

Chapter four

Survey analyses of social exclusion

We also looked at the major survey analyses that address the question of social exclusion. The principal sources are the PSE Survey, which was specifically designed to measure social exclusion, and secondary analyses of other data sets, such as the BHPS, FACS and ELSA. These studies are important both for conceptualisation of social exclusion and the resultant indicators, and for their substantive findings.

Millennium Survey of Poverty and Social Exclusion

Unlike all the other survey data sets reviewed for this study, the PSE Survey was specifically designed to measure poverty and social exclusion. It was, and still is, the only survey undertaken to measure social exclusion in Britain. Carried out in 1999, it built on the 1983 and 1990 *Breadline Britain Surveys* (Mack and Lansley, 1985; Gordon and Pantazis, 1997). In developing the PSE Survey, other surveys were referred to (for example, the *European Community Household Panel (ECHP) Survey*, and *Small fortunes: The National Survey of the Lifestyles and Living Standards of Children*). Focus group research also fed into the questionnaire's development, principally in terms of negotiating the list of items and activities that adults and children should have, and should not have to go without.

The survey exists in two parts. The ONS Omnibus Survey carried out in June 1999 included questions on the necessities of life for adults and children. The second part involved a follow-up survey of a sub-sample of respondents from the 1998-99 GHS, and was uniquely designed to give greater probability that people on lower income groups would be selected. The follow-up survey forms the main part of the PSE Survey; the survey asked respondents whether they (and their children) went without items and social activities through choice *or* lack of money. Additionally, respondents were asked an extensive range of questions relating to other aspects of social exclusion including questions on paid work, unpaid caring responsibilities, contact with friends and family, social support, participation in civil and political activities, access to public and private services, debt and exclusion from financial services, crime and harm, health, and disability. As a result, the PSE Survey provides the most complete coverage of domains and topics relating to social exclusion as identified in the B-SEM.

Gordon et al (2000) detailed the main findings from the PSE Survey; however, the most comprehensive secondary analysis of the PSE Survey appears in an edited collection by Pantazis et al (2006). The collection includes general chapters on the measurement of poverty

and social exclusion; chapters on the *processes* that relate to poverty and social exclusion including paid work, debt, local services and crime; and other chapters on the *risks* of poverty and social exclusion for particular social groups such as children, young people and older groups. Beyond this edited collection there has been some secondary analysis of the PSE Survey focusing on specific issues such as preference (McKay, 2004); the housing needs of disabled children (Beresford and Oldman, 2002); poverty and social exclusion among children (Adelman et al, 2003); and also home ownership and poverty (Burrows, 2003). Due to the focus of our brief, this section will review the secondary analysis of the PSE Survey from Pantazis et al (2006) and Adelman et al (2003).

Social exclusion: definition, dimensions and evidence

In the original report by Gordon et al (2000, p 73) social exclusion was defined as:

A lack or denial of access to the kinds of social relations, social customs and activities in which the great majority of people in British society engage. In current usage, social exclusion is often regarded as a ‘process’ rather than a ‘state’ and this helps in being constructively precise in deciding its relationship to poverty.

Unlike other approaches to social exclusion that focus almost exclusively on poverty, lack of work, or area exclusion, the PSE approach extended the investigation of social exclusion to encapsulate social relationships by drawing inspiration from Townsend’s (1979) work. As Levitas (2006, p 136) explained:

The PSE approach is more explicitly concerned with people’s quality of life and the place of social relations in this – and the impact of poverty and (lack of) paid work on these social relationships.

Consequently, the PSE approach distinguished between four dimensions of social exclusion:

- impoverishment (exclusion from adequate income or resources)
- labour market exclusion (exclusion from paid work)
- service exclusion (exclusion from public and private services)
- exclusion from social relations (exclusion from social, civil, political participation, social support, social contact, confinement).

Impoverishment

The PSE Survey employed a variety of measures of poverty including:

- income (OECD [Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development] equivalised, PSE equivalised, Households Below Average Income [HBAI]);
- subjective poverty (respondents were asked: whether they considered themselves poor or whether they had lived in poverty for most of their lives, and whether they considered their household income to be below that necessary to keep a household like theirs out of overall and absolute poverty);
- lack of socially perceived necessities.

The main poverty measure used in the PSE Survey was the lack of socially perceived necessities. This measure, which is also known as the consensual poverty method, involved three steps (Gordon, 2006, p 43): first, establishing which items and activities were perceived by the public as necessities of life¹ (see Appendix 5); second, identifying those who had an enforced lack of socially perceived necessities, that is, were going without because of money; and third, determining what levels of household income people ran a greater risk of not being able to afford the socially perceived necessities. (Further details of the statistical techniques used in the construction of this method can be found in Gordon et al. 2000, Appendix 2.) On this basis, 25% of the population were found to be living in poverty in 1999, representing 14 million people in Britain. A further 2% were identified as rising out poverty and 13% were potentially vulnerable to poverty. Because the PSE Survey built on the previous *Breadline Britain Surveys* it was able to provide trends in poverty, demonstrating that poverty had risen from 14% of households in 1983 to 21% by 1990 but by the new millennium that proportion had risen still further to encompass almost one in four of all households.

Labour market exclusion

The PSE Survey found high levels of non-participation in the labour market. For example, 43% of adults (50% of women and 36% of men) were without work, and 34% (38% of women and 30%) lived in jobless households, leading Levitas (2006, p 137) to argue that “with such high levels of non-participation in paid work, treating this as *constitutive* of social exclusion becomes problematic” (emphasis in original). Nevertheless there is an expectation that paid work results in people being better off both financially and socially than those who are either unemployed or economically inactive. In this context, Bailey’s re-analysis of the

PSE Survey confirmed that “individuals in work have lower poverty rates than those not in work, and full-time workers have lower poverty rates than part-time workers” (Bailey, 2006, pp 170-1), although the benefits of work varied for men and women depending on which poverty measure was used. On the other hand the impact of work on sociability and social support was less clear: those in part-time work were less likely to have low levels of contact compared to those working full time or with no work while part-time workers (whether female or male) displayed the highest levels of support.

Service exclusion

One of the major strengths of the PSE Survey was its inclusion of questions on local services; respondents were asked how essential they considered a wide range of general and, age-specific, services normally either provided or subsidised by the council or private businesses:

- libraries
- public sports facilities, museums and galleries
- evening classes
- public/community/village hall
- hospital with an Accident & Emergency (A&E) department
- doctor
- dentist
- optician
- post office
- places of worship
- bus services
- train/tube station
- petrol stations
- chemists
- corner shop
- access to medium to large supermarkets
- access to banks and building societies
- pub
- cinema or theatre

- facilities for children to play safely nearby
- school meals

- youth clubs
- after-school clubs
- public transport to school
- nurseries, playgroups, mother and toddler groups

- availability of home help
- availability of Meals on Wheels
- special transport for those with mobility problems.

Respondents were then asked whether they used these services and, if not, whether this was due to inadequacy, unavailability or unaffordability.

Fisher and Bramley's (2006) analysis demonstrated that general public services declined in usage over the 1990s (comparisons were made with the 1990 *Breadline Britain Survey*), and "this is associated with a decline in the proportion of people regarding these services as essential" (p 241). Some services such as doctors, post offices, supermarkets and chemists remained almost universal (and also essential) in 1999. Further "a pro-rich bias remained consistent for usage of demand-led leisure and information services over the 1990s, and in many cases this bias increased somewhat. Bus services remain pro-poor in their distribution of usage. Children's services display a mixed picture, with some shift in favour of higher incomes in the case of child care. Services for elderly people show a generally pro-poor pattern..." (p 242). The main obstacle to usage (particularly in relation to play facilities, school meals, youth clubs and public transport for children) was confirmed as unavailability and unsuitability rather than affordability but poor households "face poorer-quality services and that poverty reinforces constraints on service usage" (p 242).

Analysis of whether people excluded from local services were also excluded on other dimensions of social exclusion confirmed a mixed pattern. While service exclusion was only very slightly related to social participation, stronger relationships were found in relation to joblessness and poverty:

Table 4.1: Association between service exclusion and other dimensions of exclusion

Exclusion category	Excluded from 3+ service (%)^a
Poor household (lacking 2+ social necessities)	25
Lowest quintile equivalent income	23
Jobless household (working age)	22
Lack of social participation (4+ activities ^b)	16
Retired household	16
Not lacking social participation	15
With workers in household	12
Not lowest quintile	12
Not poor	11
All households	15

Notes: ^a Exclusion from three or more services because not available or unaffordable. ^b From seven activities: evening out each fortnight; meal out each month; family meal each fortnight; visits to family each fortnight; go to pub each fortnight; attend church; guest at wedding, funeral etc.

Source: Fisher and Bramley (2006, p 217)

Exclusion from social relations

A pioneering feature of the PSE approach was its direct measurement of exclusion from social relations. It employed five themes²:

- non-participation in common social activities;
- the extent of people's social networks and the extent to which they are socially isolated;
- the support available to individuals on a routine basis and in times of crisis;
- disengagement from political and civic activity;
- confinement, resulting from fear of crime, disability or other factors.

Analysis of the data relating to common social activities confirmed that with few exceptions, higher proportions of people claimed they were not participating because they did not want to rather than because they could not afford to. Nevertheless some social groups were worse affected by non-participation – young adults (aged 16-34), those aged over 65, women, single people with children, those without paid work, and those living in poverty. Poverty was established as a clear risk factor for reduced social participation, with those below 60% of the median household income being three times more likely to be non-participating in seven or more activities than those with higher incomes.

The significance of lack of money was confirmed in the analysis of the follow-up question that probed for a wider range of responses to why people do not participate. This revealed that lack of money was the most cited response to why people did not participate in common social activities and that time constraints (of both paid and unpaid work) were also significant in reducing participation rates. Further examination of the relationship between equivalised income and lack of participation demonstrated declining participation with falls in income: “Below about £260 equivalised OECD income, social participation is increasingly curtailed” (Levitas, 2006, p 150). She added:

What this suggests is that whatever people say about not wanting too participate in, or not being interested in, particular activities, low income restricts participation, and does so progressively. Of course, no correlation can itself establish a causal link, but in the absence on any other plausible account of causation at work here, it seems reasonable to conclude that poverty has a direct impact on the levels of social participation. (p 151)

In relation to social networks and social isolation, the PSE Survey found that 18% of the population lives alone, affecting more women than men especially in the later years. Other findings on the degree of contact with friends and family revealed that:

- 41% of the sample does not have a relative outside the household whom they see or speak to on a daily basis;
- 9% of the population have no family member outside the household whom they see or speak to at least weekly;
- 1% has no effective family contact outside the household (that is, no family member they see or speak to at least once a year);
- 7% have no friend they see or speak to at least weekly;
- 3% have no friend they see or speak to at least yearly;
- just over 1% of respondents (all men) have neither a family member nor a friend with whom they are in contact at least weekly. (Levitas, 2006, p 142)

There were few differences between people living in poverty and those better off with regards to social networks, although contacts were biased towards the family for the poor and friends for the non-poor (Levitas, 2006, p 143).

When asked what factors prevented them from meeting up more often with family and friends, the most cited factor was pressure of time; 27% reported lack of time due to paid work, 9% said lack of time due to childcare responsibilities, and 4% claimed lack of time due to caring responsibilities. Levitas (2006, p 148) wrote that “for more than one in four of the adult population as a whole (and thus a significantly higher proportion of those in paid work), employment is a brake on social contact and integration”.

As well as the degree of social contact, the PSE Survey tapped into the level of support respondents felt they would have in range of different situations:

- needing help around the home if in bed with flu/illness
- needing help with heavy household or gardening jobs
- needing someone to look after their home or possessions while away
- needing someone to look after children or an adult dependent
- needing advice about an important life change
- being upset because of problems with spouse/partner
- feeling depressed and wanting someone to talk to.

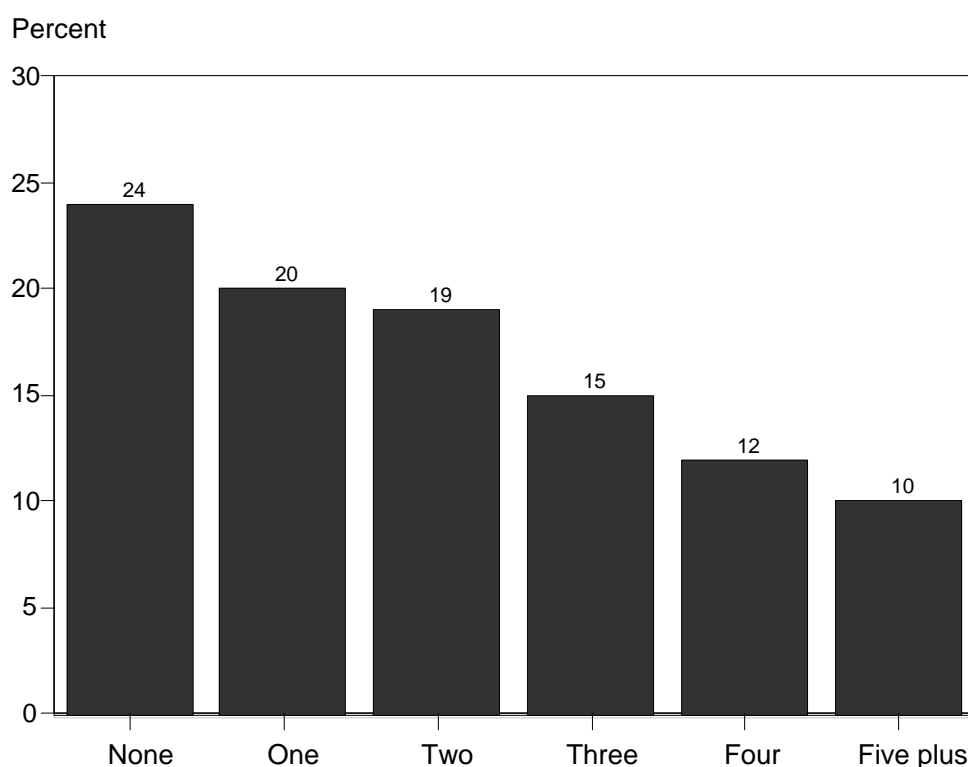
The analysis demonstrated that poor people had weaker support than others, across both practical and emotional indicators³. Poorer levels of support were felt by working-age jobless households, pensioner households, but the lowest levels of support were reported by those living alone. On the other hand, lone parents had relatively good levels of support. Indeed they reported the highest levels of emotional support in the sample. In assessing the impact of paid work on social support, Levitas found that people not in work but not living in a poor household had both the best practical support and by far the best emotional support. However, the small size of this group meant that caution had to be expressed in interpreting whether non-participation in paid work, when not accompanied by poverty, leads to social exclusion (the problem of small sample size is discussed further below).

Degrees of exclusion

No headline figure for the numbers of socially excluded was given by Levitas (2006), justified on the basis that the dimensions of social exclusion are not so closely related. The analysis did however attempt to look at the degree of exclusion by considering exclusion across eight dimensions: poverty, lack of paid work, living in a jobless households, service exclusion, non-participation in social activities, social isolation, poor social support, and civil

and political disengagement. The analysis, which did not weight the specific indicators in order of importance, highlighted that the majority of the population was socially excluded on at least one indicator. Just under one quarter of the population (22%) were excluded on four or more dimensions, that is, half of the eight dimensions considered. (see Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: Number of indicators of social exclusion and poverty^a reported by PSE respondents, out of a possible eight



Note: *respondent is poor if counted as poor on any one poverty measure (i.e. PSE poor, below 60% median income, in genera

*Note: Dimension included: (i) not in paid work; (ii) lives in a jobless household; (iii) is excluded from three plus services because unaffordable or unavailable/unsuitable; (iv) does not participate in five plus social activities for any reason; (v) has no daily contact with either friend or family; (vi) has poor support on four plus indicators; (vii) is not currently or involved in the past three years in civil and political activities (including voting); (viii) is poor (defined in terms of living in objective poverty, subjective poor or income poverty).

Source: Levitas (2006, p 154)

Children

Building on the previous *Breadline Britain Surveys* and the *Small Fortunes* study (Middleton et al, 1997), the PSE Survey contained direct measures of children's social and material deprivation. It also went further than its forerunners by adding a new dimension to children's experience of poverty and social exclusion by examining how resources are shared within households.

Up to one third of children went without essential items activities, including three meals a day, toys, out-of-school activities or adequate clothing according the 1999 PSE Survey (Lloyd, 2006). Eighteen per cent of children went without two or more activities defined as necessities by the British population. The risk of poverty was higher for some children than it was for others. For example, while 42% of children in jobless households were going without two or more necessities, poverty rates were still high for those children living with earners; 37% of children in households with one full-time worker and 32% of children in households with full-time workers were deprived of at least one item. Poverty risks were higher for children in lone-parent households, children in larger families, children in minority ethnic households and those living in social housing. Nevertheless, analysis of the intra-household distribution of resources revealed that with the five items and activities considered, over 80% of children did not go without even if their parents did – suggesting that parents will attempt to protect their children from poverty (Lloyd, 2006: 331).

Young people

Fahmy's (2006a) analysis of young people (aged 16-24 and 25-34) provided evidence that youth transitions in Britain are becoming more "protracted, complex, and often more hazardous". A greater proportion of young people reported below average incomes than among the sample as a whole. Furthermore young people were more likely to be necessities poor. The results were strongly gendered such that 43% of young women experienced poverty compared to 28% of young men (Fahmy, 2006a, p 354).

Fahmy (2006a) considered other dimensions of social exclusion. Age differences were found in relation to local service usage but these tended to be related to usage. Young people were more likely to report dissatisfaction with local services compared to others, particularly in relation to community services such as GPs, opticians, buses and trains, for example. However, compared to all adults, young people were less socially isolated with fewer than 1 in 10 saying that their contact with family members is less than once a week. Nevertheless, analyses of GHS data suggest that young people are less able to draw on their friendship networks in a 'crisis' than other working-age adults so that the impact of social isolation may be greater for young people than for older respondents (Fahmy, 2006b).

Exclusion from civic engagement and community participation were also investigated by Fahmy in some detail, confirming that "overall young people are somewhat less likely to

participate in a range of social, community and political organisations than older age groups” (Fahmy, 2006a, p 363). Cronbach’s alpha was used to assess the reliability of the indicators in the civic engagement index. Analysis demonstrated that young people were considerably less likely to be involved in the formal political process, but Fahmy states that the types of involvement considered in the PSE Survey captures the formal process of politics and underplays participation in the types of unstructured and informal political activity that are favoured by more marginalised groups. Thus, there should be scope in broadening the types of organisations and activities that would come under the umbrella of civic and political participation. The main findings relating to social exclusion for young people are illustrated in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Percentage of young people excluded using PSE approach, on a selected number of indicators

Dimension	Young people, aged 16-24 (%)	Young people, aged 25-34 (%)
Poverty		
Below 60% median OECD	20	11
Below 50% median HBAI	24	15
Below 50% mean PSE	26	15
Below Minimum Income Guarantee threshold	17	12
Service exclusion		
Dissatisfaction with social amenities	11	–
Dissatisfaction with community services	30	–
Social relations		
<i>Social networks</i>		
Contact with family members: less than weekly	7	–
Contact with friends/neighbours: less than weekly	1	–
<i>Civic engagement</i>		
None	68	–
One	22	–
Two or more	10	–

Source: Adapted from Fahmy (2006a)

Older people

A complex picture of the nature of pensioner poverty and social exclusion has been furnished by the PSE Survey data. For example, Patsios (2006) found not only that many pensioners clearly suffer from poverty and are excluded from participating in the mainstream life of society but also that poverty, deprivation and social exclusion are inextricably linked. His analysis confirmed that there are many ways in which pensioners can become cut off from

society and impoverished. However, there was also evidence that not all pensioners suffered equally in terms of poverty and social exclusion.

The picture which emerges is of two very distinct groups of pensioners, each varying in the degree to which they experience poverty and social exclusion. A ‘better-off’ group, made up mostly of younger pensioners living in pensioner couple households, who experience low levels of poverty and social exclusion, and a ‘worse-off’ group, who are often female pensioners living alone, experiencing much higher levels of poverty and social exclusion. (p 453)

Moreover, the analysis revealed that older pensioners were more likely to report that they cannot afford to pay for elderly services (home helps etc) and they also have lower levels of participation in civic activities. Patsios concluded that poverty and exclusion are highest among single women pensioners, particularly younger single women pensioners, who are the poorest and most excluded group of all pensioners. Table 4.3 summarises the main findings of the pensioners analysis in relation to the main dimensions of the PSE approach.

Table 4.3: Percentage of pensioner households excluded using PSE approach

Dimension	Percentage
Labour market exclusion	
Labour market inactive	93
Living in a workless household	60
Service exclusion	
<i>Utilities</i>	
Utility disconnection	1
Restricted use of utilities	7
Borrowed money to pay for day-to-day needs	2
<i>Use of public and private services</i>	
Public services unaffordable/unavailable (2+)	8
Private services unaffordable/unavailable (2+)	16
Public/private services unaffordable/unavailable (2+)	28
Elderly/disabled services unaffordable/unavailable (1+)	7
Social relations	
Non-participation in common social activities – “can’t afford”	19
Socially isolated – “no daily contact with family/friends”	20
Lack of informal support – “poor practical/emotional support”	14
Socially disengaged – “no current civic/political engagement”	44
Socially confined – “affordability reason for not participating”	15

Summary of strengths and limitations of the *Millennium Survey of Poverty and Social Exclusion*

The PSE Survey offers a number of potential advantages to social policy analysts in relation to the study of exclusion, including:

- It provides a close overlap with the domains identified in B-SEM. In particular, it has extensive coverage of social exclusion using four dimensions: (a) impoverishment; (b) labour market exclusion; (c) service exclusion; and (d) exclusion from social relations. The PSE Survey pioneered the direct measurement of social relations as part of social exclusion and includes extensive questions on the usage of local services – often a neglected dimension by other surveys.
- It contains direct measures of poverty for *both* adults and children covering a range of domains (for example, housing, health, food, clothing items and social activities). The FRS has now included questions relating to material and social deprivation, but this represents only a small sub-set of PSE Survey questions.
- It has reliable income measures and subjective measures of poverty based on UN agreed definitions.
- There are questions on choice which allows for an analysis of the extent to which individuals are going without certain items and activities through choice rather than due to a lack of money.
- It allows for the exploration of intra-household poverty and exclusion in relation to women and children.
- As the PSE Survey repeated some of the questions in the 1990 and 1983 *Breadline Britain Surveys* (for example, questions relating to the perception of necessities, material and social deprivation, subjective poverty, local services), there is the possibility of undertaking trend analysis.
- There is the potential for multivariate analyses (for example, general linear models, etc) across a range of themes relating to multiple exclusion (for example, health and well-being, crime and social harm, economic participation and social and economic resources).
- It over-sampled households in low-income groups.
- There is a self-reported element for sensitive topics e.g. sexual assaults.

The disadvantages of the PSE Survey in relation to the study of multi-dimensional exclusion include the following:

- The sample size is relatively small and this limits the analysis of social exclusion for vulnerable sub-groups, for example, minority ethnic respondents and lone mothers.
- The response rate is lower than most surveys. This was most probably the result of the length of the questionnaire (Gordon et al, 2000).
- The 1999 PSE Survey is now relatively dated and there are no plans to repeat the survey.
- As with the majority of surveys, information was not collected directly from children in 1999.
- There is no longitudinal component to the survey, which is a disadvantage for certain kinds of statistical analysis, although such a component could be built into any repeat of the survey.

British Household Panel Survey

Unlike the PSE Survey, the BHPS was not designed to measure social exclusion. The indicators that have been used are therefore, like those in the batteries of single indicators, driven by a compromise between understandings of social exclusion and the availability of data.

There have been a number of secondary analyses of the BHPS that bear on social exclusion or on multiple disadvantage. The most important of these are Burchardt's 'Social exclusion: concepts and evidence' (2000); Taylor et al's *Low income and multiple disadvantage 1991-2001* (2004), commissioned by the SEU, together with Taylor (2005), which provides an update for 1997-2003; and Barnes' (2005) *Social exclusion in Great Britain*. These three general analyses are considered in turn. In addition Save the Children UK has undertaken secondary analysis of the BHPS relating to child poverty.

Social exclusion: concepts and evidence

Burchardt proffers a working definition of social exclusion as follows:

An individual is socially excluded if he or she does not participate to a reasonable degree over time in certain key activities of his or her society, and (a) this is for reasons beyond his or her control, and (b) he or she would like to participate. (Burchardt, 2000, p 388)

This study draws on data from the first five waves of the BHPS, from 1991 to 1995. The response and attrition problems with the BHPS are clearly noted, as is the fact that, as a household survey, it excludes institutional and homeless populations. The results are adjusted

with cross-sectional weights to ‘correct’ for non-response in individual years: the initial sample achieved a 74% response rate. There are also longitudinal weights to adjust for the effects of attrition: 73% of those interviewed in the first wave gave an interview at the fifth wave. It is also noted that “the ‘socially excluded’” may “have characteristics not controlled for in the weighting procedures that make them more likely to drop out of the panel”, although it is claimed that “the effect on results is not likely to be large” (Burchardt 2000, p 401).

The analysis identifies four dimensions on which participation is thought important: consumption, production, political engagement and social interaction. Corresponding indicators are drawn from the BHPS: low income; lack of engagement in a socially valued activity; not voting, and not taking part in any campaigning activity; and lacking emotional support. A single cut-off point was identified on each dimension. Partly because the BHPS does not collect data that would directly address the question of choice, these cut-offs were set at a low level: the assumption is that anyone who could participate more fully and wanted to would do so. The cut-off points are:

Consumption/ low income: less than 50% mean equivalised household income

Production/socially valued activity: those ‘socially included’ are in paid work, education or training, caring for family, or over state retirement age

Political engagement: respondents count as included if **either** voted in 1992 election **or** are a member of a trades union, political party, parents’ association or tenants’/residents’ group

Social interaction: exclusion is lacking support on any one of five dimensions on which data is collected in the BHPS.

The data was subjected to both cross-sectional and longitudinal analysis. In 1991, less than two thirds of the population (61.6%) were not excluded on any dimension. A total of 9.8% were excluded on two or more dimensions, and a tiny minority (0.3%) on all four. This pattern held across the first five waves. The association between low income and the other dimensions is higher than between the other three. The production dimension carried the highest risk of multiple exclusion.

The longitudinal analysis showed that many more people suffered exclusion over time than in any single year. However, there is a continuum on each dimension between those

experiencing exclusion in a single year and those excluded for two, three, four or five years. Burchardt concludes that “dividing the population into two groups, one who experience short-term and another who experience long-term or even permanent exclusion, would be misleading” (Burchardt, 2000, p 397). Long-term exclusion on a single dimension was associated with greater risk of multiple exclusion. In particular “those with low income at each of the first four waves were three and a half times more likely to be excluded on more than one dimension by wave 5 than those who had never experienced low income”. However, “[a]nalysis of the BHPS provides no evidence of a group of households cut off from the principal activities of mainstream society over an extended period of time” (Burchardt, 2000, p 400).

This limited study shows some of the possibilities of secondary analysis of the BHPS. The approach was extended in Burchardt et al (2002) to 1998, with similar results. However, the final negative finding can be understood in two ways. One is that the concept of deep exclusion is problematic, as exclusion is, generally, more widespread. Or, those who are at greatest risk of deep exclusion are not to be found in the household population.

Moreover, the number of dimensions in this exploratory analysis is small – very much narrower than the range of domains identified in other sources. The operationalisation is not differentiated by stage of the life course except in the treatment of those over state pension age. Here, bizarrely, everyone is treated as ‘included’ on the production dimension even if they are not participating in any of the specified ways. As Taylor et al (2004) comment, the additive approach is methodologically problematic. The ‘index’ is also limited in not including any indicators of housing, health or skill disadvantage.

Low income and multiple disadvantage 1991-2001

Taylor et al (2004) do not specifically formulate their analysis in terms of social exclusion, but similarly address the extent, and relationships between, disadvantage across a series of dimensions. Indeed, they regard social exclusion as conceptually unclear, and reiterate that the work does not constitute an index of social exclusion. The basis of their analysis is the first 11 waves of the BHPS, from 1991 to 2001. As in Burchardt (2000), the data is analysed as a series of repeat cross-sectional analyses over time, and as a longitudinal data set. The longitudinal data set is divided into two five-year periods, 1991-96 and 1996-2001. It is also analysed separately for those of working age and those over the state retirement age. One of the peculiarities of this analysis is that being on a low income is defined not by reference to

the usual 60% median equivalised household income (or, for earlier studies 50% of the mean), but in terms of falling in the lowest quintile of the income distribution. This may have affected the correlations between income and other aspects of disadvantage. However, since the proportion of national income calculated after housing costs accruing to the bottom quintile was constant at 6% across the period in question, and that accruing to the bottom 50% of the income distribution remained constant at 25%, any effects are likely to have been small.

The analysis uses a wider set of dimensions of disadvantage than Burchardt (2000). Nevertheless, the data is limited to that collected in the BHPS, and the authors note that there are areas of exclusion not covered, notably 'access to health and transport services, homelessness, participation in crime, drug abuse, and journey time to the nearest shop or post office'. The domains covered, and the indicators in each domain, are shown below:

Low income

In bottom quintile of income distribution

Employment disadvantage

Unemployed – currently not working and having to search for work in the previous four weeks

Workless household – living in a household in which no members are currently in work

Education disadvantage

Has no qualifications

Accommodation disadvantage

Lives in social housing

The number of persons per room

Accommodation suffers from lack of space

Accommodation suffers from lack of light

Accommodation suffers from inadequate heating

Accommodation suffers from condensation

Accommodation suffers from a leaking roof

Accommodation suffers from damp

Accommodation suffers from rot

Health disadvantage

Health limits the ability to climb stairs

Health limits the ability to walk for at least 10 minutes

Health limits the amount of housework possible

Health limits the type or amount of work possible

Smoker – whether the individual currently smokes

Mental health score – General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) measure of mental distress

Social isolation disadvantage

Has no one who will listen

Has no one to help them in a crisis

Lives alone

The number of organisations in which active

Material disadvantage and financial hardship

Does not have access to a car

Does not have access to a colour TV

Does not have access to a VCR

Does not have access to a washing machine

Does not have access to a dishwasher

Does not have access to a microwave oven

Does not have access to a home PC

Does not have access to a CD player

Has problems meeting housing costs

Has been more than two months in arrears with their rent/mortgage

Cannot afford to keep their home warm

Cannot afford an annual holiday away from home

Cannot afford to replace worn furniture

Cannot afford to buy new clothes

Cannot afford to eat meat on alternate days

Cannot afford to feed visitors at least once a month

Local environment indicators

Accommodation suffers from problems relating to noisy neighbours

Accommodation suffers from problems relating to a noisy street

Accommodation suffers from problems relating to pollution

Accommodation suffers from problems relating to vandalism or crime.

There are substantial overlaps with our theoretically derived matrix B-SEM set out in Chapter Five, but also substantial gaps as a result of the data available in the survey. Moreover, 'living alone' is treated as an indicator, rather than a risk factor, for social isolation, as is living in

social housing. The internal consistency of the indicators in each domain were assessed using Cronbach's alpha (with varying results) and the relationships between domains of disadvantage using Pearson's chi-squared, a non-parametric test for trend and Spearman's rank correlation coefficient. The analysis was partly concerned to address the question of whether disadvantage had become more entrenched over the time periods 1991-96 and 1996-2001. The conclusions for working-age adults and for pensioners are rather different, although a larger proportion of both groups experienced persistent low income in the 1996-2001 period compared to 1991-96.

For working-age adults, individuals generally became better off in each time period: the fraction experiencing disadvantage fell, the proportion with zero disadvantages rose, and the mean number of disadvantages fell. However, there was a rise in disadvantage in both periods for those entering low income. Like Burchardt, Taylor et al conclude that there is no evidence that disadvantage became more acute during this time period for working-age adults. Despite a general improvement in terms of the number of disadvantages for this age group, there was less evidence of improvement in terms of poor health and social isolation. Indeed, the health position of the bottom income quintile declined both absolutely and relatively over the time period. There are clear associations between low income, especially persistent low income, and the other domains. Although the position on non-income indicators improved both relatively and absolutely, this improvement slowed after 1996.

For pensioners, the analysis shows less encouraging results. Looking at the same people over time, their position deteriorated, although this is partly attributed to the ageing process. The average number of disadvantages experienced by pensioners increased. The deterioration was greater in the 1996-2001 period than in 1991-96. There was also an increase in the persistence of poor mental health for both working-age adults and pensioners. The relationship between different domains of disadvantage (including income) is more complex than for working-age individuals. Taylor et al (2004, p 148) suggest that the measures of disadvantage in the BHPS are not good indicators of social exclusion for pensioners.

The analysis also considers the interaction between dimensions of disadvantage, and especially their relationship to low income. For working-age adults, living in social housing, overcrowding, ownership of consumer durables, and lifestyle hardship were most highly correlated with income; mental health, subjective social isolation and living alone were least associated with income (Taylor et al, 2004, p 79). For pensioners, income was most closely

correlated with living in social housing, ownership of consumer durables, lifestyle hardship, living alone, the number of organisations in which the individual was active and having no qualifications. Health indicators, housing quality, subjective local area quality, housing payment problems and the summary social isolation measure had only weak correlations with income (Taylor et al, 2004, p 94). An assessment of the relationship between a range of measures of disadvantage showed surprisingly low levels of correlation between different dimensions, apart from income, living in a workless household and living in social housing. There is evidence that the association between variables, including income, is not constant over time. In addition, Taylor et al and Burchardt comment at several points that the assessments of the level of disadvantage, and the associations between different dimensions, are highly sensitive to the precise definitions and thresholds used.

Taylor (2005) provides an updated analysis of the BHPS for the 1997-2003 period. This analysis looks at 10 indicators of disadvantage: unemployment; living in a workless household; lacking qualifications; living in social housing; overcrowding; poor mental health; poor health; living alone; lacking consumer durables; and financial stress. Unlike Taylor et al (2004), but like Burchardt (2000) and Burchardt et al (2002), the dimensions of disadvantage are treated additively. This analysis appears to be the basis of the results cited in Miliband (2006) claiming that social exclusion has diminished over this period. However, the author yet again stresses that the non-household population is excluded, and that the BHPS is not designed to measure social exclusion. (Martin et al, 2006, also comment on the absence from the study of any immigrant population since the launch of the panel in 1991). The analysis shows that the proportions of working-age adults and of pensioners experiencing multiple disadvantage declined over this period. However, it should be noted that this is measured against an absolute standard rather than against changing – rising – average living standards, and thus such a fall would be expected. Changes in the demographic profile between 1997 and 2003 of working-age adults experiencing multiple disadvantage appear to show an increasing concentration of disadvantage in the 35-55 age group, and a marked rise in the proportion of single men. This may be related to a policy focus on addressing child and pensioner poverty. However, the weighted numbers for those experiencing five or more disadvantages are low. Since the actual numbers in the sample will be yet lower, these results should be treated with caution. The problem of low numbers in vulnerable sub-groups is part of the reason for the recommendation in Martin et al's (2006) *Strategic review of panel and cohort studies* that the BHPS panel size be increased to 40,000.

Social exclusion in Britain

Barnes' 2005 study uses the BHPS data both for an analysis of social exclusion in Britain and a comparison with European data using the ECHP (European Community Household Panel) dataset. Following Room (1995, 1998, 2000) it approaches social exclusion both in terms of multiple disadvantage and persistence, thus using both cross-sectional and longitudinal analyses. Adapting Walker and Walker's (1997, p 8) definition, it defines social exclusion thus:

Social exclusion refers to the multidimensional and dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from the economic, social and cultural systems that determine the social integration of a person in society.

It focuses on working-age adults, noting that there is a lack of information on children in the BHPS, and that the social exclusion of those over retirement age raises different questions. The cross-sectional and longitudinal weights are not used because they are designed for the full sample rather than this subset. It was argued in 1995 that not using the weights had no effect on the attrition rates for income poverty. This study assumes that the same can therefore be said of social exclusion, an assumption that may not be correct. The analysis covers nine BHPS waves from 1991-99. The study uses multivariate analysis based on logistic regression.

Seven dimensions of social exclusion are identified:

- financial situation
- ownership of durable goods
- quality of housing
- neighbourhood perception
- personal social relationships
- physical health
- psychological well-being.

Notably, labour market position is treated as a risk factor for social exclusion rather than a component of it. Thresholds are developed using both relative data drawn from the *Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey* (PSE) (see Gordon et al, 2000; Pantazis et al, 2006) and absolute levels. Again, an additive method is then used. In 1996, more than half the working-age

population were disadvantaged on at least one indicator, but only 22% on two or more and 8% on three or more. Income poverty was again shown to have high correlations with other dimensions of disadvantage, but the links between other dimensions were again complex. Factor analysis suggested three groups: household economic deprivation; personal civic exclusion; and personal health exclusion. Numbers were insufficient to undertake further analysis of those disadvantaged in all three areas. However, 3% of working-age individuals experiencing disadvantage fell in this category. Repeat cross-sectional analysis showed that the extent of disadvantage on the economic indicators declined in the 1990s (although the financial situation is measured against a fixed standard, so this is to be expected). Levels of physical health disadvantage rose during this period.

The sample for longitudinal analysis consists of those working-age adults who completed a full questionnaire at each of the nine waves of the survey, reducing the effective sample from the 7,041 in the first wave to 3,106. Although the proportions in each demographic category are not dissimilar to the original sample, the reduced sample size limits analysis. General and differential attrition means, for example, that the actual number of lone parents with dependent children dropped from 422 to 124 over the waves of the survey. Attempts are made to look at the duration of disadvantage in terms of occasional, recurrent, short-term and long-term persistence. The study looks at longitudinal multi-dimensional disadvantage. While 52% of individuals were never disadvantaged on more than one indicator – that is, did not experience multiple disadvantage – 48% were so disadvantaged. Twenty-one per cent suffered persistent long-term disadvantage, meaning disadvantage in at least seven out of nine years. Sixty per cent suffered persistent disadvantage, meaning disadvantage in more than two waves of the survey with a break of no more than one wave. Analysis by demographic groups was hampered by small sample sizes, notably “the low numbers of economically deprived individuals in the BHPS data set” (Barnes, 2005, p 124). Notably, labour market activity was associated with increased chances of experiencing persistent personal civic exclusion, especially in comparison with those caring for the home or family members. Only a very small minority, less than 2% of the working-age population, experienced persistent disadvantage across all three fields – a multiple exclusion that might map on to the notion of deep exclusion. Although further analysis of the characteristics of this group was attempted, given the total numbers in the overall sample this is based on 30-60 individuals.

Barnes (2005, pp 178-9) points out that the range of information collected in the BHPS is less comprehensive than in the PSE Survey. Other problems identified with the BHPS are

“comprehensiveness, consistency, time-span, geographical detail, survey coverage, attrition and sample size” (Barnes, 2005, p 185).

Britain’s poorest children revisited: evidence from the BHPS (1994-2002)

Magadi and Middleton (2005) used BHPS data and net household income variables. Their study used three waves of the BHPS that have become available since 1999. It provides an update on earlier work on Britain’s poorest children (Adelman et al, 2003), which used two data sets: the 1999 PSE Survey and the first nine waves (1991-99) of the BHPS. Compared to the earlier study *Britain’s poorest children revisited* provides supplementary data in respect of four areas that had been found to be particularly policy relevant after the initial study was published. These are:

- the proportion of children in severe and persistent poverty;
- characteristics of children in severe and persistent poverty;
- persistent and severe childhood poverty and household exclusion; and
- persistent and severe childhood poverty and young people’s social exclusion.

“The analysis is based on experience of poverty, over a five-year period, among children and young people aged below 20 years” (Magadi and Middleton, 2005, p xii). The definitions used were the same as for the 2003 study. Children in households with income below 27% of the median income were classified as living in severe poverty, whereas non-severe poverty was considered to be affecting children living in households with an income below between 27% and 59% of the median. Children living in severe and persistent poverty were classified as those living for three or more years in poverty *and* at least one year in severe poverty.

The general *advantages* of the BHPS in relation to the study of multi-dimensional exclusion as it affects Britain’s children include:

- that young people aged 16 and over have always been included in the BHPS;
- the sample of BHPS child cohorts between 1994 and 2002 was constructed in such a way that each child was observed for five years, from different starting ages. Starting with children below one year, this eventually spanned cohorts from a starting age of 5, 10 and 15 years;

- from wave 4 (1994/2005) onwards proxy informants are no longer the only ones used for data on children and young people aged 11-16, but a sub-sample of this age group is also included for interviewing;
- the 2005 Centre for Research in Social Policy (CRSP) report provides an analysis of social exclusion of children and young people aged 11-16 that is based on data from this youth component of the BHPS. Two-generational data on the nature and experience of social exclusion as it affects children and young people aged 11-16 are therefore available and strengthen reliability of the data and therefore the authoritativeness of the analysis;
- the areas covered by the BHPS are quite comprehensive in terms of families' poverty status and access to employment, savings, benefits, housing, as well as local area data and data on family composition and any changes in such factors; all these factors are pertinent to children; and
- the BHPS analyses include data on part-time work, schooling and pocket money, as well as children's subjective experiences such as relationships with family, with friends and with teachers.

The general *disadvantages* of the BHPS in relation to the study of multi-dimensional exclusion as it affects Britain's children include the following:

- the BHPS data do not cover material deprivation in depth;
- it should be possible to collect data directly from children below the age of 11, certainly from children aged 7 upwards. The BHPS has yet to do this; and
- despite its longitudinal aspect, the BHPS does not supply data by which children's educational and economic achievements can be assessed. This would allow an analysis of the impact of social exclusion.

Families and Children Study

There have been a large number of secondary analyses of FACS data. They include the following types of reports:

- Four studies with 'findings' from waves 3, 4, 5 and 6 of the FACS have been published by the National Centre for Social Research (NatCen) since 1999. These also count as DWP research reports. The latest of these is by Lyon et al (2006) on the 2004 FACS data set.

- Twenty-two research reports using FACS data, other than the ‘findings’ reports, have been published by the DWP since 2001 in their Research Report series.
- Six ‘in-house’ reports using FACS data have been published by the DWP since 2001.
- Nine DWP working papers have been published by the DWP since 2002 using FACS data.
- Four refereed journal articles have been published in the UK.
- There are also five technical reports on waves 3, 4, 5 and 6 of the FACS that have been published by NatCen since 1999, and all wave guides, questionnaires and other associated technical details are available from the UK Data Archive.
- The HM Revenue and Customs Analysis Team have also made use of FACS data in recent reports on take-up of Tax Credits.
- Several recent studies emanating from the Institute of Fiscal Studies have made use of FACS data. These include: Goodman and Myck (2005).
- Another recent secondary study making of the FACS data for the analysis of child poverty is Bradshaw et al (2006).

Despite the extensive use of this data set, most of the associated reports deal with material deprivation rather than social exclusion as related to poverty. A partial exception is the DWP Working Paper No 10 by Michele Calandrino (2003) which explores the ‘consistent poverty’ approach to poverty measurement with the help of FACS data. She argues that ‘consistent poverty’ resonates well with the common perception of poverty as exclusion from ordinary living patterns due to lack of resources. Deprivation indicators, defined as the enforced lack of material goods or social activities, aim at measuring living standards in a direct way. Given the wide range of data collected by FACS (see Appendices 6 and 7) it is perhaps surprising that it does not appear to have been specifically analysed in terms of social exclusion. There is clearly scope for such analysis.

The advantages of FACS are:

- The broad topic coverage includes material and social necessities, as well as housing and access to services;
- It has a relatively high cross-sectional response rate for a survey of this kind;
- It includes a longitudinal element;

- It includes data on some critical life events, including change in personal relationship status, births and changes in employment status, as well as less common risk factors such as divorce and relationship breakdown;
- Some data is collected directly from children. FACS is one of the very few large-scale surveys to elicit information from children themselves specifically in relation to neighbourhood and access to services, social participation, and health and well-being; and
- The emphasis on children's services and policy interventions encourages evaluation of policy effectiveness and outcomes.

The disadvantages are:

- It has high attrition rates, especially for minority ethnic families, those receiving state benefits, non-working and non-home-owning families, who are all groups likely to be at increased risk of exclusion, which limits the reliability of longitudinal analysis; and
- There is quite a high use of proxy informants.

English Longitudinal Study of Ageing

Given the infancy of ELSA, secondary analysis in terms of social exclusion and multiple disadvantage is limited to Barnes et al's (2006) study. Their analysis measured the patterns of different forms of social exclusion among older people and examined the key risk factors, or indicators, of social exclusion among older people (50 years of age and older). This study draws on data from wave 1 of ELSA.

According to Barnes et al:

One of the great strengths of ELSA is that it covers a very wide range of topics including individual and household characteristics; physical, cognitive, mental and psychological health; housing, work, pensions, income and assets; expectations for the future; social participation and social support. This diversity is invaluable here, as examining the relationship between social exclusion and a wide range of other factors is key to the investigations in this study. (2006, p 14)

One of the key aims of their study was to examine the multiple dimensions of social exclusion, in terms of the SEU's explanation of what social exclusion is, and how it might be measured. Barnes et al adopt the SEU's definition of social exclusion: "what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown" (Barnes et al, 2006, p 12). They go on to state that, "since there is no universally agreed way to measure social exclusion, the choice of dimensions used in this study has been guided by the theoretical literature on social exclusion of older people and by current policy interests. These dimensions have been amended and built on as appropriate, taking the opportunities and constraints of the ELSA survey into account" (Barnes et al, 2006, p 16).

Using available data in ELSA, they constructed seven dimensions of social exclusion. Furthermore, each of the dimensions has a 'scoring mechanism' and a 'cut-off threshold' at which the authors suggest exclusion occurs. The dimensions and the percentage of older people excluded are as follows:

- social relationships ('frequency' of contact and 'density' of relationship with children, family and friends): 12% excluded;
- cultural and leisure activities (for example, going to a cinema or theatre): 11% excluded;
- civic activities (for example, membership of a local interest group, voluntary work, voting): 12% excluded;
- basic services (for example, health services, shops): 9% excluded;
- neighbourhood (for example, safety and friendliness of local people): 13% excluded;
- financial products (for example, bank account, pension): 10% excluded;
- material goods (for example, consumer durables, central heating): 11% excluded.

Comparing these findings to other studies of social exclusion such as the PSE Survey (Gordon et al, 2000; Pantazis et al, 2006) and SQOL OA (*Survey of Quality of Life in Old Age*) (Scharf et al, 2002) is problematic because the scoring mechanisms and cut-off thresholds employed in each study are different. Barnes et al's study relies primarily on differential scoring mechanisms depending on the particular dimension of exclusion under review, whereas the PSE Survey and SQOL OA relied more on binary scoring and resisted transforming raw answer categories into 'scaled scores'. For example, contact with a family member or friend was divided into two general categories: daily contact and weekly contact. Each respondent

was given a score of 1 if they had contact with a family member or friend daily and 0 if they did not have contact. In ELSA scores could range from 1 (saw 'three or more times a week) to 0 (saw 'less than once a year or never'). The implications of the different scoring mechanisms, the creation of summative indices, as well 'cut-off' thresholds points at which someone is excluded means that the findings of ELSA need to be qualified, particularly if they are to be used to compare results with the findings of other studies of social exclusion and multiple disadvantage.

In order to examine the 'risk' factors for exclusion, Barnes et al carried out separate logistic regression analyses (using the same risk factors) on each dimension of exclusion. The following risk factors were closely related to a single dimension of exclusion:

- social relationships: living alone, having no partner, children or siblings or being unemployed;
- cultural activities: having poor health or feeling depressed;
- civic activities: having no private transport, feeling depressed or being unemployed;
- basic services: being older, having poor health, lacking access to transport (whether private or public), living alone or feeling depressed;
- neighbourhood exclusion: having poor health or living in a deprived area;
- financial products: having a low income, being non-white or renting accommodation;
- material goods: living alone, being older, not having access to a car or van or not owning their accommodation (Barnes et al, 2006, p 37).

Furthermore, results show that the risk factors were not the same for each of the dimensions. The factors with the widest influence over the dimensions were:

- depression (six dimensions, not material goods);
- poor health (related to five dimensions: not civic activities and financial products);
- living alone (related to four dimensions: basic services, material goods, social relationships and civic activities);
- membership of a non-white ethnic group (related to four dimensions: cultural activities, civic activities, financial products and material goods);
- renting accommodation (related to four dimensions: civic activities, neighbourhood, financial products and material goods);

- not having access to a private car or van (related to four dimensions: social relationships, cultural activities, basic services and material goods);
- low income (related to three dimensions: financial products, material goods and cultural activities);
- being female (related to three dimensions: cultural activities, civic activities and financial products). (Barnes et al, 2006, pp 8-9)

The authors also examined ‘multiple exclusion’, which they defined as applying to ‘those excluded on three or more dimensions’. Findings revealed that around half of older people are *not* excluded on any of the dimensions but:

- 29% are excluded on one dimension
- 13% are excluded on two dimensions
- 7% are excluded on three or more dimensions.

Their secondary analysis then carried out another a second stage of logistic regression analyses in order to determine the main ‘risk’ factors for ‘multiple exclusion’ among older people (on three or more dimensions only). Their findings revealed seven key characteristics that are most strongly related to an older person experiencing multiple exclusion:

- age (being 80 and over)
- family type (living alone, having no living children)
- health (poor mental or physical health)
- mobility (no access to private car and never uses public transport)
- housing tenure (rented accommodation)
- income (low income, benefits as the main source of income)
- telephone (those without access to a telephone). (Barnes et al, 2006, p 8)

In addition, their study showed that different forms (or dimensions) of exclusion were inextricably linked but that there appeared to be “no simple domino effect where exclusion in one area appears to link to exclusion in another and so on” (Barnes et al, 2006, p 9).

When compared with the B-SEM developed for this review (see Chapter Five), we find some key and interesting differences with respect to what were considered ‘risk factors’ of

exclusion in Barnes et al's study. The following variables were considered as 'risk' factors, not 'sub-themes' as is found in the theoretical matrix:

- education
- main activity status
- health (self-rated)
- psycho-social well-being
- depression
- provide unpaid care
- household income
- use of public transport
- physical activity (exercise).

Furthermore, there was parity on the following 'risk' factors:

- gender
- age
- ethnicity
- tenure
- household type (family type).

The following variables did not appear as 'risk' factors in Barnes et al:

- social class
- religious affiliation
- some critical life events such as deaths, marriages and divorce.

Barnes et al also examined the impact of social exclusion on quality of life. Not surprisingly, they found that "there appears to be a connection between multiple exclusion and the quality of life/well-being of older people" (Barnes et al, 2006, p 10). Overall quality of life falls as the number of dimensions older people are excluded on increases. The aspects of quality of life defined in terms of self-realisation (optimism, life satisfaction, disposition, energy) appear to be most related to 'multiple exclusion'. Multiply excluded older people are also likely to report a lack of control over their lives (Barnes et al, 2006).

In terms of the B-SEM, ELSA contains ‘full’ information for 21 sub-themes and ‘partial’ information for 13 sub-themes respectively. As the ELSA social exclusion data matrix shows, the data are strong as regards material/economic resources and weak as regards crime, harm and criminalisation and political and civic participation domains. A major gap in the data is the lack of any measurements of subjective poverty. This has been rectified and appeared in wave 2 of the data collection. Also, there is limited information on possession of necessities (only 11 household durables), participation in common social activities (only five social activities), and use of public/private services (11 basic services). There is also no follow-up on the reasons why these items are not owned, or why the respondents do not participate in common activities and/or use basic services.

Barnes et al were the first researchers to examine the social exclusion and multiple disadvantage of older people using ELSA data. However, they only used the first wave of data. As data from the second and subsequent waves of ELSA become available, other researchers will be able to build on this work. Subsequent analyses of ELSA data incorporating more than one wave will certainly allow for more in-depth analysis and better understanding of how social exclusion develops and whether it is short-lived or long lasting.

Notes

¹ Thirty-five out of the 53 adult items and activities were regarded as necessities by the population.

² Disengagement from political and civic activity and confinement were examined in the first report of the main findings of the PSE Survey (see Gordon et al, 2000).

³ The first four items listed relate to practical support, the following three to emotional support.