

**Child development the life
course and social exclusion: are
the frameworks used in the UK
relevant for developing
countries?**

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Origins & meanings of SE

- Exclusion from social protection
 - Les Exclus 1974 – lone parents, disabled, uninsured unemployed
 - EU and ILO usage
- Exclusion from participation in society
 - Gays, ethnic minorities, social support networks
- Community/ neighbourhood exclusion
 - Environment or context as exclusion (Lupton & Power)
 - World Bank community empowerment & social inclusion programme
- UK usage covers all of these (and more)
 - Exclusion from mainstream activities and society (SEU)

UK Government - SEU

- Not just income poverty, but many other forms of disadvantage that exclude people from mainstream activities and society
- People or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, discrimination, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime, bad health and family breakdown.
- Often associated with highly marginalised groups facing extreme forms of multiple disadvantage: **our approach is broader.**
- how wider social inequality and intergenerational disadvantage can impact on the causes of social exclusion and the risk of becoming excluded
- **a deliberately pragmatic and flexible definition.**
- problems are linked and mutually reinforcing. They combine to create a vicious cycle. Children whose parents experience social exclusion are much more likely to find themselves excluded later in their lives. (Social Exclusion Unit, 2004:14)

Burchardt, Le Grand & Piachaud

- individuals are socially excluded if they do not participate in key activities of the society in which they live
- Relative concept – society specific
- For Britain: 4 key activities
 - Consumption
 - Production
 - Political engagement
 - Social interaction
- All 4 necessary for inclusion; lack of any one sufficient for exclusion

What is Social Exclusion?

- Multidimensional - more than poverty (as MDGs)
- Multiple origins to multiple outcomes
- Dynamic, longitudinal life-course perspective
- Inter- and intra- generational pathways
- Endowments and experiences matter
- Interplays of individuals and contexts
- Both agency and structures matter
- Links to human development, capabilities, and capitals
- Child and early adult development key pathway out of SE

Benefits of SE approach

- Policy
 - ‘joined-up’ thinking and government
 - Broad focus: teenage conceptions, rough sleepers, neighbourhood renewal
- Research
 - Move out of ‘disciplinary silos’
 - Intergenerational and life-course perspective

Examples of research results

- Continuities across life-course
 - Pervasive antecedents
 - Specific antecedents
- Continuity and change
 - Who stays disadvantaged?
 - Who is newly disadvantaged?
- Gendered pathways to social exclusion

Childhood antecedents

- Much new research
- Broad range of pervasive childhood antecedents of many adult disadvantages
 - Poverty, school absences, test scores, parental interest, behaviour, family structure (incl care), health
- Some particularly strong specific influences
 - Aggression and anxiety to Malaise
 - Child health to Limiting long-standing illness

Gender & Cohort (58 & 70)

- Gendered pathways
 - Few differences in strength of childhood antecedents by gender
 - Yet to find greater ‘legacy’ for males
 - Females show some exacerbated response especially for low maternal interest, aggression, social housing
- Cross-cohort differences
 - Again remarkably little robust evidence of differences in adult ‘response’ to childhood disadvantages

Late adolescence & Early adult

- Very strong links to later disadvantage (58)
- Very similar links to disadvantages at ages 23 and 33!
- Pervasive links for qualifications, unemployment, NEET, homelessness
- Specific links
 - Left home ‘friction’ to malaise and smoking

Continuities 23 to 33

Status	Incidence %		Odds Ratio	% Exit 23-33	% New At 33
	23	33			
Soc. Class 4/5	19	20	5.7	52	54
Social Housing	14	14	9.5	52	52
Benefits	14	17	3.8	63	69
Low Income	21	24	2.7	60	65
Malaise	10	9	11.7	60	54

Continuity & change 23 to 33

- Almost no childhood antecedents distinguish new entrants from those who remain disadvantaged.
- ‘Stickiness’ of disadvantage 23-33 unexplained by antecedents
 - Unemployment 23-33:
 - Same ‘effect size’ for men and women on benefits, low income and housing (but higher incidence for men)
 - Divorce 23-33
 - Same strong ‘effects’ for men & women for social housing and high malaise at 33
 - Very strong for women only on benefit receipt at 33
 - Strong both sexes on low income, but doubled for women

Social Exclusion & Policy

- Consequences of SE perspective:
 - Dynamic
 - Multi-faceted
 - Long-term
 - Active Policies
 - Not deterministic
 - Recognition of influences of BOTH choice & structure
- But still some inheritance from Keith Joseph
- SEU's 'Breaking the Cycle'

John Hills' 4P's

Focus of Intervention	Intervention to change	
	Risk of Event	Effects of Event
Entry into Adverse State	Prevention	Protection
Exit from Adverse State	Promotion	Propulsion

What of Legacies of Past?

- Differential Policies according to gender, antecedents and experiences:
 - Legacies from childhood (Differential Prevention)
 - ‘Scarring’ from early experiences (Differential Prevention & Propulsion)
 - Vulnerability to return to disadvantage of newly disadvantaged (Differential Prevention, Propulsion, and Promotion)
 - Gendered vulnerability (Differential prevention, Promotion & Propulsion)

MDGs & SE

- Many resonances
- Millennium Summit & ‘joined-up’ global governance
- More than poverty
- Mutually supportive interlinked programmes
- Child health, nutrition & education as key levers
- But also human development & capabilities

Has SE agenda resonated outside EU?

- Very little direct impact
- Vienna Declaration 1992
 - ‘tacked-on feel’ - ‘poverty & SE’
 - Decision-making in community
- Investing in Development 2005
 - Smallholder farmers – intergenerational
 - Informal settlements or slums
 - Minority groups

Targeted pro-poor programmes & SE

- Micro-credit & gender
- Progresa (now Oportunidades) & child development:
 - Pregnant women & young children – nutrition
 - Cash incentives for school continuation, especially for girls
 - Experimental evaluation – evidence-based policy
 - But not yet on whether whole is more than sum of the parts

The Billion Youth

- Education & training
- Early employment opportunities
- Sexual & reproductive rights and health
- Gender equity, equality & empowerment of women

Chronic Poverty & SE

- Poverty (and SE) dynamics loom large in UK agendas too
- Similar data requirements
- Similar language: ‘drivers of escape & descent’ in Bangladesh (Sen)
- Hulme & Shepherd (2003) see SE :
 - As being from employment, markets and public institutions
 - Issues of asset redistribution, basic physical infrastructure and social security are seen as separate from SE
- I take a more holistic view

Conclusion

- SE perspective useful for poor countries too
- Holistic perspective (as MDGs)
- Useful rhetoric for multiple disadvantage
- More need for absolute, rather than relative standards? (e.g. \$1 a day)
- Goes beyond 'mainstream'
- More aspirational or rights-based?
- Lack of precise definition an advantage?
- (as for human development, capabilities or multiple 'capitals')