic Exclusion Index is not used as a single measure, but rather as an outcome (or dependent variable) that demonstrates all forms of social exclusion as they function in this social field.[5] Preserving the multi-dimensional character of social exclusion, an index allowed us to include a range of material and social indicators simultaneously. Specifically, for example, our indicators measure not only material resources or assets held by individuals and households, but also the quality of their economic activity (i.e., job precarity) in order to examine both economic and social trajectories in Canada's labour market. Using this index as our dependent variable, we analysed labour market outcomes and trajectories by social attributes to compare the relative influence of non-material assets and attributes.

Our completed Economic Exclusion Index comprises nine dimensions derived from combinations of existing variables in the SLID. The Index was uniformly weighted, as we had no theoretical justification for weighting one dimension more heavily than the other. Our Index deliberately encompasses a wide range of variables to capture divergent aspects of the dynamics

[3] Acquired forms of capital are often termed "human capital", especially in political and economic discourse. Bourdieu (2005) refers to this as a "vague and flabby notion", "heavily laden with sociological unacceptable assumptions" (p. 2) such as the "cult of the individual and 'individualism'" (p. 11). As such, it is unable to shed light on the "economic common sense", or the "socially constructed, and hence arbitrary and artificial" moral view of the world (p. 10) that feeds the structures and dynamics of social exclusion.

[4] The "visible minority" groupings were derived by Statistics Canada in 1991 in a multi-step process based on responses to questions on ethnic background, mother tongue and country of birth (Palameta, 2004). There is little or no evidence that this classification scheme corresponds to participants' self-identification or the social world, nor has it been updated to reflect demographic changes over the past three decades. We also recognize the contested nature of the term "visible minority" (e.g. Woolley, 2013). We use the term here because it is the label used in the SLID dataset.

[5] We identify this as an Economic Exclusion Index because the focus on employment and income in the SLID dataset limits our analyses to labour market structures and dynamics, which are crucial to the economic form of social exclusion in employment-based social welfare systems. We nonetheless attempted to exploit the dataset for the purposes of developing a multidimensional social exclusion index, and we included indicators that measure access to both material assets and social goods in the labour market.

of social exclusion, yet its Cronbach's alpha score of 0.76 demonstrated a sufficient level of internal consistency. Table 1 details the nine dimensions of our Index, including their level of measurement (individual, or at the economic family or household level), and their type of measurement (either scaled from 0–1 or dichotomous). We purposefully included variables measured at the economic family or household level as well as the individual level to capture a more complete picture of social exclusion, as research shows, for example, that household and personal finances often do not correspond due to gender inequality in families and cultures (Bennett, 2013).

Table 1. Economic exclusion index.

Dimension	Variable Operationalization	Level of Measurement
1. Individual Wages	Composite hourly wages were below the mean	Dichotomous
2. Economic Family Earnings	Earnings were below the mean	Scaled
3. Household Income	After-tax income was below the Low Income Measure (LIM)	Scaled
4. Transfer Income	Major source of income for the economic family is government transfers	Dichotomous
5. Home Ownership	Individual's dwelling was not owned by a family member	Dichotomous
6. Job Security	Individual had non-permanent employment or was not employed in the labour force	Dichotomous
7. Employment Adequacy	Hours worked for pay by the individual was less than full-time	Scaled
8. Multiple Job Holdings	Individual had multiple jobs per week where total earnings were below the mean	Scaled
9. Non-Wage Benefits	Individual had a job without a pension plan or was not employed in the labour force	Dichotomous

The first five dimensions of the index comprise somewhat standard economic measures, examining several aspects of income. However, we distinguish, to the extent possible, the source of income—whether from labour market engagement or government transfers, allowing for a more nuanced analysis of income as a measure of economic exclusion. The final four dimensions measure non-income related aspects of labour market engagement, and aim to encompass aspects of precarious employment, such as job permanence, part-time employment, and job benefits (Kogawa, Troper, & Wong, 2012; Vosko, Zukewich, & Cranford, 2003). In all cases, each dimension was scored so that a higher number demonstrated greater *ex*clusion, as our Index was measuring distance or trajectory disparities between groups.

4.3. Measuring Intersecting Forms of Social Exclusion in Canada's Labour Market

Below, we briefly outline selected findings for three distinct stages of our secondary data analysis, each of which we consider a crucial component of tracing and documenting the complexities and dynamics of the four forms of social exclusion in Canada. Our guiding research question was: *What is the structure of unequal outcomes and trajectories in the Canadian labour market, and what are the mechanisms of social exclusion that work to produce them?*

4.3.1. Cross-Sectional Analyses

Our initial efforts to measure social exclusion used descriptive statistics of the population and logistic regression to examine the influence of various attributes on economic and social outcomes in Canada's labour market. Controlling for years of schooling, our results demonstrate that gender, "visible minority" status, age, and length of stay in Canada were all strong predictors of economic outcomes and the quality of labour market engagement in 2009. For example, individuals in a household in which the major income earner was a woman, as well as recent immigrants to Canada (controlling for sex, "visible minority" status, time since immigration and years of schooling) had adjusted odds of being below the Low Income Measure[6] at least 2.5 times greater than those in the associated reference category (i.e., being in a household in which the major income earner was male, or being Canadian-born) ($p < .05$). As well, younger workers aged 18–29 had more than three times greater adjusted odds than individuals aged 30-49 to have earnings in the bottom quintile (roughly $12,300 or less) ($p < .05$). And individuals who identified as a racial minority had 40% greater adjusted odds of being unemployed over the long-term than non-visible minorities ($p < .05$) (Lightman & Good Gingrich, 2012).

[6] Statistics Canada calculated the Low Income Measure (LIM) as a dollar threshold that delineates low income in relation to the median income.

Next, we used our Economic Exclusion Index to describe and compare labour market trajectories of four social groups or cohorts in Canada (racial minority immigrants, white immigrants, racial minority Canadian-born, and white Canadian-born individuals) from 1996-2010. Figure 1 shows the proportion of each social group represented in the most excluded quintile, or the relative number of individuals that scored in the top 20% of our Index. In brief, our analysis demonstrated that racialised groups (both immigrant and Canadian-born) were most likely to be among the most excluded 20% throughout this time period, while white immigrants experienced consistently better labour market outcomes than white Canadian-born. Over the 15 years examined, racial minority Canadian-born endured deteriorating trajectories (or increasing social exclusion) in the labour market, while social and economic trajectories for all other social groups remained generally stable.

These descriptive analyses reveal key features of the patterns and mechanisms of social exclusion by which the social structures of Canada's labour market are produced. Through our theoretical framework, the disparities in labour market trajectories of racialised cohorts (both immigrant and Canadian-born) demonstrate selective processes of economic exclusion (or the divestment of material capital, such as income and wages) as well as some evidence of subjective exclusion (or the systematic devaluation of non-material forms of capital, such as education). We subsequently pursued a deeper examination of the intersecting forms of social exclusion through longitudinal analysis.

4.3.2. Growth Curve Analysis of Panel Data

In our longitudinal study, we positioned social attributes (racial minority group, immigrant status, sex, age, and region of residence) as independent variables to test their influence on individual economic and social trajectories over time. Using multi-level modeling, we included non-material assets (such as years of schooling, mother tongue as a proxy for language proficiency[7], and self-reported health) as additional independent variables in our model, aiming to measure differential conversion rates of these holdings to economic capital and advancement over time. This study utilized the most recent six-year panel of the SLID to measure labour market trajectories of individuals from 2005–2010.

[7] Improving language skills of immigrants has become a key "integration" strategy in Canada in recent years. Since the SLID dataset does not include variables to measure the effects of this form of cultural capital, we converted "mother tongue" into a dichotomous variable to indicate whether an individual's mother tongue was one of Canada's two official languages (English or French).

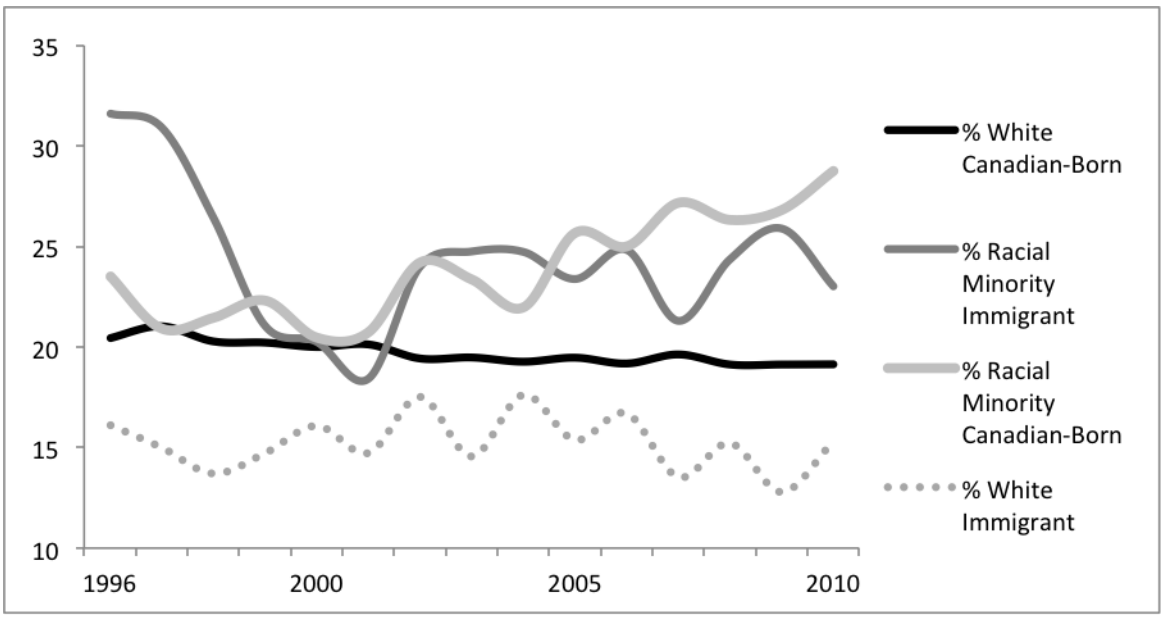

Figure 1. Representation of social groups by Top 20% (most excluded) of Economic Exclusion Index. Note: As this is an index of economic exclusion (and not inclusion), higher numbers on the graph indicate a worse scenario and greater exclusion.

Here, we found disparities among *and* within various groups of "visible minorities". Controlling for the social attributes and individual assets listed above, our results show that in 2005, at the beginning of the panel, Index scores relative to white individuals were more than 30 per cent higher for persons identified as Black, South Asian and Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Latin American and Oceanic. The entire population experienced a significant but very slight trajectory towards greater social exclusion during the course of the panel, with "Arab" individuals having a 50 per cent steeper trajectory toward increasing exclusion as compared to other groups. However, when compared with white individuals, trajectories for many racial minority group members (Black, Chinese, South East Asian, and South Asian) did not show significant change over time, indicating that those racialised groups who were relatively more excluded during the first year of the panel remained so over the course of the six-year survey. On its own, immigrant status (as a dichotomous variable)[8], apart from membership in a racial minority group, was not a significant predictor of labour market outcomes or trajectories. All reported findings were significant at the 95% confidence level.[9]

From a structural vantage point, our findings reveal that social exclusion dynamics in the labour market field function more intensely and persistently for most racial minority persons than for white individuals, both initially and over time, and irrespective of social and cultural holdings. Although falsely blunt as a dichotomous variable, our finding of non-significance for immigrant status is consistent with our cross-sectional results, suggesting that the more decisive axis of differentiation for social exclusion dynamics is physical appearance and specific racial markers. The Canadian labour market is thus evidenced to limit upward mobility for certain racialised individuals, thereby reproducing and reinforcing its structure according to socially-contrived racial/ethnic classifications. Furthermore, the model reveals that this social organization is achieved, at least in part, through the precisely unequal distribution of material and social resources in this social field. But more consequential, the data show uneven access to legitimate means of capital exchange and accumulation, whereby certain individuals are less able to translate their social and cultural assets into material capital, thus thwarting conventional strategies for upward mobility. Specifically, our results show that the education, credentials, and language skills held by a person identified with certain "visible minority" categories do not have the same symbolic power or exchange value as the same volume of cultural capital held by a white person. We argue that this demonstrates that the functional value of non-material forms of capital depends primarily on the precise ethno-racial attributes of its holder, thus refuting market logic of individual responsibility and competition, and undermining the moral imperative of progressive upward mobility via education, training and labour market participation. Although "visible minority" categorizations are socially constructed, they are effectively *made* in social relations by way of precise patterns of capital divestment and devaluation that are real and measurable. This is the dispossession of symbolic power, or subjective exclusion.

4.3.3. Analysis of Non-Response Rates

Finally, progressing from our cross-sectional and longitudinal research findings, we note that the empirical measurement of any theoretical concept is both impeded and facilitated by the weaknesses and limits of the data. Thus, in our third study we investigated non-response rates of specific social groups in the SLID dataset and found revealing trends. In order to maintain measurement consistency, and because we had concerns about the accuracy of using data imputation methods, we elected to include data only for individuals who answered all questions in all dimensions of our Economic Exclusion Index. However, we subsequently ran an analysis of the same four social groups from our cross-sectional analysis (see Figure 2) to measure their relative rates of non-response on one or more dimensions of the Index. Notably, Figure 2 shows that rates of non-response appeared to increase for all social groups over the 15 year time period; by 2010, all groups besides the white Canadian-born had non-response rates on our Index indicators of over 50%. Furthermore, it appears that, at least until the latter years of our analysis, all immigrants, regardless of racial minority status, were roughly 10% more likely not to respond to all dimensions of the Index than Canadian-born individuals. However, contradicting common explanations for low response rates that focus on cultural and language barriers for immigrants, we found that by the end of our analysis, Canadian-born racial minority individuals also show a marked increase in non-response.

A structural interpretation of these findings suggests that the same racialised social exclusion dynamics that result in outcomes of economic exclusion also make certain individuals and groups invisible. When combined with the divestment of material holdings, the nonrandom omission of individuals and groups

[8] In our growth model, we were unable to account for time since arrival in Canada due to inadequate sample sizes.

[9] Giving evidence to spatial exclusion, our findings show that individuals living outside of Ontario had higher Index scores than individuals residing in Ontario. These gaps diminished only marginally over the course of the panel. The dynamics of spatial exclusion may be more evident at the level of neighbourhoods or even buildings, but we were unable to parse to more specific geographic areas in our secondary data analysis due to inadequate sample sizes. We plan to further pursue this form of social exclusion in future research.

from official datasets and discourse is evidence of the dispossession of social and cultural capital, or the socio-political form of social exclusion. Whole groups of people are thus made meaningless. Such invisibility is consequential, as it operates to reinforce all other forms of social exclusion.

Collectively, these three studies reveal that although much can be mined from secondary data analysis, no one quantitative inquiry can examine complex social dynamics in their totality. However, using our theoretical framework as a guide to our empirical work, we put forward these analyses as evidence of both the possibilities and the challenges inherent in the meaningful measurement of SE/I.

5. Conclusions: Implications for the Development of Social Exclusion and Inclusion Measures

We conclude with three recommendations for future research based on our review of existing SE/I research and our own efforts (as detailed above) to operationalize these complex ideas.

5.1. Conceptual Clarity for Measuring SE/I—Assets and Attributes

The distinction between assets and attributes reveals fundamental assumptions about the social world that are expressed in the design of statistical models. Personal holdings or assets (material and symbolic) can function as predictors (independent variables) or outcomes (dependent variables) of social exclusion. Typically, we do not conceive of attributes as resulting from social exclusion, and therefore they are included in statistical models only as predictors or independent variables. Yet the relationship between assets and attributes is often very close: for example, mother tongue is an attribute, but language proficiency is a cultural asset that can be acquired. Which has the most influence in the dynamics of social exclusion remains an important empirical question, as the distinction is critical for effective policy and service design. When social attributes are found to account for divergent economic outcomes and trajectories despite the volume of personal assets, the defining issue is demonstrated to be social value rather than individual quantity of personal holdings. This is the subjective form of social exclusion. Conventional policy and program interventions geared toward improving "employment readiness" and "labour market competitiveness" to foster social inclusion are designed to increase the volume of social and cultural capital, but will do little to address the functional quality of those assets. Ultimately, such common sense approaches form a regenerative feedback loop, reinforcing existing processes of social exclusion.

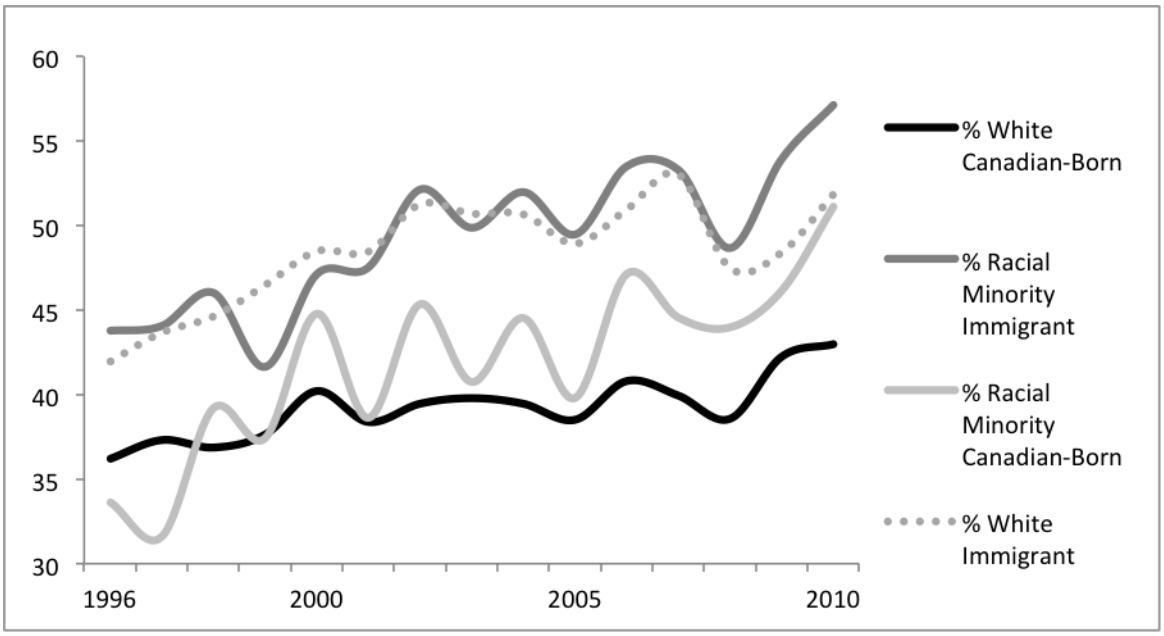

Figure 2. Non-response rates by social groups for one or more dimensions of the Index.

5.2. Methodological Issues for Measuring SE/I—Data and Datasets

That which is not seen cannot be represented or measured, in quantitative or qualitative terms. Consequently, some researchers emphasize the need to develop new datasets and methodologies to study the most profound systems and effects of social exclusion (Bossert, D'Ambrosio, & Peragine, 2007; Levitas et al., 2007). Stiglitz, Sen, and Fitoussi (2009), for example, stress that "policy-makers are reminded both of the richness and of the shortcomings of existing data but also of the fact that reliable quantitative information 'does not grow on trees' and significant investments need to be made to develop statistics and indicators that provide policymakers with the information they need to make the decisions confronting them" (p. 10). Thus, future efforts to foster social inclusion must recognize the need for greater representation and larger sample sizes of specific population groups, especially those at the upper and lower ends of social and economic spectrums; indicators that measure not only aggregate or average levels of social and material well-being, as is the inclination in quantitative research, but which more precisely and comprehensively identify social attributes and assets; and longitudinal data for the analysis of individual and household trajectories over time (Levitas et al., 2007). As a case in point, in our growth curve analysis detailed above, small sample sizes of some minority populations precluded the ability to disaggregate the findings at the level of neighborhoods, or even cities, drastically limiting our ability to measure spatial exclusion.

To date, efforts to "measure" and "know" the dynamics that make social groups—including people who are homeless, migrant workers, First Nations and Aboriginal peoples, incarcerated, unemployed, and working-but-still-poor individuals—are frequently inaccurate and partial, leaving public opinion about such groups to be shaped by preconceptions and "folk theories" (Bourdieu, 1989) that masquerade as fact and common sense. The limitations of existing national datasets are compounded in international comparisons, as the most dispossessed of the world often remain uncounted, or invisible. The more extreme the global divides between the "haves" and the "have nots", the less our ability to accurately reflect these social realities and understand the contributing social processes. People—even whole nations—are plunged into the obscurity and devaluation of social exclusion. The cogency of symbolic violence is evidenced by the paradoxical erasure of manufactured groups or kinds. Certain kinds are made invisible, even non-existent. Processes and practices of social exclusion are thus self-reinforcing and justified by conventional measurement systems that emphasize economic production over people's well-being (Stiglitz et al., 2009, p. 12). Ultimately, the development of "epistemic reflexivity" (Bourdieu, 1988), turning the analytical gaze back on the social dynamics of the research process itself, and research approaches that transcend quantitative, qualitative and theoretical research divides in academic and practice settings, are necessary to document intersecting macro- and micro-level processes of exclusion and inclusion.

5.3. Situating Social Exclusion and Inclusion—The Market System of Capital

Social exclusion *happens* in a particular time and place (Byrne, 2005). Thus, the measurement of social exclusion must include analysis of the social structures or social field in which its dynamics are reproduced. The conception, measurement, and practice of social inclusion are similarly and necessarily specific to the social, economic, and political context that produced social exclusion in the first place. For example, the current Canadian government's preoccupation with the "integration" of immigrants "into Canada in a way that maximizes their contribution to the country" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012) is shown to be too narrow and off the mark. The government's key strategy toward this objective has been the careful selection of immigrants through Canada's points system, which restricts entry to those who are highly educated, proficient in one of two official languages, and have skillsets in demand in the Canadian labour force (Aydemir, 2011). Yet our analysis indicates that this policy approach is not effective in addressing processes of social exclusion defined by race. Specifically, for example, despite meeting these rather stringent criteria, racial minority immigrants (increasingly the majority among newcomers to Canada) see consistently lower rates of return on their investments (such as education, work experience, etc.) than white immigrants (Elrick & Lightman, 2014). Moreover, Canadian-born visible minorities are similarly unable to realize comparable material gain from their social and cultural assets.

Our research, alongside a growing body of literature, demonstrates that the pervasive neoliberal approach to social welfare and its individual focus for both analysis and intervention is largely ineffective in addressing the inherent inequities of the market, as is the original and defining role of the welfare state. Situating the structure and dynamics of the Canadian labour market as the object of analysis, our quantitative studies of social exclusion reveal that popular "people-change" strategies of employment-based social welfare systems operate according to market ideals and values, or system of capital, to form a closed loop—a self-contained and self-containing unit—that works to keep people in place (Good Gingrich, 2010). Market structures are necessarily uneven, as the unequal distribution of resources is key to a variety of profit-generating practices (Stiglitz, 2013). Insofar as the inequities of the

market are produced by ideas and ideals of individualism, competition, and autonomy, the rules of capital exchange and accumulation that define effective social welfare systems must be rooted in alternative values, such as collectivity, cooperation, and shared responsibility. Policies and practices geared toward social inclusion, then, must shift in focus from economic (or social) integration of vulnerable individuals, to reorienting the system of capital that organizes the social welfare system.

To conclude, policy solutions to social exclusion commonly maintain a singular focus on personal assets (such as education and employment readiness), as social inclusion is most often equated with participation in the dominant social field and compliance to the market system of capital. A more meaningful conception of social inclusion must provide indicators for the analysis of individual and group mobility in the dominant social fields in which the rules for capital accumulation and exchange function to exclude. The measurement of SE/I must take into account intersections between individual-level characteristics and macro-level factors to uncover alternative systems of capital that interrupt the self-reinforcing dynamics of social exclusion. Such research has real and measureable potential to inform transformative responses to reconcile divides within and among societies.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Why Social Exclusion Persists among Older People in Australia

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Abstract
The existing literature on social exclusion among older people, though relatively limited, suggests that disadvantage among older people is cumulative in nature. Some aspects of disadvantage starting at early life stages have long-term consequences. As such, older people with disadvantages may be subject to higher risks of persistent social exclusion. This article aims to improve understanding of social exclusion and its persistence among senior Australians in three ways. Firstly, the incidence of social exclusion among older people is analysed using selected indicators. Secondly, the study examines whether an older person experiencing social exclusion at one time is more likely to experience it again (persistence). Thirdly, it investigates what factors may be protecting older people from social exclusion. The analysis is conducted using the first eight waves of the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey. The sample of older people is disaggregated into a younger group (55–64 years at wave 1) and an older group (65+ years). The article suggests that higher education and income, as well as better health conditions and previous employment experiences, are important protective factors from social exclusion for older Australians.

Keywords
Australia; disadvantage; elderly; social exclusion; persistence; older people; senior

Issue
This article is part of the special issue "Indicators and Measurement of Social Inclusion", edited by Professor Peter Huxley (Bangor University, UK).

1. Introduction

Social exclusion has emerged as a key feature in the analysis of disadvantage in developed countries. While it was introduced for the first time by Frenchman Rene Lenoir (1974), this concept spreads throughout Europe in the 1980s and was increasingly incorporated formally into country policy frameworks (Hayes, Gray, & Edwards, 2008). Social exclusion is commonly defined as "…a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural, or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole" (Levitas et al., 2007, p. 86).

Age, as argued by the United Nations (2007), is one factor that is related to social exclusion. Nevertheless, the discussion surrounding social exclusion often focuses on working-age adults, and older people are rarely examined.[1]

One exception is the work undertaken by the UK

[1] Australian researchers have also examined social exclusion for children in a cross sectional and regional setting (see for example McNamara, Tanton, Daly, & Harding, 2009, and Tanton, Harding, Daly, McNamara, & Yap, 2010).

Social Inclusion Unit (see Phillipson & Scharf, 2004, and UK Social Exclusion Unit Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2006). They have developed a conceptual framework specifically for older people, and three key reasons are highlighted (Lui, Warburton, Winterton, & Bartlett, 2011, p. 269): first, accumulative disadvantage (that is, experiencing exclusion in mid-life leads to further exclusion at an older age); second, key life events or transitions happening later in life like the death of a partner; third, age discrimination that may marginalise older people.

In Australia social exclusion of older people is a particularly pressing issue. Like many other developed countries, Australia has an ageing population. The government is under increasing pressure in terms of providing outlays for age and service pensions, and spending for health care and age services (Commonwealth of Australia, 2010). There is also a growing concern about older people losing independence or autonomy in many aspects of life (Kneale, 2012). However, so far there has been little research into social exclusion of older people in Australia (Naughtin, 2008).

A few Australian studies find increasing economic and social inequalities among older people (Faulkner, 2007; Kendig, 2000; Olsberg & Winters, 2005). For example, while many older people are outright home owners, others still rent their homes or continue to pay mortgages, often on little fixed incomes. Some achieve financial independence through substantial superannuation balances while many others are wholly dependent on government pensions. An increasing divide within the older population is also observed overseas (O'Rand, 2006). There is a higher risk of social exclusion following increasing inequalities. Adopting a life course approach, Scharf, Phillipson and Smith (2005) and Naughtin (2008) argue some aspects of disadvantage are starting early in the life cycle and are having long term consequences. Thus, it is not surprising that social exclusion among older people may also persist.

This article aims to analyse social exclusion among older people in Australia with a focus on three elements. Firstly, it investigates the incidence of social exclusion among older Australians using selected indicators drawing on previous international and Australian literature. Secondly, the article considers whether an older person experiencing social exclusion at one time is more likely to experience it again at another time. Finally, the investigation examines the factors protecting older people from experiencing social exclusion.

The investigation of the issue is based on longitudinal Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey data and applies panel data estimation techniques.

The next section discusses a review of the conceptual framework of social exclusion. This is followed by an examination of the data, construction of variables and the methodology. Section four presents results and discussions, and the last section concludes.

2. Conceptual Framework

Drawing from a conceptual framework of 'social exclusion', literature usually differentiates between domains (outcomes) and drivers of social exclusion. The relationship between them is complex and sometimes outcomes may double up as drivers (see, for example, discussion in Bradshaw, Kemp, Baldwin, & Rowe, 2004).

A domain refers to the discrete measure axis along which incidence of social exclusion is manifest. A domain includes a set of indicators on what activities a person does or does not do, can do or cannot do (such as whether a person is able to work or study) and her/his perceived opinion about her/his wellbeing (such as whether a person would be able to pay bills on time).

The domains usually discussed in the literature include material resources, social relations, participation, civic activities, access to basic services such as decent housing and public transport, information and local amenities, and the domains sometimes also include health (Barnes, Blom, Cox, Lessof, & Walker, 2006; Kneale, 2012; Scharf, Phillipson, & Smith, 2005). Levitas et al. (2007), who look at stages of life cycle including older people, have specified those domains also cover living environment (housing quality, homelessness, neighbourhood safety, neighbourhood satisfaction and access to open space). Crime, harm and criminalisation are also incorporated, including the risk of abuse at home and exposure to bullying, harassment and discrimination.

Lui et al. (2011) have examined social exclusion in the case of social workers and identified domains that are important for Australian older people. These domains include economic deprivation, cumulative disadvantage, social participation, civil engagement and cultural recognition. In contrast, Saunders, Naidoo and Griffiths (2007, p. 75) investigate three domains of exclusion: disengagement, service exclusion and economic exclusion. Disengagement takes forms such as no regular social contact with other people, no participation in community activities and could not pay one's way when out with friends. Service exclusion is defined as no access to a local doctor or hospital, no access to a bank or building society and inability to make electricity, water, gas and telephone payments. The third domain, economic exclusion, refers to not having $500 in emergency savings and having not spent $100 on a special treat in the last year. Saunders et al. (2007) find that deprivation declines across the three broad age categories (i.e., under 30, 30–64, and 65 and over), and older couples have the lowest level of deprivation among all family types examined.

On the other hand, a driver usually refers to a risk or condition that would increase the likelihood of a person to experience disadvantage in a particular domain and thus may lead to social exclusion. Drivers

usually include demographic factors such as gender, age, educational attainment and also living arrangements. The drivers that increase the likelihood of social exclusion are considered risk factors, whereas the factors that are associated with lowering the likelihood of social exclusion are viewed as protective factors. For example, having low educational attainment as a driver may increase the likelihood of a person for not working in the future (participation domain).

Barnes, Blom, Cox, Lessof and Walker (2006) have found that social exclusion tends to increase with age, with those 80 years and above being more prone to exclusion. Further, living arrangements matter, with those who live alone (Saunders et al., 2007) or have no children, have poor mental or physical health and no access to a private car or lack of access to public transport are more vulnerable. Older people living in rental accommodation, having a low income and/or reliance on welfare and no access to a telephone are also more prone to experiencing social exclusion (and these may not only be limited to older people).

Health, in particular, is sometimes included as a domain of social exclusion (for example, Levitas et al., 2007, p. 10) and can also be viewed as a driver. For instance, Shields and Martel (2006) consider health as an important driver for successful ageing while Baltes and Mayer (1999) and Tesch-Romer, Motel-Klingebiel and von Kondratowitz (2003) view it as a decisive determinant to undertaking daily functions or having a degree of autonomy in old age. In this article, we take the second approach.

Kneale (2012) is among a few who examine the drivers of social exclusion particularly for older people using a multivariate model. Kneale (2012) includes various demographic and socioeconomic characteristics (such as age, gender, ethnicity, living arrangements, number of children, educational qualifications, health status, income level and housing tenure). In this article, we try our best to avoid the duplication between domains and drivers, as drivers focus much on the conditions that lead to persistence in terms of social exclusion.

The literature also argues that social exclusion can happen on multiple occasions and in a dynamic setting. Multiple occasions of social exclusion tend to indicate a more disadvantaged condition. Social exclusion can occur at one particular time and persist or be repeated another time, even within one stage of the life cycle. The availability of longitudinal data has allowed social exclusion to be measured for longer periods of time.

Scutella, Wilkins and Horn (2009, p. 29) proposed a continuum of exclusion with five levels: (1) not excluded (i.e., no domain of exclusion at any point in time); (2) at risk of exclusion (i.e., one or multiple domains of disadvantage at one point in time); (3) marginally excluded (i.e., one or multiple domains of exclusion at various points in time); (4) at risk of chronic exclusion (i.e., a number of domains of disadvantage in various points in time; (5) chronically excluded (i.e., multiple domains of disadvantage and persistently excluded). Poggi (2007), in contrast, only classifies the degree of social exclusion into three broad categories: not excluded, excluded (defined as being deprived of two or more aspects of relevant functioning), and persistently excluded (i.e., experiencing exclusion in subsequent years or for multiple spells). In this article we generally take this simpler approach.

Figure 1 provides a summary of the conceptual framework that is adopted in this article. Our main interest is to examine the protective factors against older people in Australia experiencing social exclusion. Four domains of social exclusion are considered, including material resources, participation, social support and community engagement. Following Poggi (2007), social exclusion is defined as being excluded in at least two domains, which means at least half of the total four domains in our study. On the other hand, following the literature and data availability, the main drivers of social exclusion considered in this article include demographic factors, place of residence, human capital, housing tenure/condition, labour market history, income, health status, living arrangements and caring role.

In the literature, the expected relationships between social exclusion and some of its drivers are clear but this is not always the case. For instance, higher human capital/educational attainment, longer labour market attachment, higher income, better health and absence of long term health conditions, no caring responsibilities, home ownership, and living with other household members are associated with a lower likelihood of social exclusion for older people. In contrast, a higher risk of social exclusion is found among immigrants and older cohorts. The association between place of residence and social exclusion is still not clear. These relationships will be tested empirically in the next section.

The initial condition of social exclusion at wave 1 and the previous year's condition of social exclusion are also included, in order to measure the persistence of social exclusion.

3. Data, Variable Construction and Methodology

3.1. Data

The dataset used for this research is the HILDA Survey, which contains a representative sample of the Australian population, including 19,914 individuals in 7,682 households at its first wave in 2001.[2] HILDA is a longitudinal survey conducted annually since 2001, and the current research is based on the first eight waves

[2] For further details of the HILDA Survey, refer to http://www.melbourneinstitute.com/hilda

(2001–2008). HILDA is fairly successful in maintaining a low wave-on-wave attrition rate; for instance, the attrition rate for Wave 8 was just 4.8 per cent (Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, 2009). For the current purpose of understanding social exclusion among older people, the working sample of this research is restricted to 2,162 individuals aged 55 years or older in 2001 who participated in all eight waves of the survey (a balanced panel).[3] Fifty four per cent are female. In some analyses the sample is disaggregated into a younger cohort (55–64 years at wave 1, *n* = 1,102) and an older group (65 years and over at wave 1, *n* = 1,060). This is to see if the pattern of exclusion differs across different cohorts of older people, differentiating between those who are considered in the pre-retirement age group (below 65) and those who are at retirement age of 65 years or above.

To measure incidence and persistence of social exclusion, the following steps are required:

1. To identify relevant domains and key indicators
2. To set up a threshold for how many indicators of disadvantage are necessary for defining exclusion in each domain
3. To choose a threshold for how many domains of exclusion are used as a measure of comprehensive social exclusion at a particular time (incidence of social exclusion)
4. To set up a threshold for social exclusion across multiple times (persistence of social exclusion)

[3] Note that at the first wave 3,683 people aged 55 or older had been successfully interviewed. Considering the age of the sample, the exclusion from the working sample of a balanced panel is likely to be non-random; for instance, older people and people in poor health are more likely to be excluded and they are also likely to be subject to a higher risk of social exclusion. As such, the restriction to a balanced sample, though necessary, may lead to an underestimation of the persistence of social exclusion.

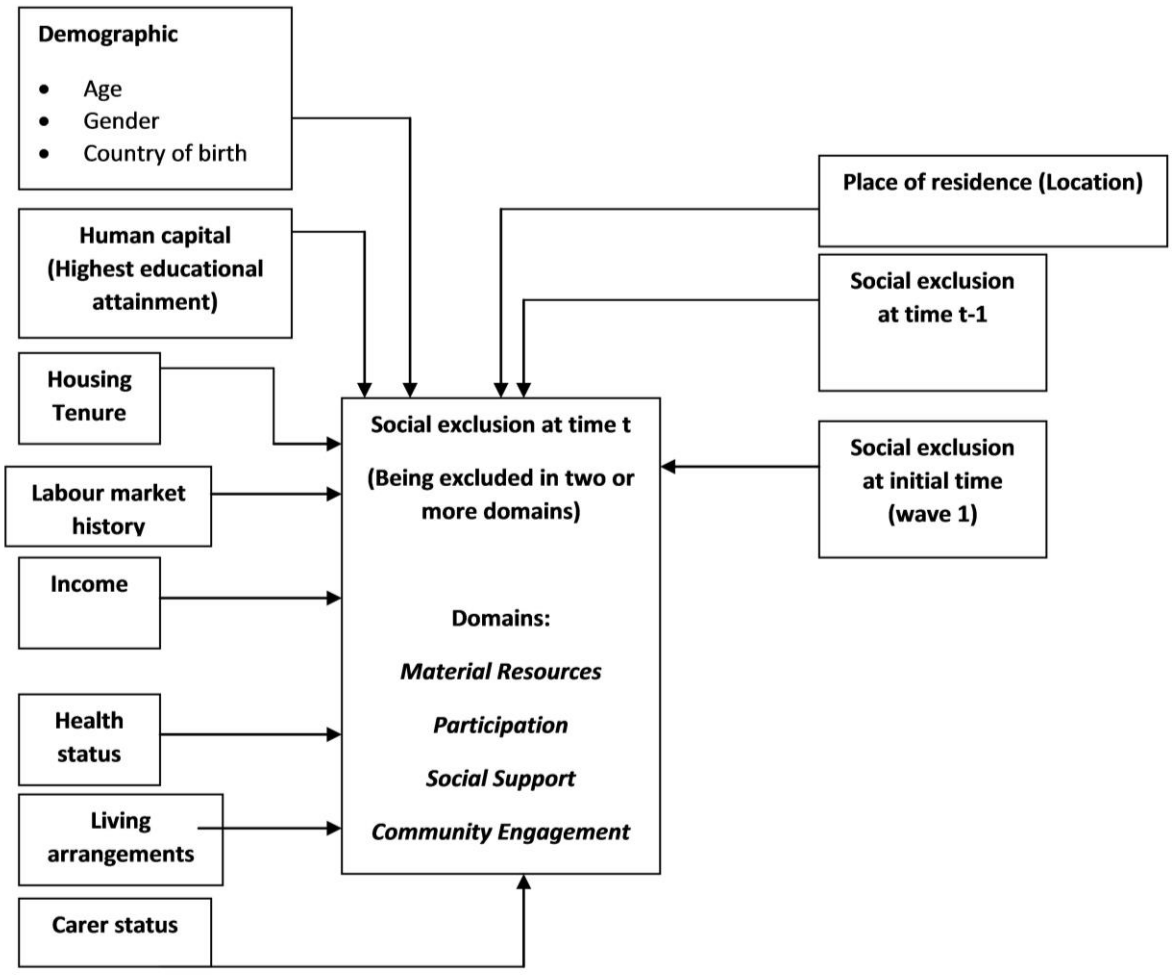

Figure 1. Conceptual framework of social exclusion of older people in Australia. Source: Authors' summary.

3.2. Variable Construction

3.2.1. Key Domains and Indicators of Social Exclusion (Steps 1, 2 and 3)

Informed by the literature, key indicators were selected to reflect social exclusion in four key domains: material resources, economic and social participation, social support, and community engagement.[4] Other domains identified in the literature such as access to services and access to transport, although important, were not covered due to data limitations. For the purpose of this research, health status has been chosen as a driver rather than an indicator of social exclusion as health issues are more related to the causes of social exclusion in old age. Except for labour market and studying indicators included in the domain of economic and social participation, most of the indicators reflect older people's perceived opinion about their wellbeing. We acknowledge the limitations of using the pre-existing indicators of the HILDA dataset. However, we think that HILDA is the most suitable database for this research as it contains detailed characteristics of its respondents and due to its longitudinal nature, which are important to answer the research aims of the study. Based on the guidance of the previous literature and how the variables are distributed, generally we are trying to focus on the bottom-tail of the distribution, which usually covers those who are at the highest risk of exclusion on a particular indicator at a particular point in time. The key domains and indicators are specified as follows:

Exclusion in material resources was identified by the presence of any of the following indicators, as any single one of them is sufficient to reveal a lack of access to essential material resources:[5]

- Could not pay electricity, gas or telephone bills on time
- Could not pay the mortgage or rent on time
- Asked for financial help from friends or family
- Pawned or sold something
- Was unable to heat home
- Went without meals
- Asked for help from welfare/community organisations
- Could not raise $2,000 in emergency within a week.

Exclusion in economic and social participation was identified as all of the following indicators being true at the time of interview:[6]

- Not worked for wage or salary
- Not worked in own business
- Not enrolled in a full-time course
- Not enrolled in a part-time course
- Not an active club member
- Contact with friends/relatives once a month or less
- Not volunteering.

Exclusion in social support was defined as half or more of the following indicators being true:[7]

- I don't have anyone that I can confide in (agree)
- There is someone who can always cheer me up when I'm down (disagree)
- I seem to have a lot of friends (disagree)
- I have no one to lean on in times of trouble (agree)
- I often need help from other people but can't get it (agree)
- I enjoy the time I spend with the people who are important to me (disagree)
- People don't come to visit me as often as I would like (agree)
- When I need someone to help me out, I can usually find someone (disagree)
- When something's on my mind, just talking with the people I know can make me feel better (disagree)
- I often feel very lonely (agree).

Exclusion in community engagement was identified as true in any of the following indicators:[8]

- Dissatisfaction—feeling part of your local community
- Dissatisfaction—the neighbourhood in which you live
- Dissatisfaction—how safe you feel.

[4] It should be noted that almost all the selected indicators of the domains, especially those based on self-completion questionnaires, have some missing values, which are generally treated as negative for the aspect of exclusion in question.

[5] The first seven indicators refer to incidence in a calendar year due to a shortage of money.

[6] Considering their age, people in the sample may live an inclusive life with active engagement in any of the activities like working, studying, volunteering or socialising.

[7] The participants are asked to pick a number between 1 (strongly disagree) and 7 (strongly agree) about the statements. Thresholds for exclusion in this domain are mainly chosen around the top or bottom decile of the distribution of each indicator; the key findings are not particularly sensitive to a slightly different alternative.

[8] The participants are asked to pick a number between 0 (totally dissatisfied) and 10 (totally satisfied) about their satisfaction with feeling part of the local community, satisfaction with their neighbourhood, and how safe they feel. They are classified as dissatisfied if they picked a number smaller than 5.

This article focuses on social exclusion in multiple domains, which indicates a more disadvantaged group and is of particular policy interest. After a series of exercises and validation, an older person is considered as socially excluded if this person experiences exclusion in multiple domains (at least two domains, following Poggi, 2007). Thus, incidence is calculated as a proportion of the older people who are excluded in multiple domains.[9] Next we discuss how to define the persistence of social exclusion.

3.2.2. Definition and Measurement of Persistence (Step 4)

Persistence of social exclusion can be viewed in different ways, for instance following Poggi's (2007) framework:

(1) an older person who experienced exclusion again if he/she experienced exclusion in the previous year, or alternatively,
(2) an older person who experienced exclusion over most of the time observed, that is, five or more years over the eight years in the sample.

Persistence of exclusion can be examined in each of the four domains, or in multiple (at least two) domains. In the descriptive analysis in section four, results are reported for both measures. In both cases, the focus is on the persistence of exclusion in multiple domains, which tends to indicate a more disadvantaged situation. However, in multiple regression analysis, results are mainly reported for the first measure (i.e., experiencing social exclusion in consecutive years) utilising a dynamic model. If not otherwise specified, social exclusion refers to exclusion in multiple domains later on in this article.

3.2.3. Methodology

This article uses a dynamic panel logit model, following Poggi (2007). Using the first definition of persistence of social exclusion, which is whether an older person experiences exclusion again if they experienced exclusion in the previous year, the dependent variable is the presence of social exclusion at a particular time. Panel data analysis is applied not only to incorporate unobserved heterogeneity across older people but also to control omitted time variant variable bias (captured in the wave dummies). A random effects panel data model is used instead of fixed effects, to allow the examination of time invariant variables that are important for social exclusion such as gender and country of birth. The logit model is chosen and the dependent variable is set up in a discrete format. It is equal to one if an older person experiences exclusion in multiple domains and zero otherwise. The sample contains 8 waves of data (balanced panel), observing from t = 1 to t = 8. The conditional probability that social exclusion happens can be written as follows:

$$P\left(y_{it}=1|y_{it-1},...,y_{io},z_i,c_i\right)=\phi\left(z_{it}\gamma+\beta y_{io}+\rho y_{it-1}+c_i\right) \quad (1)$$

Where the functional form of ϕ is a logistic distribution, and the dependent variable y_{it} is a condition which specifies whether a particular older person i is socially excluded at time t. γ, β and ρ are the parameters to be estimated. z_i and z_{it} are, respectively, vector of time-constant and time-varying explanatory variables, and c_i is the individual fixed effect (Poggi, 2007, p. 64).

The dynamic relationship exists as there is a presence of lag of the dependent variable which serves as the explanatory variable. Thus, social exclusion in year t is determined by the lag of the social exclusion in year t-1. If $\rho > 0$, this will mean that experiencing social exclusion in year t-1 will increase the likelihood of experiencing exclusion at time t. The initial value of the social exclusion status at t0 (wave 1) is also included. If $\beta > 0$ this indicates that experiencing social exclusion in year t0 will increase the likelihood of experiencing exclusion at time t.

As illustrated in Figure 1, social exclusion in year t is also determined by the following drivers or factors: demographic factors (age, gender and country of birth), educational attainment, housing tenure (home ownership), labour force participation history, income, disability status, living arrangements, carer status and location. To allow for a non-linear relationship between social exclusion and age, a quadratic function of age is used. Proportion of time not working since finished full-time education is included to reflect labour force participation history, and is included in the equation in the natural logarithm format.

Household disposable income is expressed in AUD $2001 and equivalised to take into account differences in household size and composition. A modified Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) equivalence scale is used to equivalise the disposable household income which assigns the values of 1.0 for the first adult, 0.5 for each of the remaining adults and 0.3 for each dependent child in the household. Equivalised household disposable income is included in the equation in the natural logarithm format. Carer status refers to whether the person is responsible for caring for disabled people or other older people. The model also includes two location variables: (i)

[9] Note that apart from the aforementioned reasons, reaching a reasonable cell size (sample size) is also considered in defining exclusion in a domain.

State and, (ii) Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA) 2001 Index of Relative Socio-Economic Advantage/Disadvantage. The SEIFA index shows the socio-economic condition attached to the place of residence. It is categorised in quintiles, and the lowest quintile refers to the most disadvantaged areas. The analysis focuses on personal characteristics of older persons rather than government interventions.

4. Results and Discussions

4.1. Incidence of Social Exclusion

As can be seen in Table 1 on the Descriptive Statistics, which answers the first aim of the research, around 9.8 per cent of older people experienced incidence of social exclusion (please also see Appendix 2 for incidence of exclusion by wave). The disaggregation across cohorts (results not shown) indicates that the incidence of social exclusion is 10 per cent for the younger cohort, which is not much different from the 9.5 per cent incidence rate among the older cohort. However, the persistence perspective is not so rosy, as we discuss below.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of key variables in regressions.

Key variables	Mean/proportion
Incidence of social exclusion (SE):	
SE at all waves	9.8 per cent
SE at wave 1	11.0 per cent
SE at the previous wave	9.5 per cent
Age	
Age (years)	69.3
Age sq	4865.0
Gender (omitted male)	
Female	53.9 per cent
Living arrangements (omitted living alone)	
Living with partner only	56.9 per cent
Living with children only	5.1 per cent
Living with partner and children	11.8 per cent
Country of birth (COB) (omitted born in Australia)	
COB: Main English Speaking Countries (MESC)	13.8 per cent
COB: other countries	17.5 per cent
Education (omitted bachelor degree or above)	
Diploma or certificate	28.4 per cent
Year 12	7.0 per cent
Year 11 or below	53.6 per cent
Carer status (omitted not caring for others)	
Caring for others with disability or elderly	3.3 per cent
Housing tenure (omitted other tenures)	
Home owner or currently paying off mortgage	83.3 per cent
Health status (omitted having long term health condition, disability or impairment)	
Not having any long term health condition, disability or impairment	54.2 per cent
Labour market history	
Proportion of time not working	29 per cent
Income	
Equivalised household disposable income (real terms in AUD$2001)	24,242
State (omitted New South Wales)	
State: Victoria	26.8 per cent
State: Queensland	17.0 per cent
State: South Australia	7.9 per cent
State: Western Australia	8.6 per cent
State: Tasmania	2.3 per cent
State: Northern Territory and ACT	1.3 per cent

Note: Based on balanced panel of HILDA data. Weighted with responding person longitudinal weights. SE is defined as social exclusion in multiple domains. Source: Authors' calculation.

4.2. Persistence of Social Exclusion

Table 2 below shows the persistence of social exclusion. Column A shows the proportion or incidence of people experiencing exclusion if they experienced exclusion in the previous year (among the 9.8 per cent of the older people discussed earlier). Column B provides an alternative measure of persistence, which shows the proportion of the older people who experienced exclusion in five or more years over the eight years in the whole HILDA sample.

The persistence of exclusion varies across domains and sub-samples. Exclusion in material resources and participation is relatively more persistent over two consecutive years than exclusion in the other two domains. Interestingly, exclusion among the older subsample (mostly over the age eligible for the government Age Pension) is relatively less persistent on all measures except participation, possibly indicating the positive role of the Age Pension and related benefits provided by the government. Higher persistence of exclusion on the participation domain for the older subsample may reflect lower attachment to the workforce for those aged over 65 years, which is not fully substituted by higher participation in social activities.

Table 2 indicates a relatively high persistence of exclusion among people who experienced exclusion in multiple domains, a more disadvantaged group in the sample. Responding to the second research aim, 45 per cent of those who experienced exclusion in two or more domains in one year reported the same situation in the previous year (persistence). So, while only about 9.8 per cent of the sample experienced social exclusion, almost half of this group experienced persistent social exclusion.

4.3. Drivers of Social Exclusion

The estimation is conducted in stages (see Appendix 1 for full estimation results) in order to answer our third research question, which is to examine factors protecting older people from experiencing social exclusion. The base model, Model 1, only includes social exclusion status at wave 1 (initial exclusion status) and exclusion at the previous wave (lagged exclusion status). Extra control variables are added in Models 2 and 3, while Model 4 or the complete model includes all explanatory variables specified in Figure 1 and is estimated using the entire sample as well as separately using the two sub-samples (young and older cohorts).

Table 3 reports the corresponding odds ratios of Model 4, estimated respectively using the entire sample, the younger cohort and the older cohort. An odds ratio larger than 1 indicates a positive relationship between the independent variable in question and the likelihood of experiencing social exclusion (dependent variable), and an odds ratio smaller than 1 indicates a negative relationship. The factor may be considered as a risk factor for experiencing social exclusion in the former case, and a protective factor from social exclusion in the latter case.

As shown in Appendix 1, both the coefficients of the lagged exclusion (in the previous year) and the initial exclusion status are consistently large in size and statistically significant, no matter which other factors are controlled for.

The first column of Table 3 shows that among all older people in the sample, experiencing social exclusion at wave 1 increases the odds of experiencing exclusion again later by approximately 30 times, suggesting a strong state dependence in relation to social exclusion. The odd of recurrence of exclusion nearly doubles if social exclusion was experienced in the previous year, revealing a significant persistence of social exclusion among this group.

While the previous descriptive statistics show that 45 per cent of those who experienced social exclusion in one year have experienced the same situation in the previous year, this regression estimates the likelihood of this situation happening. The likelihood is around 2 times greater than for those who do not experience social exclusion. Table 3 also reaffirms that the likelihood of persistence of exclusion is larger for the younger cohort than for the older one.

Table 2. Persistence of social exclusion.

Domain	Measure A			Measure B		
	Proportion excluded among those who experienced exclusion the previous year (per cent)			Proportion excluded in five or more years (per cent)		
	Younger	Older	Total	Younger	Older	Total
Material resources	60.1	44.9	53.3	11.1	7.5	9.3
Participation	52.6	58.1	55. 9	3.4	5.5	4.4
Social support	37.3	33.4	35.4	3. 6	25	3.1
Community engagement	49.5	45.7	47. 6	7.3	7.9	7.6
Exclusion in two or more domains	50.3	39.6	45.1	5.8	4.2	5.0
N	1,102	1,060	2,162	1,102	1,060	2,162

Note: Based on a balanced panel of HILDA data. Weighted with responding person longitudinal weights. Source: Authors' calculation.

Table 3 Regression results and odds ratios.

	All		Younger cohort		Older cohort	
	Complete Model (Model 4)					
	Odds ratio		Odds ratio		Odds ratio	
Persistence						
SE wave 1	30.12	***	34.98	***	24.32	***
SE at the previous wave	1.90	***	2.61	***	1.47	**
Age						
Age	0.80	**	0.17	***	0.85	
Age sq	1.00	**	1.01	***	1.00	
Gender (omitted male)						
Female	0.58	***	0.48	***	0.85	
Living arrangements (omitted living alone)						
Living with partner only	0.73	**	0.58	***	0.99	
Living with children only	1.62	**	0.94		2.80	***
Living with partner and children	1.05		0.80		1.47	
Country of birth (omitted born in Australia)						
COB: MESC	1.00		1.01		1.06	
COB: other countries	1.80	***	1.65	**	1.89	***
Education (omitted bachelor degree or above)						
Diploma or certificate	1.48	*	1.18		2.00	*
Year 12	2.18	**	2.58	**	1.95	
Year 11 or below	1.89	***	1.39		2.75	***
Carer status (omitted not caring for others)						
Caring for others with disability or older people	1.88	***	1.72	*	2.14	***
Housing tenure (omitted other tenures)						
Home owner or currently paying off mortgage	0.74	**	0.60	***	0.87	
Health status (omitted having long term health condition, disability or impairment)						
Not having any long term health condition, disability or impairment	0.69	***	0.58	***	0.79	**
Labour market history						
Proportion of time not working	1.18	**	1.31	***	0.97	
Income						
Equivalised household disposable income (real terms in $2001)	0.75	***	0.70	***	0.81	**
SEIFA (omitted lowest quintile)						
SEIFA second quintile	0.73	**	0.61	**	0.85	
SEIFA third quintile	0.81		0.91		0.71	
SEIFA fourth quintile	0.74	*	0.76		0.73	
SEIFA fifth quintile	0.64	**	0.48	***	0.82	
State (omitted New South Wales)						
Victoria	0.94		0.95		0.93	
Queensland	0.96		1.09		0.78	
South Australia	1.10		1.40		0.84	
Western Australia	1.32		1.64	*	1.07	
Tasmania	1.87	*	1.51		1.97	*
Northern Territory and ACT	0.65		0.73		0.49	
Wave (omitted Wave 1)						
Wave 2	0.93		1.22		0.74	
Wave 3	0.69	***	0.76		0.61	**
Wave 4	0.83		0.99		0.66	**
Wave 5	0.72	**	0.64	*	0.69	*
Wave 6	0.60	***	0.55	**	0.51	***
Wave 7	0.64	***	0.50	**	0.56	***
Wave 8	0.71	**	0.48	**	0.63	**
Sigma_a	1.59		1.61		1.48	

Note: Based on a balanced panel of HILDA data. ***, **, and * denote significance at the 1 per cent, 5 per cent and 10 per cent levels, respectively. Source: Authors' calculation.

The results reported in the first column of Table 3 suggest that among all the older people in the sample, the following factors are associated with significantly higher risks of social exclusion: caring for others with a disability or older people, own disability, poor educational attainment, less engagement in employment since finishing full-time education, and living in the most disadvantaged areas.

So, older people who are more disadvantaged, who are not healthy, having lower socio-economic status and living in the lower socio-economic neighbourhoods are associated with higher risks of social exclusion. Living with dependent children only (under 15 years of age or full time students aged 15–24) is also associated with higher risk of social exclusion, which may reflect both financial and non-financial commitments from the older parents in raising their children. The results also show that older people who were born in non-Main English Speaking countries may be more disadvantaged than others.[10]

These findings are in general in line with the results of Kneale (2012) who finds that ethnicity, living arrangements and health status are important risk factors. Kneale (2012) finds that being non-white, living alone and poor health are the significant risk factors for social exclusion among the older people while living with children only and being a carer are also risk factors of social exclusion but not significant.

However, comparing the results of the first column of Table 3 with those of the other two columns reveals that except for the risk factors of born in non-Main English Speaking Countries, own disability, and caring for others with disability or elderly, which are shared by both cohorts, other factors only dominate among one cohort. For instance, less engagement in employment in the past, and living in socio-economically most disadvantaged areas are significant risk factors only for the younger cohort, whereas living with children only is significant only for the older cohort. Education effects also differ by cohorts.

For older people in the sample as a whole, the following factors are associated with significantly lower risks of social exclusion: female, living with partner only, having a bachelor degree or above level of education, home ownership, better health, more time in employment since leaving full-time education, higher income, and living in socio-economically most advantaged areas. The results are in line with Kneale (2012), particularly in regard to living with partner only, home ownership, better health and higher income. So, those older people who are healthy, having higher socio-economic background and living in the higher socio-economic areas are typically less prone to social exclusion.

When the two cohorts are analysed separately, income, education and health appear to be common protective factors. However, female, living with partner only, homeownership, and better socio-economic circumstances as indicated by the SEIFA index are mainly protective for the younger cohort; for the older cohort, they do not matter much.

Age shows different effects for the two cohorts of older people. When the younger cohort is used (aged 55–64 years in 2001; see results in Column 2 of Table 3), the risk of social exclusion appears to be U-shaped in terms of age, minimising around age 62. In contrast, for the older cohort (aged 65 years or older in 2001) the risk of exclusion does not significantly vary with age. However, when the whole sample is used for estimation, a U-shaped relation is also observed between the risk of social exclusion and age, minimising around age 78. Interestingly, the odd ratios of the dummy variables for the waves suggest that there is no clear pattern to indicate if social exclusion increases or decreases over time.

In addition, similar to Poggi's (2007, p. 65) findings, this study found that even when the regressions have taken into account the explanatory variable, the estimated sigma _a > 1. This means that there is still some unobserved heterogeneity that cannot be explained by the explanatory variables. Perhaps this reflects the fact that some non-personal or location characteristics may affect social exclusion but are not controlled for in the model, for example, policy intervention variables such as the Age Pension.

5. Conclusions

The existing literature on social exclusion among older people, though relatively limited, suggests that disadvantage among older people is cumulative in nature. As such, disadvantaged older people may be subject to a higher risk of social exclusion and persistence of social exclusion. This is the strength of our study, which aims to improve understanding of social exclusion among senior Australians using a nationally representative survey and focusing particularly on potential protective factors.

We have answered three research questions in this article. First, in terms of the incidence of social exclusion, the descriptive analysis showed that only a small proportion of older people were socially excluded in multiple domains at a point in time (less than 10 per cent).

Second, among this fraction of people, about 45 per cent had an experience of social exclusion in multiple domains in the previous year (persistence).The results

[10] For example, our calculation of the Australian Census data 2006 shows that the proportion of migrants who were born in other countries (non-Main English speaking countries) and having educational level of bachelor degree or above and working in low skilled occupations were around 21 per cent, while it was less than half of this figure for those who are born in Australia and in the Main English speaking countries.

of multivariate analysis also confirmed a high persistence of social exclusion in multiple domains—exclusion in the previous year significantly increases the likelihood of experiencing exclusion in the current year. Interestingly, the younger cohort, that is, people aged 55–64 years in 2001, showed a higher persistence of social exclusion in multiple domains compared to the older cohort. This contradicts expectations, given that participation and engagement tends to be lower as people age. The results may have complex reasons, and policy intervention targeting older people on low incomes may have some role to play; however, as the Age Pension and related benefits in Australia are widely available based on means tests, it is difficult to isolate the effects of the Age Pension and in-kind benefits from the impact of age and financial disadvantage. Further exploration is warranted.

Regarding the third research aim, the regression analysis shows that higher education and income, as well as better health and previous employment experiences are important protective factors for older Australians against social exclusion. Those who are at risk or socially excluded mostly have experienced low quality of life or many disadvantages. It will be interesting to see whether these risks have been developing prior to older age, and whether the social exclusion that is experienced at older age has been experienced during younger ages of the life course. The literature has argued the importance of a life course perspective in undertaking research on older people, and how the life course can determine stratification and social inequality amongst older people. Future research is warranted and this will provide us with a context for understanding and explaining the heterogeneity in the wellbeing of older Australians. Australian people are living longer (life expectancy at birth is now 80.1 years for males and 84.3 years for females) and the qualifying age for the Age Pension has been proposed to rise to 70 years. Policy interventions to promote quality of life and wellbeing at the later ages are increasingly important.

Note that, as indicated above, this article has not taken into account government interventions such as the provision of Age Pension and other government benefits, which are expected to contribute to reducing the likelihood of social exclusion among older people. The issue is left for future study. In addition, we acknowledge a potential data limitation of this study, which is based on the single available source data of HILDA. However, we believe this data is among the best available longitudinal micro data relevant for answering the research questions and the empirical findings are consistent with the results of the previous studies in other countries. Given the complexity of measuring social exclusion and the different patterns of incidence and persistence of exclusion across age cohorts, more efforts are required to further develop an age-related social exclusion framework to reflect different life circumstances across stages of the life cycle and to improve the data collection of relevant contents for future analysis.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Appendix 1. Regression Results.

	All									Younger cohort		Older cohort	
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4			Model 4			
Persistence													
SE wave 1	3.98	***	3.99	***	3.99	***	3.41	***		3.55	***	3.19	***
SE at the previous wave	0.71	***	0.71	***	0.71	***	0.64	***		0.96	***	0.39	**
Age													
Age			-0.13		-0.13		-0.23	**		-1.78	***	-0.17	
Age sq			0.00		0.00		0.00	**		0.01	***	0.00	
Gender (omitted male)													
Female					-0.05		-0.54	***		-0.75	***	-0.16	
Living arrangements (omitted living alone)													
Living with partner only							-0.31	**		-0.54	***	-0.01	
Living with children only							0.48	**		-0.06		1.03	***
Living with partner and children							0.05			-0.23		0.39	
Country of birth (omitted born in Australia)													
COB: Main English Speaking Countries							0.00			0.01		0.06	
COB: other countries							0.59	***		0.50	**	0.64	***
Education (omitted bachelor degree or above)													
Diploma or certificate							0.39	*		0.16		0.70	*
Year 12							0.78	**		0.95	**	0.67	
Year 11 or below							0.64	***		0.33		1.01	***
Carer status (omitted not caring for others)													
Caring for others with disability or older people							0.63	***		0.54	*	0.76	***
Housing tenure (omitted other tenures)													
Home owner or currently paying off mortgage							-0.31	**		-0.51	***	-0.14	
Health status (omitted having long term health condition, disability or impairment)													
Not having any long term health condition, disability or impairment							-0.37	***		-0.55	***	-0.24	**
Labour market history													
Proportion of time not working							0.17	**		0.27	***	-0.03	
Income													
Equivalised household disposable income (real terms in $2001)							-0.29	***		-0.36	***	-0.21	**
SEIFA (omitted lowest quintile)													
SEIFA second quintile							-0.32	**		-0.49	**	-0.16	
SEIFA third quintile							-0.22			-0.09		-0.34	
SEIFA fourth quintile							-0.31	*		-0.28		-0.31	
SEIFA fifth quintile							-0.45	**		-0.73	***	-0.20	
State (omitted New South Wales)													
Victoria							-0.06			-0.05		-0.08	
Queensland							-0.04			0.08		-0.25	
South Australia							0.10			0.34		-0.18	
Western Australia							0.28			0.49	*	0.06	
Tasmania							0.63	*		0.41		0.68	*
Northern Territory and ACT							-0.43			-0.31		-0.72	
Wave (omitted Wave 1)													
Wave 2	-0.14		-0.14		-0.14		-0.07			0.20		-0.30	
Wave 3	-0.38	***	-0.38	***	-0.38	***	-0.37	***		-0.27		-0.49	**
Wave 4	-0.24	*	-0.24	*	-0.24	*	-0.19			-0.01		-0.42	**
Wave 5	-0.33	**	-0.33	**	-0.33	**	-0.33	**		-0.44	*	-0.38	*
Wave 6	-0.50	***	-0.51	***	-0.51	***	-0.52	***		-0.59	**	-0.68	***
Wave 7	-0.42	***	-0.44	***	-0.44	***	-0.45	***		-0.69	**	-0.58	***
Wave 8	-0.36	***	-0.39	***	-0.39	***	-0.34	**		-0.74	**	-0.46	**
Constant	-4.02	***	0.09		0.14		7.84	**		55.57	***	4.16	
Sigma_u	1.76		1.77		1.77		1.59			1.61		1.48	

Note: Based on a balanced panel of HILDA data. ***, **, and * denote significance at the 1 per cent, 5 per cent and 10 per cent levels, respectively. Source: Authors' calculation.

Appendix 2. Incidence of social exclusion at a point in time (%).

	Wave 1	Wave 2	Wave 3	Wave 4	Wave 5	Wave 6	Wave 7	Wave 8	Total
Material resources	19.3	17.2	16.8	16.0	13.9	12.2	11.8	12.0	14.9
Participation	8.0	9.4	7.8	9.6	10.2	10.9	10.4	14.0	10.0
Social support	9.8	10.3	10.4	10.4	11.0	7.2	9.4	8.9	9.7
Community engagement	17.1	15.8	14.7	12.7	12.9	13.2	15.6	12.4	14.3
Exclusion in two or more domains	11.0	11.1	9.6	10.6	9.5	8.9	8.8	8.8	9.8

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