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Work-Integration Social Enterprise: A NEET Idea?

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Abstract

The ongoing global economic difficulties and the subsequent increases in unemployment have led the UK government to look at innovative ways of reintegrating unemployed people back into work. Nowhere is this more critical than in the area of youth unemployment, which in the UK is steadily rising for young people aged 16-24 years who are not in employment, education or training (NEET). As part of this strategy work-integration social enterprises (WISEs) have become providers of employment enhancement programmes (EEPs) that aim to improve the employability of NEETs, in part due to the 'added value' that WISEs are seen to bring to such programmes. However, this perception, along with the requirements of public-funding contracts, creates a pressure on WISEs to demonstrate such 'added value' through rigorous evaluation procedures. However, there is little academic research that both attempts to measure WISE performance in relation to 'outcomes' and to understand how organisational type and structure affects this.

This research study takes a comparative, multi-case study approach to study three separate work-integration organisations delivering EEPs to NEETs. Two of these organisations are WISEs and the other organisation is a 'for-profit' private company utilised in this study as a comparison group. In order to provide a rigorous measure of *outcome*, all participants completed three different self-efficacy scales and engaged in individual semi-structured interviews with researchers before and after engagement in their respective programmes (Time 1 & Time 2). Results from the qualitative analysis of the interviews and the statistical analysis of the questionnaire data are triangulated to evaluate the *outcome* from all three programmes, providing the participant perspective alongside changes in self-efficacy. In addition, semi-structured interviews and focus groups were held with the owners and staff at the organisations respectively, in order to elicit understanding of how the differing aims, values and structures present at each organisation impacted upon the delivery of the programmes and hence upon the *outcome* benefits experienced by the NEETs. The results of the research provide an opportunity to compare and contrast programmes delivered by social enterprises with that of a 'for-profit' company in order to give an insight into programme and *outcome* differences based upon the orientation of the delivery organisation. Results revealed no significant difference between the outcome benefits experienced by the NEETs at the WISEs and those NEETs present at the for-profit comparison group. However, analysis of the effect of the organisational aims, values and structures upon the delivery of EEPs, suggests that the 'added value' offered by WISEs, whilst not immediately evident in the *outcome* data, came from the induction policies that they operated and their willingness to work with more socially excluded individuals.

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Acronyms

ANOVA	-	Analysis of variance
ATE	-	Attitude to Enterprise
BDI	-	Beck Depression Inventory
BTEC	-	Business & Technology Education Council
CB	-	Community business
CCM	-	Constant Comparative Method
CES-D	-	Centre for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale
CG	-	Comparison Group
CIC	-	Community Interest Company
CIO	-	Commercial integration organisations
CV	-	Curriculum Vitae
DCSF	-	Department for Children, Schools & Families
DfE	-	Department for Education
DfES	-	Department for Employment Skills
DLCG	-	Department for Local Communities & Government
DWP	-	Department for Work & Pensions
E2E	-	Entry to Employment
EET	-	Education, employment or training
EMA	-	Educational Maintenance Allowance
EMES	-	Emergence de L'Economie Sociale
ESF	-	European Social Fund
EU	-	European Union
FIP	-	Futurebuilders Investment Plan
FJF	-	Future Jobs Fund
FL	-	Foundation Learning
GHQ	-	General Health Questionnaire
GSE	-	General self-efficacy
ILMO	-	Intermediate labour-market organisation
ILO	-	International Labour Organisation
JPSE	-	Job-Procurement Self-Efficacy Scale
LAS	-	Local Authority staff
LDD	-	Learning & Development Difficulties
LSC	-	Learning Skills Council
MP	-	Member of Parliament
NEET	-	Not in employment, education or training
NGSE	-	New General Self-Efficacy Scale
NLSY	-	National Longitudinal Survey of Youth
NPO	-	Non-profit organisation
NPS	-	Non-profit sector
NVQ	-	National Vocational Qualification
OCS	-	Office for Civil Society
OECD	-	Organisation for Economic Cooperation & Development
OFSTED	-	Office for Standards in Education
ONS	-	Office for National Statistics
OTS	-	Office for the Third Sector
PERSE	-	Performance socio-économique des entreprises sociales d'insertion par le travail
PSD	-	Personal Social Development
RGSC	-	Registrar's General Social Classification
RSES	-	Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale

SCT	-	Social Cognitive Theory
SEEM	-	Social Enterprise East Midlands
SEIF	-	Social Enterprise Investment Fund
SEN	-	Special educational needs
SF	-	Social Firm
SFA	-	Skills Funding Agency
SGSE	-	Sherer's General Self-Efficacy Scale
SH	-	Stakeholders
SIMPLE	-	Social impact for local economies
SRE	-	Self-regulative efficacy
SRES	-	Self-Regulative Efficacy Scale
SRG	-	Sub-regional group
SROI	-	Social Return on Investment
SSE	-	Social self-efficacy
SSES	-	Social Self Efficacy Scale
SSLS	-	Scottish School Leavers Survey
UK	-	United Kingdom
US	-	United States
WCO	-	Worker co-op
WISE	-	Work-integration social enterprise
VO	-	Voluntary organisation
YPLA	-	Young People's Learning Agency
YTS	-	Youth Training Scheme

Chapter 1 – Introduction

This research study was the result of the University of Northampton's PhD bursary programme and involved a research partnership between the University's Business School and the psychology department in the School of Social Sciences. This thesis explores the role that work-integration social enterprise (WISE) undertakes in the reintegration of young people not in employment, education or training (NEET) into either the United Kingdom (UK) labour market or into further education/training. In examining the role of WISEs in assisting NEETs the research specifically focuses upon the impact that these organisations have upon young people in relation to what are often termed 'soft outcomes' or *outcome* benefits (McLoughlin *et al.*, 2009). The construct utilised in this thesis to measure the *outcome* performance of WISEs is the Bandurian concept of self-efficacy, which relates to an individual's perception of their own ability to successfully complete a given task (Bandura, 1977, 1997). This is an established psychological construct that has been utilised extensively in prior research and has been linked to success in employment and educational settings (Eden and Aviram, 1993; Locke *et al.*, 1998; Meyers and Houssemand, 2010). The research presented in this thesis adopts a comparative, mixed-methods approach that seeks to compare the longitudinal *outcome* performance of WISEs with that of a for-profit work-integration organisation that acts as a comparison group in the study. Differences in *outcome* performance between the different organisations are explored and any performance differential is explained in relation to organisational differences as well as external factors and pressures. In undertaking such an approach this thesis offers an original contribution to knowledge by partially filling the research gap in social enterprise performance evaluation identified in prior research (Peattie and Morley, 2008). This chapter explores the background to social enterprises contracting with the welfare state and youth unemployment in the UK, as well as outlining the psychological construct of self-efficacy. There then follows an identification of the research aims of the thesis and the subsequent research hypotheses and questions that were explored in the research. The chapter will end with an outline of the thesis and its constituent chapters.

1.1 – Background

1.1.1 – The Third Sector, Social Enterprise and the Welfare State in the UK:

The traditional welfare state model in the UK, in which the state through publicly funded bodies delivered public services began to decline during the 1990's, as the state looked towards the private and third sectors to deliver some public services (Hills and Waldfogel, 2004). The 'third sector' is seen as distinct from the public and private spheres of the economy, as it is a sector of the economy that is neither privately nor publicly controlled (Haugh, 2005). Organisations within the third sector exist primarily to achieve social and environmental goals and whilst private sector organisations can also pursue such goals (i.e. corporate social responsibility), the third sector is distinct because social and environmental goals are their *raison-d'être*. In addition to this, third sector organisations are independent from state structures and operate a non-profit distribution organisational model (Haugh and Kitson, 2007). The election of the New Labour government led by Tony Blair in 1997 prompted the driver towards a 'third way' in welfare reform that was distinct from both the social democratic principles of welfare delivery seen in Europe and the free-market welfare systems in place in North America (Giddens, 2000). The increasing popularity of the third sector and specifically social enterprise with politicians coincided with a desire to contract out existing welfare services to non-government agencies and enterprises (Kendall, 2003). This drive towards utilising the third sector in public sector service delivery led to the rapid growth of the social enterprise sector, with an estimated 62,000 social enterprises operating in the UK today contributing £24 billion to the UK economy (Social Enterprise Coalition, 2011).

A social enterprise was defined by the Office for the Third Sector (OTS), now the Office for Civil Society (OCS), as a 'businesses with primarily social objectives whose surpluses are principally reinvested for that purpose in the business or community, rather than being driven by the need to maximise profit for shareholders and owners' (OTS, 2006: 10). Social enterprises share the characteristics of other third sector organisations in that they pursue social and environmental objectives, obtain funding through grants, loans and trading and they adopt common legal organisational forms such as a company limited by guarantee, a charity or a community interest company (CIC) (Haugh and Kitson, 2007). However, unlike other third sector organisations social enterprises are characterised by their refusal to subsist solely on grant funding, instead generating income through trading activities (Haugh and Kitson, 2007). Therefore a social enterprise is a third sector business venture that uses its financial sustainability to drive social and environmental growth (Somers, 2005). Since the

election of the labour government in 1997 social enterprise has received widespread government, support both institutionally through the establishment of the CIC legal organisational form (Defourny and Nyssens, 2006), and via state funding (whether that be grants, loans or public sector contracts) such as the Social Enterprise Investment Fund (SEIF), which was a Department of Health fund that provided £100 million in loans and grants to new and existing social enterprises in the health and social care sector (Hall and Millar, 2011). This has led to the growth of the sector and social enterprises have been utilised increasingly in the delivery of welfare programmes, and particularly in the sphere of work-integration through the use of WISEs in employment reintegration.

Employment re-integration services have proved popular with successive UK governments as a means of welfare assistance for the unemployed, as they provide interventions that are relatively low-cost and that can target widespread numbers of people. Additionally, they are particularly popular with the long-term unemployed and the young (Spear, 2001). Unsurprisingly, this has led to the growth of work-integration enterprises both in the private for-profit sector and in the third sector. These organisations offer assistance to the unemployed by either providing employment opportunities or employment enhancement training programmes, and the latter type of organisation is often referred to as an ‘intermediate labour-market organisation’ (ILMO) (Defourny and Nyssens, 2006). Work-integration social enterprises that operate as ILMOs usually offer training to individuals that is work-based, with the aim of eventually reintegrating their clients back into full-time employment in the private or public sectors and because of this they tend to be more reliant upon public-sector contracts than other types of WISE such as ‘worker’s cooperatives’ or ‘social firms’ (Defourny and Nyssens, 2006). However, many ILMOs also attempt to develop the ‘human and social capital’ of the individuals that engage with them (Campi *et al.*, 2006), by offering personal development training programmes that are designed to improve personal attributes such as confidence and motivation. Because of this focus upon developing ‘human and social capital’ (Campi *et al.*, 2006), ILMOs in the UK have undertaken public-sector contracts to deliver what is now the ‘Foundation Learning’ programme to young people that are not in employment, education or training (NEET). It is this specific type of WISE that is the focus of the research reported in this thesis and from hereon in such ILMOs will be simply referred to as WISEs.

1.1.2 – Youth Unemployment and NEETs in the UK:

The issue of youth unemployment has long been a focus of UK government policy, with legislation specifically targeting youth unemployment dating back to the 1918 Fisher Education Act (Simmons, 2008). Youth unemployment in the contemporary sense has its origins in the restructuring of the UK economy that began in the 1970's. The reduction of the UK's manufacturing, construction and farming economy that in the 1970's accounted for 50% of UK production, to 20% of total production as of 2007, has left many of the traditional routes into employment for school-leavers closed (DfES, 2007). Additionally, the restructuring of unemployment benefit in the 1980's meant that young people under the age of 18 years no longer had access to benefits or were officially recognised as unemployed (Furlong, 2006). This has lengthened the transition from school to work and has also made such a transition increasingly complex (Jones and Wallace, 1992; Banks *et al.*, 1992; Bynner, Chisholm and Furlong, 1997). This led to a decline during the 1990's of young people entering into vocational training, a decline that was offset by an increasing number of young people entering further education. Indeed, between 1989 and 2004 the number of young people in post-16 education rose from 55% to 74%, whilst the number of young people in vocational training declined from 21.7% to 7% (Maguire and Thompson, 2007). This restructuring of the post-16 transitions available to young people led to a disenfranchised sub-section of the young population that were not in employment, education or training (NEET) (Instance *et al.*, 1994). Since Instance *et al.* (1994) first coined the term 'NEET', reducing the NEET rate has been a focus of government policy. However, despite concerted efforts by consecutive governments the NEET rate has persistently accounted for around 10% of the 16-24 age-group (DCSF, 2009), despite a nationwide general unemployment figure of around 5% (Blanchflower, 2009). This has been exacerbated post-2008 by the global recession and NEET figures for the 16-24 age-group currently stand at 15.9% as of November 2011 (DfE, February 2012).

The NEET cohort is often assumed to be a homogenous entity, but prior research has shown that NEET young people are actually a heterogeneous group (Popham, 2003). However, whilst the individuals that make up the NEET population are heterogeneous, they can be placed into three broad subgroups, 'complicated', 'transient' and 'young parent' (Yates and Payne, 2006). Transient NEETs are those young people that become NEET due to circumstance, but who quickly reengage with employment, education or training. Young parent NEETs are those individuals who disengage from employment in order to look after their children (Yates and Payne, 2006). Complicated NEETs form the core of the NEET

subgroup and exhibit a number of risks in their lives that contribute to their NEET status, for example homelessness, behavioural problems, chaotic living arrangements, poor educational qualifications and social exclusion (Payne, 2002; Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Furlong, 2006). It is the ‘complicated’ NEET subgroup that was the focus of the research reported in this thesis, as it is this group of young people that most commonly access WISE interventions designed to build up ‘human and social capital’ (Borzaga and Loss, 2006).

Government policy aimed at reducing the number of young people who were classed as NEET began in 1999 with the publication of the report ‘Bridging the Gap’ by the newly created Social Exclusion Unit. Based upon the findings of this report, the then Labour government created Connexions, an agency specifically for young people aged 13-19 years, which aimed to assist young people in their transitions from school to employment, further education or training (Luck, 2008). Alongside this in 2004 the Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMA) was established in which young people aged 16-18 were offered £30 per week benefit if they remained in further education or training (Maguire and Yates, 2005). Alongside these two initiatives a new form of work-based learning was launched in 2003, called ‘Entry to Employment’ (E2E) (OFSTED, 2007). E2E was designed to assist young people who were not yet ready to enter into employment, further education or training by developing their ‘key skills for life’ and by boosting their motivation and confidence (DirectGov, 2012). This was subsequently changed to ‘Foundation Learning’ (FL) in which a requirement for learners on a FL programme to undertake vocational and subject learning (i.e. maths and English) was inserted into the curriculum (DfE, November 2011). These programmes are currently funded by the Young People’s Learning Agency (YPLA) in collaboration with the Skills Funding Agency (SFA) and the quality of the programmes and providers is monitored by local authorities (YPLA, January 2011). The programmes are delivered by OFSTED approved training providers either by organisations in the private for-profit sector or the third sector (i.e. social enterprises). Indeed, third sector organisations are increasingly being utilised in the delivery of work-integration programmes and across the welfare state as a whole, as the UK government increasingly moves away from public sector delivery of the welfare state (Stoker, 2004; Craig *et al.*, 2005; Seanor and Meaton, 2007).

1.1.3 – Evaluating Social Enterprise Performance:

Whilst there have been ‘business like’ evaluation tools developed and published for evaluating social enterprise performance, most notably ‘Outcomes Star’ (London Housing

Foundation and Triangle Consulting, 2006) and ‘Prove and Improve’ (New Economics Foundation, 2008), there are relatively few rigorous academic performance evaluations that are grounded in the necessary social science theory. Indeed, even the academic evaluation tools that have been developed such as ‘Balance’ (Bull, 2007) or the SIMPLE methodology (McLoughlin *et al.*, 2009), have only offered methodological toolkits for the evaluation of social enterprise performance. There is almost no research that has actually measured social enterprise performance, aside from small, localised qualitative evaluations that cannot be generalised (Simmons, 2008).

This lack of rigorous academic research into social enterprise performance comes despite the growth in popularity of social enterprise with policy-makers in the UK (Peattie and Morley, 2008). Not only is such performance evaluation crucial to the future survival and growth of the social enterprise sector, as it provides policy-makers with evidence of the potential benefits of social enterprises, but it is also ethically and morally imperative as such organisations are often working with disadvantaged and socially excluded individuals (Alter, 2006; Peattie and Morley, 2008). This is no more the case than when evaluating WISEs that offer employment re-integration to ‘complicated’ NEETs, who often come from socially excluded backgrounds and often have emotional and behavioural problems (Yates and Payne, 2006; Furlong, 2006).

This lack of rigorous performance evaluation is also indicative of research into WISE performance. The most notable research into WISE performance evaluation was conducted by ‘Emergence de L’Economie Sociale’ (EMES) in the form of the *Performance socio-économique des entreprises sociales d'insertion par le travail* (PERSE) study (EMES, 2010). This research study attempted to evaluate the performance of WISEs across Europe from 2000-2004 and the results suggested that WISE organisations did have a beneficial effect upon the individuals that participated in their programmes (Borzaga and Loss, 2006). However, the study was let down by a number of methodological issues that are covered in more detail in Chapter Two (such as WISE owners/managers self-reporting and the lack of robust evaluation measures), which meant that the results obtained lacked rigour and validity. This has proved typical of social enterprise research that has been labelled as suffering from ‘insufficient data’ and ‘under-developed theory’ (Taylor, 2007). Indeed, other researchers have stated that there is a need in social enterprise research to develop research studies that employ quantitative, longitudinal and comparative research designs, and which utilise larger sample-sizes (Jones *et al.*, 2007; Peattie and Morley, 2008). The research reported in this

thesis partially answers these research calls by employing a longitudinal, comparative research design within a mixed-methods paradigm. This is particularly important in attempting to differentiate between WISEs and for-profit organisations operating in the work-integration sector. Prior research by Campi *et al.* (2006) has suggested that the focus of social enterprises on the triple-bottom line means that they offer greater benefits to their beneficiaries than their non-social enterprise counterparts. This may be because the primacy of the social mission allows organisational structures to develop that promote greater inclusivity and benefits for beneficiaries. However, there is little empirical research that seeks to test these assumptions. In attempting to answer this question the research reported in this thesis explores what McLoughlin *et al.* (2009) termed ‘outcome’ benefits, that is the ‘soft outcomes’ or ‘psychological benefits’ produced. However, in measuring *outcome* performance a suitable psychological measure grounded in social science theory had to be identified and incorporated into the research design.

1.1.4 – Unemployment and Self-Efficacy:

Prior research into the psychological effects of unemployment has demonstrated that unemployment causes increased depression (Feather and O’Brien, 1986), greater psychological distress (Henwood and Miles, 1987), as well as lower self-esteem and confidence (Wanberg, Watt & Rumsey, 1996; Goldsmith, Veum, & Darity William, 1997) and poorer psychological well-being (McKee-Ryan *et al.*, 2005). However, such measures are not necessarily suitable as psychological moods and traits, such as depression and self-esteem, are indicators of well-being rather than being predictors of behaviour. As this research was concerned with measuring the *outcome* performance of young unemployed individuals (NEETs), a psychological measure was required that both allowed the research to measure *outcome* performance and that also would be predictive of future behaviour in the employment and education sectors.

The Bandurian concept of self-efficacy forms a key part of ‘Social Cognitive Theory’ (SCT) and provides the link in human behaviour between possessing skills and engaging in behaviour to achieve specific goals (Bandura, 1997). SCT states that social and institutional factors operate through psychological mechanisms of the self-esteem to inform and induce certain types of behaviour (Baldwin *et al.*, 1989; Bandura, 1993; Bandura *et al.*, 1996a, 2000a, Elder & Ardelet, 1992). Self-efficacy regulates the individuals behaviour and actions as

a person who is efficacious approaches situations and tasks with confidence that they can exercise control over them (Bandura, 1994).

This thesis adopted three distinct measures of self-efficacy, Schwarzer and Jerusalem's (1995) general self-efficacy (GSE) scale, Schwarzer *et al.*'s (1999) self-regulation efficacy (SRE) scale and Smith and Betz's (2000) social self-efficacy (SSE) scale. General self-efficacy is concerned with '*...belief in one's overall competence to effect requisite performance across a wide-range of achievement situations*' (Eden, 2001). Prior research has linked GSE to success in employment and educational settings (Eden and Aviram, 1993; Locke *et al.*, 1998; Meyers and Houssemand, 2010) and the GSE scale has been utilised in thousands of research studies across 23 different countries (Schwarzer, 2011). The SRE scale was adopted in this research study as it measures an individual's ability to maintain their action whilst emotionally aroused (Schwarzer, 2011). Emotional arousal is not conducive to optimal performance (Bandura, 1997) and prior research has linked emotional difficulties and problems to NEET status (Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Furlong, 2006). Finally, social self-efficacy has been linked in prior research to educational and career success (Ferrari and Parker, 1992; Temple and Osipow, 1994; Betz *et al.*, 1999). As prior research has related the influence of family and peers on NEET status (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996; Payne, 2002; Bynner and Parsons, 2002) then Smith and Betz's (2000) scale of perceived self-efficacy was used in the research.

1.2 – The Current Research

This research study had the following two research aims.

1. To develop a longitudinal, mixed-methods approach suitable for evaluating the *outcome* performance of WISEs that deliver employment enhancement programmes to NEET individuals.
2. To utilise this methodology to assess the comparative *outcome* performance of similar-sized WISEs and for-profit organisations delivering work-integration programmes.

These two research aims along with the prior literature outlined briefly in this chapter and in more detail in Chapters Two, Three and Four led to the development of the following research hypotheses and questions to be explored by the quantitative and qualitative elements of the

research respectively. These research hypotheses and questions are outlined below in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 - Research Hypotheses & Questions	
Research Hypotheses	
Hypothesis 1	NEET participants' at all three work-integration organisations will display a statistically significant increase in GSE, SRE or SSE between T1 and T2.
Hypothesis 2	There will be a statistically significant difference between the T1-T2 changes in NEET GSE, SRE and SSE at the two WISE organisations and the T1-T2 changes in GSE, SRE and SSE at the non-WISE CG.
Hypothesis 3	In relation to behavioural plasticity, the 'lower complements' at the two WISE organisations and the CG will display greater increases in GSE, SRE and SSE than the respective 'upper complements'.
Research Questions	
Research Question 1	What historical factors led the individual to the point of being NEET and how has this impacted upon their self-efficacy levels and future aspirations?
Research Question 2	How have individuals' levels of self-efficacy been changed by their participation on the work-integration programme and how has this affected their future aspirations?
Research Question 3	How have each case-study organisation's aims, objectives and structure impacted upon the provision offered to NEET participants?
Research Question 4	What is contemporary government policy towards NEETs and the work-integration organisations that assist them, and how does this impact upon programme implementation at an organisational level?

1.3 – Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is organised into ten chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapters Two, Three and Four review the prior literature that is relevant to the thesis and this area of research. *Chapter Two* discusses the prior literature in relation to social enterprise, examining the history and definition of the third sector and social enterprise, prior research into social

enterprise and specifically WISE performance, as well as discussing government policy in the UK in relation to social enterprise and WISEs. *Chapter Three* discusses the prior literature in relation to NEETs in the UK, looking at the history of youth unemployment, the definition of and societal factors behind NEET status, as well as providing an exploration of government policy aimed at reducing the numbers of young people classified as NEET. Finally, *Chapter Four* provides an examination of the psychological effects of unemployment, the various psychological constructs that have been related to unemployment and the reasons why self-efficacy was chosen as the *outcome* measure for this research study. The chapter then goes on to explore prior self-efficacy research and identifies and discusses the specific self-efficacy constructs utilised in this thesis.

Chapter Five provides an overview of the philosophical underpinning for the methodology in relation to the epistemological and ontological approach adopted in the thesis. *Chapter Six* details the methodological approach undertaken in the research, the reasons behind the adoption of a mixed-methods approach and ends with a discussion of the specific research tools that were used in the research (i.e. the specific self-efficacy scales and the interview schedules). The chapter also provides a description of the three case-study organisations that participated in the research study and the work-integration programmes that they delivered.

Chapter Seven presents the results from the quantitative element of the research and discusses these results in relation to the research hypotheses. *Chapter Eight* presents the qualitative data gathered from the NEET participants who engaged with the research at the three case-study organisations and discusses the data in relation to research questions one and two. *Chapter Nine* presents the qualitative data gathered from the owners, managers and staff from the three case-study organisations, as well as the staff from the participating local authority and discusses this data in relation research questions three and four. *Chapter Ten* is the final chapter of the thesis and presents the broad theoretical and practical issues arising from the data gathered and analysis conducted in the research. This is related to the research aims, hypotheses and questions outlined earlier in this chapter, as well as to the prior literature and five policy recommendations are also put forward for consideration by local and central government policy-makers. The limitations of the research are also discussed and recommendations for further research are made.

Chapter 2 – Social Enterprise and the Third Sector

Social enterprise is a relatively new term used to describe a modern slant on traditional third sector business models. It was first used in the 1990's to describe businesses that were established and run for a primarily social purpose, whose profits were reinvested in the social purpose rather than being taken by the entrepreneur or shareholders of the company (Social Enterprise Coalition, 2009). Nevertheless, whilst the term was new, these forms of company had been operating since the 1970's and had their roots in the much older cooperative movement (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001). This chapter will define social enterprise and its position in the economy, followed by an examination of previous research conducted on work-integration social enterprises (WISEs) and the policy framework surrounding them. This will highlight the lack of valid research conducted on the individual and social impacts of WISEs and show how this thesis can address such shortcomings by specifically measuring the psychological impacts that WISEs have on young people not in education, employment or training (NEETs). However, it is first important to examine the history of the third sector in order to understand the rise and establishment of social enterprise.

2.1 – The History of Social Enterprise

The history of social enterprise is both a modern and a historical concept. Whilst the term is new, the roots and concepts of the model are old, originating in the mutual, self-help and cooperative sectors, which all date back in the UK to the late eighteenth century (Aiken, 2007). The Fenwick Weavers and Rochdale Grocers are both examples of Georgian and Victorian social enterprises (Social Enterprise Coalition, 2009) and modern social enterprise can be seen as a development of these worker's cooperatives and community enterprises (Somers, 2005).

Social enterprise exists within a framework often described as the 'social economy' or the 'third sector', which consists not just of social enterprises, but also includes charities and all organisations in which the material interest of capital investors is subject to limits. It is social enterprises' place in this varied patchwork that has led researchers such as Laville and Nyssens (2001) to identify social enterprise as a new dynamic within, rather than a conceptual break from the third sector, a new organisational form that differs from other non-profit

organisations in terms of strategy, structure and values (Dart, 2004). Historically, the mobilisation of 'social capital', defined as the '...set resources that inhere in family relations and in community social organisations and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person' (Coleman, 1990: 300), has occurred when a homogenous group of people have sought to address a perceived social problem. For example, the Rochdale Grocers described above were established to provide high quality food to workers in response to what were considered exploitative conditions in the factories of Rochdale (Social Enterprise Coalition, 2009). However, with modern social enterprise this has not always been the case with the entrepreneurs or individuals forming them often coming from varied and different backgrounds. What unites the founders of social enterprise is not a shared history or community, but a belief that a social ill exists, which the traditional mechanisms of state and market are unable to deal with (Defourny *et al.*, 1998).

It was Schumpeter (1934) who stated that economic development is a process of '...carrying out new combinations in the production process...' (cited in Aiken, 2007: 11) and such a process occurred in the late-1970's. This period of the twentieth century witnessed a large-scale recession in the western world, with the end of near-full employment and the rise of rampant inflation occurring alongside declining economic growth. The increasing inability of macro-economic policies to reduce unemployment and to raise skills amongst the disadvantaged, combined with an ever-increasing demand on social services, led to a crisis of the welfare state (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001). This rise in unemployment in the UK was brought about by the collapse of inefficient industries following the withdrawal of funding by Harold Wilson's government in 1976 (Cripps, 1981). Additionally, there was a skills mismatch in the UK economy, with low-skilled employment in industry and agriculture declining to be replaced by both hi-tech industry and a service sector that offered transient employment (Borzaga and Loss, 2006). It was in this economic climate that social enterprise began to become a recognised provider of employment and a deliverer of welfare services, as policy-makers became interested by its potential to act enterprisingly whilst generating social and environmental benefits (Haugh, 2007). One area of social enterprise in which this occurred has been that of work integration social enterprise (WISE), an area that will be examined later. This post-war restructuring of the European and UK economies created an environment that was conducive to the growth of the third sector and of social enterprise (Haugh and Kitson, 2007). The election of the Labour government in 1997 brought an acceleration in the debate surrounding social enterprise in the UK and led to the formation of the Social Enterprise Coalition and the Social Enterprise Unit, as well as the creation of the

‘Community Interest Company’ (CIC) by Parliament in 2004, which created a new legal structure for social enterprises (Defourny and Nyssens, 2006). The CIC legal form has seen an average growth rate of 27% since it was added to the statute books, which has contributed to the growth in social enterprises over the last decade (BIS, 2009). It is estimated that there are currently 62,000 social enterprises that employ 800,000 people, and which contribute £24 billion to the economy (Social Enterprise Coalition, 2011).

2.2 - Defining the Third Sector & Social Enterprise

Social enterprise and the third sector as a whole still lack a clear and universally accepted definition or theoretical framework. They are instead represented by a multitude of models and whilst many of these models have much in common, they also have clear and distinctive differences.

2.2.1 - The Third Sector:

The idea of a theoretically distinct third sector separate from the public or private spheres first emerged amongst academics in the 1970’s. Whilst some of these organisations had existed for some time and indeed were already subject to public policy, the idea of placing such enterprises under a new and distinct theoretical umbrella was a new one (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001). The work of the ‘Filer Commission’ (1973) and the ‘Programme on Non-Profit Organisations’ (1976) that involved 150 researchers at Yale University, heralded the beginnings of a real theoretical understanding of the social economy. Over the last three decades this has led to the creation of three broad definitions of the third sector. The first is the ‘Non-Profit Sector’ (NPS) approach that originated and predominates in the United States. The second is the ‘Social Economy’ approach that is mainly based in Europe and the third is the ‘Tri-Polar’ approach that attempts to bridge the gap between the two schools (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001).

The NPS approach to the third sector is based around the rejection of centralised state power that is deeply rooted in the US political system, a rejection that saw the early rise of voluntary organisations in the United States in the 18th and 19th centuries (Salamon, 1997). It rejects the ‘rationalism’ of the ‘social economy’ approach described below, and sees the rise of the non-profit sector as having much wider cultural, socio-political and historical origins (Dart, 2004).

NPS perceptions of social enterprise are based around the idea that such organisations arise in areas where state intervention has either failed or is not wanted. Social enterprises are seen as maximising commercial income in order to fund a social aim (Kerlin, 2006). Additionally, social enterprise is seen as a continuum that ranges from profit-orientated businesses that are also engaged in socially beneficial activities, through to non-profit organisations engaged in commercial activities solely to support the social mission (Kerlin, 2006). Whilst there have been numerous frameworks proposed perhaps the most commonly used NPS model was introduced by the University of John Hopkins in 1990, which listed five key factors that must be present in a non-profit organisation (NPO), and these are listed below.

1. They have a certain formal institutionalisation and legal personality.
2. They are private and distinct from the state.
3. They are self-governing and have their own decision-making regulations.
4. They cannot distribute their profits to owners, members or directors.
5. They must involve some form of voluntary contribution and be founded on the free and voluntary affiliation of their members.

(Borzaga and Defourny, 2001: 8)

In contrast the European based ‘Social Economy’ approach is centred on the legal and institutional characteristics of organisations, using such characteristics as a way of grouping similar enterprises together into groups and sub-groups. It can be defined as the sector of the economy that is neither privately or publicly controlled (Haugh, 2005). A limited profit distribution is allowed and social enterprises are seen to be operating in a social economy where social benefit is the main driving force (Kerlin, 2006). The ‘social economy’ approach contains two different ways of identifying and grouping organisations, the ‘legal approach’ and the ‘normative approach’. The ‘legal approach’ is based around grouping organisations into three broad categories, co-operative organisations, mutual organisations and associations.

1. Co-operative type enterprises – from the middle of the nineteenth century these types of organisations have spread internationally and are now to be found worldwide. Examples are agricultural, finance, insurance retail and housing cooperatives.
2. Mutual-type Organisations – Mutual help societies have existed in most places for quite a long time. This can be seen in mutual insurance schemes for health, death, funerals and bad harvests. They are more popular in the Third World where social security systems are non-existent.

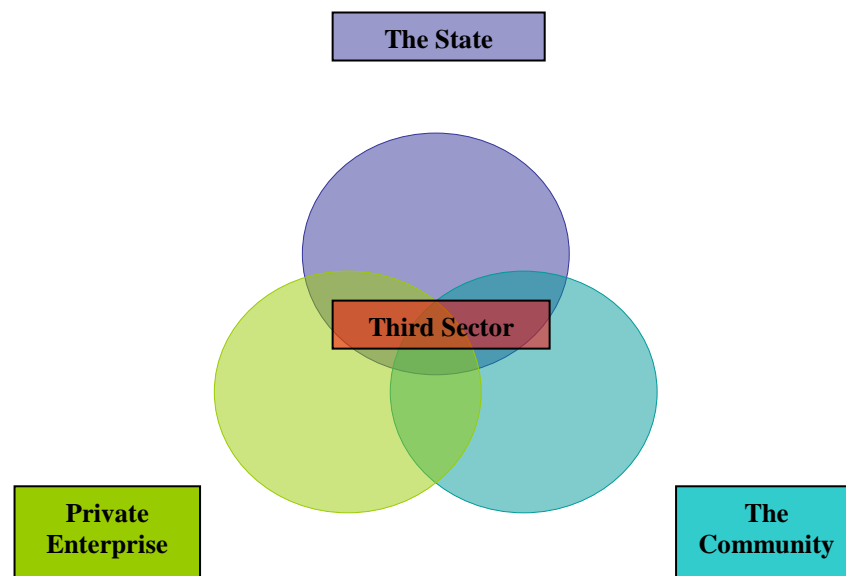
3. Associations – This type covers a wide-range of advocacy based organisations that provide services for members, other people or the community. Associations can be local or more international. Examples range from Save the Children to Greenpeace.

(Borzaga & Defourny, 2001: 5).

The ‘normative approach’ eschews formalised legal characteristics and replaces them with common organisational principles. This approach provides a way to precisely show why different organisations should be grouped together, separate from legal considerations such as organisational form (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001).

The ‘Tri-Polar’ approach is much broader in view, defining the economy in terms of three participating agents; private enterprise, the state and the community. The third sector is seen as overlapping the ground between these three spheres, although the degree to which each organisation overlaps each sphere is different from organisation to organisation. Figure 2.1 below outlines this.

Figure 2.1 – The Tri-Polar Approach:



Authors Own, adapted from (Borzaga & Defourny ed., 2001)

In this model third sector organisations are separated from capitalist enterprises as they are not motivated by the primacy of financial interests and they are also distinguished from public

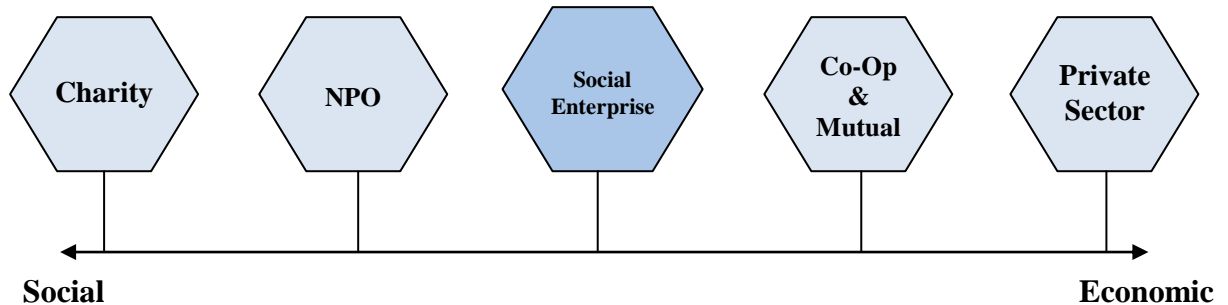
sector bodies as they do not depend upon collective interest and democratic accountability (although these factors can still be present) (Laville and Nyssens, 2001). Whilst this allows for more flexibility in definition, it also provides less precise description when compared to the other approaches.

However, with any attempt at theoretical definition there are problems with the legal, normative and tri-polar approaches. First all three, but particularly the 'NPS' and 'Social Economy' approaches, try to encompass all elements of the third sector and ignore the often blurred boundaries that exist between different organisational forms. Indeed, some argue that the idea that a sector exists at all is incorrect (Jones and Keogh, 2006). This ignores the third sectors' heterogeneous nature and always leads to the use of the largest common denominator in definition. The reality is that even amongst businesses that define themselves as similar, for example cooperatives, there is a huge variation in structure, aims and history and such models do not capture these elements (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001). Second, the basis of the two main models lies in North American and European political history and culture. For a scholar of social enterprise in the United Kingdom (UK) this is problematic as the UK has not been as state-orientated as its European partners, or as decentralised as the United States. Equally, legal structures such as cooperatives do not have the same success or history in the UK as in Europe, where government support for such businesses has often been stronger than in the UK. This last point is further complicated by the CIC legal structure that can now be used in the UK. The static nature of such models is also problematic. In a dynamic environment like the third sector, where businesses are continually established along increasingly innovative lines, such models are often left outdated within a few years of their conception. Whilst this last point applies less to the third way provided by the Tri-Polar approach, which itself is more fluid in its definition, such vague fluidity does not offer us a definitive description of the third sector. With such poor attempts at definition, it is no surprise that no universally accepted definition of social enterprise has been achieved.

Nevertheless, despite the problems with all three approaches, the theoretical basis provided by the 'social economy' approach offers the best descriptive tool for understanding the third sector and hence social enterprise. This is because the third sector is not solely constituted by NPOs, but also includes organisations in which material interest is subject to limits and in which social and environmental aims take priority over returns on individual investment (Laville and Nyssens, 2001). Rather than viewing social and commercial enterprises as polar extremes, it is better to conceptualise social enterprise and the economy as a continuum

stretching from the purely social in nature (charities) to the purely economic (commercial enterprises) (Galera and Borzaga, 2009). Figure 2.2 highlights this.

Figure 2.2 – The Social & Economic Continuum:



Author's Own (adapted from Galera & Borzaga, 2009).

2.2.2 - Social Enterprise:

When defining what constitutes a social enterprise, there is a divergence in thought between those academics that follow the NPS approach and advocates of the social economy approach. As is shown above, the social economy approach is perhaps better for the analysis of European based social enterprises as these contain both elements of cooperatives and NPOs in their structure. By utilising the 'social economy' approach, the researcher is able to view social enterprises not just by their legal structures, but also by their economic, social and environmental aims. It was such an approach that led to a framework being developed by the 'Emergence de L'Economie Sociale' (EMES, 2009), which split the definition of a social enterprise into four economic/entrepreneurial and five social dimensions. Table 2.1 below outlines these.

Table 2.1 – EMES Definition of Social Enterprise	
Economic/Entrepreneurial	Social Dimensions

A continuous activity producing and/or selling services – Social enterprises are usually directly involved in the production of goods or the provision of services. These two factors therefore represent one of the main reasons for their existence.

An explicit aim to benefit the community – one of the principal aims of social enterprises is to serve the community or a specific group of people. To the same end one of the key features of a social enterprise is the desire to promote a sense of social responsibility at a local level.

High degree of autonomy – Social enterprises are voluntarily created by a group of people and are governed by them in the framework of the autonomous project. Whilst they may depend on government subsidies, they are not managed directly or indirectly by the state or any other organisation.

An initiative launched by a group of citizens – Social enterprises are the result of collective dynamics involving people belonging to a community or group that shares a certain need or aim. This must be maintained in some way.

A significant level of economic risk – Those who start a social enterprise take up all or part of the financial risk. Unlike public institutions, their viability is dependent upon the work of their members and workers in securing adequate resources.

A decision-making power not based on capital ownership – This generally means the principle of ‘one member one vote’ or at least a voting system not distributed according to capital shares. The owners of the social enterprise are important, but the decision-making rights are shared.

A minimum amount of paid work – Whilst social enterprises may combine monetary and non-monetary resources, they must employ a minimum level of paid workers.

A participatory nature – Representation and participation of the customers, stakeholder orientation and democratic management style are important characteristics of social enterprises. In some cases their aim may be to further democracy at a local level through economic activity.

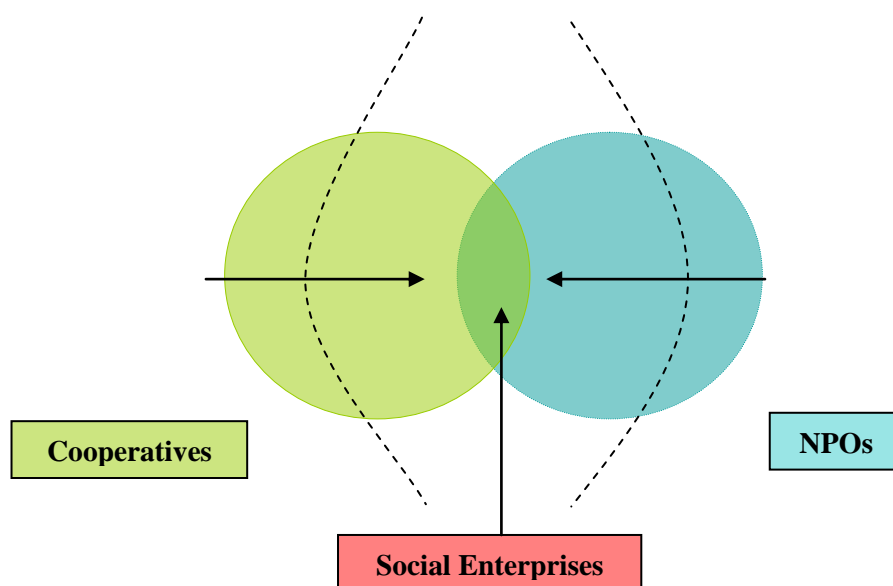
Limited profit distribution – Social enterprises not only include organisations that are characterised by a total non-distribution constraint, but also those like cooperatives that may distribute profits to a limited extent. Nevertheless, both types avoid profit-maximising behaviour.

Adapted from (Borzaga & Defourny ed., 2001)

By viewing the separate characteristics of social enterprise in Europe above, we can see that they do display both non-profit and cooperative characteristics. However, as Borzaga and Defourny (2001) highlight, it is important to not view such a model statically. Few social

enterprises act in both cooperative and non-profit ways simultaneously, but instead alternate between the two, albeit with a general bias towards one type or the other. Indeed, what is increasingly being seen is that genuine cooperative and NPOs are slowly merging into social enterprises, or establishing social enterprises as separate entities of the same business (Social Enterprise UK, October 2011). An example of this would be the merger of Age Concern and Help the Aged into Age UK (Age UK, 2012). Essentially, this means that whilst some social enterprises are brand new businesses, some are merely the result of the metamorphosis of existing third sector organisations. Figure 2.3 below illustrates this.

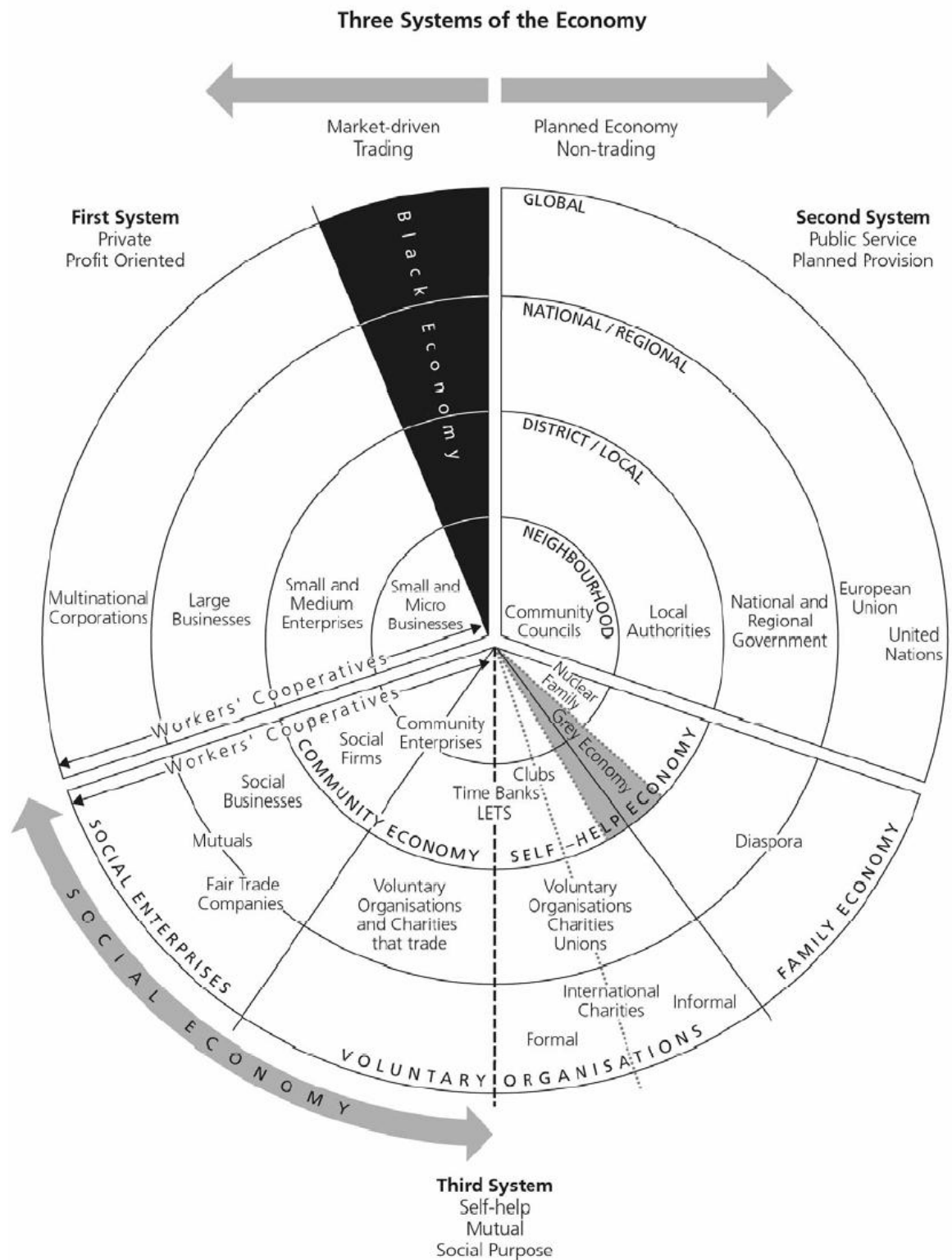
Figure 2.3 – Social Enterprise in the Third Sector:



Taken from (Borzaga & Defourny ed., 2001: 22)

In the last section the distinct (but not separate) nature of the third sector from the private, public and community spheres was outlined. Again, whilst social enterprise is not separate from the third sector it is distinct. This has been best illustrated by Pearce's (2003) model outlining the 'Three Systems of the Economy' in which the third sector is shown as distinct from the public and private sectors and within this social enterprise's position is clearly delineated. Figure 2.4 illustrates this model.

Figure 2.4 – The Three Systems of the Economy:



Taken from Pearce (2003: 25)

As can be seen from the above diagram, the third sector is shown as distinct from the private and state areas of the economy. However, within this the social economy is situated on the commercial side and charities and family/self-help organisations are situated on the non-trading side. Within this social enterprise lays at the very commercial end of the spectrum

with only cooperatives lying closer to the private sector. Pearce's (2003) model provides third sector and social enterprise research with a more detailed illustration of the modern economy than that provided by the 'social and economic continuum' outlined earlier in Figure 2.2.

Whilst some third sector organisations limit their activities in order to pursue member's private interests, social enterprises incorporate a goal of service to the community. Campi *et al.* (2006) defined three main types of goals that social enterprise can pursue, and these are listed below.

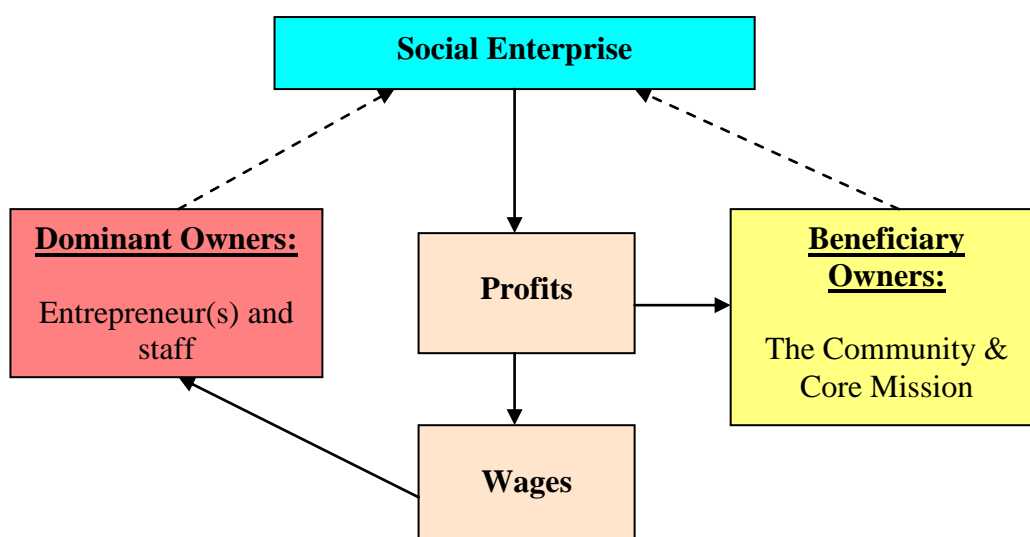
1. *Social Goals* – Connected to the particular mission of the social enterprise i.e. to benefit the community.
2. *Economic Goals* – Connected to the entrepreneurial goal of the enterprise such as the provision of goods or services.
3. *Socio-political* – Connected to the social enterprise through its lobbying tactics and attempts to influence policy.

However, the boundaries between these three goal spheres can often be blurred. For example, when the service provided is recycling, it is hard to separate the economic from the social (Campi *et al.*, 2006). Nevertheless, for an organisation to be a social enterprise then its primary goal must be a social one and this must take primacy over economic and socio-political considerations. Therefore, social enterprise has a unique space within the economy because as a business venture it needs to be financially sustainable but as a social venture it uses its finances to 'drive social and environmental growth' (Somers, 2005: 46). This need to reconcile financial survival with the pursuit of a social aim creates in social enterprise what Emerson and Twersky (1996) described as the 'double bottom line'. Whilst such a 'double bottom-line' does exist in the private sector, indeed, the idea of 'corporate social responsibility' in the private sector has been around for at least the last fifty years (Carroll, 1999), this involves traditional businesses pursuing social goals in a limited way, unlike social enterprises for whom their whole *raison d'être* is one of social advancement.

Gui (1991) established the concept of the dual ownership structure of third sector organisations, in which the ownership of the organisation is split into two categories; the dominant category in which individual(s) maintain control of the management of the enterprise and the beneficiary category which is formed by those who obtain the residual benefits. In a traditional capitalist business model these two ownership groups are often one

and the same, either represented by the entrepreneur(s) or by shareholders. In some third sector organisations the two ownership categories are different but merged, and so can be seen as businesses of mutual interest. However, in social enterprise the two categories of ownership are separate and not merged (Laville and Nyssens, 2001). Here the dominant owner will be the entrepreneur(s) who established the social enterprise along with staff members who facilitate its operation and survival, whereas the beneficiary ownership will belong to the community that the social enterprise supports. Therefore, social enterprises operate a unique ownership structure, based around what can be called the ‘separation of ownership’. Such a separation is based around the ‘associative democracy’ trend seen in many social enterprises, where an accountability to and the participation of the community provides the dual ownership (Reid and Griffith, 2006). This means that whilst the social enterprise does create a wage for the entrepreneur(s) and staff within it, the profits are mainly if not all put back into the social mission. Figure 2.5 illustrates this. In relation to the research reported in this thesis this is important as when comparing the performance of social and non-social enterprises operating in the work-integration sphere, the ability of the former to utilise all three ‘bottom-lines’ (Campi *et al.*, 2006) along with the beneficiaries and stakeholders that this encompasses, within an associative democratic structure based around dual ownership (Gui, 1991; Reid and Griffith, 2006), should allow the social enterprise to achieve greater *outcome* benefits.

Figure 2.5 – Social Enterprise Ownership & Profit Distribution:



Authors Own, adapted from (Gui, 1991).

Defining what trading a social enterprise should partake in and how it should source its income is however, less straightforward. Third sector organisations and social enterprises generate income from voluntary sources (i.e. fundraising), investment income (i.e. interest gained on savings) and trading income (i.e. sale of goods or services) (Haugh and Kitson, 2007). Some receive public money through grants, loans or service contracts, whilst others trade commodities on the open market in order to raise funds (Haugh, 2007). Some social enterprises run services on behalf of private companies and charities in return for payment, whilst others provide training and education, either receiving funding from the paying customer or from organisations who later recruit the trained individuals. Some utilise several or all of these options. The nature of this income generation differs from other third sector organisations that rely on grants and charitable donations, and provides social enterprises with autonomy and flexibility in their development and decision-making processes (Di Domenico *et al.*, 2010). What this does show is that social enterprises, because of their innovative nature access all types of funding and so providing a definition to fit all such organisations is difficult.

One of the main disputes in academia related to social enterprise definition centres around the amount of income that must be generated from commercial activities (Haugh, 2005). Whilst at least some commercial output is necessary in order for the organisation to be a social *enterprise*, the precise amount required to qualify as a social enterprise is keenly debated. Placing quotas on the commercial activity required to qualify as a social enterprise, seems to be making the criteria too stringent. Indeed, it would be questionable to claim that two businesses, identical in all ways other than that one generated 24% of its income from commercial activities and the other 25%, should be classified as different organisational entities. All that should matter is that the financial viability of a social enterprise is centred on its member's ability to secure the requisite funding, even if such funding is a hybrid of commercial activity, public funding and voluntary aid (Defourny and Nyssens, 2006). Such broad definition does make the task of identifying social enterprises more difficult. Indeed, with the trade definition provided above, universities could be classed as social enterprises (Jones and Keogh, 2006).

The crucial factor that unites all such concerns is that the core mission must be a social or environmental one. But even here there are ambiguities and contradictions. For example, Defourny and Nyssens (2006) state that the production of goods or services that generate the commercial income, should in itself directly support the social mission (merely indirectly

through providing funds isn't enough). For instance, if the mission is work-integration, then the economic activity must provide jobs to poorly qualified workers. If it is to provide social care, then the activity must deliver social care. This differs from the US and UK approach, which often sees the trading activity as merely a source of income, with the nature of the trade being unimportant (Dees, 1998).

In essence it can be seen that as long as the core business mission is designed to alleviate a social ill, as long as the beneficiary ownership of the business lies with the community, and if some income is derived from commercial activities, then an organisation can be called a social enterprise. Such a broad definition of social enterprise is put forward by Reid and Griffith (2006: 2) who state that a social enterprise is a '...organisation that aims to achieve profit through market activities; and social benefit through a second bottom-line. The degree to which these criteria are met varies considerably'. Nevertheless, such definitions remain unsatisfactory, and Peattie and Morley (2008) highlight the example of the National Lottery operator Camelot. Whilst many in the social enterprise field would baulk at the idea, the simple fact remains that Camelot whilst a for-profit business, returns 56 times more money to social causes than it does to shareholders. On this basis and under the above definition it would be perfectly legitimate to class Camelot as a social enterprise. Such an example highlights why broad conceptual definitions have little use if they are not supported by defined and acceptable organisational and legal structures such as those provided by the EMES definition (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001).

2.3 - Social Enterprise & the UK Economy

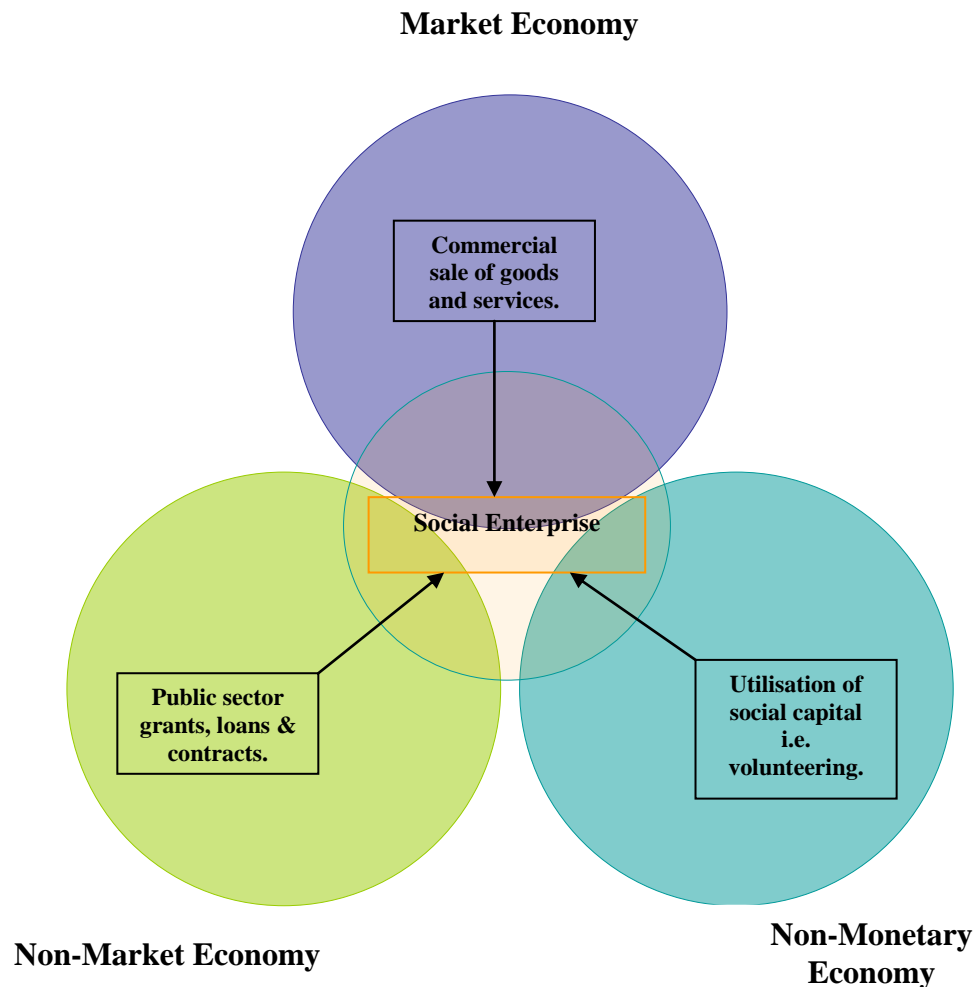
So far the third sector and more specifically social enterprise have been discussed in terms of history, definition and structure. But where do social enterprises fit into the wider economy and specifically in relation to this thesis in the UK economy? It has been argued by Dees (1998) that they inhabit a hybrid crossroads between the public and private sector, in which commercial activity and competition are driven by a social mission rather than the profit motive. However, in order to fully answer this question, it is necessary to first define the modern western economic model. The modern day western economy can be split into three different poles and these are defined below.

1. **The market-economy:** Here the market has the prime responsibility for the circulation of goods and services. This does not mean that this type of economy consists of the market alone, merely that all other parts of the economy take a subordinate role to it.
2. **The non-market economy:** This is an economy in which the prime responsibility for the circulation of goods and services falls within the jurisdiction of the welfare state. Here, the public sector is subject to rules enacted by a public authority, which in its turn is subject to democratic control, redistributes resources.
3. **The non-monetary economy:** This is an economy in which the circulation of goods and services depends primarily on reciprocity. Although it is true that a certain number of reciprocal relationships adopt monetised forms (such as donations), it is really within the non-monetary economy that one observes the main effects of reciprocity – in the form of self-production and the household economy.

Taken from (Laville and Nyssens, 2001: 325).

Whilst the three poles are linked and often overlap with each other, this most often occurs on a bi-polar basis, for example, the outsourcing of public sector contracts to the private sector. The unique positioning of the third sector and more specifically social enterprise is that it lies between and utilises all three poles. Figure 2.6 overleaf illustrates social enterprises position in the tri-polar economy.

Figure 2.6 – Social Enterprise & the Tri-Polar Economy:



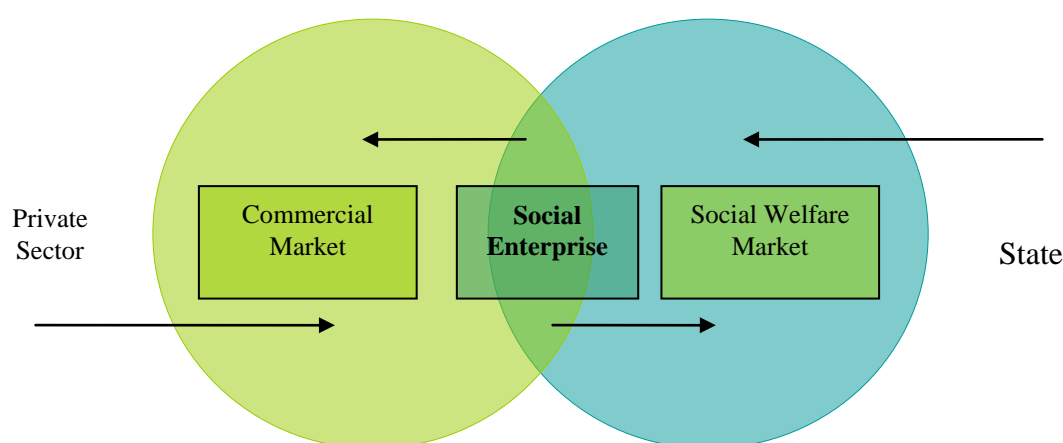
Authors own (Adapted from Laville & Nyssens, 2001).

Social enterprises sell goods and trade in the market economy, they obtain loans, grants and service contracts from the non-market economy and also utilise social capital in the non-monetary economy. This last point is crucial as it is the social capital that is utilised that really makes social enterprises distinct from traditional business enterprises. In organisational terms, social capital can be associated with organisational operations and can include features of social organisations, such as networks, norms and trust, which facilitate coordination and cooperation with mutual benefit (Putnam, 1993a).

It has been suggested that this ability to utilise all three economies allows social enterprise to act innovatively and to react to new social demands quickly (Salamon, 1987). A similar theory is put forward by Evers and Laville (2004) who argue that social enterprise occupies

an intermediary space at the crossroads of market, public policy and civil society, which it uses to actively shape policy and society. These two views are in contrast with the more commonly held view in third sector literature that social enterprises are merely residual organisations that correct and fill mistakes and gaps left in the economy by the market and the state (Steinberg, 2004). Such views describe a society where the state, market and third sector are all placed ‘in separate boxes’ (Lewis, 2004). Aiken (2006) also identifies social enterprises acting across three spheres that he labels the ‘social welfare market’, ‘commercial market’ and the ‘mixed market’. This ignores the ‘non-monetary’ economy that is perhaps so distinctive in separating social enterprise from the rest of the third sector and traditional business community. Within his model Aiken (2006) examines the pressures that social enterprises face and place in/on each sector of the market. Figure 2.7 outlines these pressures.

Figure 2.7 – Market Sectors & Pressures:



Authors own, adapted from (Aiken, 2006).

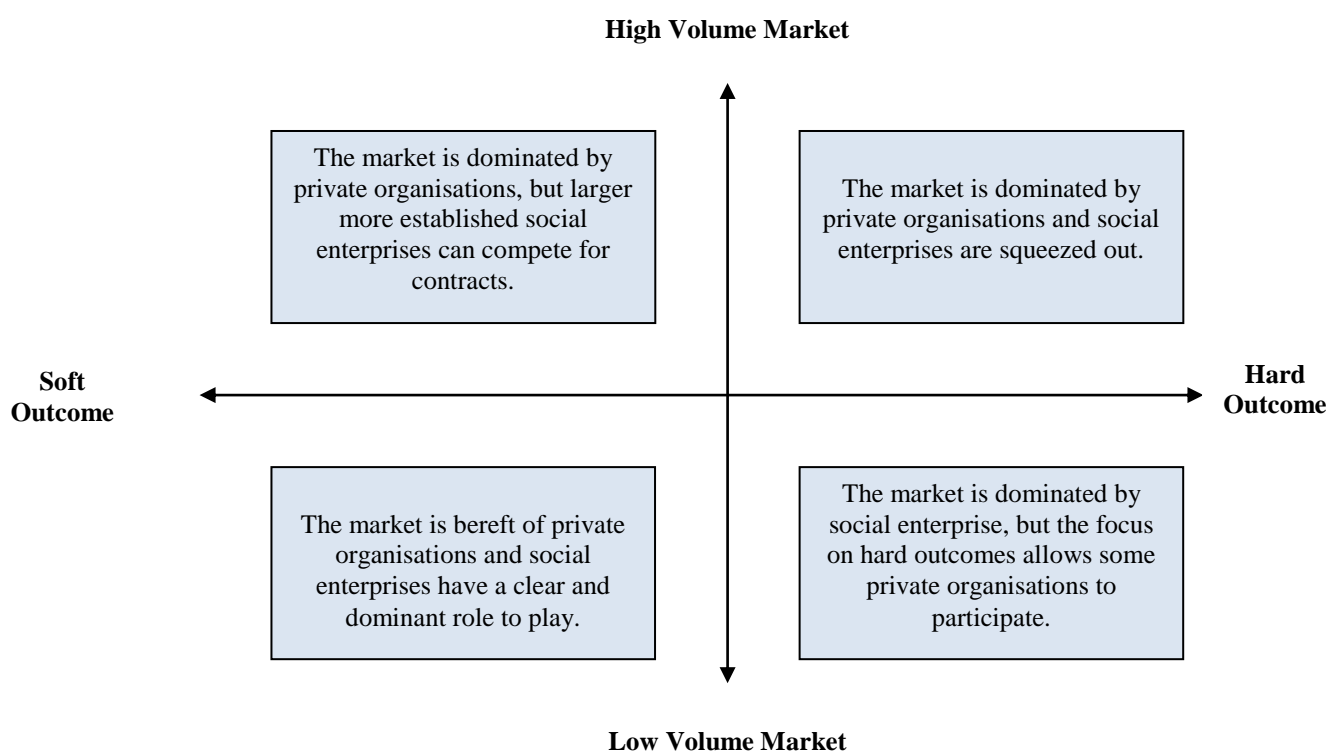
Within the ‘social welfare market’ Aiken (2006) identifies the pressures placed upon social enterprises by the state, in the form of the strict rules and regulations that public sector contractors have to work to. These tend to distract social enterprises from their core missions and cause the organisations to morph from being client-focused to funder-focused operations. Such factors are indicative of the lack of understanding that the state often has for social enterprise, and in an increasingly target obsessed bureaucracy this is something that is unlikely to improve in the near future. From a UK perspective this has particular resonance as despite increasing attempts to decentralise powers to local government, the UK welfare system is still characterised by a high degree of centralisation and a focus on targets and statistics (Spear, 2001) that were put in place during the ‘centralisation’ policies of the Conservative governments between 1979-1997 (Westwood, 2011). For example, upon winning a contract a WISE is often set targets by the state based upon productivity levels, the number of individuals to be employed and the WISE’s ability to be financially sustainable after a certain time period. What this ignores is the fact that disadvantaged workers will often never be as productive as their more skilled counter-parts (Aiken, 2006), and so a certain level of public-funding will always be required.

When operating in purely commercial markets, social enterprises are always under pressure in terms of their financial viability. Hence, whilst their core social aim may be to employ and help disadvantaged workers, such involvement may have to be limited in order for the social enterprise to survive (Aiken, 2006). This is why those social enterprises that manage to hybridise across all three spheres tend to be more successful, as not only can they rely on commercial income, but they can also use state funding and non-monetary assistance to remain commercially viable. Such organisations often then place pressures on the ‘market’ and ‘non-market’ sectors of the economy, as they can offer competitively priced products to the consumer, that are also ethically produced. In turn, this also places pressure on traditional sectors of the public sector, as social enterprises begin to offer the state more cost-effective measures for tackling social ills.

Within the UK such perspectives are also slightly altered in terms of how social enterprises operate and interact with the different sectors of the economy. As was shown above, Dees (1998) highlighted how in the US and UK there is a lot less pressure for the social enterprise’s trade to be intrinsically linked to the social programme. Therefore, a company can produce goods with traditional capitalist methods, and then use the profits generated for the social mission. However, unlike the US, the UK does have a more European-based history of

welfare provision, and this has allowed UK social enterprise involvement in welfare provision to grow. This is in part due to the crisis that European welfare systems are undergoing in terms of budget, effectiveness and legitimacy (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001), which has seen the state become increasingly keen to utilise social enterprises as a ‘third option’ in welfare delivery, separate from the use of private contractors (Kendall, 2003). However, in contrast to most other European states, the UK has a liberal and low-expenditure welfare state (Spear, 2001). Such a welfare state, which is highly centralised and fiscally frugal in nature, tends to demand competitive pricing in applications for nationwide welfare programmes. Such large-scale welfare provision offers numerous commercial possibilities that attract private contractors and only the largest national third sector organisations. When the programmes are localised, smaller in scale and with ‘soft outcomes’ prioritised, social enterprises have tended to thrive in the UK in part based around their ability to cater to smaller community issues, but also due to the lack of interest shown for such programmes by private contractors. Figure 2.8 illustrates this point.

Figure 2.8 – Market Volume & Outcome Assessment:



Author’s Own. (Adapted from Spear, 2001: 267).

In effect, social enterprises in the UK hold a unique position in the economy and face a unique set of challenges when compared with their European counterparts, as they operate in

an economy that is based around a US version of the free-market approach but which also contains an established welfare state. All this is done without the traditional support and legal forms (until the introduction of the CIC legal form in 2004) that European based social enterprises have had and been able to utilise. Despite these economic factors, social enterprise in the UK is a growing sector, with the number of CICs registered growing by 27% each year (BIS, 2009). This is partly due to the increasing levels of political support for them, evidenced by such reports as the 'Social Enterprise Action Plan: Scaling New Heights' (Office for the Third Sector, 2006), the £110 million 'Social Enterprise Investment Fund' (SEIF) (Hall and Millar, 2011), and also due to the often poor record of private enterprise in welfare delivery.

2.4 - Social Enterprise: A Critique

So far this chapter has focused upon defining social enterprise and examining its role in the economy. Many of the characteristics that make social enterprise a success, such as adaptability, originality, innovation and its ability to hybridise different poles of the economy have been explored. However, to describe social enterprise uncritically would be erroneous, and this next section examines the criticisms levelled at social enterprise as a concept and business model, and attempt to place this critique within a UK perspective.

There are four main criticisms levelled at social enterprise. The first is that social enterprises have a tendency towards isomorphism in that they evolve into larger organisations with more formal structures that are legally and socially more acceptable; but at the cost to their original social aims (McBrearty, 2007). These changes are often due to a desire to secure public funding and in essence, the social enterprise becomes just another third sector cooperative or mutual. Such pressures are a regular problem for social enterprises, and the pressure to expand and change can just as readily come from the private sector.

The second centres around the lack of awareness that many social entrepreneurs have of the environment around them (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001), certainly in relation to accessing funding and expanding to serve new and different community needs. However, whilst this is often the case, missing out on funding opportunities is as much the fault of the funding bodies for failing to reach out to social enterprises as it is of the social enterprises themselves. This has been a particular problem in the UK due to the lack of traditional support for social enterprises, although this has changed over the last decade with the establishment of Social

Enterprise UK (formerly the Social Enterprise Coalition) and other regional bodies such as Social Enterprise East Midlands (SEEM).

The third criticism stems from the complicated and slow decision-making processes that often afflict social enterprises and the governance costs that this incurs. Whilst in the early phases of a social enterprise's existence this is less of a problem, particularly if the business is established by one social entrepreneur, the gradual metamorphosis into a multi-stakeholder enterprise can often paralyse decision-making. The needs of potentially the customer, the social entrepreneur, the staff, public bodies, as well as financial viability have to be balanced; all of which can make the decision-making process longer and more complex (Borzaga and Mittone, 1987; Hirschman, 1980). Indeed, as was outlined earlier in this chapter, there is a tendency for social enterprises involved in public-sector contracting to become funder rather than client focused (Aiken, 2006). However, as Campi *et al.* (2006) highlight, the multi-stakeholder nature of social enterprises can also be an advantage. It offers the opportunity to access resources and influence external factors through the internalisation of external partners and policy-makers. It also allows the social enterprise to react more effectively to changes in the community it serves, as individuals from the community can also access the governance structure.

The final critique is related to the first and third criticisms outlined above, which is that even amongst those social enterprises that do expand, rarely does one pass a certain threshold. Indeed, nationally or internationally established social enterprises are few and far between, Café Direct or Divine Chocolate being exceptions (Café Direct, 2010; Divine Chocolate, 2010). However, this overlooks the main reason behind the establishment of most social enterprises; namely that they are formed generally as a response to small localised problems. Indeed, Seanor and Meaton (2007) point to the fact that this is a deliberate strategy for many social enterprises and social entrepreneurs. Additionally, social enterprise in the UK has a strong track record of knowledge exchange and networking through collaborations with central and local government, regional bodies and academic institutions.

2.5 - Work-Integration Social Enterprises (WISEs)

Within the social enterprise sphere exists a sub-type that will be central to this thesis, the work-integration social enterprise (WISE). This section aims to define what constitutes a

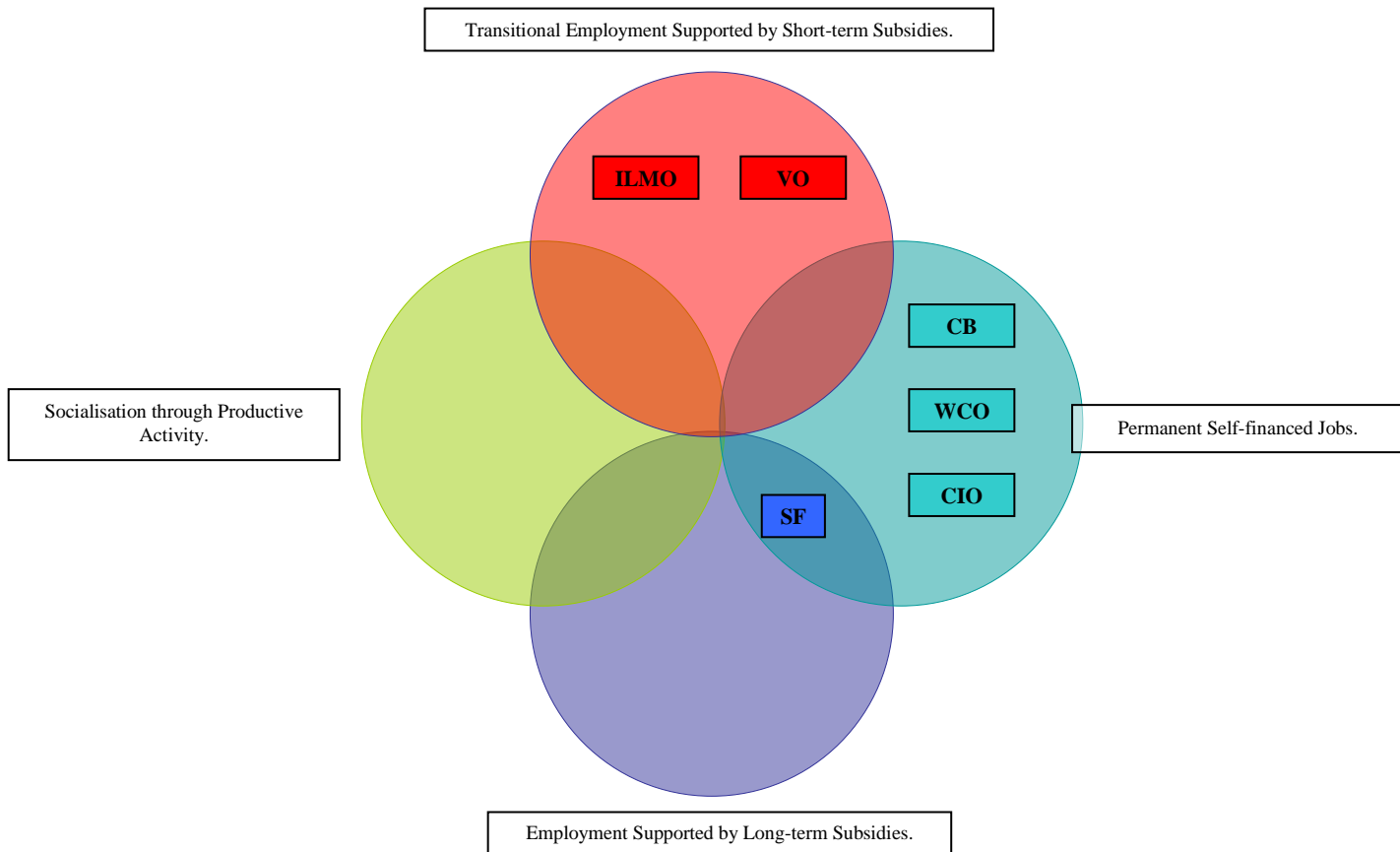
WISE, its place within the third sector and social enterprise in particular and to place this in the context of both the UK economy and government policy towards reducing NEET numbers. Aiken (2007) identifies five main types of WISE and these are listed below.

1. *Worker Co-Ops (WCO)*: These tend to be small-scale social enterprises that take on staff that are disadvantaged. These co-ops are not equipped to deal effectively with large numbers of disadvantaged workers. They are often based around childcare, recycling, cleaning and small-scale catering and tend to be community based.
2. *Social Firms (SF)*: These enterprises tend to deal with severely disadvantaged workers who may suffer from disabilities. Their workers may also be homeless or persistent offenders and can also be drug addicts. They generally have a commitment to employ around 25% of their workforce from these groups, but tend to balance this with a more traditional business model to remain economically viable.
3. *Community Businesses (CB)*: These tend to compete with the private sector for public sector contracts for activities such as delivering and collecting second hand furniture. They are usually companies limited by share or guarantee and tend to have minimal interaction with public sector contracts. Whilst community businesses work with disadvantaged individuals, these individuals are often not the severest cases.
4. *Intermediate Labour Market Organisations (ILMO)*: Such enterprises offer short-term training or employment, offering productive work such as recycling and landscape gardening, with the aim of moving trainees into full-time employment in other organisations. Because of the training that they offer, they tend to be in part reliant on public sector contracts and thus are vulnerable to changes in policy. ILMOs are the focus of the research study reported in this study.
5. *Commercial Integration Organisations (CIO)*: These are commercial businesses that aim to integrate disadvantaged individuals back into the workforce through training and placements e.g. Jamie Oliver's Fifteen Restaurant (Fifteen, 2009) and the Shaw Trust (Shaw Trust, 2009). However, such organisations are at the boundary between social enterprise and purely commercial organisations. They therefore have to be economically viable, which in turn leads to stringent selection criteria. This means that the severely disadvantaged individual is rarely helped by such organisations.

In addition to the five types of WISE outlined by Aiken (2007) there are also voluntary organisations (VO) involved in the work-integration field, which generally rely on subsidies, donations and commercial sales to generate income and they usually work with disabled and

mentally ill individuals (Spear, 2001). Defourny and Nyssens (2006) produced the diagram below (Figure 2.9) that illustrates the different sources of income that the various types of WISE access.

Figure 2.9 – WISE Income Streams:



1. WCO - Worker Co-Operatives.
2. CB - Community Businesses.
3. SF - Social Firms.
4. ILMO - Intermediate Labour Market Organisations.
5. VO - Voluntary Organisations..
6. CIO - Commercial Integration Organisations

Taken and adapted from (Defourny and Nyssens, 2006: 21).

In relation to this thesis, the three case-study organisations that participated in the research were all ILMOs, delivering temporary work and training placements to NEET individuals.

The Socio-Economic Performance of Work Integration Social Enterprises (PERSE - *Performance socio-économique des entreprises sociales d'insertion par le travail*) study examined the aims, structure and performance of WISEs across Europe from 2000-2004 (EMES, 2010). In relation to the goal-setting of WISEs across Europe, the PERSE study found that 77% of WISEs ranked occupational and social integration as their main priority, over and above production and lobbying interests. Table 2.2 illustrates.

Table 2.2 – European WISE Priorities					
Goal	Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank4	Total
Occupational & Social Integration	77	18	5	0	100
Production	30	55	15	0	100
Advocacy & Lobbying	5	19	69	7	100
Other	25	19	25	31	100

Taken from (Campi *et al.*, 2006: 33)

However, when these results were weighted to account for the fact that 30% of respondents had placed production as their main priority and then placed into a EU/UK comparison the following results were produced. Table 2.3 illustrates.

Table 2.3 – Weighted WISE Priorities for EU/UK					
	Occupational & Social Integration	Production	Advocacy & Lobbying	Other	Total
EU	41	35	21	3	100
UK	35	39	23	3	100

Taken from (Campi *et al.*, 2006: 33)

This shows that in goal setting, UK social enterprises value market performance and political lobbying slightly more than their continental partners. Such preferences though come at the expense of social aims, but this perhaps accurately reflects the UK's position as a unique social enterprise economy that represents a hybridisation of the US and European approaches. However, what both tables do show is that European and UK WISEs are not single-issue organisations but more complex entities with multiple goals. This multiple-goal nature is also reflected in the multi-stakeholder nature of European WISEs as well, as Table 2.4 illustrates.

Table 2.4 – Number of Stakeholders (SH) in European WISEs							
	Single SH	2 SHs	3 SHs	4 SHs	5 SHs	6 SHs	6+ SHs
EU	42	25	15	10	5	3	0
UK	33	8	17	33	8	0	1

Taken from (Campi *et al.*, 2006: 37)

In the EU 58% of social enterprises were multi-stakeholder, whilst in the UK this rose to 67% of social enterprises. This highlights the increasingly more integrative approach of UK based WISEs in terms of knowledge exchange and business partnerships with local government, regional organisations and other social enterprises. The PERSE study also produced data on the resource mix amongst European social enterprises, and this is illustrated in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5 – Resource Mix in European WISEs					
Resource Type	From Individuals (%)	From the Private Sector (%)	From the Public Sector (%)	From the Third Sector (%)	Total (%)
Monetary	16	15	51	6	88
Sales	15	15	19	4	53
Subsidies	0	0	32	0	32
Gifts	1	0	0	1	2
Non-Monetary	5	0	5	2	12
Indirect Subsidies	0	0	4	2	6.5
Voluntary Work	5	0	0	0	5.5
Total (%)	21	15	56	8	100

* % Figures have been rounded.

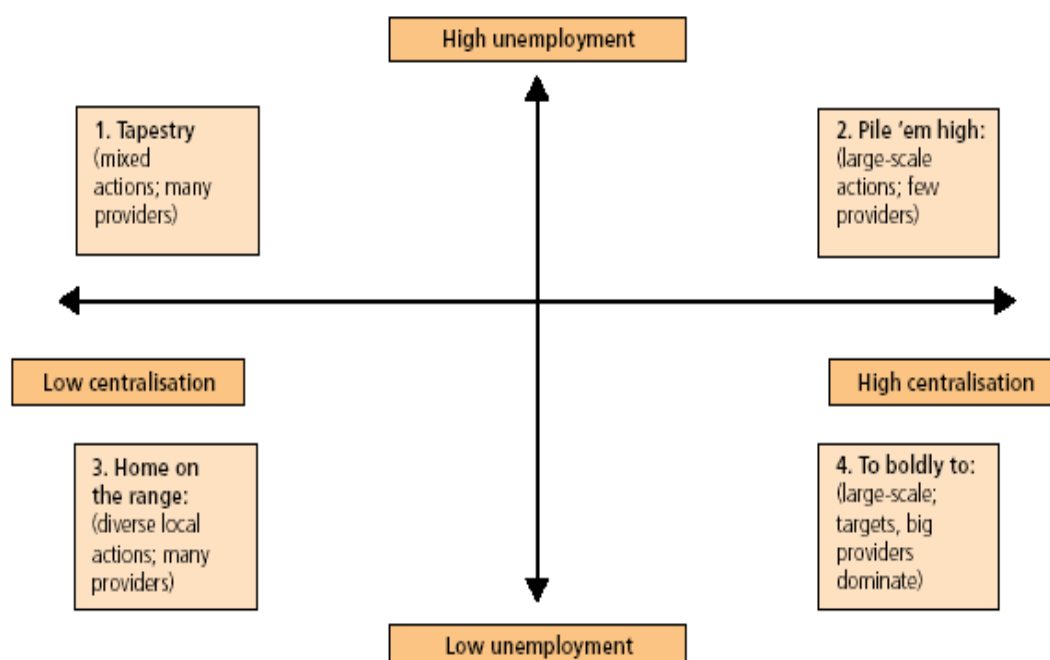
Taken from (Gardin, 2006: 115)

The general characteristic of WISE resources in Europe can be summed up as follows: as already mentioned most resources are generated through the sale of goods and services (53%), with the largest customer for these goods and services being the public sector. The public sector also accounts for the majority of overall resources (56%), and whilst non-monetary resources are not negligible they are minimal. Overall, these enterprises mix all types of resources into their organisations, which as was also shown with social enterprise as a whole earlier, is a large part of the reason for their success. Whilst the level of public subsidy is high for WISEs, it would be unrealistic to expect that such enterprises could survive without state assistance when considering the levels of workforce disadvantage that they have to deal with. In addition, this also has to be considered in relation to the fact that getting people back into work is not always the sole objective of WISEs, but that they also try to improve workers' human and social capital (Nyssens and Platteau, 2006). Such a process itself is time-consuming and expensive and impacts upon efficiency levels, making public subsidies a necessity for economic viability.

2.5.1 - WISEs in the UK:

When examining WISE in the UK it is important to be aware of how they differ from their European counterparts, as well as understanding the position that they hold within the UK economy. As has been shown above, WISEs in the UK are marginally more orientated towards market and production goals than their European equivalents and are also more multi-stakeholder. But the reasons for this are closely related to the UK unemployment level over the last decade and the high degree of centralisation in the UK government in terms of welfare provision. Aiken (2007) identifies four different situations that social enterprises have to work within. Figure 2.10 below outlines these.

Figure 2.10 – Unemployment Levels versus Welfare Centralisation



Taken from (Aiken, 2007: 18)

When Aiken produced the above diagram in 2007 he placed the UK in the 'to boldly to' sector; that is a situation of low unemployment mixed with a high degree of centralisation (Aiken, 2007). In such a scenario, low unemployment causes attention to turn to getting even the highly disadvantaged into work. Large-scale actions involving a targeting of such disadvantaged people are delivered through large organisations, which may contract out to social enterprises. Such an environment allows smaller social enterprises to survive; but they do so with little state support. This leads to large numbers of disadvantaged people being

moved into temporary employment, but large numbers are also missed by programmes that lack small-scale and individualised provision. Such a situation is typical of the UK environment that social enterprise and WISEs found themselves in prior to 2008 in which programmes such as the New Deal ignored small-scale employment providers such as WISEs in favour of larger organisations (Aiken, 2007).

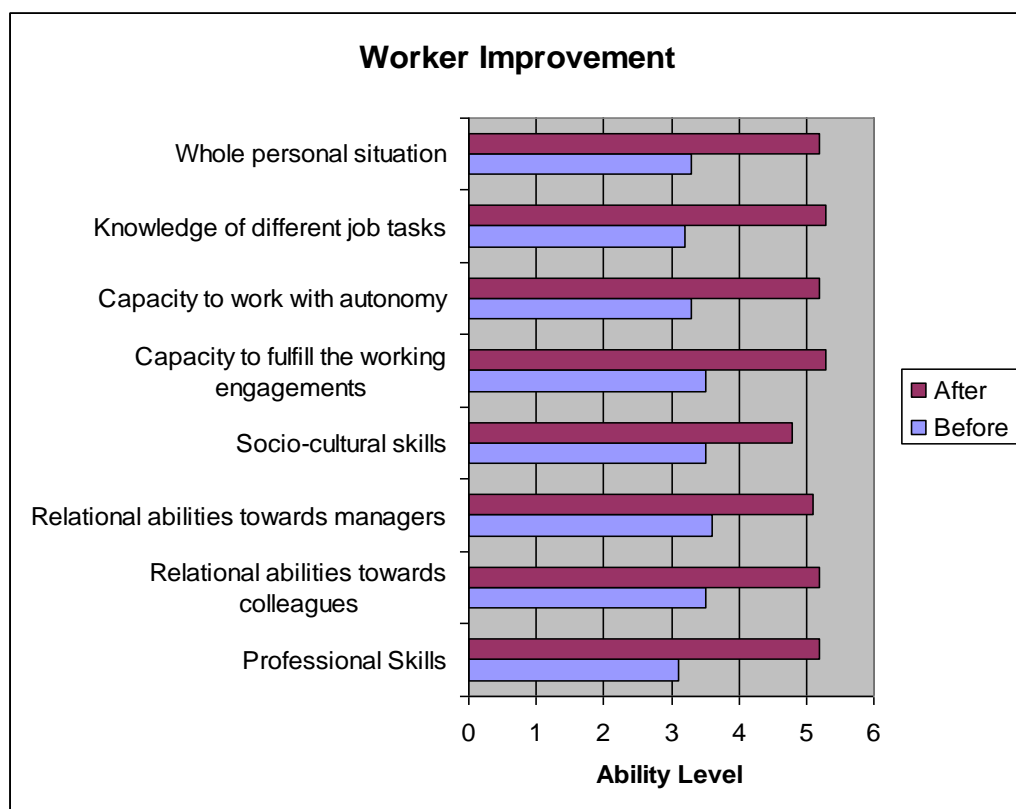
However, whilst the situation has changed over the last four years, it is not a change that has improved the situation for social enterprise in the UK. The current recession has seen unemployment in the UK rise from 1.401 million people to a current high of 2.69 million people, equivalent to an 8.4% unemployment rate as of November 2011 (ONS, January 2012). Such a rise has not coincided with any major reforms in welfare provision; placing the UK in what Aiken (2007) terms the 'Pile 'em high' scenario'. Here, a large economic downturn brings rapidly increasing unemployment, which leads to public calls for large-scale government intervention. Whilst some social enterprises may be used to soak up surplus labour, the majority of the effort is put into national programmes that deliver large-scale intervention but at the cost of little in-depth support for the individual. It is within such a context that UK WISEs currently find themselves operating, a situation that may only change either with a return to low employment or a decentralisation of welfare provision. One positive factor for UK WISEs is that successive UK governments have placed a great emphasis upon employment services as a form of welfare intervention. This is because they provide a low-cost method of providing help to large numbers of people and crucial to this thesis and the case-studies involved, such measures are particularly popular when dealing with the young and long-term unemployed (Spear, 2001). This can still be seen today with the government's development of the 'work programme' and the 'youth contract'. These will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

2.5.2 - WISEs and the Unemployed:

The last point made above is an important one for this thesis, namely that work-integration programmes and hence WISEs are a popular tool for attempting to get the unemployed back into employment, education or training. As has been discussed above, a key aim of WISEs is not merely to employ those out of work, but also to improve their work-skills and their human and social capital. Previous studies on the interaction of WISEs with their clientele has focused not just upon the final destinations of those involved, but also on how the experience of working in the WISE affected the participants in terms of their work and life skills.

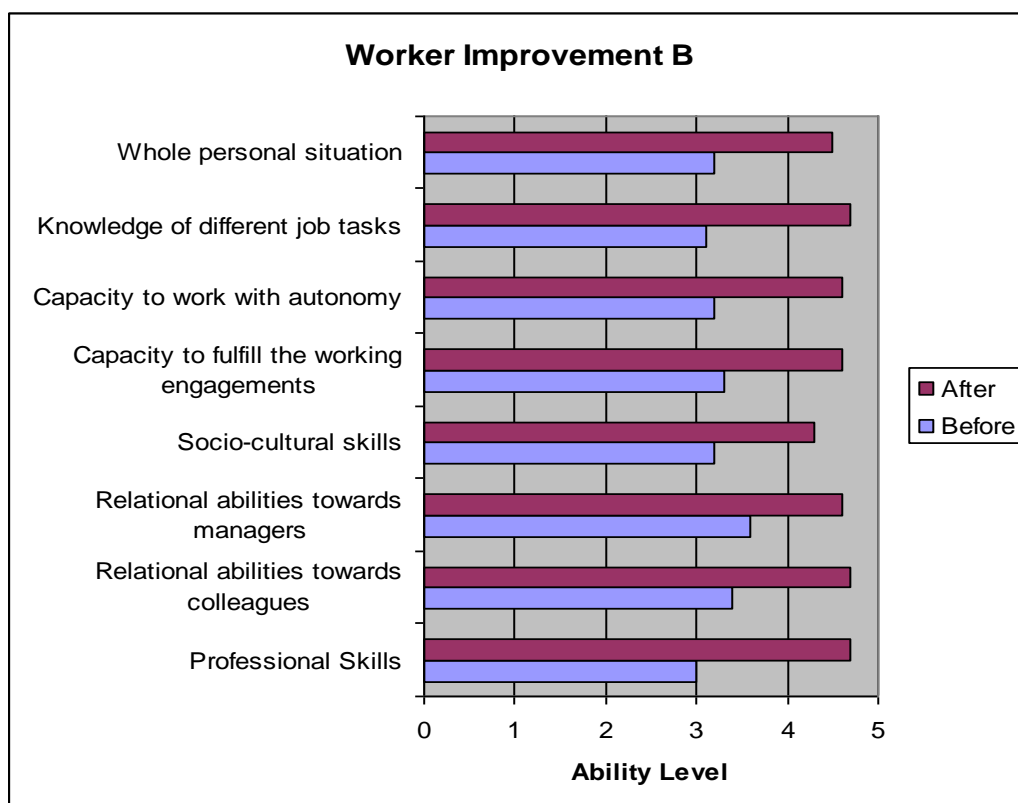
One of the largest such study of WISEs was the PERSE project outlined earlier. This study analysed a total of 949 individuals in WISEs across Europe (including 132 individuals aged 18-25 years). In the 18-25 years of age category 43.2% had no more than a primary school education, whilst over a third of respondents had no monthly income (Borzaga and Loss, 2006). *Outcomes* were judged in two separate areas, first, in the development of professional, social and life skills and second, in the final destinations experienced by these individuals at the end of their stay in the WISEs. The results obtained are shown below in Figures 2.11-2.12 and Table 2.6.

Figure 2.11 – Worker Improvement (Still at WISE):



Taken from (Borzaga & Loss, 2006: 186).

Figure 2.12 – Worker Improvement (No Longer at WISE):



Taken from (Borzaga & Loss, 2006: 187).

Outcome	(N)	%
<i>Positive Outcomes</i>		
Still Employed in WISE	552	58.6
Left with Prospect of Job	73	7.7
<i>Negative Outcomes</i>		
Left without Prospect of Job	53	5.6
Dismissed	45	4.8
Resigned due to Health	23	2.4
Other (i.e. WISE closed etc.)	51	5.4
<i>Neutral Outcomes</i>		
End of the Project	76	8.1
End of Fixed-term Contract	70	7.4
Total	943	100

Taken from (Borzaga & Loss, 2006: 189).

Figures 2.11 and 2.12 highlight the improvement in the individuals during their time within the WISEs. The workers were assessed on a seven-point scale in the above categories by their line-managers at the start of their employment at the WISE. At the end of the study or when they left the WISE (whichever came first) they were again assessed by the same measure. The results show that there was a marked improvement in each area of around two points per

category, with a slightly larger improvement in those workers who remained at the WISE. Table 2.6 shows that 66.3% of workers experienced a positive outcome, either being employed elsewhere or remaining at the WISE, with only 18.2% of workers experiencing a negative outcome. Such results are remarkable considering the level of educational and financial disadvantage of the majority of these workers. However, a cautionary approach should be undertaken with such results. First, the assessment was not carried out directly by the workers themselves, but by their line managers. This leads not only to questions of inaccuracy in the results, but also to potential problems surrounding bias. Indeed, it would be only natural for the managers to want to show an improvement in the individuals at the WISE; as such 'evidence' would be beneficial to their organisation. In addition to this, some of the areas measured were vague. As any assessment of 'socio-cultural skills' will be subjective then it is doubtful as to whether all managers would define and assess 'socio-cultural' skills in the same way, or 'whole personal situation' for that matter. Such ambiguity calls into question the reliability and validity of such results.

Ho and Chan (2010) assessed the social impact of WISEs operating in Hong Kong. The research study utilised a qualitative approach to explore the social impact generated by 16 WISEs in Hong Kong, by carrying out interviews and focus groups with the senior administrators of the WISEs, as well as selected social workers who had been involved with the establishment or operation of the WISEs. In addition, interviews were also conducted with the employees at the 16 WISEs along with the clientele of five of the WISE organisations that participated in the research (Ho and Chan, 2010). The findings of the research indicated that the WISEs allowed their clients to develop new job skills and so enhance their employability and that they also subsequently reduced poverty and social exclusion (Ho and Chan, 2010). However, there are two main limitations to this study. First, the interview/focus group sample largely consisted of senior administrators, employees and social workers involved with the WISEs. These individuals are not objective in their outlook on the performance of their organisations. Whilst some interviews were carried out with clients of five of the WISEs, this was a limited sample and so the participant perspective of social benefit could not be thoroughly explored. Indeed, Ho and Chan (2010) state that this was only an exploratory study and that further research is required to verify their findings. Second, the research does not adequately define 'social benefit' or 'social exclusion' and so it is difficult to ascertain how the social impact of the 15 WISEs was measured? The clients of the WISEs were asked questions surrounding their 'satisfaction' with the WISEs and their staff, but this does not

provide a valid indicator of ‘social benefit’, ‘psychological improvement’ or reduced ‘social exclusion’ that is grounded in ‘social science theory’ (Chen and Rossi, 1980).

This highlights a significant gap in the research area in terms of accurately measuring social enterprise and WISE performance in relation to the individuals they are established to help. This thesis can address this gap as not only will it provide self-assessment as opposed to peer assessment, but it will do so by utilising the psychological concept of self-efficacy (see Chapter Four), which has been shown in numerous studies over the last thirty years to be a powerful predictor of performance in the educational and employment spheres. This will produce reliable and valid results in comparison with the studies discussed above, which can be utilised in the research and by the participating WISEs to assess performance. The studies outlined above also involved all unemployed clients in the participating WISEs. Such a sample involves a very heterogeneous group of people, whereas this thesis will examine a sub-set of disadvantaged workers, the NEET population. Nevertheless, both studies do suggest that WISEs offer a benefit to disadvantaged workers over and above the usual offer of employment.

Such research flaws have also been highlighted by other researchers. Taylor (2007) stated that social enterprise research suffered from a ‘mutually reinforcing combination of insufficient data, undeveloped theory and unresolved definitional issues. Additionally, Jones *et al* (2007) criticised ‘the small size of data populations and samples’ and the lack of longitudinal studies in social enterprise. Such gaps in the research will be partially filled by this research project, as it will have a sample of NEETs from several case studies and will take place over a longitudinal period in its evaluation. Such factors mean that this thesis can make a significant contribution to knowledge in the social enterprise evaluation field, which at the present time can only offer limited research data (Taylor, 2007).

2.6 – Social Enterprise Evaluation

The field of performance evaluation in social enterprise research is a problematic one, with differing concepts, methods and results. As government policy increasingly looks towards utilising social enterprise in the delivery of welfare services, a need for the evaluation of social enterprise performance arises. Evaluation is required to provide policy-makers with ‘evidence’ of the positive benefits of social enterprise and in relation to this thesis WISE

performance. Also, there is a moral and ethical imperative to evaluate the impact of these interventions on disadvantaged and often vulnerable young people (Alter, 2006; Peattie and Morley, 2008). At present there is very little academic research into the performance evaluation of social enterprises with the notable exception of studies that promote ‘business-like’ evaluation tools such as ‘Outcomes Star’ (London Housing Foundation and Triangle Consulting, 2006), ‘Balance’ (Bull, 2007), ‘Prove and Improve’ (New Economics Foundation, 2008) and the use of ‘Management Control’ in evaluation (Bagnoli and Megali, 2011). Although these are examples of useful tools in the evaluation of social enterprise, they are either focused on *outcome* from the perspective of the social enterprise or are targeted at specific populations such as the homeless. Indeed, one of the critiques made against social enterprise, that they are usually small and localised, also causes problems in evaluation, as the research is often by necessity qualitative and hence cannot be generalised into wider contexts (Simmons, 2008). As was outlined in the last section the limited prior research available has reported some positive benefits of WISE interventions (Borzaga and Loss, 2006), but much of this prior research lacks academic rigour. This lack of academic rigour stems from a sub-optimal methodological approach to research that involves WISEs evaluating their own performance. These often subjective and anecdotal evaluations characterise research into WISE performance and tend to focus on overall unemployment interventions that fail to examine specific unemployed groups such as NEETs.

The evaluation of programmes designed to help NEETs reengage with employment, education or training can be conducted on different levels, depending upon whether the focus of the evaluation is on *output*, *outcome* or *impact* as defined in the SIMPLE methodology (McLoughlin *et al.*, 2009). For the purpose of evaluating a WISE, *output* can be defined as the relationship between the number of unemployed NEETs accessing the programme and the number who subsequently gain employment or return to education. Considering *output* as a method of evaluation is useful for tracking the success of a programme from this particular perspective and is subsequently popular with funders such as the state, as it offers clear evidence of results ‘on the ground’. However, if *output* is employed as a singular measure, the evaluation will not include important longer-term participant benefits/drawbacks, i.e. *outcome*. An *outcome* represents changes to participants’ psychological states that will affect their future employability or a return to education or training. *Impact* is an even longer-term benefit and is the impact on society resulting from the reduction of youth unemployment, for example, reduced unemployment benefits payments, lower costs to the criminal justice system, the health service and higher income tax receipts. *Impact* is a nebulous concept to

measure and was not assessed in this thesis as to do so would require the application of assessment techniques beyond the practical scope of this study. Such assessment techniques include measures such as ‘Social Return on Investment’ (SROI). SROI is an evaluation tool used by the state to analyse the social benefits provided by a scheme or organisation compared to the economic outlay required to fund such a venture (MLA, May 2009). It has come about because of the governments’ desire to not just view welfare programmes in expenditure form, but to try and understand them from an investment point of view. For social enterprises this presents a significant advantage in the market place.

As outlined above, despite the expansion of the social enterprise sector, particularly in the work-integration area, there has been little work done on the performance evaluation of such organisations (Paton, 2003; Peattie and Morley, 2008) and research that directly compares social enterprise performance to that of commercial organisations is almost non-existent. The lack of rigorous evaluation of social enterprise performance poses a problem in that the benefits of social enterprise are ‘understood’ by everyone but evidenced nowhere. This leaves an evidence gap where even the size and nature of the sector is unclear (Gibbon and Affleck, 2008). This is in part due to the lack of appetite amongst social enterprises for engaging with performance measurement (Bull, 2007) and also because of the perceived problems of performance evaluation in which the set of measures chosen will always be contextual to a particular situation and organisation (Thomas, 2004). In a seminal conference paper Peattie and Morley (2008) called for the emergence of longitudinal, empirical studies that can address this research gap and provide social enterprise with the evidence base that it needs to grow. This thesis aims to make a contribution to knowledge in this area, specifically in relation to WISEs working with young people not in education, employment or training (NEET). It will do this by focusing upon *outcome* benefits of WISEs working with NEETs, specifically self-efficacy (see Chapter Four). The evaluation of the *outcome* benefits will be conducted at two social enterprise case-studies and a comparison organisation that operates as a commercial for-profit organisation in the work-integration sector. This will provide the research with the empirical comparison called for by Peattie and Morley (2008).

2.7 - Social Enterprise and Government Policy

Over the last decade there has been an increasing desire in both central and local government for the use of social enterprises in the delivery of public services. It has, to use a euphemism,

‘become fashionable’ in government circles to support the third sector and particularly social enterprise. Indeed, the Home Office has acknowledged the ‘vital role’ that the voluntary sector and social enterprise plays in delivering public services (Seanor and Meaton, 2007). But how has this actually been transformed into policy and how has this policy framework impacted on social enterprises in the UK? To answer this question an exploration of government policy since 1997 is necessary.

Following its election victory in 1997, New Labour set in place measures to decentralise the responsibilities for, and the planning and implementation of, work-integration measures. This was part of New Labour’s ‘Third Way’ strategy that sought to ‘marketise’ the welfare state and this opened up opportunities for third sector organisations and social enterprises (Haugh and Kitson, 2007). However, such ‘decentralisation’ has come in the form of regional targets to be achieved by local councils. Such targets are centrally set, in essence depriving local government of any genuine ability to formulate local policy, all of which must be geared towards meeting these targets rather than local needs. This has left many social enterprises having to rely on funding from other areas such as the European Union in order to pursue their social aims (Aiken, 2007), a fact that highlights the continued centralisation of welfare policy-making.

A rejection of this continued centralisation led in 2006 to the publication of the Local Government White Paper entitled ‘Strong and Prosperous Communities’ (DCLG, 2009). This called for a move away from the centralised planning that currently dominates UK policy-making, with Ruth Kelly MP stating that the government understood that ‘...as local government and its partners have improved, the strong direction and framework set by central government also needs to change...’ (DCLG White Paper, 2006: 4). However, despite these words and legislative action, central government has not fully released its grip on local policy planning or implementation. There has also been conflict between central government departments, with the DCLG attempting to decentralise planning so as to allow local resolution of complex social problems, whilst at the same time the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) was emphasising a ‘work first’ approach that set national targets such as reducing Incapacity Benefit claimants by one million or increasing the number of ‘older’ workers in employment by one million (DWP, Sep 2006). Such approaches only served to encourage short-term and large-scale interventions in order to meet targets (the New Deal being a prime example). Such an environment is not fully conducive to the survival and success of WISEs.

Nevertheless, whilst the formulation of social policy has remained central, this has not prevented government support for social enterprise from rising. The increased popularity of social enterprise amongst senior politicians has occurred simultaneously with a desire to contract out existing welfare services to non-government agencies and enterprises (Kendall, 2003; Haugh and Kitson, 2007). This has also been combined with an attempt to deliver more horizontal local connections between organisations and the state, as policy has moved away from combating poverty or health, to one of reducing social exclusion as a whole (Aiken, 2006). The idea of combating social exclusion has led to the inclusion of extensive numbers of local actors in policy planning and has resulted in various local ‘compact’ agreements between local government and the voluntary sector (Craig *et al.*, 2005). The growth of these ‘compacts’ and of ‘Local Strategic Partnerships’ can be seen in urban regeneration projects such as ‘Neighbourhood Renewal Programmes’ and the ‘New Deal for Communities’, of which there are now 5,000 such bodies operating in the UK (Stoker, 2004). Such changes in policy surrounding the delivery of welfare in the UK have had positive effects upon WISEs, as they have been seen as an excellent tool not just for providing employment but also in offering support for other social and career problems. This has allowed them to become increasingly involved in public sector contract delivery.

Over the last four years there has been an attempt in central government to improve the present economic and policy environment for social enterprise. A ministerial working group, chaired by Liam Byrne MP, was established in 2008 to help deliver a level playing field to allow any qualified provider (including social enterprises) to compete for public service delivery contracts (Shah, 2009). This initiative was part of the Labour Government’s strategy to help deliver on its pledge to create 25,000 new jobs in social enterprises and charities. Labour also created the new ‘Futurebuilders Investment Plan’ (FIP) that provided social enterprise with £45.6 million to help them deliver public services (Shah, 2009) as well as the Department of Health ‘Social Enterprise Investment Fund’ (SEIF) initiative that initially offered £100 million of state funding in the form of loans and grants to new and existing social enterprises in the health and social care sectors (Hall and Millar, 2011). Since the general election of 2010 that saw a Conservative led coalition government elected, the public sector spending reviews and cuts have left social enterprise along with all other organisations uncertain of their future. Whilst the coalition government’s *true* plans for social enterprise are as yet unclear, it would seem that social enterprises could be central to any expansion of the ‘Big Society’ and that their future is consequently not necessarily troubled. Indeed, the ‘Localism Act’ that was introduced to Parliament in December 2010 specifically aims to

‘shift power from central government to local communities’ and places greater power in the hands of local communities and elected bodies in areas concerning community rights, neighbourhood planning and housing. From April 2012 it also will allow for a greater devolvement of powers from Whitehall to local authorities in areas related to public sector service delivery and allow for local authorities to utilise more innovation in service delivery (DLCG, 2012).

On balance the UK policy framework over the last ten years has tended to work against localised social enterprises; particularly those involved in engaging with those disadvantaged groups where unemployment is merely one of a myriad of social problems such as drug addiction, criminality and health (Aiken, 2007). This thesis offers evidential support to work-integration organisations and especially the two WISEs that will form the social enterprise case-studies and the for-profit comparison group. This evidence may strengthen the arguments for the merits of the socially integrative approach taken by WISEs, which can then be put forward to influence policy-makers both at the national and local levels. Certainly, in the area of work-integration, the state is crucial in determining both the size of the market and the types of organisations that can prosper in it (Spear, 2001: 263). Unless the delivery of welfare services and the setting of targets are put back in the hands of local government, then the long-term future of small to medium sized WISEs and other social enterprises may be limited.

2.8 - Summary

This chapter has examined the history and nature of social enterprise, the different definitions of what constitute such a venture and how government policy has shaped social enterprise in the UK. The third sector and social enterprise have been shown to be intrinsically linked, yet distinct from each other. Whilst social enterprise is a new organisational form, its roots are deeply historical and it represents an ‘evolution’ rather than ‘revolution’ in the third sector. Whilst there are different explanations for and definitions of the third sector, the ‘Social Economy’ approach with its European base has been shown to be the best model for describing UK social enterprise.

To be classed as a social enterprise, a business must have four key factors present in its organisational model. First, there must be a separation of ownership in which those involved

in the establishment and operation of the social enterprise (the dominant owners), are separate to the beneficiary owners (those that reap the social and economic benefits produced by the social enterprise). Second, in relation to this is the need for the business to be based around a 'not-for-profit' agenda. This does not mean that the enterprise cannot make a profit, it can, but it does mean that the pursuit of profit should not be the main aim of the business and that any profits generated must be utilised towards its social aim. Such a social aim forms the third tenet of a social enterprise, which is that the core aim of the business is a social mission aimed at alleviating a social problem. The final factor is that the social enterprise should at least generate part of its income from commercial activity, in order for it to be classed as an enterprise.

Within the modern economy social enterprise occupies a unique position in which it operates as a hybrid organisation positioned between the private, public and community sectors. This allows it to utilise all three for revenue streams, including the non-monetary assistance that the community sector can offer. This flexibility has allowed social enterprises to survive and even thrive in a policy and market environment that has not always been favourable, particularly in the UK. Alongside this there has been much criticism of social enterprise, stating that the general trend to 'de-hybridise' towards one economic pole, not only results in missed opportunities to expand the business, but also in a move away from the core social mission. Such criticisms are well-founded and many social enterprises have fallen into this trap. However, the most successful social enterprises are those that manage to balance the needs of the three economic sectors whilst remaining close to their original social mission.

Within the rise of social enterprise during the last few decades has been the growth of the WISE. Such institutions have drawn heavily on the state sector for funding, as well as national and trans-national funding bodies such as the European Social Fund. WISEs have formed due to the end of 'full employment', as well as being a response to the failure of traditional European welfare states. As such, WISEs are much more prominent in the Europe than the US, and surprisingly have been relatively successful in the UK, even when the policy environment has not always been conducive to such a rise.

However, there is still room for significant growth for both WISEs and social enterprises in general, both of whom have often suffered from not clearly demonstrating their worth. This lack of 'social accountability' has also been the result of a dearth of research both in volume and quality, a research gap that this thesis aims to partly fill. This last point has particular

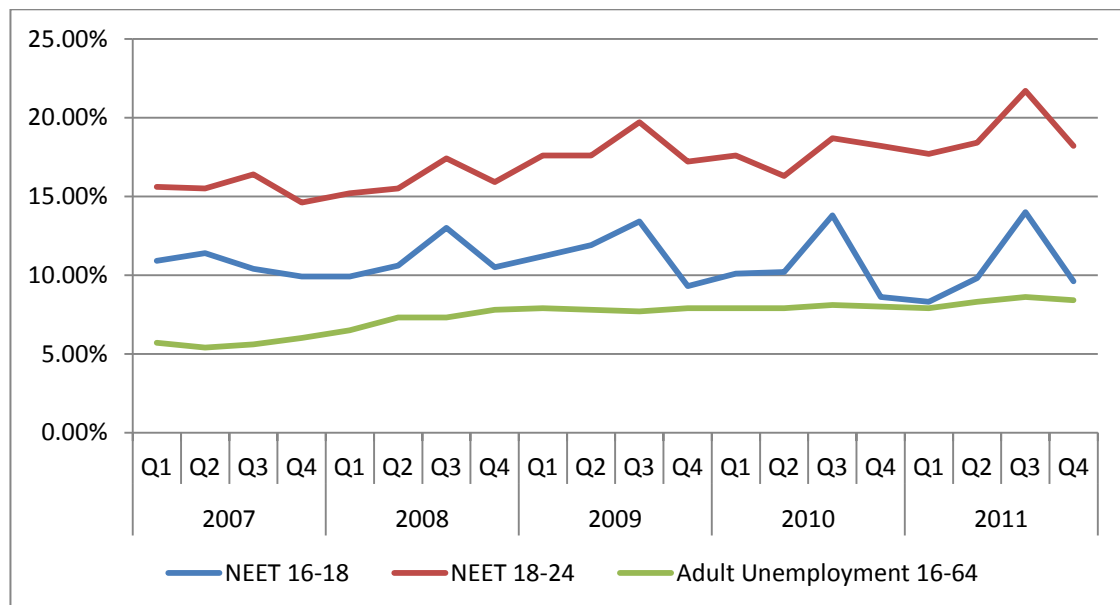
resonance in the UK where the centralisation of policy formulation and implementation is not conducive to the growth of localised social enterprises. The causes of social exclusion are becoming increasingly differentiated in modern society and it is no longer valid to assume simple correlations between unemployment, poverty and exclusion. It is instead necessary to provide local and small-scale interventions specific to each community (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001). In providing robust and high quality research for social enterprise, this thesis will provide evidence that could encourage a further decentralisation of policy and hence allow an environment to develop that is more conducive to social enterprises and specifically WISEs.

In providing such research the thesis is building upon the SIMPLE methodology outlined earlier in this chapter (McLoughlin *et al.*, 2009). By focusing upon *outcome* benefits as outlined in the SIMPLE model, the thesis aims to demonstrate the less obvious benefits that WISEs have upon their clientele separate to the more obvious *outputs* such as jobs created. In addition to this, the growing importance of *impact* measurement such as ‘social return on investment’ (SROI) in obtaining government funding and contracts means that social enterprises more than ever have to demonstrate their ability to secure ‘soft’ outcomes. This is an area that this thesis can help evidence and it can do so in relation to a non-social enterprise comparison group, thus providing new insight to the question of whether social enterprises really do provide any added value to either the state or their clients.

Chapter 3 – Young People Not in Employment, Education or Training

The high rate of youth disengagement from education and employment has been a serious problem in the UK since the late 1970's. It is a social problem that has defied both decades of policy initiatives, as well as nearly 10 years of benevolent economic conditions. Indeed, between 1997 and 2007 despite a generally positive economic outlook for the UK, where unemployment was at an historical low, reaching just 5.2% in April 2008 (Blanchflower, 2009), the rate for those not in education, employment or training (NEET) between the ages of 16-24 remained stable at around 10% (DCSF, 2009). The worst recession since the Second World War has made the NEET problem even more acute over recent years. The current recession has seen a rise in unemployment of 1.268 million to a current high of 2.67 million people, equivalent to an 8.4% unemployment rate (ONS, March 2012). The unemployed rate for 16-18 year olds is currently at 9.6% (178,000) whilst for NEETs aged 18-24 years the unemployment rate has increased to a current level of 18.2% (peaking at 21.7% in the third quarter of 2011), which is equivalent to 873,000 young people (DfE, February 2012). Figure 3.1 below outlines these trends from the first quarter 2007 to the fourth quarter 2011.

Figure 3.1 - Unemployment Rates by Age:



Authors own based upon data taken from ONS (March, 2012).

This rate of youth unemployment, which has steadily remained at approximately double the national average for the last two decades, is a major cause of concern for both policy-makers

and society at large. It is exacerbated by the United Kingdom's low post-16 participation in education rates, in comparison with other equivalent developed economies. Of the thirty member states of the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD), the United Kingdom (UK) is ranked only 23rd for post-16 educational retention. This includes traditional economic rivals such as France and Germany, but also countries that the UK would traditionally consider to be economically inferior, such as Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic (Simmons, 2008). All of the statistics outlined above highlight the importance of the NEET problem to the UK's future economic prosperity and this chapter aims to explore this issue in greater depth. The chapter will seek to define exactly what characteristics NEET status infers as well as the problems of defining NEET status, before looking at the socio-economic problems that characterise the NEET population. It will then conclude by examining government policy in relation to NEETs. However, before this it is important to first look at the history of youth unemployment and the development of the NEET concept.

3.1 – The History of Youth Unemployment & NEET Status

Society's view of youth unemployment and in more contemporary terms NEET status is often seen to be a new one. However, this is not the case. The education of the masses has long been viewed as morally, politically and socially desirable. As far back as 1785 it was Adam Smith who argued in *Wealth of Nations* that '...an instructed and intelligent people besides are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant one...' (Smith, 1785: 305). Indeed, Clark (2011) argues that the education of the work-force has always been a priority of policy-makers as it is perceived to be linked to robust economic performance. Social policy began to become popular in the Victorian era when the idea of government solely providing for the defence of the realm and trade fell out of favour, to be replaced by the notion that social improvement was also a key responsibility of parliament. The 1870 Elementary Education Act is such an example of this, with Lord Forster arguing at the time

'...upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity...if we leave our workfolk any longer unskilled they will become overmatched in the competition of the world...' (Simmons, 2008: 423-424).

This drive for educational provision gradually increased and school-leavers were first specifically targeted by the 1918 Fisher Education Act, which required all local authorities to

provide free and obligatory 'Day Continuation Schools' for all young school leavers not in work or education (Simmons, 2008). This drive for education was further enshrined in the 1944 Education Act, which sought to expand school and post-school education by raising the school-leaving age to 15 years as of 1947 (Unwin, 2010).

However, the structural changes that have occurred in the UK economy over the last thirty years have left the transition from school to employment in a very different and unstructured state compared to what faced a school-leaver in the early 1970's (Roberts, 2011; Sabates *et al.*, 2011). The reduction in the size of the UK's manufacturing, construction and farming industries from 50% of UK output to under 20% (DfES, 2007), as well as the collapse of other industries that provided employment for entire communities (such as the coal mining industry), has meant that the work on offer for unskilled school leavers is often transient and insecure. Many researchers have commented upon the prolongation over this period of the transition from school to work, and the increased complexity and hence skills required to pass through it (Jones and Wallace, 1992; Banks *et al.*, 1992; Bynner, Chisholm and Furlong, 1997).

This huge change in youth employment opportunities was further complicated by the decision in the late 1980's to cease official recognition of unemployment for the under-18 age group. This left this age group without access to benefits and reduced the entitlements of those aged under-25 years (Furlong, 2006), which effectively meant that the 16-24 age group became a separate subset of the traditional unemployed. The lack of unemployment benefits offered, along with the decline in employment levels and traditional vocational training routes, meant that a significant rise in post-16 education participation took place in the 1990's. In fact between 1989 and 2004 post-16 educational participation rose from 55% to 74%, whilst employment and vocational training levels reduced from 21.7% to 7% (Maguire and Thompson, 2007). But what this meant was that a small but significant proportion of young people who had not attained the necessary educational qualifications to continue in education or gain employment in the increasingly competitive training sector were left ostensibly without a future. No more could they rely on working in traditional manual industries nor could they gain employment in traditional industries, as they no longer existed. A study by Instance *et al.* (1994) in South Glamorgan focusing upon this section of disenfranchised youth, who were neither employed, being trained or educated, used the term 'Status 0' to describe them. This was later changed to NEET in an effort to both clarify the concept and to remove the negative connotations that a lack of status conferred (Furlong, 2006).

3.2 – Defining NEET

NEET individuals have been regarded by successive governments as a particularly problematic group. They are viewed as being from largely lower socio-economic classes and are blamed as being the source of a number of social ills, most notably teenage pregnancy, drug abuse, crime and anti-social behaviour (Simmons, 2008). NEETs are also seen as an economic problem, one that serves to inflate wage pressures and stunt economic growth (Mizen, 2004). There are several criteria that a young person has to fill to be labelled as NEET. To be NEET a young person must be unemployed and also not enrolled on any training or educational scheme. Therefore, any young person undertaking an apprenticeship, vocational training or post-16 education is not classed as a NEET. Whilst the government's main focus is targeted at those NEETs in the 16-18 year old category, the actual definition encompasses young people between the ages of 16-24 years (Centre for Social Justice, 2009). Whilst the definition of NEET does encompass the long-term unemployed from poor socio-economic backgrounds, it would be a mistake to view NEETs as a homogenous group as the definition covers a very heterogeneous set of people (Popham, 2003). Furlong (2006: 557) defined five separate groups of people that make up the NEET definition and these are listed below.

1. Those that fit the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) definition of unemployment (available for and actively seeking work).
2. Those not available for or seeking work.
3. The long-term sick or disabled.
4. Those with childcare responsibilities or full-time carers.
5. Those who are not in work but are developing other skills, resting or travelling.

Croxford and Raffe (2000) defined two terms that encompassed these five groups and labelled these the 'broad' and 'narrow' definitions of NEET. The broad definition incorporates all of the above five groups, whilst the narrow definition only includes those who are not able to exercise choice in relation to their NEET status, covering those who fit the ILO definition of unemployment, the long-term sick and disabled and those with childcare or carer responsibilities. This was further developed by Yates and Payne (2006) who categorised NEETs into three broad but distinct types and these are shown below in Table 3.1.

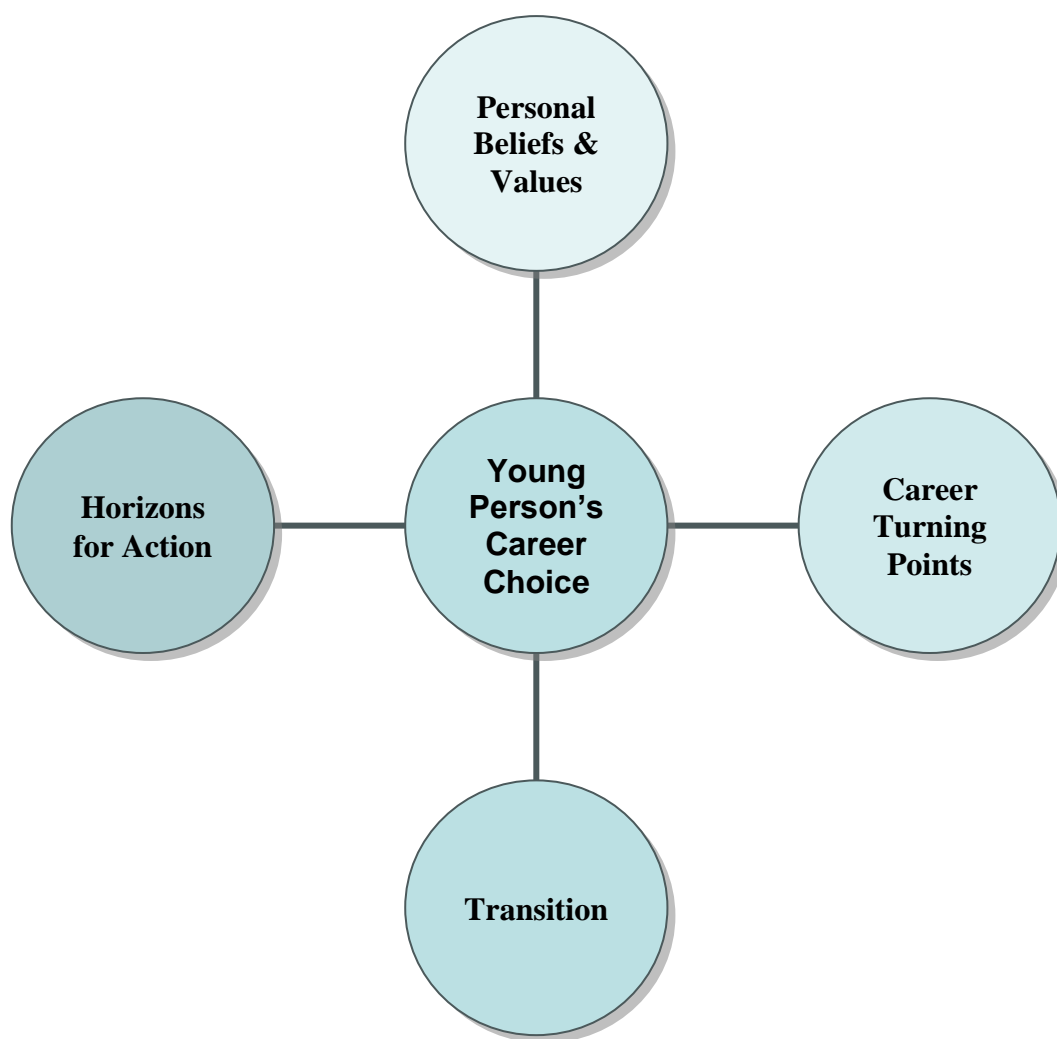
Table 3.1 – NEET Subgroups	
NEET Subgroup	Definition
Transitional	Those who are temporarily NEET due to individual circumstances but who quickly reengage with employment, education or training.
Young Parents	Those who are young parents and make a conscious decision to disengage with employment, education or training in order to look after their children.
Complicated	Those young people who are NEET and who also exhibit a number of ‘risks’ in their lives that contribute to them being NEET (i.e. being homeless, engaging in criminal behaviour, having emotional/behavioural problems etc.)

Essentially, both sets of definitions offer the same broad categorisation of the different NEET subgroups. Indeed, the only real difference between Croxford and Raffe’s (2000) definition and that provided by Yates and Payne (2006) is that the latter separates young parents from what the former labelled the ‘narrow’ NEET group. It is Yates and Payne’s (2006) definition that will be utilised in this thesis, as it gives a more nuanced view of NEET status.

3.2.1 – The Reasons for NEET Status:

To understand the mechanisms behind a young person becoming NEET, it is important to identify the social, economic and personal circumstances that may lead an individual to not engage with the world of further education, training or employment. Prior research by Hodkinson *et al.* (1996) developed the ‘Career Decision-Making Model’, an outline of which is provided below in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 – The Career Decision-Making Model:



Adapted from (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996).

In this model a young person's career decision-making is based around both logic and circumstance, both of which exist in the four spheres shown above. A young person's personal beliefs and values are shaped by their individual history, experience, family and peer influence. The 'social capital' that is inherent in the young person's personal life in the form of familial and peer networks has the potential to shape educational achievement (Coleman, 1988). This personal realm shapes how the individual reacts to the other shapers of career choice, an individual's 'Horizons for Action', 'Turning Points' and 'Transitory Decisions'. An individual's 'Horizons for Action' relates to external factors that limit the young person's choices such as the employment prospects that exist in their locality, but it is also concerned with subjective factors such as perceptions of opportunity (whether accurate or not) that are shaped by personal circumstance. 'Career Turning Points' are those events that are linked together by periods of routine, which dramatically shape a young person's future (i.e.

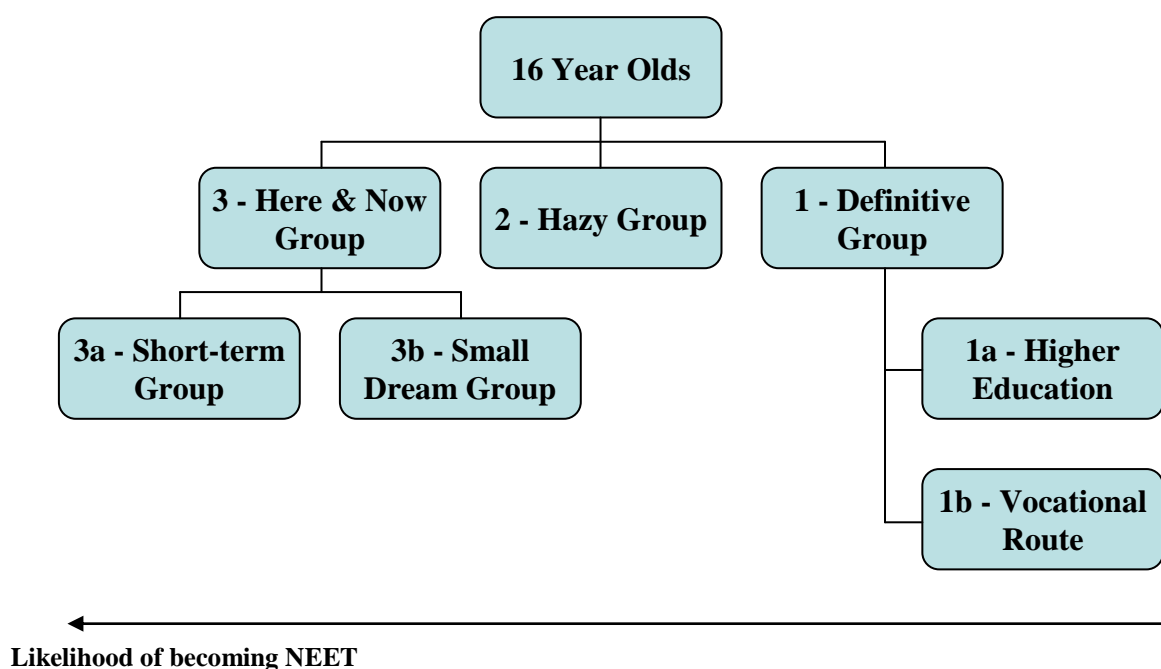
pregnancy, exam failure or family tragedy). Finally, the sphere of ‘Transition’ refers to the transitory nature of career choices, particularly in the initial post-16 phase (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996). It is important to be aware of this model as NEET individuals, as we shall see shortly, are generally much more constrained by personal and local circumstances and also have a higher risk of exposure to the turning points identified above.

Another model for characterising young people and linking it into the probability of whether a young person will be NEET is the ‘Future at 16’ model developed by Ball *et al.* (1999). In this model, the more certain that a young person is of their future; the less likely they are to be NEET. It splits young people into three distinct categories and these are briefly outlined below. Figure 3.3 also provides a visualisation of Ball *et al.*’s (1999: 210-214) model.

- *Definitive Future Group* – These have relatively clear, stable and possible imagined futures. Their centre of gravity and sense of self is rooted in education or training. Positive models for self and reinforcement are readily available and the learning opportunities on offer have been absorbed into their ‘social understanding and normative structures’ (Rees *et al.*, 1997). They either go on to A-Level and University or pursue careers in areas of personal interest i.e. acting, dancing or the military.
- *Hazy Future Group* – They have a vague ‘imagined future’ that is unstable and beset with uncertainties. Whilst they have a future orientation it is one that is pursued tentatively and is not as clearly defined as the above group. Their familial resources do not provide a clear sense of what might be, or what things could be like. Whilst the families may be encouraging, even pressurising, they often cannot provide tangible support or facilitation. They exemplify what Evans and Heinz (1994) call ‘passive individualisation’ in which goals are weakly defined and the strategies to achieve them uncertain.
- *Here and Now Group* – This group has two distinct sub-groups that we can term as the ‘short-termers’ and the ‘small dreams group’. They are very much locked into considerations revolving around only the present or short-term future. They deal only with the here and now, with vague ideas of waiting to see what turns up. Whilst they may have imagined futures, these are often unrealistic flights of fancy or vague maybes. Their present choices are often constrained by economic circumstances and damaged or limited learner identities. Poor social background, unsupportive families and friends of a similar ilk, characterise this group. Often their immediate future is negatively constructed. These young people only know what they do not want. The

Small Dreams Group within this are young people that whilst they do conform to the above in terms of rejecting further education or training, are much more grounded in terms of their aims. They have modest dreams revolving around getting a flat, car or boyfriend/girlfriend and attempt to realise these goals by entering into unskilled or semi-skilled employment. These jobs are often a turning point in helping to rebuild a sense of efficacious self in these young people and can open up new horizons in their lives.

Figure 3.3 – Future at 16 Model:



Adapted from (Ball *et al.*, 1999).

In relation to Yates and Payne's (2006) conceptualisation of the sub-categories of NEET, the more at risk 'Here and Now' group outlined in Ball *et al.*'s (1999) model are generally associated with the narrow, complicated definition of NEET status, whereas the 'Hazy Futures' group are much more likely to be transitory NEETs. The 'complicated' NEETs sub-category are also characterised by unrealistic or misaligned ambitions when compared to their experience and educational qualifications and this causes them problems in making a successful transition from school to work (Furlong and Biggart, 1999; Croll, 2008). Sabates *et al.* (2011) provide a model for this misalignment of aspiration with educational expectations. Table 3.2 below illustrates.

Table 3.2 – Misaligned Ambitions & Uncertainty in School to Work Transitions

		Occupational Aspirations	
		Professional	Non-Professional
Educational Expectations	High	<i>i. Aligned (High):</i> Lengthy schooling & human capital gain through higher education.	<i>ii. Misaligned (Over):</i> Likely higher education drop-out. Incomplete skills accumulation through schooling.
	Low	<i>iii. Misaligned (Under):</i> Likely to stop schooling after compulsory education, have some labour-market experience.	<i>iv. Aligned (Low):</i> Early school-leavers. Skills accumulation through work-experience.
<i>v. Uncertainty regarding future occupation</i>			

Taken from Sabates *et al.* (2010).

In this model Sabates *et al.* (2011) propose that young people in Quadrant One have both high aspirations and high educational expectations, which become strengthened the higher the level of education that the individual attains. Quadrants Two and Three corresponds to young people who both over and under-estimate the level of education required for their desired occupation, which in both cases provides a barrier to progression into employment. Quadrant Four represents those young people who have low aspirations for employment and do not wish to engage in further education. Hence they enter into employment or unemployment (NEET status) soon after leaving school. It is young people in quadrants three and four that are at most risk of becoming ‘complicated’ NEETs although young people in quadrant two could also become NEET.

In terms of this thesis, the NEETs that will be being examined belong in the ‘complicated group’ and will be characterised by unclear or short-term visions of their future (Yates and Payne, 2006; Ball *et al.*, 1999) and will invariably be situated in ‘Quadrants Three and Four’ of Sabates *et al.*’s (2011) model. They will also be more likely to have suffered personal/familial problems as well as having been at risk of suffering negative ‘Turning Points’ (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996). An understanding of these models and definitions is crucial in forming any clear understanding of NEETs, and whilst it is important to attempt to group NEETs in order to reflect their heterogeneous nature, it is also vital to be aware of the more intricate socio-economic characteristics that characterise NEET status.

3.3 – The Socio-Economic Characteristics Associated with NEET Status

As indicated earlier, the problem of youth unemployment is not a new phenomenon. However, with the decline in Britain of the manufacturing sector and the consequent reduction of unskilled and low-skilled employment, government policy has increasingly focused upon solving the NEET ‘problem’. The Social Exclusion Unit’s (1999) ‘Bridging the Gap’ report identified the principal drivers leading to NEET status as being educational underachievement and disaffection, along with family poverty and disadvantage. This led the then Labour government to target its policy in this area, with attempts to reduce childhood poverty and raise school standards. A research report for the Department for Employment Skills (DfES, 2002a: ii) that examined the cost of being NEET also linked NEET status to ‘...*educational underachievement; unemployment; inactivity/not currently in the workforce; poor physical or mental health or disability; substance abuse; and crime were identified as being associated with being NEET...*’. These findings have also being supported by prior research, which has found links between socio-economic status, personal circumstances and educational experience/achievement (Payne 1998, 2000; Britton *et al.*, 2002).

Biological factors have also been shown to have an impact, chief among which is that of low birth weight (Bynner and Parsons, 2002). Prior research has identified a relationship between low birth-weight and low socio-economic status, with babies born to poorer families being 20% more likely to experience low birth weight (MacInnes *et al.*, 2009). Finally, another important factor in NEET status, and one that is linked to the personal realm, concerns the psychological make-up of the individual involved. Evans and Heinz (1994) and Evans and Furlong (1997) have both linked the idea of personal agency to NEET status, arguing that a lack of agency compromises an individual’s ability to navigate their way through the modern labour market. This last point is of crucial importance to this study, as the *outcome* measure utilised in this research, self-efficacy (see Chapter Four), is a significant component of Social Cognitive Theory (SCT), which in part offers a theoretical explanation of personal agency (Bandura, 2012).

Research has also focused more specifically on the groups considered to be more at risk of being NEET, as opposed to the general characteristics found amongst NEETs. According to Luck (2008), national statistics issued by the DfES in 2005 show a wide range of groups more likely to become NEET such as...

- Young people with disabilities or health problems are three times more likely to be NEET.

- Young people with special educational needs or learning difficulties are twice as likely to be NEET.
- Young people with a persistent history of social exclusion and truanting are seven times more likely to be NEET.
- Two thirds of teenage mothers (around 20,000 females) are NEET.
- 39% of young people with no GCSEs are NEET compared to 2% of those with five or more A* grades.

This quantitative assessment is also supported by research conducted by Bynner and Parsons (2002: 298-299), which analysed data gained from the 1970 British Birth Cohort Study. Table 3.3 below outlines their findings.

Table 3.3 – Predicting NEET Status			
Predictors	All	Young Men	Young Women
<i><u>Part 1: Without Highest Qualification at 16</u></i>			
RGSC IV or V = 0	1.30	1.45	1.00
Low birth weight = 0	2.50*	2.71	2.39
Parents did not read to child = 5	1.68*	2.56*	1.31
Free school meals or state benefits = 10	1.89*	1.00	2.55*
Inner City or council estate = 10	2.01*	3.84*	1.47
Low cognitive ability = 10	1.11	1.18	1.13
Few hobbies or interests = 10	1.08	0.52	1.46
Little parental interest = 10	1.61*	0.98	2.28*
<i><u>Part 2: With Highest Qualification at 16</u></i>			
RGSC IV or V = 0	1.32	1.25	1.16
Low birth weight = 0	2.45*	2.95	2.15
Parents did not read to child = 5	1.52*	2.55*	1.17
Free school meals or state benefits = 10	1.59*	0.79	2.20*
Inner City or council estate = 10	2.03*	4.03*	1.48
Low cognitive ability = 10	0.83	1.10	0.72
Few hobbies or interests = 10	1.10	0.54	1.44
Little parental interest = 10	1.26	0.70	1.75
Highest qualification: CSE = 16	1.82*	0.96	2.72
Highest qualification: None = 16	5.84*	9.32*	6.21*

* = $p < .05$ NB. Age at which data were collected is indicated at the end of each variable description. RGSC relates to the 'Registrar's General Social Classification', which today is known as 'Social Class by Occupation'. RGSC IV and V relate to a child's parent(s) being in partially skilled or unskilled occupations respectively. The results indicate the increased probability of NEET status (i.e. 2.5 = 2 ½ times more likely to be NEET).

These results show the 'odds ratio' of becoming NEET for different biological, social and economic factors for both male and female young people. A brief summary of these findings is listed below.

- Males living in inner city housing were four times more likely to become NEET. Females living in family poverty were two and a half times more likely to become NEET.
- When highest qualification at 16 was introduced as a controlling variable, ‘low birth weight’ and ‘lack of parental interest’ became a statistically insignificant predictor of NEET status for females. However, for males this controlling variable did not significantly affect their likelihood of becoming NEET.
- For both sexes, highest qualification gained was the most important predictor of NEET status, with males and females with no qualifications at 16 being nine and six times more likely to become NEET respectively.

This data highlights how family circumstances, socio-economic background and educational experience are all important shapers in youth development and have a significant impact upon the likelihood of a young person becoming NEET (Bynner and Parsons, 2002). In addition to this and linked to the importance of educational experience, prior research by Wilkin *et al.* (2005) indicated that young people with special educational needs (SEN) were three times more likely to be expelled from school (even if being given support) and over four times more likely to be expelled from school if extra support was not in place. This therefore places young people who have SEN at increased risk of becoming NEET. There is also empirical evidence that highlights the important similarities in the socio-economic backgrounds of NEET individuals. Amongst NEET individuals 79% come from working-class backgrounds in which the father has a manual occupation, compared to 53% for those individuals in employment, education or training (EET). Additionally, whilst young people who live with neither of their parents account for 4% of the population nationally, they make up 17% of NEET individuals (Pearce and Hillman, 1998). Indeed, Instance *et al.* (1994) and Armstrong *et al.* (1997) have shown that young people with difficult or disturbed family backgrounds feature disproportionately amongst those individuals who are NEET.

The research conducted by Bynner and Parsons (2002) also highlighted the statistically significant relationship between an individual being NEET in their late-teens and being NEET at age 21. Table 3.4 below refers.

Table 3.4 – Predicting Outcomes for NEETs						
Outcomes at 21	Predictors					
	Young Men			Young Women		
	NEET	NEET with CSE or No Quals. Controls	NEET with CSE or No Quals. Controls + Early Experience Controls	NEET	NEET with CSE or No Quals. Controls	NEET with CSE or No Quals. Controls + Early Experience Controls
NEET	4.46*	3.59*	3.32	7.76*	5.83*	5.32*
F/T or P/T Employment	0.24	0.32	0.34	0.13	0.17	0.19
Married/Co-habiting	0.92	0.85	0.76	4.00*	3.23*	3.09*
Poor General Health	1.73	1.55	1.45	1.38	1.08	1.00
Malaise	3.23*	2.12	2.20	1.81	1.76	1.69
Fatalistic Attitude	2.50*	1.95	1.85	2.25*	1.70	1.56
Dissatisfaction with Life	2.34*	1.92	1.66	3.51*	2.93*	2.96*
Lack of Control over Life	2.65*	1.77	1.41	4.20*	3.36*	3.47*
Problems with Life	1.52	0.87	0.81	4.13*	3.18*	3.79*

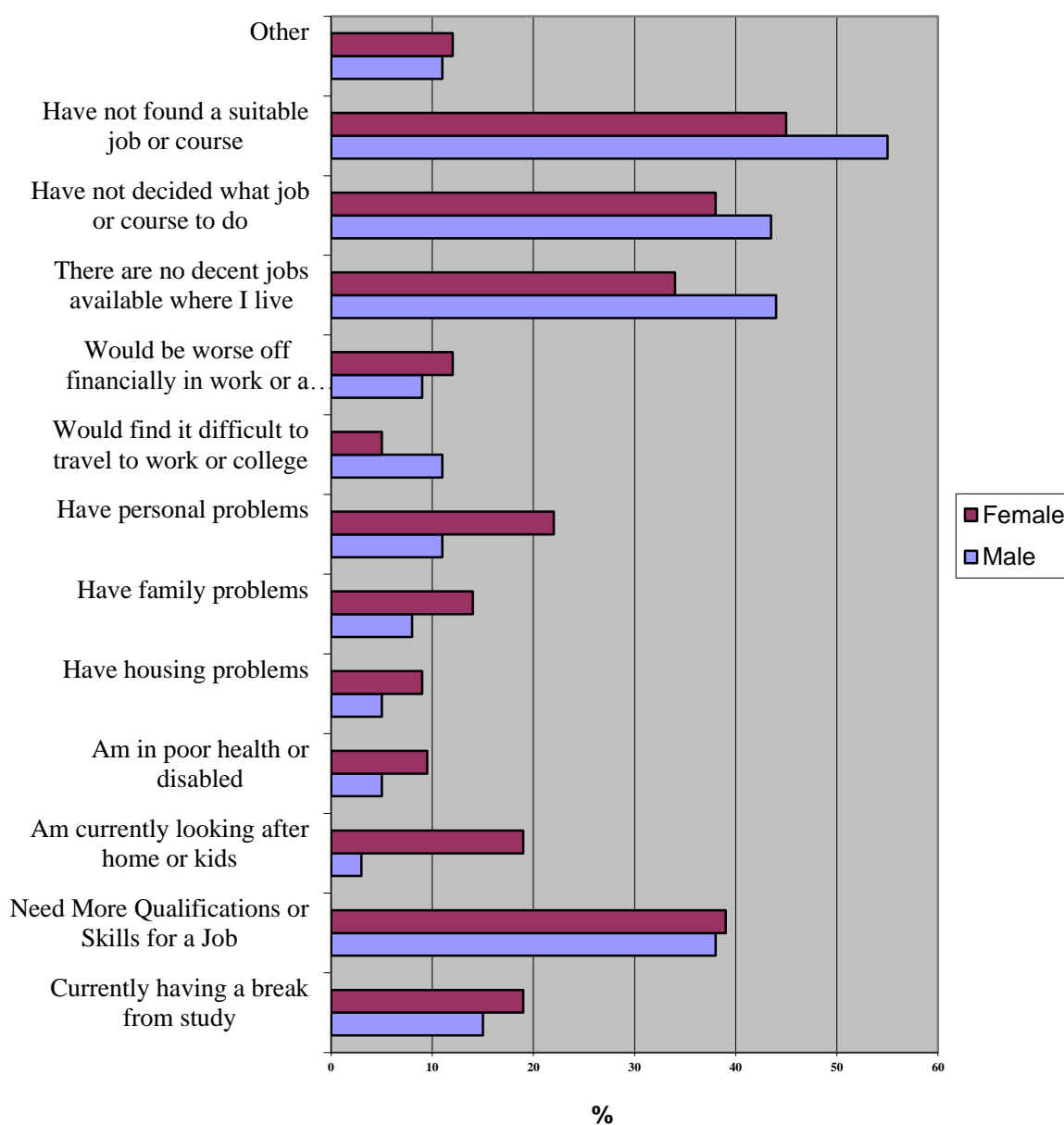
* = p<.05. NB. A CSE (O-Level) was the English secondary school qualification prior to GCSEs. The results indicate the individual's likelihood of each outcome aged 21 if NEET in late-teens.

Taken from Bynner and Parsons (2002: 300).

In summary these results show that if an individual is NEET in their late-teens, they are statistically over four-times more likely to be NEET at 21, over three times more likely to suffer malaise, and around two and a half times more likely to suffer from dissatisfaction with and adopt a fatalistic attitude to life. Additionally, research by Maguire and Rennison (2005) has shown that spending time as a NEET individual increases the individual's risk of becoming a member of the long-term unemployed, of engaging in criminal activity, of becoming involved in drug abuse and of suffering poor health. Prior research has also shown these factors to be the consequence of 'social exclusion' (Fryer, 1997), which itself has been shown to be a predictor of NEET status (Furlong, 2006; Yates and Payne, 2006).

When surveying NEETs from the Scottish School Leavers Survey (SLSS), Furlong (2006) found that the young people interviewed gave four main reasons for being NEET. These were that the young people did not know what they wanted to do or had not found the right job/course, that there were no decent opportunities in their local area and that they lacked the qualifications to pursue the career that they wanted. Figure 3.4 below outlines these findings in full.

Figure 3.4 – Perceived Reasons for Currently being NEET:

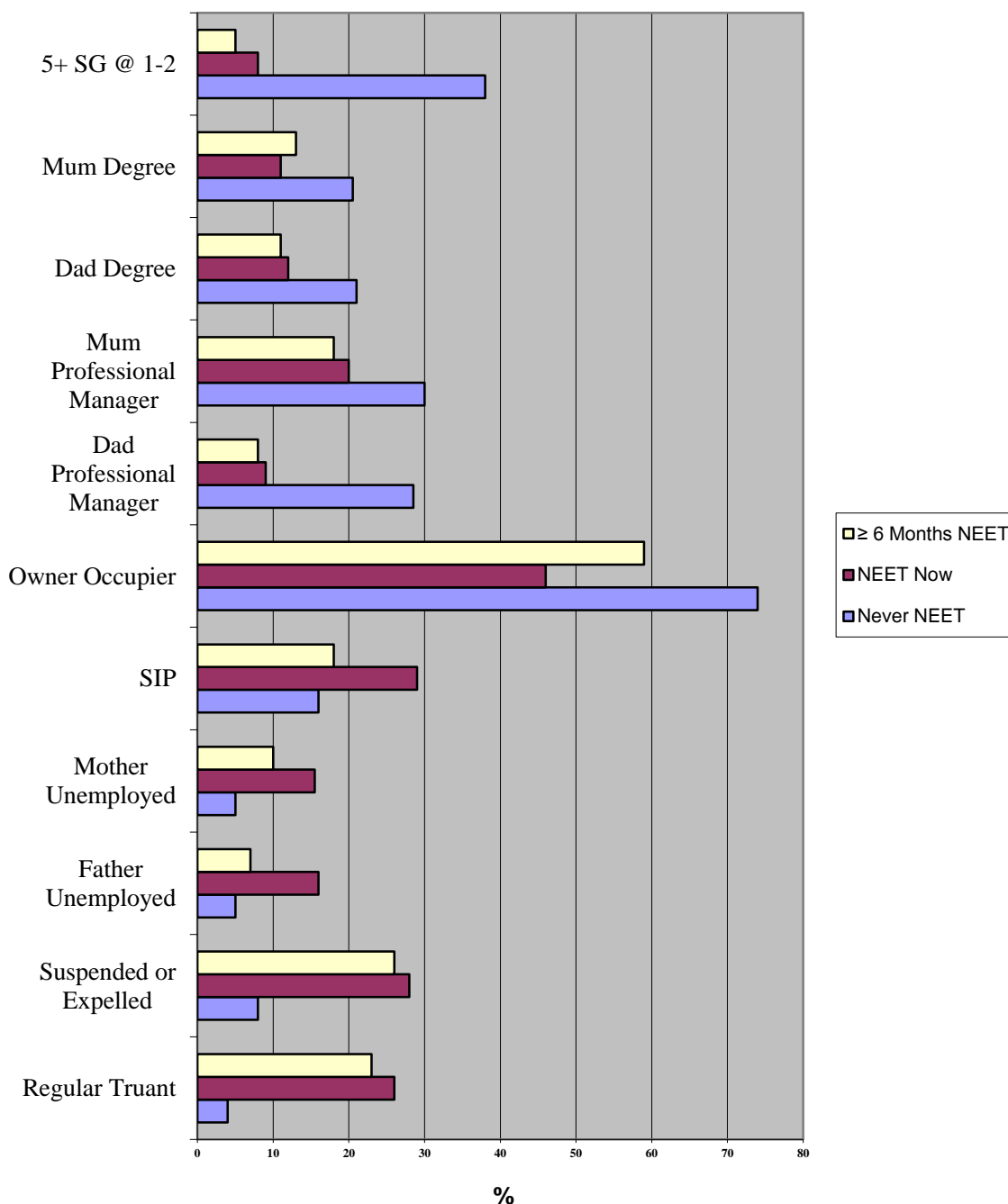


NB. (N) = 363 (Note: percentages exceed 100 as respondents could provide more >1 answer).

Taken from (Furlong, 2006: 561).

Furlong (2006: 565) also compared the backgrounds of individuals from the SSLS who had spent some time as NEET before the survey with individuals who had never been NEET. The findings of this comparison highlight the difference between NEETs and EETs in terms of their home background, socio-economic background and educational experience. This confirms the prior research outlined earlier in this chapter (Bynner and Parsons, 2002). Figure 3.5 outlines this below.

Figure 3.5 – NEET Characteristics:



Unweighted (N) 6 months: NEET = 265, NEET now = 363, Never NEET = 3324. NB. SG is the equivalent of the English GCSE. An SIP is a 'social inclusion partnership' area, which are designated areas in Scotland that are classed as being in need of regeneration.

Taken from (Furlong, 2006: 565).

Again as can be seen in Figure 3.5, those who had never experienced NEET had a more positive educational experience having been nearly four-times less likely to be expelled, five-times less likely to truant and four-times more likely to have obtained the equivalent of five or more Scottish Standard Grades (SG) upon leaving school. Additionally, EETs were twice as likely to have parents who held degrees and their parents were three-times less likely to be unemployed. Young people who were EET were also more likely to come from households where their parents owned the property that they lived in.

The many sub-groups of NEET that have been identified in this section, along with the socio-economic factors that have been linked to NEET status, highlight the difficulties inherent in defining the NEET cohort, as the term itself is too broad and unspecific to cover the heterogeneity of the group as a whole. However, there are many common characteristics shared by NEETs of all types, especially amongst ‘complicated’ NEETs. This group are much more likely to come from financially poor backgrounds, which are also lacking in cultural capital and parental attention (Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Yates and Payne, 2006) and to have suffered social exclusion (Furlong, 2006). They have no suitable role-models around which to base their future life plans and decisions and this is compounded by their lack of educational achievement and poor qualifications. The prior research outlined above highlights the ‘sub-structures’ of inequality that are still present in British society, despite the deep social and economic changes that have occurred in the UK over the last thirty years. Bates and Riseborough (1993) argue that it is still ‘privilege and disadvantage’ that are the deciding factors in youth careers, and that these factors still constrain individuals from poorer backgrounds at the interface between family and education.

3.4 – Problems of Definition

The examination of the NEET concept has so far concentrated upon what constitutes a NEET and what socio-economic characteristics are prevalent amongst their population. However, the use of NEET as a conceptual term is problematic (Rose *et al.*, 2011). It carries with it negative connotations towards the individuals encompassed by the definition, as they are defined not by what they are but by what they are not and in this way the term is far from politically neutral (Yates & Payne, 2006). Additionally, young people themselves do not associate themselves with the term nor do they use it to describe themselves (Rose *et al.*, 2011). In grouping such a large number of young people under the banner of NEET, it also encourages

the idea that the NEET group is a homogenous entity, made up solely of ‘socially excluded’ individuals whom have disengaged from employment, education or training. As has already been shown, such a view applies to only a section of the NEET population. But there are other problems with placing all young people under the banner of NEET. The lack of an agreed definition of exactly what the term constitutes is problematic. Whilst earlier in this chapter an agreed definition was settled upon, this is by no means a universally accepted norm. Indeed, whilst some see the definition as encompassing 16-24 year olds, other definitions see NEET status as beginning at thirteen or fourteen years of age (if a child is expelled from school for instance). In addition to this, whilst central government policy is focused upon the 16-24 year old group, local authorities define NEET as 16-19 years of age and Connexions’ policy focus is on the 14-19 years age group (Cullen *et al.*, 2009).

Aside from age groupings, it was shown earlier that there are many different groups that make up NEETs. It includes those groups who are long-term unemployed, fleetingly unemployed, looking after children, caring for relatives, who are long-term disabled or temporarily sick or whom are pursuing leisure activities (Furlong, 2006). This all creates a wide gulf between different conceptualisations of what constitutes a NEET. In combining disadvantaged people who lack the resources and skills to navigate the employment and education markets, with more privileged young people who are able to exercise a significant degree of choice in how they manage their lives, the usefulness of the term NEET is compromised as a descriptive tool (Furlong, 2006).

The increase in NEETs during summer vacations is one example of this. Between the months May to September the NEET rate can be as high as 26% (from an annual average of 9%), as school leavers leave school and wait to start further education courses or training programmes (Furlong, 2006). This can be clearly seen in Figure 3.1 at the beginning of this chapter as the temporary increases in NEET figures for third-quarter (Q3) data (ONS, 2012). The lack of an agreed definition of what defines NEET status, in this case related to how long someone must be out of education, employment and training, leads to distorted and unreliable figures for the NEET population. A critique relating to the inaccuracy of the term NEET is centred upon the potential of the term to mislead policy and likelihood that it will lead to the wasting of scarce resources in an attempt to help young people who do not require it. Certainly, in this conception the term is too broad.

Other critics, most notably Bentley and Gurumurthy (1999) have seen the term NEET as too narrow as opposed to too broad. They considered that in focusing upon NEETs, policy-makers are failing those school-leavers who enter into employment straight away, but into jobs that are transient and insecure in their nature. In ignoring these youngsters who are themselves disadvantaged in the labour market to focus on NEETs, policy-makers are merely failing one section of youth to help another. In addition, Furlong (2006) critiques the use of targets by policy-makers in addressing the NEET issue. In agencies such as Connexions, targets were set to reduce NEET figures for their area. This encouraged the provision of a service that focused upon meeting targets at the expense of the needs of the individual (Cullen *et al.*, 2009).

The purpose of this section has not been to acknowledge the criticisms made by other researchers about the NEET concept. Indeed, many of the points made about its inadequacies and impact upon policy are correct. But this should not be read as the fault of the concept itself, the fault lies with the researchers and policy-makers who use it incorrectly. So long as the researcher is aware of the terms potential inadequacies, is aware of the heterogeneous nature of the NEET population and is aware of its possible negative connotations, then its use as a concept in research is perfectly acceptable. Indeed, for this research project it was identified earlier in this chapter that the term NEET would not be used in its broadest sense. Instead, the focus will be on the subset of long-term NEETs that make-up the ‘complicated’ NEET category aged 16-24 years (Yates and Payne, 2006). This narrower focus will help to ensure that the problems of definition are limited in this thesis.

3.5 – Government Policy

So far in this chapter the development of education, youth employment and NEET status has been examined. This section examines government policy initiatives and the agencies that have been established in order to understand the history of NEET policy and where current ministerial thinking lies in relation to NEETs. Recent education and training policy has examined the need to help young people who have either just entered into, or are at risk of entering into NEET status and hence policy attention has focused primarily on those NEETs aged 16-18 years (Cullen *et al.*, 2009). However, despite consistent efforts to expand the number of youngsters in either further education or work-based learning, the NEET level has remained stubbornly consistent since 1998, and persistently high for 16-18 year olds (Maguire

and Yates, 2005). This led to a re-evaluation of policy in the middle of the last decade, in an attempt to address the failures in policy since 1997. In a report in which the recommendations are disconcertingly similar to those made by Lord Forster back in 1870, the 2006 Leitch report stated,

‘...In the 21st Century, our natural resource is our people – and their potential is both untapped and vast. Skills will unlock that potential. The prize for our country will be enormous – higher productivity, the creation of wealth and social justice. The alternative? Without increased skills, we would condemn ourselves to a lingering decline in competitiveness, diminishing economic growth and a bleaker future for all...’ (Lord Leitch, 2006: 1).

Following their General Election victory in 1997, New Labour made a review of youth policy one of its priorities. This culminated in the publication of the Social Exclusion Unit’s (1999) ‘Bridging the Gap’ report. This report set out four main elements that had to be adhered to in order for young people to stay EET. These were...

- Ensuring that young people establish clear goals to aim for by the age of 19.
- Introducing a variety of pathways in education and training that meet all young people’s needs.
- Establishing systems of financial support, which encourages all groups of young people to participate in education and training; and...
- The creation of a new support system for young people, which gives priority to those who are at most risk of underachievement and disaffection.

(Maguire and Thompson, 2007).

As a result of the recommendations of the Social Exclusion Unit’s (1999) ‘Bridging the Gap’ report, the then government decided to establish the Connexions Agency in place of the Careers Service, to introduce a new pre-apprenticeship course called ‘Entry to Employment’ (E2E) and also to introduce the Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMA).

3.5.1 – Connexions:

In order to meet these targets one of the agencies created was Connexions, which was established in 2001. The purpose of Connexions was to support 13-19 year olds in their career

choices. In 2002 it was given a target to reduce NEET levels by 10%, with a key objective for the agency being to offer individual support to young people who had dropped out of learning and employment (Cullen *et al.*, 2009). This support was offered through a network of personal advisers who were trained to offer advice, guidance and information on employment and education opportunities. This was offered in conjunction with youth offending teams, youth worker, social services, local education authorities and drug advice teams (Luck, 2008).

Research into the effectiveness of Connexions has been limited and inconclusive. Hoggarth and Smith (2004) evaluated the Connexions Agency's performance between 2001 and 2004 and found that it was achieving positive results, particularly with those young people that were most at risk of becoming NEET. However, Artaraz (2006) also argued that the Connexions service made no difference over and above what had been achieved by the Careers Service prior to its establishment, due to institutional tensions and staff cross-over between the two organisations. More recent research conducted by Cullen *et al.* (2009) stated that despite some organisational and funding limitations, Connexions was having a positive effect upon the school to work transitions of individuals with special educational needs or severe learning disabilities. Prior research by Phillips (2010) has also identified that Connexions can assist young people to make positive transitions post-16 in collaboration with a young person's social networks, but that these positive transitions are not always measurable in the narrow 'success criteria' set out in the form of participation in employment, education or training. Instead they may relate to successful transitions from the perspective of the young person, such as gaining their driving licence or getting their own house or apartment (Phillips, 2010). Nevertheless, much of this may now be irrelevant as the Education Act (2011) has now placed the statutory obligation to provide independent and impartial careers advice with schools as opposed to local authorities (DfE, 2012). Connexions will therefore more than likely be gradually phased out to be replaced by a new National Careers Service open to all age groups, although some local authorities may decide to keep individual Connexions offices open.

3.5.2 – The 'Educational Maintenance Allowance':

The Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMA) was piloted in 2000 and launched nationwide in 2004 (Maguire and Yates, 2005; Luck, 2008). The EMA offered young people who entered into post-16 education an allowance of up to £30 per week and had limited success. Whilst it encouraged individuals who may have become NEET after leaving school

to stay in education, it is unclear how much of this was based upon a genuine engagement with education and how much had been down to users receiving the EMA as an under-18 alternative to benefits. Indeed, in a research study conducted by Maguire and Yates (2005) in a pilot area for the EMA, the NEET level was reduced by just 0.8%. Whilst the EMA did boost educational participation by 6.2%, this mainly came at the expense of those in work or training programmes (-5.4%). Table 3.5 below refers.

Table 3.5 – EMA Pilot Area Results			
Group	Pilot Area (%)	Control Area (%)	Difference (%)
Full-time Education	64.1	57.9	6.2
Work/Training	21.6	27.0	-5.4
NEET	14.3	15.1	-0.8

NB. Sample Size (*n*) = 6638

Taken from (Maguire & Yates, 2005: 192).

The EMA was abolished in June 2011 by the new coalition government and has been replaced by the ‘16-19 bursary’ that aims to offer up to £1200 per year of support to young people who are in care, who are care-leavers, who claim income support in their own name or who are disabled and are receiving both Employment Support Allowance and Disability Living Allowance in their own name (DfE, 2011). The impact of the removal of such funding on young people’s participation is as of yet unclear, although research into the initial effects of this has suggested that whilst EMA did increase the number of young people in full-time education at 18 by 3.5%, this mainly came through a reduction of young people in fulltime employment with or without training (-5.1% and -5.4% respectively). The EMA it would seem had no significant effect upon NEET figures (Maguire and Yates, 2005; Kavanagh *et al.*, 2011), whilst other research has questioned whether the removal of EMA would reduce the number of students going on to study at university (Hill, 2011). The removal of EMA, along with the increase in university tuition fees and the restructure of the UK welfare state and benefits system will probably lead to decreased financial security and reductions in the opportunities for further or lifelong learning (Heyes, 2011).

3.5.3 – ‘Entry to Employment’ & ‘Foundation Learning’:

The Entry to Employment Scheme (E2E) was established in 2003 and was aimed at 16-18 year olds (Maguire and Yates, 2005; Luck, 2008). The E2E programme was designed to give

its participants who were NVQ Level Two or below and currently NEET work experience, vocational knowledge and education. Whilst initial results for this scheme were promising, its effectiveness remained unclear. Luck (2008) highlighted the evaluations of the initiative, which gave broadly positive accounts of the programmes. These studies showed that placing youngsters into work-based programmes prevented them from becoming NEET and gave them the opportunity to further develop their social, learning and work skills. The evaluations also pointed to potential improvements in self-confidence and educational attitudes. However, it is important to remember that the evaluations were conducted by policy-makers themselves. Further independent research in this area is required, which is something that this thesis can offer.

The E2E scheme has now been replaced by the Foundation Learning (FL) programme, which requires that young people engaging with the programme must undertake vocational activities and qualifications alongside subject based learning (i.e. maths and English) largely drawn from the 'Qualifications and Credit Framework' (DfE, November 2011; Allan *et al.*, 2011). These programmes are currently funded by the Young People's Learning Agency (YPLA) in collaboration with the Skills Funding Agency (SFA) and the quality of the programmes and providers is monitored by local authorities (YPLA, January 2011). The programmes are delivered by OFSTED approved training providers either by organisations in the private for-profit sector or the third sector (i.e. social enterprises). Indeed, third sector organisations are increasingly being utilised in the delivery of work-integration programmes, as the UK government increasingly moves away from public sector delivery of the welfare state (Stoker, 2004; Craig *et al.*, 2005; Seanor and Meaton, 2007).

There has been little evaluation into the effectiveness of the FL programme. A national evaluation of the Foundation Learning programme was commissioned by the previous Labour government in October 2009 and the research identified that the Foundation Learning programme was a developmental improvement over the old E2E programme (Allan *et al.*, 2011). This study stated that learners that engaged with FL were benefitting from regular accreditation and enjoyment of the course, and that this was leading to improved confidence, motivation and engagement (Allan *et al.*, 2011). However, the future of FL has become uncertain following the commissioning of the 'Wolf Report' (2011) that recently recommended changes to educational provision both pre and post-16. These recommendations included suggestions that incentives to take vocational qualifications pre-16 be removed, that young people with unsatisfactory Maths and English GCSE qualifications

continue to study these post-16, and that the content and delivery of apprenticeships be evaluated. Additionally, Professor Wolf called for the regulatory framework to move away from regulating individual qualifications towards the regulation of the awarding organisations (DfE, March 2011). The continued provision of maths and English to individuals with unsatisfactory maths and English GCSEs suggests that FL has a future part to play in educational provision, although this will depend upon evaluated changes to apprenticeship content and delivery. However, there are also significant changes currently being implemented by the present government in relation to raising the educational participation age in the UK.

3.5.4 – Raising the Educational Participation Age:

In 2007 a government Green Paper was published entitled ‘Raising Expectations: Staying in Education and Training Post-16’, in which plans were outlined to raise the school leaving age to 18 years of age (DfES, 2007). This proposed raising of the participation age was subsequently passed into law as the Education and Skills Act in 2008 by the previous Labour government, which brought a requirement that all young people remain in full-time education (either further education, training or work-based learning) until they are 17 years of age from 2013 and 18 years of age from 2015 (DfE, 2011). This will coincide with the implementation of new Diploma level qualifications, which will seek to offer students a more practical and work-based curriculum. However, for those who do not remain in education or take an accredited training position, criminal prosecutions may follow (Maguire and Thompson, 2007). This will ostensibly remove 16-18 year olds from the national NEET figures as failure to attend would be the same as failing to attend school. However, until these measures come into practical effect it is difficult to assess the impact that they will have on young people and the NEET cohort. Nevertheless, aside from changes to education and training there have also been programmes aimed at increasing the numbers of young people in employment and these will now be discussed.

3.5.5 – The ‘Future Jobs Fund’, the ‘Work Programme’ & the ‘Youth Contract’:

The Future Jobs Fund (FJF) was established in April 2009 in an effort to create 150,000 temporary six-month employment positions for young people on Jobseekers Allowance or adults who lived in areas of high unemployment. The nationwide funding allocated to the programme was around £1 billion and the programme was to be delivered by the Department

for Work and Pensions (DWP) along with the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG). At a local level, regional government would work alongside Jobcentre Plus to deliver the programme, with individuals being referred to employers that had been accepted on to the FJF by their personal advisor at Jobcentre Plus (DWP, 2009). The evaluation of the FJF programme in terms of its effect on participants was almost non-existent, although an evaluation was conducted in Northamptonshire by the author that examined the effect of FJF participation on 108 individuals' general self-efficacy (GSE). The research reported that the FJF provided a statistically significant increase in participant GSE from their initial engagement with a FJF employer and the completion of their work-placement six months later (Hazenbergh, 2011). However, the scheme was cancelled by the new coalition government as it was cited as being too costly (at around £6,500 per individual) (Work and Pensions Committee, 2010) and was replaced by the 'Work Programme' that was launched in June 2011 (DWP, August 2011).

The 'Work Programme' aims to offer work-integration support to individuals that have been unemployed for over nine months and for individuals aged 18-24 years these placements are compulsory. This support is to be offered by a mixture of private and third sector organisations and for the first time ever in UK unemployment welfare delivery, these providers will be paid by results. Providers will be able to claim payment upon taking on an individual (a start fee, although this will be reduced and phased out over time), upon placing that individual into employment (a job outcome payment that varies depending upon how far the individual was from employment prior to starting on the programme) and an ongoing payment if that individual remains in employment that ranges from 1-2 years depending on how far the individual was from employment prior to starting on the work programme (DWP, August, 2011). As with many of the new government measures that have been outlined in this section, it is difficult to ascertain how the 'Work Programme' will impact upon youth unemployment and NEET numbers? One possible impact of this policy is that small and localised private and third sector providers will be unable to compete with larger nationwide providers, as the payment by results system requires the organisation to have significant initial funding. Additionally, the payment by results system could result in the most disadvantaged NEETs being offered minimal support as they will be considered by providers to be economically unviable.

All of the changes outlined above mean that the future of unemployment, education and youth provision remains uncertain, particularly with the ongoing economic crisis and the seemingly

inevitable state spending cuts that this is resulting in. These spending cuts and policy changes have already seen the removal of the EMA, the FJF and the de facto removal of Connexions as a nationwide operating agency. This is further complicated by new government policy targeted specifically at NEET individuals. The current Chancellor George Osborne announced a £1 billion 'Youth Contract' in November 2011 that is tied to the 'Work Programme'. This aims to provide 160,000 job subsidies to businesses of up to £2,275 if they employ an 18-24 year old individual off the 'Work Programme'. In addition to this measure, the government will also provide 250,000 'work experience placements' to individuals aged 18-24 years prior to engaging with the 'Work Programme' (if they want one) (DWP, November 2011).

3.6 – Summary

This chapter has examined the current economic outlook for NEETs and compared this to historical NEET levels and those of youth unemployment in general. This has shown that youth unemployment and transitional problems are not a new phenomenon, but one that has its own very distinctive structure in modern Britain. In relation to the term NEET, whilst there are problems with definition, in general the benefits of using the term NEET outweigh the disadvantages if one is aware of the limitations of the concept. In reference to those characteristics that embody many NEET individuals it is important to be aware of the heterogeneous nature of the NEET group (Yates and Payne, 2006). Becoming NEET is not a singular experience, homogenous in nature, but is instead a varied one that differs from person to person. This is true even of those individuals who originate from the same social backgrounds and geographical areas, as their experience is not just shaped by socio-economic factors, but also personal and family circumstances (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996; Sabates *et al.*, 2011). Nevertheless, young people who are classified as NEET do share many similar characteristics, particularly those classified as 'complicated' NEETs (Yates and Payne, 2006). The NEET experience is generally compounded by poor housing, low socio-economic status, bad parenting, exposure to criminality, poor educational experience and qualifications and the lack of familial or community role-models (Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Furlong, 2006; Luck, 2008). This is the group that experiences being NEET as merely another part of a life that is based in disadvantage and 'social exclusion' (Furlong, 2006; Yates and Payne, 2006). But the heterogeneity of the group means that not all NEETs will share these characteristics, and not all will face a life of social exclusion. For some the experience will be a transient one, which they will eventually leave either for employment or further education. Until this

differentiation is recognised by policy-makers and researchers however, attempts to solve and understand the NEET phenomenon will have limited success.

In relation to NEET policy in the UK, government policy needs to be split into what has been and what will be. In the case of the former research has shown that the Connexions agency did not have the impact that was hoped. NEET levels were not reduced by 10% as was targeted, and user experiences varied (ONS, June 2009). Whilst research did suggest that Connexions achieved some positive results (Hoggarth and Smith, 2004) this was often limited and constrained by organisational and staffing problems (Artaraz, 2006). Indeed, the quality of the personal advisor was key to determining whether a young person's experience of Connexions was a positive or negative experience (Coles *et al.*, 2004; Hoggarth and Smith, 2004). The EMA also had limited success, and further research was required to ascertain what the destinations were for young people who received EMA. The E2E scheme had more impact upon the NEET population in terms of keeping young people who might otherwise have become NEET, from exiting from the employment, education and training environment. However, like the EMA, research into the impact of E2E courses on young people was limited. The limited research carried out on the impact of E2E means that it is difficult to ascertain if the E2E scheme *actually* reduced NEET levels and improved the employment prospects of young people, or merely deferred their NEET membership for the period that the young person was on the programme? The stability of NEET levels over the past decade would suggest that it did not. All three of these organisations, schemes and programmes have since been changed (E2E to Foundation Learning) or removed/reduced (EMA and Connexions respectively).

In relation to the raising of the age of compulsory education to eighteen, much will depend upon the work-based training schemes that will form part of this strategy, in terms of how much real help they can offer the 16-18 year olds who would have otherwise left school at 16. In addition, the future policy-landscape and provision of youth support remains unclear, as the coalition government begins to implement the recommendations of the Wolf Report (2011) and also introduces new initiatives such as the 'Work Programme' and the 'Youth Contract'. In this chapter the link between the personal, social and economic experiences of young people and their educational lives has been established and shown to be a key determinant and driver in their potential to become NEET. These experiences have a strong impact upon the psychological make-up of young people. It is this last point that will be explored in more depth in Chapter Four.

Chapter 4 – Self-Efficacy

In Chapter Two the lack of performance evaluation research in social enterprise literature was discussed and the idea of measuring *output*, *outcome* and *impact* as proposed by the SIMPLE model was presented (McLoughlin *et al.*, 2009). In Chapter Three the causes of NEET status, its links to social exclusion and the effects that prolonged periods spent as a NEET have upon a young person's life chances were explored. Both Chapters Two and Three have presented an argument for research to be conducted that examines the *outcome* benefits (i.e. the soft outcomes of an intervention) experienced by NEETs that take part in employment intervention programmes with WISEs, based upon social science theory into the origins and causes of NEET status. In this chapter the broad psychological correlates of unemployment and specifically youth unemployment are examined. This exploration provides an overview of prior psychological research conducted in the area of unemployment in order to explain and justify the use of self-efficacy theory as the measurable *outcome* in this thesis, as well as to provide a narrative for the formulation of the hypotheses presented by the research relating to NEET involvement with WISEs. The chapter examines and critiques the history of unemployment research and the psychological impacts that this identified, particularly in relation to their suitability for use in this thesis and with NEETs. Following on from this critique, a case is presented as to why self-efficacy was the most appropriate construct for this research to employ and an exploration of the self-efficacy concept is then undertaken. Finally, an examination of self-efficacy with specific relation to NEETs is presented and within this a justification for the self-efficacy constructs utilised in the research will be made.

4.1 - An Overview of Psychological Research on Unemployment

Ever since capitalism became the predominant means for economic organisation in the west, there have been cycles of high and low unemployment, which have coincided with periods of growth and recession. These periods of unemployment have provided researchers with the opportunity, both contemporaneously and after the event, to examine the manifest impacts of unemployment. This research has been conducted across many academic disciplines ranging from economics and sociology to international relations and history. Higher unemployment has obvious societal consequences, such as greater costs for the state, including increased social security expenditure at a time when tax related revenues are generally in decline

(Goldsmith *et al.*, 1996). However, the prior research that has specific relevance to this thesis is in the field of psychology, and is explicitly focused upon the psychological effects of employment and unemployment.

Prior research has established the negative effects that unemployment has upon an individual's psychological state and well-being. Such negative effects consist of poor psychological well-being (McKee-Ryan *et al.*, 2005), elevated levels of depression (Feather and O'Brien, 1986), greater psychological distress (Henwood and Miles, 1987), externalised locus of control (Goldsmith *et al.*, 1996) and lower self-esteem and confidence (Wanberg, Watt & Rumsey, 1996; Goldsmith, Veum, & Darity William, 1997). Evidence from longitudinal studies shows that psychological well-being is negatively affected by unemployment, rather than people with poor mental health being more likely to be made redundant (e.g. Winefeld & Tiggemann, 1990). Additionally, an increase in drug and alcohol abuse, violence, suicide, institutionalisation in a mental hospital and depression have all been found to be linked to unemployment (Moser *et al.*, 1984; Platt, 1992; Brenner, 1995; Short, 1996; Rodriguez *et al.*, 1997). Research by Paul and Moser (2009) has shown that there are several moderators to be considered when examining the impact of unemployment, such as gender and the level of skill/education of the individual. The length of time that an individual spends unemployed is also a critical factor that affects their mental health (Paul and Moser, 2009; Thomsen, 2009). Thomsen (2009) showed that the longer an individual was unemployed, the more negative the effect of unemployment, with the long-term unemployed (longer than one year) being over three times less likely to get a job than individuals who had been unemployed for less than twelve months. Equally, Smith (1975) and Colledge *et al.* (1978) showed that young people are particularly vulnerable to unemployment, especially those who are poorly educated, female or from an ethnic minority (Smith, 1975; Colledge *et al.*, 1978).

In a seminal piece of research Jahoda (1982) stated that there were five latent benefits to employment that supplement the manifest benefits such as financial income. These are 'status/identity', 'time structure', 'social contact', 'collective purpose' and 'enforced activity'. 'Status/identity' relates to the role/status that employment gives an individual in society; 'time structure' refers to the set patterns that employment imposes upon daily life; 'social contact' involves individuals having extra-familial relations; 'collective purpose' relates to the opportunity to engage in teamwork and 'enforced activity' refers to the regular activities that usually comes with employment. Research by Fryer (1986) challenged Jahoda's approach and

stated that whilst latent benefits such as those listed above did impact upon psychological well-being, the manifest benefits of employment were more crucial. Fryer (1986) proposed that the greatest negative impact on mental health was related to the financial deprivation imposed by unemployment and the restrictions that this placed upon an individual's personal agency. Ferrie (2001) discussed the 'corrosive effects' that unemployment brings through 'limited access to consumer goods' and Shaw *et al.* (1999) related it to social exclusion. It is this focus upon the latent benefits of employment and their relationship to psychological impacts that led Rodriguez *et al.* (2001) to argue that social support during periods of unemployment should not just be targeted at reducing the economic hardships, but should also seek to alleviate the 'psychological impact of unemployment'. However, 'psychological impact' is a nebulous concept that requires further examination, which is now undertaken.

4.1.1 – Psychological Well-Being:

There is evidence that gaining employment is linked to positive improvements in psychological well-being (Wanberg, Griffiths and Gavin, 1997; Claussen, 1999; Ginexi, Howe and Caplan, 2000). Psychological well-being can be defined as a sum of 'positive' and 'negative affects' in a person's life that contributes to their overall 'happiness' (Bradburn, 1969). In relation to unemployment research Banks and Jackson (1982) administered the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ – Goldberg, 1972) to 432 employed people and 63 unemployed people. The GHQ consists of 12 items scored on a four-point Likert scale (0-3) where higher scores are indicative of greater psychological distress. Comparisons between the two groups GHQ scores revealed that unemployed people scored nearly 74% higher on the GHQ than their employed counterparts, suggesting that unemployment did have a deleterious effect on psychological well-being. Winkelman and Winkelman (1998) found that unemployment was directly related to lower life-satisfaction, with unemployed males being over a third less likely to report high life satisfaction than their employed counterparts. These findings were supported by Clark (2003) who showed that unemployed males in the UK were over two-thirds less likely to report high life satisfaction compared to employed males in the UK.

Further research by Carroll (2007) also supported the conclusions of this body of prior research. Carroll (2007) studied data from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) study, which included data from 14,611 males and 15,987 females. Carroll (2007) reported that unemployment was linked to lower life satisfaction, and had

considerably greater impact than income level (or loss of it for the unemployed). These results suggested that it is other non-income related consequences of unemployment that are responsible for these drops in life satisfaction and supported Jahoda's (1982) research on the importance of the 'latent' benefits of employment upon psychological well-being. The research also presented results that showed that unemployment had as big an impact upon women as it did men, suggesting that the increasing role of women in the labour force has led to females being equally vulnerable to the economic and social costs of unemployment as males (Carroll, 2007). Hoare and Machin (2010) conducted a longitudinal study involving 115 unemployed individuals over a six month period. Individuals were assessed using a variety of measures relating to the latent and manifest benefits of employment, and were also given the GHQ (GHQ). Results showed that for those unemployed people who subsequently gained employment, levels of financial hardship and strain decreased, whilst better access to social contact and time structure were gained.

However, despite this significant body of research supporting the role of employment in determining levels of psychological well-being, contrary research has shown that the relationship may not be so clearly definable. Iversen and Sabroe (1988) found that initial scores on the GHQ were significantly lower (less stressed) amongst workers who had been made unemployed than amongst their co-workers who had been made redundant and subsequently found reemployment in unsatisfactory jobs. This suggests that unemployment is not the sole factor in influencing mental health, but that type and quality of employment is also important. Additionally, O'Brien (1985b) also found that mundane, routine and tiring jobs also have the potential to negatively affect psychological well-being as the individual has little opportunity or control in the work-place (O'Brien, 1985b). This suggests that it is not only unemployment that may impact upon psychological well-being, but also the perceived quality of the job for the individual and the inherent job-security that it brings. In relation to this thesis and its focus upon WISEs, Paul and Moser (2009) showed that intervention programmes were moderately beneficial at alleviating psychological distress in unemployed people. Additionally, Koivisto *et al.* (2007) established that structured interventions with 17-25 year olds helped to prevent mental health problems in those most at risk. Nevertheless, there has been no demonstrable link made in the research between psychological well-being and (re)employment opportunity. The primary goal of a WISE is to successfully reintegrate individuals into the labour force and so this thesis required a construct to be identified that was not only impacted upon by unemployment, but that was also *predictive* of employment

opportunity. This meant that psychological well-being was not suitable for utilisation as a research tool.

4.1.2 – Depression:

Levels of depression and unemployment have been linked in prior research (Winefeld and Tiggeman, 1985; Feather and O'Brien, 1986; Ferrie, 2001; Rodriguez *et al.*, 2001). Depression can be defined as a mental state characterised by 'feelings of sadness, hopelessness and loss of interest' (Marshall, 1998: 151). Research by Winefeld and Tiggeman (1985) suggested that depression was a *predictor* of unemployment, as well as being a *consequence* of unemployment, whilst Feather and O'Brien (1986) only found unemployment to have a causative effect on depression.

In a large-scale research study involving 7536 participants aged 17-65 years, Rodriguez *et al.* (2001) studied the relationship between unemployment and depression using the Centre for Epidemiological Studies' Depression Scale (CES-D), which consisted of 15 items that assessed participant levels of depression. Rodriguez *et al.* (2001) stated that unemployed males receiving welfare support reported three times more symptoms of depression than their employed counterparts who were satisfied with their job. They also found that the effect of unemployment on the level of individual depression was gender specific and based upon the type of welfare support being received. Stankunas *et al.* (2006) offered a more detailed illustration of the links between unemployment and depression utilising the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) in a research study involving 429 unemployed Lithuanian people aged 16-64 years. Interestingly, whilst results showed that depression was positively related to the length of time spent unemployed (i.e. the longer-term unemployed suffer greater levels of depression), this was mediated by age and gender. Additionally, it was found that young people aged 16-24 years only suffered minor depression due to unemployment and unlike their older counterparts, levels of depression did not increase the longer that they were unemployed. Stankunas *et al.* (2001) also showed that material wealth and education mediates the risks of depression in relation to the effects of unemployment and that household income was therefore related to levels of individual depression. Stankunas *et al.* (2001) hypothesised that it is not an individual's personal situation that relates to depression, but the overall status of their household. These findings suggest that both Jahoda (1982) and Fryer (1986) were correct in their assertions that it is the 'latent' and 'manifest' benefits of employment that affect mental health.

However, as with psychological well-being, the relationship between unemployment and depression is inconclusive. Sheeran *et al.* (1995) used social comparison theory to examine the impact of unemployment on individual levels of depression. Social comparison theory is at the heart of social identity theory and social comparisons can concern the self as an individual, as well as the self as a member of a social group (i.e. unemployed people). At the individual level a person compares themselves with their past-self, their present-self and their ideal-self. If such comparisons are not favourable then levels of depression can increase. Sheeran *et al.* (1995) studied 88 individuals aged between 18-37 years, 40 of whom were unemployed and 44 of whom were in full-time employment (depression was measured using the GHQ) (Goldberg, 1972). Results showed that the past-self was highly correlated with depression for unemployed people compared to employed individuals. However, based upon social comparison theory, it could be argued that insecure and transient employment could also increase depressive symptoms in individuals, particularly if their peer group (or past-self) had better or more secure jobs. Indeed, Ferrie (2001) reported evidence of a link between depression and unsatisfactory or transient/insecure employment.

In summarising the body of research examining the effects of unemployment upon depression, it can be argued that whilst research has shown that links exist, these links are by no means exclusively related to unemployment alone, and can also be made for individuals in transient employment. Additionally, as prior research (Stankunas *et al.*, 2001) suggested that young people were more resilient to the effects of unemployment on depression, then measures of depression are seemingly incompatible with a study involving NEETs. No association has been found that shows that depression is predictive of reemployment opportunity and therefore depression as a measure can be considered unsuitable for assessing the *outcome* of a WISE programme.

4.1.3 – Locus of Control:

Locus of control can be defined as a personality trait that represents the extent to which an individual believes that the benefits that they receive throughout life can be determined by their own action (Rotter, 1966). Rotter's (1966) study proposed that two types of people existed in relation to locus of control, 'internalisers' and 'externalisers'. 'Internalisers' believe that they are in control of their destiny and can shape events to suit them, whilst the latter are more fatalist and see their destiny being shaped by external forces beyond their control (Rotter, 1966). Goldsmith *et al.* (1996) stated that different childhood experiences led to

differing beliefs about one's own locus of control. Whilst these experiences invariably harden into personality traits as the individual reaches adulthood, they can still be altered by new developments. However, such alterations are unlikely to be permanent unless the new development is sufficiently 'large or persistent'. Unemployment can be considered such a development as the level of an individual's locus of control depends upon their past experiences. Goldsmith *et al.* (1996) discussed the impact that home environment in adolescence, parental characteristics and marital status had upon an individual's psychological response to unemployment. Goldsmith *et al.* (1996) viewed adolescence as a crucial time in an individual's personal development in which they attempt to assert independence. Any period spent unemployed could promote externalisation and leave the young person less likely to pursue employment, education or training (Goldsmith *et al.*, 1996). Therefore, locus of control could be a potentially important factor to consider when examining NEETs.

The idea that locus of control could be affected by unemployment was first developed in the 1960's in research by Brehm (1966), who discussed the experience of unemployment as making a person 'reactive' as they sought to re-establish the control over their lives that had been lost. However, this was countered by Seligman and Maier (1967), who proposed that unemployment caused a feeling of 'helplessness' in individuals due to the loss of perceived control. Such diametrically opposed views were then combined by Wortman and Brehm (1975) who proposed that whilst initial unemployment promoted 'reactive' actions, prolonged unemployment led to increased helplessness the longer that the individual remained out of work. Anderson (1977) conducted research involving locus of control in the workplace with 90 small business owners/managers. Anderson (1977) highlighted that individuals with externalised locus of control were more likely to rely on emotional coping behaviours such as increased hostility. This left them less likely to adequately cope with stressful or challenging situations that could occur in the workplace. Goldsmith *et al.* (1996) conducted analysis of data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY), which involved data gathered from 12,686 individuals from 1979 onwards. Goldsmith *et al.* (1996) found no direct link between unemployment and a more externalised locus of control for males. However, females did show increased externalisation following spells of unemployment. This suggested that for females at least, unemployment did impact on locus of control.

However, research by Gurney (1980), Tiggeman and Winefeld (1984) and Tiggeman and Goldney (1988) suggested that the differences in locus of control seen between employed and

unemployed people, was actually not related to the negative effects of unemployment but instead was due to the increased ‘internalisation’ experienced by employed people. The conflicting research outlined above makes it difficult to utilise locus of control in this research, because if locus of control is indeed only affected by employment then it would be difficult to measure any appreciable changes for those NEETs going through a WISE intervention, as there would be no equivalent ‘comparison group’ of employed young people. If prolonged unemployment leads to decreased internalisation, then any attempt to make the long-term unemployed more employable would have to be done through programmes that aim to increase the internalisation of the individual. Therefore, programmes that aim to raise self-efficacy in individuals would have potentially positive outcomes, particularly in the longer-term unemployed (Goldsmith *et al.*, 1996). In this case then measures of self-efficacy would provide a more robust assessment of WISE performance.

4.1.4 – Self-Esteem:

The relationship between unemployment and self-esteem has been widely researched since the 1970’s, mainly using Rosenberg’s (1965) self-esteem scale (RSES). The RSES is a 10-item scale utilising a four-point Likert scale, with a minimum score of 10 and a maximum score of 40 and higher scores represent higher self-esteem (Dooley and Prause, 1995). Rosenberg (1965: 5) defined self-esteem as ‘...the evaluation which the individual makes and customarily maintains with regards to himself or herself: it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval towards oneself’. Self-esteem research relating to unemployment generally views joblessness as a socially inferior position to be in compared to employment (Warr, 1983). As social comparisons are considered to be important for an individual’s self-concept then psychologists logically conclude that unemployment negatively affects self-esteem (Shamir, 1986). As with their work on linking depression with unemployment, Winefeld and Tiggeman (1985) highlighted the bi-directional link between self-esteem and unemployment, in that self-esteem is both causative of and reduced by joblessness. Sheeran *et al.* (1995) showed that unemployment negatively impacts self-esteem levels as people negatively compare themselves with other groups (i.e. the employed). When this is combined with the ‘latent’ and ‘manifest’ deprivations involved (Jahoda, 1982; Fryer, 1986) then an unemployed person’s social position becomes mired by negative social comparisons (Sheeran *et al.*, 1995).

Dooley and Prause (1995) studied the effect of unemployment on self-esteem using the RSES (Rosenberg, 1965). Dooley and Prause (1995) not only found that self-esteem levels predicted

employment outcomes, but that equally employment status affected self-esteem. It was not that unemployment negatively affected self-esteem, but that employment positively affected it. Therefore, unemployment denied young people the opportunity to develop self-esteem as they did not have the fiscal means to develop their autonomy. Equally, despite the more entrenched role of employment in male social identity, female self-esteem levels were found to be equally dependent upon employment status. This research supported earlier findings produced by Schaufeli and Vanyperen (1993), who conducted longitudinal research in Holland with 162 school-leavers. They measured self-esteem using a Dutch version of Coopersmith's (1967) self-esteem scale. Questionnaires were distributed 6 months prior to the students leaving school (Time 1) and then at 6 monthly intervals (Time 2 and Time 3) through until Time 4. Schaufeli and Vanyperen (1993) found that unemployment could be predicted prior to entering the job market. In the sample of school leavers they found that those who had spent more time looking for employment or undertaking volunteer work expressed increased job-finding confidence, reported higher initial levels of self-esteem and were more likely to find employment. They also found that the respondents' levels of education and gender predicted employment immediately upon leaving school, but became less important as the time spent unemployed increased. Schaufeli and Vanyperen's (1993) findings supported prior research by Winefeld and Tiggeman (1985), which stated that poor self-esteem hampered success in the labour market, but that it was also negatively affected by unemployment. Schaufeli and Vanyperen (1993) concluded that low self-esteem could prove to be a significant handicap in times of mass unemployment. This supported the findings of prior research by Gray and Braddy (1988) and Vinokur *et al.* (1991) which outlined that amongst educated individuals at least, success in the job market was mainly due to one's own effort, instead of being related to demographic variables.

In relation to this research, self-esteem offers a potentially robust tool for measuring the impact of unemployment and of a work-integration programme, as not only is it affected by joblessness, but it is also predictive of reemployment opportunities. However, there is a case to be made for not utilising self-esteem. Wanberg (1997) stated that self-esteem was a better predictor of mental health and well-being than of employment chances. Chen *et al.* (2004) argue that in predicting behaviour (in relation to this thesis the focus is upon job-seeking behaviour) then the researcher needs to focus upon *motivational* constructs. Self-esteem is an *affective* construct that is related to anxiety and will therefore be a better predictor of self-worth and personal value rather than behaviour (Chen *et al.*, 2004). In their overall conclusion regarding self-esteem research, Chen *et al.*'s (2004) main proposition was that research

focusing upon motivational behaviour such as those examining work related performance, would be best focusing upon self-efficacy, and that well-being researchers would be better off focusing upon self-esteem. Therefore, whilst prior research has shown a link between self-esteem and employment success (Winefield and Tiggeman, 1985; Schaufeli and Vanyperen, 1993; Dooley and Prause, 1995) it was not utilised in this research study because of the conceptual problems with the construct as outlined by Chen *et al.* (2004). As the aims of WISEs are generally to affect job-seeking *behaviour*, then a construct that was based within motivational components would be more appropriate as a measure of performance in relation to *outcome* benefits of work-integration programmes (McLoughlin *et al.*, 2009). Self-efficacy is such a construct, and prior research has linked it to employment opportunity and job-seeking behaviour (Eden and Aviram, 1993; Creed *et al.*, 2001; Aviram, 2006). The prior research relating to self-efficacy in unemployment research will shortly be reviewed, but first it is important to clearly define and describe self-efficacy as a construct.

4.2 – Self-Efficacy

The Bandurian concept of self-efficacy is the critical link between possessing skills and engaging in specific behaviour to accomplish desired goals (Bandura, 1997). Individual expectations of perceived self-efficacy determine the nature of activities that people take part in, how much effort they expend in them and how long they will persevere in these activities when faced with setbacks and adversity (Tipton and Worthington, 1984). Self-efficacy has its origins in Social Cognitive Theory (SCT), which states that social, institutional and environmental factors operate through psychological mechanisms of the self-esteem to produce behavioural effects (Bandura, 2012). Conditions such as wealth, social status, educational ability and family structure, affect behaviour largely through their impact on an individual's aspirations, sense of efficacy, personal standards and other self-regulatory influences (Baldwin *et al.*, 1989; Bandura, 1993; Bandura *et al.*, 1996a, 2000a, Elder & Ardel, 1992). Essentially, in any theory involving cognitive recognition, two key assumptions are made. First, the individual 'acts as an active processor of information'. Second, the 'interpretation of this stimulus depends both upon the attributes of the stimulus and the perceiver's prior expectations and standards of comparison' (Eiser, 1980: 8).

It is within the model of SCT that the construct of perceived self-efficacy comes to the fore. Perceived self-efficacy occupies a pivotal role in SCT as it acts upon all other determinants in

the theory. In influencing human choice and motivation, beliefs of personal efficacy are an important factor in the acquisition of knowledge upon which skills are founded (Bandura, 1997). It influences forethought such as adaptability, human action such as task execution and motivational features such as aspirations. Self-efficacy provides the key underpinning to the other components of SCT and so is very important in understanding and predicting human behaviour.

4.2.1 – Defining Self-Efficacy:

Self-efficacy is the major underpinning component of SCT and as such is linked to human agency. However, people's motivation, affective states and actions are based more on their beliefs than any objective truth of their capabilities (Bandura, 1997). Indeed, if someone believes that they have the ability to do something, and is motivated to undertake such a task by notions of gain or reward, they will act to do so, however improbable their chances of success may be. This makes people's belief in their causative capabilities central to any examination of human behaviour. Self-efficacy provides the critical link between an individual possessing certain skills or abilities, and their *actual* engagement in an activity that requires those skills (Bandura, 1997). Individuals with efficacious beliefs approach challenging situations with confidence that they can exercise control over them (Bandura, 1994), not just because they have the skills to tackle such a situation, but because they also believe that they can utilise these skills to successfully influence a given situation (Bandura, 2012). Indeed, unless a person really believes that they can produce desired outcomes through their actions, then they will have little incentive to act. An individual must feel that they are capable of carrying out a given task to a specific level of performance otherwise they will disengage from task at hand (Tabernero and Hernandez, 2011).

Bandura (1997) identified seven areas of human action and behaviour that self-efficacy impacts upon.

1. The course of action that a person will pursue.
2. How much effort they will expend in said action.
3. How long they will persevere with this action in the face of obstacles.
4. Their resilience to adversity.
5. Whether thought processes benefit or hinder the individual.
6. The individual's levels of stress and depression.

7. The individual's level of accomplishment in life.

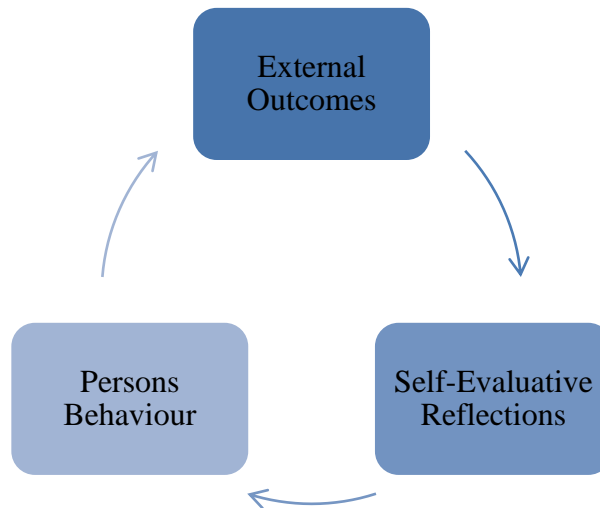
For conceptual purposes, let us reflect upon the above seven points and imagine a scenario in which two persons, one with low self-efficacy (Person A) and one with high self-efficacy (Person B) become unemployed.

Scenario: Person A is made redundant from an industry suffering a downturn and begins looking for employment. There is a high level of competition for jobs and after going to several job interviews Person A is unsuccessful. This causes him/her to become despondent. They despair at their position and increasingly begin to believe that their efforts to secure employment are in vain. They therefore put increasingly less effort into job applications, until after repeated failure they stop looking altogether. They spiral into depression caused by the futility of their situation and their perceived powerlessness to do anything about it. They remain out of employment indefinitely, which further damages their reemployment and life prospects.

After being made redundant, Person B begins applying for jobs. Like Person A, their industry is suffering a downturn and there is massive competition for each position. After several failed attempts to gain employment they realise that whilst they are more than capable of eventually getting a position with a company, they need to try something different. At this point Person B decides that they have several options. They can either enter into additional training, re-train for a different career where jobs are more common, or they can start up their own business in the industry they know. They decide upon the latter and after a few difficult years during which they didn't give up, they own and run a thriving business. Their mental health is good and their life chances have actually been improved by their original misfortune.

Whilst personal situations are rarely as simplified as this caricature presents, the two scenarios do provide an opportunity to examine the mediating effect that self-efficacy can have. Weak efficacy beliefs are easily negated by disconfirming experiences, whilst an individual with a persistent belief in their abilities will persevere despite obstacles or failures (Bandura, 2006). Figure 4.1 outlines the cyclical nature of human behaviour and action.

4.1 – The Cyclical Nature of Human Behaviour and Action:



Author's Own.

For Person A the external outcomes that they hoped for were not met. Their low self-efficacy led to negative self-evaluative reflections, which impacted upon their future behaviour in such a way that their hoped for external outcomes became increasingly unlikely to happen. For Person B, their failure to achieve desired results was mediated by their high self-efficacy. This meant that after several failures they adapted their behaviour in a positive manner in an effort to achieve their aims.

4.2.2 - Sources of Self-Efficacy:

When looking at sources of efficacy information, it is important to be aware that the information is not instructive to an individual's actions on its own. Rather, it is assimilated and cognitively processed through reflective thought. Indeed, individual thought processes are unique and are weighted depending upon social, personal and situational factors (Bandura, 1997). Every individual will analyse the same information from their own perspective, and as such may come to different efficacy conclusions than another. Bandura (1997) defines self-efficacy as originating from four main types of experience, which are listed below in order of importance.

1. Enactive Mastery Experience.
2. Vicarious Experience.
3. Verbal Persuasion.
4. Physiological and Affective States.

Enactive mastery experiences are the most powerful source of self-efficacy as they are drawn from direct involvement in an activity, in which the individual experiences first-hand the task-demands of a given situation. Success in such an activity builds robust beliefs of personal efficacy, whereas failures undermine this belief, although for efficacy beliefs to be resilient the tasks completed must require perseverance (Bandura, 2012). Self-efficacy formation can also be derived from vicarious experiences where the individual cognitively models attainments and requirements for certain activities. Personal capabilities are easier to judge for activities that are unambiguous in the personal traits required to succeed. Nevertheless, some activities are harder to assess and so people judge their capabilities in relation to others. Seeing others perform an activity can generate expectations in the observer as to whether they can also execute the task, particularly if these 'others' are socially similar to the individual (Bandura, 2012). However, as these types of efficacy judgements are carried out through social inferences, they are less reliable indicators of performance than direct mastery experiences. They are therefore likely to generate weaker and more unstable efficacy expectations (Bandura, 1977). The third form of efficacy formation arises through what Bandura (1997) labels verbal persuasion. Here, an individual has their capability beliefs raised by other people through encouragement and persuasion and they use this encouragement to build persistence and to help them surpass obstacles such as self-doubt and past failure (Bandura, 1977; 2012). Whilst efficacy generation of this type is often limited in its power to create enduring increases in perceived efficacy, it can still be a helpful aid to self-change if the encouragement is realistic (Bandura, 1997). The final type of efficacy formation comes from physiological and affective states. Here an individual uses their physical and emotional abilities to inform their efficacy expectations. In the physical realm people will use indicators such as fatigue and past injuries to inform their efficacy levels, whilst emotional arousal can be a powerful inhibitor of perceived self-efficacy, as high levels of emotion are not usually conducive to high levels of performance (Bandura, 1977; 1997). Indeed, such aversive emotions as fear-provoking thoughts or nervousness can produce much higher levels of anxiety than would normally be experienced completing the task (Bandura, 1977).

4.2.3 - Specific Self-Efficacy:

Bandura (1977) originally conceived self-efficacy as a task-specific construct that would lose its predictive power if generalised across broad areas. Bandura stated that this multi-faceted nature would not just apply across different activity domains, but also within such activity domains. The specific nature of Bandura's argument has led to numerous studies being

undertaken in which an exact self-efficacy construct has been the variable measured. These studies have taken place across multiple disciplines over the last three decades and several examples of the varied nature of this research are provided below.

1. Assessment of Children's Self-Efficacy for Social Interactions with Peers (Wheeler and Ladd, 1982).
2. Efficacy Expectations and Outcome Expectations as Predictors of Performance in a Snake-Handling Task (Lee, 1984b).
3. Self-Efficacy and Perceived Control: Cognitive Mediators of Pain Tolerance (Litt, 1988).
4. Mathematics Self-Efficacy: Sources and Relation to a Science Based Career Choice (Lent *et al.*, 1991).
5. Perceived self-efficacy and Headache-Related Disability (French *et al.*, 2000).
6. Development and Preliminary Validation of a Children's Arthritis Self-Efficacy Scale, (Barlow *et al.*, 2001).
7. Review of the Psychometric Properties of the Diabetes Self-Efficacy Scale, (Rapley *et al.*, 2003).
8. Self-Image and Perceived Self-Efficacy during Adolescence, (Bacchini and Magliulo, 2003).
9. Predictors of Self-Efficacy to use Condoms among Seropositive Middle-Aged African American Men, (Coleman, 2009).
10. Psychometric Assessment of the Brazilian Version of the Breastfeeding Self-Efficacy Scale, (Oriá *et al.*, 2009).

The list does not provide an exhaustive account of self-efficacy research. Indeed, there are hundreds of such articles. The purpose of the list above is merely to show the huge variation in the types of studies that have utilised Bandura's research. The above list merely highlights the astounding variation of prior research utilising self-efficacy. However, specific self-efficacy scales do not provide the only research tool in self-efficacy studies. Bandura (1977) also stated that a person's self-efficacy beliefs in one domain could easily transfer across to another. This acceptance of the underlying transferability of efficaciousness from one domain to another led to the idea that there is a global self-efficacy trait for individuals, which impacts on one's beliefs in more specific areas.

4.2.4 - General Self-Efficacy:

The idea that there was a globalised self-efficacy trait led to theories defining exactly what the construct of General Self-Efficacy (GSE) entailed. Shelton (1990) described GSE as emerging over one's lifespan as one accumulates successes and failures across different task domains. Schwarzer (1997: 72) defined GSE as being '...restricted to one's personal resource beliefs, focusing on competence and disregarding other sources or reasons for optimism'. Chen *et al.* (2001) saw GSE as a means of mediating external influences on individual behaviour. Essentially, a high GSE can act as a barrier that protects the individual from difficult and psychologically damaging events. Accordingly, the specific self-efficacy of a high-GSE individual will be less susceptible to external influences than someone with low-GSE (Eden, 1988) and additional research has also supported such an interpretation (Eden and Kinnar, 1991; Eden and Aviram, 1993; Eden and Zuk, 1995), whilst Locke, Durham and Kluger (1998) also found a positive correlation between GSE and life and job satisfaction. The development of scales with which to measure GSE was also carried out (Sherer *et al.*, 1982; Tipton and Worthington, 1984; Schwarzer and Jerusalem, 1995; Chen *et al.*, 2001), with Schwarzer and Jerusalem's (1995) GPSE scale being the most widely used in research.

Despite this body of research, there are many critiques of GSE, both in terms of the theory and the scales for measuring it. Bandura has consistently rejected the reliability of GSE measures and their ability to predict behaviour and performance, as he originally envisaged self-efficacy as a domain specific construct. However, following the work done by psychologists on GSE he did moderate his position somewhat, expanding his definition of self-efficacy to include a more general belief in one's ability to cope with important events in life (Bandura, 1989). Nevertheless, this does not mean that Bandura has become an advocate of GSE. Indeed, he objects to its use in psychological research, arguing that GSE measures '...bear little or no relation either to efficacy beliefs related to specific activity domains or to behaviour' (Bandura, 1997: 42). This is a criticism also made by Locke and Latham (1990) who see GSE scales as being inferior compared with measures of specific self-efficacy. These criticisms all draw on the perceived poor predictive value of GSE measures in psychological research, especially when applied to subject specific areas. Other critics, notably Stanley and Murphy (1997), questioned whether GSE as a construct was distinct from self-esteem. However, subsequent research has shown that there are clear conceptual distinctions between the two (Brockner, 1988; Eden, 1988; Gardner and Pierce, 1998; Chen *et al.*, 2004).

In answering these criticisms it is important to distinguish between GSE and specific self-efficacy as research tools. To utilise GSE and its associated scales does not necessarily entail the rejection by the researcher of the value of specific self-efficacy scales. Indeed, GSE should be viewed as a separate concept that can inform psychological research in a different way to specific self-efficacy, but that can also act as an underlying variable that affects specific self-efficacy. Tipton and Worthington (1984) postulated that specific self-efficacy would be a more accurate predictor of performance when the situation was clearly defined and familiar to the individual, whereas GSE would be more predictive when the situation was more ambiguous and less familiar to the individual. This last point is salient for this study as when examining levels of self-efficacy in NEETs the aim is not solely to measure performance in specific areas, but rather to also examine performance in general situations. Therefore, GSE scales have the potential to be a stronger evaluative tool than specific self-efficacy scales.

There are also links between specific self-efficacy and GSE. Lindley and Borgen (2002) stated that a general sense of self-efficacy permits a person to try new activities in different areas, which allows the individual to partake in the mastery experiences that are vital to the formation of task specific self-efficacy (Bandura, 1999). Therefore, GSE has a direct impact upon an individual's perceived efficacy in more subject specific areas. In mediating individual willingness to undertake tasks, high GSE makes the individual more willing to try new things. This increased willingness leads the person to develop mastery in a new area and become efficacious and reinforces their belief in their GSE. A person with a low GSE may withdraw from such experiences and therefore miss out on the associated mastery experiences. Bandura (1997: 49) utilised this prior research to outline the three types of efficacy beliefs that a person can hold.

1. **Tier 1 – Specific:** Perceived self-efficacy for performance under specific conditions.
2. **Tier 2 – Intermediate:** Perceived self-efficacy for a class of performances within the same activity domain.
3. **Tier 3 – Global:** Perceived self-efficacy without specifying the activities or the conditions under which they must be performed.

In this thesis the focus will be on the second and third tiers (global self-efficacy and intermediate self-efficacy) the latter of which involves such concepts as academic, social and self-regulative self-efficacy. The use of specific self-efficacy would not be appropriate as no

such measure exists for testing employability self-efficacy. Whilst Bandura has been critical of global and intermediate self-efficacy concepts and the scales used to measure them, prior research has illustrated the predictive validity that global and intermediate scales can have in relation to unemployment (Eden and Aviram, 1993; Aviram, 2006; Smith and Betz, 2000; Creed *et al.*, 2001).

4.2.5 - A Critique of Self-Efficacy:

Whilst self-efficacy is now a widely accepted psychological construct for predicting behaviour, some researchers do critique its applicability. It is crucial for such critiques and the counter-arguments that have been developed to be examined. Critics of self-efficacy have generally centred their arguments in three main areas, which are listed below (Williams, 1992: 156).

1. That self-efficacy is an effect of behavioural change, rather than a cause.
2. That self-efficacy is a mere methodological artefact.
3. That rather than self-efficacy causing behaviour, both behaviour and self-efficacy are in fact caused by a third variable.

The first statement above relates to a rejection of the idea that self-efficacy has any influence over future behaviours and is instead merely a direct consequence of behavioural change. In this argument behavioural change comes first followed by self-efficacy change. Self-efficacy therefore becomes a mere reflection of past performance. However, whilst past performance is an important mediator of self-efficacy, it is misleading to claim that it has no input in directing future behaviour. A significant amount of research has highlighted the strong relationship between self-efficacy and subsequent behaviour (Bandura and Adams, 1977; Bandura *et al.*, 1977, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986). An example of this research involved the treatment of snake-phobic individuals who all had to watch an identical therapeutic film. Each phobic experienced wildly-varying degrees of improvement in their phobic behaviour ranging from almost no improvement to complete cure. In each individual case self-efficacy accurately predicted behavioural change *prior* to any snake-related activities being undertaken (Bandura, 1977).

The types of experimental research utilising self-efficacy theory outlined above, provides the second main critique of self-efficacy. Here critics argue that self-efficacy is merely a

methodological artefact, that people rate their self-efficacy and then feel a pressure to match that rating. However, key methodological features of self-efficacy research concern not letting the individual know that they are rating their self-efficacy, by asking the subject what they *believe* they are capable of doing rather than what they *will* do, and by allowing them to complete their forms in the strictest confidence and privacy (Williams, 1992; Bandura, 1997). Indeed, research has shown that the act of merely rating one's self-efficacy has no direct impact on behaviour (Gauthier and Ladouceur, 1981; Bandura, 1982; Telch *et al.*, 1982). As Bandura (1997: 46) states '...if merely recording a level of efficacy made it so, personal change would be trivially easy...People would rate themselves into grand accomplishments!'

The third area of criticism concerns the idea that self-efficacy and behaviour are by-products of a third variable. This variable has at different times been proposed as outcome expectancies and/or anxiety reduction. In relation to outcome expectancies the claim is made that rather than people anticipating their perceived ability to execute a task, they are instead motivated by the anticipated outcomes that their behaviour may induce. Self-efficacy theory itself counters this in two ways. First, Bandura (1977) always accepted in his theory that behaviour could be shaped by outcome expectancies as well as self-efficacy. Second, whilst the two constructs are independent from each other they are not entirely separate and can influence each other (Williams, 1992). It seems that theorists who make this type of critique of self-efficacy are either mistaking self-efficacy and outcome expectancies for one and the same, or more likely are failing to understand that self-efficacy is a part of SCT, and as such no one facet of SCT should be seen as *solely* driving behavioural decision-making.

Critical research also argues that self-efficacy is a by-product of anxiety reduction. Such critiques are usually based around Mowrer's (1947) Dual-Process Theory. This theory of behaviour causation sees behaviour as being determined largely by anxiety, with people who experience high levels of anxiety engaging in avoidance of tasks that they are fearful or anxious of undertaking. These theorists state that it is anxiety reduction that mediates behavioural change and that self-efficacy is a secondary phenomenon of this reduction (Borkovec, 1978; Eysenck, 1978; Wolpe, 1978). In responding to these claims McAuley (1985) tested anxiety and self-efficacy together on the same sample of participants. Whilst performance related anxiety did show a weak but significant relationship with behaviour, no predictive value was exhibited by anxiety when self-efficacy was controlled for. However, when anxiety was the controlled variable, self-efficacy proved to be a strong predictor of behaviour (McAuley, 1985). Additionally, McAuley's (1985) results supported prior research

in the same area (Schunk, 1981; Feltz, 1982; Feltz and Mugno, 1983). The arguments outlined above detail the four main critiques of self-efficacy. However, whilst this section has provided an overview of the construct of self-efficacy, it is important to outline why self-efficacy was chosen over the other psychological constructs utilised in prior unemployment research that were discussed earlier in this chapter.

4.3 – Self-Efficacy and Unemployment Research

Self-efficacy is a personality trait that has been shown extensively in prior research to be an accurate predictor of behaviour. In employment research it has also been extensively used both in examining the effects of unemployment and the outcomes of work-integration programmes (Creed, Bloxsome & Johnson, 2001; Eden & Aviram, 1993; Meyers & Houssemand, 2010; Wenzel, 1993). Gist and Mitchell (1992) argued that in determining levels of self-efficacy, an individual undertakes three types of assessment, an analysis of task requirements, an assessment of the resources available (both personal and situational) and a utilisation of the knowledge gained through succeeding or failing in similar tasks previously. Aviram (2006: 166) stated that ‘...in order to increase the propensity of unemployed people to act, employment counsellors need to help boost an individual’s intrinsic motivation.....such as achievement needs and motivation’. In relation to work-integration programmes, Folkman and Moskowitz (2000) suggested that an individual’s levels of mastery and control (crucial in the development of self-efficacy) can be bolstered through activities other than employment, such as leisure activities, volunteer working, study and training.

The majority of research into the impact that unemployment has upon self-efficacy and subsequently the impact that self-efficacy levels have upon reemployment chances has involved GSE. Eden & Aviram (1993) examined the impact of a work-integration training programme designed to boost the GSE of 88 unemployed individuals. The participants were randomly assigned to either an experimental group or a control group, with only the experimental group receiving the self-efficacy related training. GSE was measured using Sherer *et al.*’s (1983) SGSE scale both at the start of the training and again at the end. Eden & Aviram (1993) reported that participants with higher levels of GSE, occurring naturally or resulting from the intervention, were more likely to become reemployed.

Meyers and Houssemand (2010) conducted research involving 384 newly unemployed people in Luxembourg and utilised a GSE scale (a modified version of Sherer *et al.*'s, 1982) in their research. The research concluded that there were significant relationships between employment chances and people who were more conscientious, who had higher internalised locus of control, who were more socially anxious and who were less stressed (Meyers and Houssemand, 2010). However, whilst these psychological variables were important they were only so for the long-term unemployed (more than 6 months). Meyers and Houssemand (2010) concluded that unemployed people who had higher levels of self-efficacy found jobs more easily than those with lower levels, although this only became a crucial factor once the individual had been unemployed longer than six months. Additionally, social skills have been found to be important in job finding, as they are necessary in navigating the job search process, networking and presenting oneself in interviews (Wanberg *et al.*, 1999; Moynihan *et al.*, 2003).

Other research has utilised more specific self-efficacy scales with unemployed individuals. Creed *et al.* (2001) conducted a study with 161 unemployed individuals. Participants engaged in a 'community-based occupational skills/personal development training course' that ran for a period of 4-6 weeks. Employing the Job-procurement Self-efficacy Scale (JPSE) in a pre and post-intervention study Creed *et al.* (2001) found increases in 'job-search self-efficacy' when comparing experimental and control groups in an quasi-experimental intervention study. They also reported immediate and long term increases in 'well-being' and 'confidence' for unemployed individuals after engaging with the intervention.

The prior literature outlined in this section that has utilised self-efficacy in the evaluation of employment interventions and/or a study of the impacts of unemployment has shown self-efficacy to be a valid and reliable tool for assessing employment interventions and predicting job-seeking behaviour. Whilst the majority have used various scales all designed to measure GSE (Eden and Aviram, 1993; Denny *et al.*, 2010a, 2010b; Meyers and Houssemand, 2010), others have used more specific scales such as JPSE (Creed *et al.*, 2001). Nevertheless, the prior research outlined above indicates that self-efficacy can be a strong predictor of reemployment opportunity, as well as being negatively affected by experiences of unemployment. However, before a discussion relating NEETs with self-efficacy constructs is undertaken, there is one further reported finding discussed by some of the literature outlined above that has important implications for this thesis, that is 'behavioural plasticity'.

4.3.1 - Behavioural Plasticity:

‘Behavioural plasticity’ refers to the tendency of individuals who are low in a specific psychological trait (e.g. self-efficacy) to display greater increases in the trait following an intervention than those individuals who had a high level of the trait to begin with (Brockner, 1988). In relation to this thesis and its focus upon self-efficacy, behavioural plasticity would involve those individuals with low-self-efficacy who enter on to an intervention programme designed to boost self-efficacy, benefitting more from the intervention programme than those individuals who already had higher levels of self-efficacy prior to engaging with the work-integration programme. The effects of behavioural plasticity were found in three of the prior research studies outlined above (Eden and Aviram, 1993; Creed *et al.*, 2001). Eden and Aviram (1993) found that participants with low initial levels of GSE had statistically significant increases in GSE after training when compared with participants with high initial levels. Creed *et al.* (2001) found that participants with lower initial self-esteem and job-search self-efficacy benefited more from the intervention training than their higher initial level counterparts. Therefore, when conducting an analysis of the *outcome* benefits of a WISE intervention, the effects of behavioural plasticity need to be tested for in the analysis to make sure that misleading results and conclusions are not reported.

4.4 - NEETs and Self-Efficacy

Whilst the NEET phenomenon has been examined extensively in research literature over the last two decades (see Chapter Three for an in-depth discussion), this has never been done in relation to self-efficacy beliefs. This is surprising as it has been shown above that low self-efficacy can be associated with socio-economic background, poor past achievements, unemployment and reemployment opportunity. Indeed, Bynner and Parsons (2002) formulated a definition of NEET characteristics that included social, economic and biological factors that were prevalent in and predictive of NEET status. Accordingly, NEETs are more likely to originate from or have...

- Inner city public housing estates.
- Backgrounds of poverty.
- Families with low cultural capital.
- Poor educational record.

Additionally, Furlong (2006) found that NEET status was related to...

- Low qualifications.
- Family and/or personal problems.
- Disability or poor health.
- Mental health problems such as depression.
- Social Exclusion.
- Regional economic performance.

It is important to be aware of these factors when relating self-efficacy to the NEET population, as these types of social problems have been linked to low self-efficacy (Von Nebbitt, 2009). Indeed, depression, anxiety and helplessness have all been shown to be factors associated with low self-efficacy (Schwarzer *et al.*, 1997).

Boosting self-efficacy is a crucial consideration when attempting to assist NEET individuals back into the workplace. It has been shown to play a significant part in an individual's chances of successfully completing educational or work-based training programmes. Prior research by Colquitt *et al.* (2000) found that higher self-efficacy corresponded to learning motivation, whilst research studies by Dumon *et al.* (1999) and Klauer (2000) found that individuals with higher self-efficacy were better able to benefit from and make use of training programmes respectively. Bassi *et al.* (2007) highlighted research undertaken by Eccles and Wigfield (2002) in which they demonstrated the importance of motivation and self-efficacy on an individual's ability to regulate their learning activities and attain academic qualifications. Indeed, in a meta-analysis of self-efficacy beliefs and academic outcomes Pössel *et al.* (2005) pointed to five empirical findings showing that self-efficacy beliefs strongly mediated individual skills and beliefs in relation to academic achievement, and that those with higher self-efficacy attained higher academic achievements (Zimmerman and Bandura, 1994; Zimmerman, 1995; Bandura, 1997; Schunk *et al.*, 2000; Zhang and Zhang, 2003; Niehaus *et al.*, 2012). Self-efficacy also has been shown to play a part in how students select their career paths. Lent *et al.* (1994, 1996) developed a model that showed that a young person's career beliefs and development were centrally determined by self-efficacy, so that even an individual with average skill levels and ability could disengage from the academic or work environment because of their low-level of perceived self-efficacy (Pajares *et al.*, 2001).

Self-efficacy is therefore a key determinant in the development of a young person's life, shaping their performance through school, college and university (Eccles and Wigfield, 2002), as well as in employment (Eden and Aviram, 1993, Lent *et al.*, 1994, 1996). Young people who approach adolescence with a low-level of self-efficacy become more vulnerable to the pressures that they will face socially, academically and in their careers (Smith and Betz, 2000). This often leads to poor academic performance and social development, which then leaves the individual unable to enter gainful employment or worthwhile education after the age of sixteen (Von Nebbitt, 2009). Whilst this can be viewed through the lens of general self-efficacy as has already been outlined in this chapter, other more specific self-efficacy constructs are also important, namely social and self-regulative self-efficacy.

Social efficacy plays a crucial role in academic progress, which itself becomes important when a young person moves on from compulsory education (Bacchini and Magliulo, 2003). Ferrari and Parker (1992) reported a positive relationship between social self-efficacy and academic performance in higher education, as did Patterson and O'Brien (1997) in relation to student retention in college. Betz *et al.* (1999) also linked career indecision to the social efficacy construct and Niles and Sowa (1992) also reported that an individual with higher social efficacy would better be able to facilitate their career development. Adolescence itself is characterised by a gradual decline in social optimism, in which the individual becomes gradually more negative about the world around them, as they experience failures and setbacks (Bacchini & Magliulo, 2003). This is an inevitable part of growing up, but for people who start their early adolescence with already low self-efficacy, the effects can be devastating, as they suffer a drop in their social optimism just at the point that they are leaving school and entering into the adult world of work and education. The social realm leads individuals and their friends to shape each other's destinies by developing a collective self-efficacy that is shaped in directions of mutual interest (Bandura, 1994). In simpler terms, like attracts like, so that individuals who have low social self-efficacy or low self-efficacy in other domains, will often gravitate towards friendships with each other and hence restrict their collective development.

NEETs have also been shown in the prior research to be more likely to suffer from behavioural or mental health problems (Furlong, 2006) and this is particularly true of 'complicated' NEETs (Yates and Payne, 2006). As was discussed earlier, emotional reactions under pressure are linked with 'externalised' locus of control and low social skills. Additionally, emotional arousal is not conducive to performance as people perform better

when they are calm (Bandura, 1977). As prior research has linked such problems with NEET status (Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Furlong, 2006), then a self-efficacy construct that measures such perceived ability would be useful for this thesis. Therefore, a construct was required that allowed the research to ascertain an individual's perception of their own abilities in the stressful situations that can occur in employment or education (i.e. high workloads, exams, deadlines). Self-regulative efficacy provides the research with this construct and is concerned with an individual's ability to focus on the task at hand and keep a favourable emotional balance when under pressure or suffering stress (Schwarzer, 2011).

4.5 - Summary

This chapter has provided a brief examination of SCT and Bandura's subsequent focus upon self-efficacy as a key impact upon behaviour. SCT views human behaviour as taking place within a highly complex multi-faceted world where the individual's own cognitive functioning interacts with the environmental, institutional and social stimuli surrounding it (Bandura, 2012). Within this self-efficacy is only a 'singular construct' amongst many factors, but crucially it is a construct that has a significant impact upon human behaviour. Self-efficacy underpins human actions, motivations and forethought and all of their constituent elements. This is why it has become one of the most commonly used psychological predictors of human behaviour in research. Essentially, self-efficacy can be seen as a person's belief that they can execute a given task in a certain situation, and hence provides a bridge between the possession of skills and the desire to use them and engage with situations (Tabernero and Hernandez, 2011). Given the centrality of self-efficacy beliefs to human behaviour, sound assessment of an individual's efficaciousness is essential in understanding and predicting their behaviour.

Self-efficacy is a multi-tiered construct that operates at different levels of generality. Earlier in this chapter general self-efficacy was identified as an important tier of the theory for the approach utilised in this thesis. However, intermediate measures of self-efficacy will also be important. Bandura and Locke (2003), when reviewing self-efficacy related literature, came to the conclusion that self-efficacy is extremely important in relation to the career and education choices of young people. They also highlighted the fact that socio-economic status and parental aspirations were reflected through their children's efficacy beliefs. This underlines

the importance of the social and self-regulative self-efficacy constructs to this thesis and this is why the research will focus on these traits as well as GSE.

As NEETs are not enrolled on educational courses, involved in training or employed, they are essentially the unemployed young. Unemployment has been shown to have serious negative consequences for society and the individual, ranging from decreasing standards of living, to increased alcohol and drug abuse, as well as mental health problems such as depression, reduced well-being, externalised locus of control, low self-esteem and low self-efficacy (Westaby and Braithwaite, 2003; Winefeld and Tiggeman, 1985; Carroll, 2007; Goldsmith *et al.*, 1996; Meyers and Houssemand, 2010; Eden and Aviram, 1993). This means that finding ways to alleviate the number of NEETs, understanding why they are in the social positions that they are and how they can be helped back into employment, education or training is of paramount importance to society. This thesis offers empirical evidence in this area and hence provides an important contribution to knowledge, a contribution that can aid our understanding of the NEET phenomenon and explain the origins of NEET status. This in turn will help inform policy by demonstrating the effect that low self-efficacy has on the NEET journey.

Understanding the multi-faceted nature of self-efficacy and its relationship with NEET individuals is crucial to this research in understanding how work-integration programmes produce *outcomes* for the NEETs on their programmes. This research aimed to develop this understanding, whilst providing a rigorous and valid evaluation of the *outcome* benefits of work-integration programmes delivered by WISEs and for-profit organisations. In addition, this analysis was conducted alongside an exploration of the organisational characteristics of the two WISE case-studies and the for-profit work-integration organisation (for details of these see Chapter Six), so as to understand how the differing values, missions and organisational structures impacted upon the *outcome* performance of each organisation. Specifically, how did the WISE's focus on the triple-bottom line (Campi *et al.*, 2006) and the dual-ownership structures operated by them (Gui, 1991; Reid and Griffiths, 2006) affect the *outcome* performance of WISEs in relation to their for-profit counterparts? Based upon the prior literature outlined in Chapters Two, Three and Four the research reported in this thesis aimed to test the following hypotheses and to explore the following research aims outlined below in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 - Research Hypotheses & Questions
Research Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1	NEET participants' at all three work-integration organisations will display a statistically significant increase in GSE, SRE or SSE between T1 and T2.
Hypothesis 2	There will be a statistically significant difference between the T1-T2 changes in NEET GSE, SRE and SSE at the two WISE organisations and the T1-T2 changes in GSE, SRE and SSE at the non-WISE CG.
Hypothesis 3	In relation to behavioural plasticity, the 'lower complements' at the two WISE organisations and the CG will display greater increases in GSE, SRE and SSE than the respective 'upper complements'.

Research Questions

Research Question 1	What historical factors led the individual to the point of being NEET and how has this impacted upon their self-efficacy levels and future aspirations?
Research Question 2	How have individuals' levels of self-efficacy been changed by their participation on the work-integration programme and how has this affected their future aspirations?
Research Question 3	How have each case-study organisation's aims, objectives and structure impacted upon the provision offered to NEET participants?
Research Question 4	What is contemporary government policy towards NEETs and the work-integration organisations that assist them, and how does this impact upon programme implementation at an organisational level?

Chapter 5 – Epistemology & Ontology

A valid and reliable research methodology is fundamental to the success of any research project. It involves questions relating to the foundations of knowledge and approaches to gaining and understanding knowledge. Such questions relating to knowledge provide and inform the theoretical framework within which the approaches and methods utilised in a research project are chosen, developed and analysed. This chapter explores epistemological and ontological ideas and relates them to this thesis and the methodological approach that was utilised.

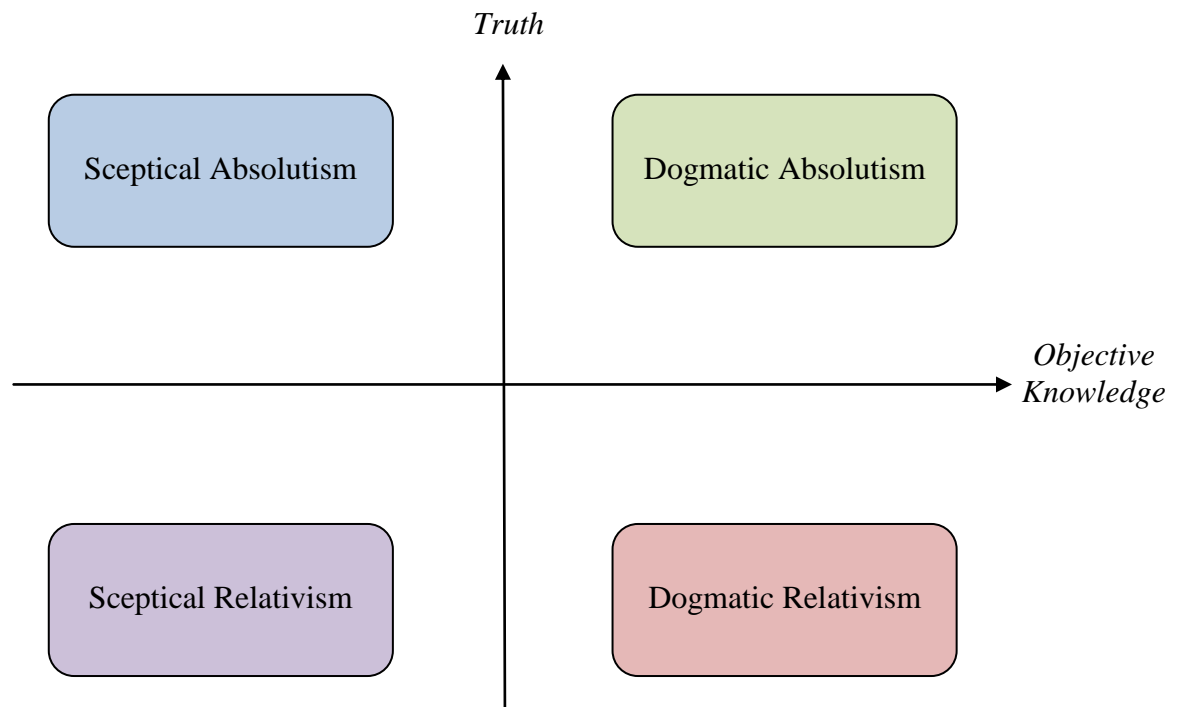
5.1 - Epistemology and Ontology

The term epistemology can be defined as the theory of knowledge and is a derivative of the Greek words ‘episteme’ (for knowledge) and ‘logos’ (for theory) (Moser *et al.*, 1998). Knowledge has traditionally been defined in western philosophical thinking as being based on three essential components, justification, truth and belief, or as Bernecker (2005) stated ‘a justified, true belief’. Belief is a self-explanatory pre-condition to knowledge, as it would be absurd to claim to know something that you didn’t believe in (Moser *et al.*, 1998). However, truth and justification are two components that require further discussion.

The philosophical attitude to truth can be split into two main approaches, the belief in ‘absolute truth’ and the idea of ‘relative truth’. For an absolutist, truth exists separately to the knower and is homogenous. For a relativist, truth can only exist relative to the knower and is heterogeneous in that it can vary from person to person based upon their social situation or context (O’Donnell, 1981). A well-used example of this is the belief in God. A religious person would assert that God exists, whilst an atheist would assert that there is no God. Both assertions, whether true or not, are true relative to the people making them (Moser *et al.*, 1998). Justification for knowledge must include some good reasons as to why that piece of knowledge is true. Based on these three principles there are two paradigms concerned with humans and their approach to knowledge, dogmatists and scepticists. At the extreme points of each, dogmatists believe that humans can know every truth in reality, whereas scepticists believe that they can know nothing. Generally, dogmatists take an absolute approach to truth. Scepticists often agree with relative truth as they state that if truth is relative then knowledge is impossible. However, it would be a mistake to think that relativists cannot believe in the

existence of tangible knowledge, or indeed that scepticists cannot believe in absolute truth. Indeed, if you decide to accept that truth is relative to your own beliefs, then it could be claimed that you are more likely to acquire knowledge than if truth is objective and hence difficult to gain. Equally, you can believe in absolute truth but not in knowledge, as knowledge can be seen as cognitively beyond humans (Moser et al, 1998). Figure 5.1 below illustrates this point.

Figure 5.1 – Approaches to Truth & Knowledge:



(Author's Own).

Questions relating to truth and knowledge have implications for the social scientist when it comes to formulating a theoretical framework for a research project. Our attitudes to knowledge and truth and how we seek to uncover them, impact upon the methods we use and how we justify and view the conclusions of our research. This is because the practice of social research does not exist on its own, separate from the theoretical beliefs or allegiances of the person conducting the research. Equally, the methods used in research are not neutral tools but an extension of how the researcher sees the connection between social realities and how these should be examined (Bryman, 2001). Table 5.1 below outlines the two main approaches to theory and research.

Table 5.1 – Theories of Research	
Theory	Explanation
Deductive	Based on what is known in any given field the researcher uses theory to construct a hypothesis that is then subject to empirical scrutiny.
Inductive	Here the theory is the outcome of the research. The researcher draws inferences from the data gathered, and creates a ‘general’ theory from this.

Taken from (Bryman, 2001: 8-10).

Ontology is concerned with whether the world around us is independent of our being, and from a social science point of view whether social entities can be viewed as separate to social actors (Marsh and Stoker, 1995). It consists of two ontological approaches, ‘objectivism’ and ‘constructionism’, each of which contains several epistemological approaches. These two positions have links to the various theories of research above. Table 5.2 below outlines these links and the epistemological frameworks associated with each approach.

Table 5.2 – Ontological and Epistemological Approaches in Research		
Ontology	Epistemology	Research Approach
Objectivism	Positivism Realism	Predominantly Deductive Predominantly Deductive
Constructionism	Phenomenology Symbolic Interactionism Post-Modernism/Feminism	Inductive Inductive Inductive

Adapted from (Bryman, 2010).

5.1.1 - Objectivism & Constructivism:

Objectivism holds that reality is separate to consciousness, and that humans are in touch with this reality through sensory perception. This perception allows us to gain objective knowledge through observation, and deductive and inductive logic. In a social setting it sees social phenomenon as external factors that constrain people, who are unable to change these phenomenon. However, by observing these phenomenon and the actors within their social context, the social scientist can gain objective knowledge of the processes involved. Hazelrigg (1986: 2) defines an objectivist approach as one that ‘...takes as given an objective world of determinant qualities, a world in which each object is a fully determinant self-identity that, as such, exists independently of relationship (external relation) to any particular observer, and

thus is identical, at least in principle, to all observers'. The social phenomena in question are generally organisations and culture, which cause actors to conform to normative values. Therefore, the organisation almost becomes a tangible entity, as opposed to a mere representation of the collective organisation of the individuals. The same point is also made of culture, in that the dominant culture that the individual evolves in, socialises them into internalising its belief structures.

Constructionism is a critical response to objectivism that rejects the idea that the world around us is objective, and instead views the world as socially constructed. Hazelrigg (1986: 2) states that '...constructionism counters by insisting that the constituting activity of consciousness produces the structures of our perceptual world. Consciousness is not secondary rather it is integral to the world in which we live, the world of lived experience'. The constructivist argument asserts the position that individuals have the ability to shape and change institutions and cultures and thus are in a constant state of flux. It takes an indeterminate view of knowledge and sees social phenomenon as social constructs that are established and constantly revised by social actors. Potter (1996: 98) states '...the world is constituted in one way or another as people talk it, write it and argue it.' This assertion holds that social reality is not separate to being, but that it is instead constructed by social actors on an individual basis. Therefore, the pursuit of objective truth is not possible and social scientists can only ever offer their own interpretations of the events that they observe. This ontological approach is one that combines well, but not exclusively with, post-modern and phenomenological epistemologies.

In this thesis, objectivism offered a useful approach that would have allowed an examination of the constraining and moulding impact that social enterprises have upon NEET individuals who enter them. It would also have enabled the research to examine how the differing rules, regulations and aims of the social enterprise acted to both entice and enforce normative behaviour amongst its clients, and also how these factors shaped the changing behaviour and self-efficacy amongst them. In essence, an objectivist approach was inherent to the aims of the thesis, in examining how the differing culture or environment that a social enterprise provides, helped to change the attitudes of individuals within it. In contrast to an objectivist approach, the utilisation of a constructionist approach to the world in this thesis would have had limited value. Such an approach would have required an acceptance that it is impossible to determine the impact of social enterprise on self-efficacy. That is any perceived improvement in an individual's self-efficacy would have been an intangible one based only

on the researcher's perceptions and the perceptions of the actors involved. Nevertheless, this approach was not dismissed entirely, as it provided a differing view-point from which to look at self-efficacy. This was because from one individual's social perspective, NEET individuals could have low self-efficacy because they do not work, are unskilled and uneducated. However, from the NEET individual's point of view, they may think that this does not go hand-in-hand with low self-efficacy. Indeed, self-efficacy is a social construct, and our viewpoint of what constitutes self-efficacy is also socially constructed. This consideration was important to the research, even if it did not overtly inform the ontological position.

5.2 - Epistemological Approaches Discussed

The last section detailed the two main ontological approaches in social research and the epistemologies that they contained. A more detailed analysis of the differing epistemologies will be undertaken in order to detail and explain the reasons behind the approach utilised in this thesis. Table 5.3 below outlines the different epistemological approaches, the values that underpin them and the research approach that they utilise.

Table 5.3 – Epistemological Approaches			
Epistemology	Sub-School	Principles	Theoretical Background
Positivism	Empiricism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only phenomena confirmed by the senses can be warranted as knowledge. The purpose of theory is to allow hypotheses to be tested. The gathering of facts that provide the basis for laws. Science must be conducted objectively. There is a clear distinction between scientific and normative statements. 	Predominantly Deductive
	Realism		
Interpretivism	Phenomenology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The objects of the natural and social sciences are fundamentally different. 	Predominantly Inductive
	Symbolic Interactionism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Based on Weber's notion of <i>Verstehen</i>. Social action is subjective. 	
	Post-Modernism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Humans are distinctive compared with the natural order. 	

Adapted from (Bryman, 2001).

5.2.1 - Positivism:

Positivism is an epistemological position that advocates that the principles and methods of the natural sciences can be employed in the 'science of man' or a 'natural science of society' (Giddens, 1974). It can be seen as a descriptive category, one that can take a philosophical stance on a social aspect and can then discern the value of this stance through research. It views knowledge and truth from the 'dogmatic absolutist' approach that was outlined earlier and has its ideological base in the enlightenment. To a positivist, an empirical approach to the gathering of knowledge is essential. If we cannot tangibly test knowledge then a positivist would question its existence. Critics state that positivists do not consider the uniqueness of human behaviour and fail to grasp the subjective nature of social reality, which is by and large

constructed by human perceptions on an individual basis. An interpretivist would argue that the physical phenomena of the natural sciences (including animals), react only to stimuli, whereas humans interpret their surroundings and act based on these interpretations. In essence they exercise free-will (Hammersley, 1993). Therefore, natural scientific methods should not be used to study human beings.

In the field of social enterprise research, the majority of studies conducted have been of a qualitative/interpretivist nature (Peattie & Morley, 2008), although the PERSE study outlined in Chapter Two took a more quantitative/positivist approach. This has been due to the inherently small-scale nature of most social enterprises and the difficulty in finding suitable control groups for comparison. Most self-efficacy research takes a broadly positivist stance, however, it does so from a slightly more subjective viewpoint centred upon individual perceptions of self-efficacy. This requires a more detailed methodological approach that allows for a fusion of the positivist and interpretivist stance.

5.2.2 - Realism:

Realism's traditions are based in positivist thought and its development can be assigned to a reaction by some positivists to the criticisms levelled by interpretivists. It shares two key features with positivism, first, in its belief that the natural and social sciences should apply the same kind of method in their approach to collecting and analysing data. Second, it has a commitment to the view that there is a separate reality to the one that we describe (Bryman, 2001). Its two main schools are *empirical realism* and *critical realism*.

'Empirical Realism' asserts that through the use of appropriate methods, reality can be understood. Proponents of this branch of *realism* are diametrically opposed to the view taken by interpretivism. For this type of *realist* the world can be explained through the empirical measuring of phenomenon, without any need for further analysis of the underlying structures that cause certain types of social reality to exist. Because of this it has come under attack for being too 'superficial' and for failing to recognise the differences between the 'real' and socially constructed worlds (Bhaskar, 1989). In many ways it views any framework of knowledge as irrelevant. The collection of data is almost an end in itself, as it provides knowledge in its own right. In terms of its epistemological value for this thesis, it is this lack of analysis that would render it unhelpful. As this thesis examined the actions and developments of actors within the spheres of the work-integration case-studies, a more in-

depth framework was required that was able to take into account the unique social environment that the SE offers.

Critical Realists centre their epistemological framework on the recognition of the reality of the natural order and the events and discourses of the social world. Critical Realism states that we will only be able to understand the social world by identifying the underlying structures that generate the events and discourses within it. These structures are not immediately apparent in the observable pattern of events and instead they can only be identified through the practical and theoretical work of the social sciences (Bhaskar, 1989). In this it shares with positivism an acceptance of reality and a belief in the researcher's ability to measure and study this reality. However, it also shares with interpretivism a belief that the researcher's conceptualisation of a given reality is only one way of knowing that reality. Critical realism takes a more subjective approach to knowledge and what constitutes truth as it accepts that in the natural and social world there exist objective structures (domain of the real) that interact to produce events (the domain of the actual) that are then experienced by the observer (the domain of the empirical) (Mingers, 2004). As Bhaskar (1997) argues, this means that concepts, ideas and practices are no less real for being unobservable, and this allows the researcher to give explanations of phenomena that cannot always be directly tested or observed.

5.2.3 - Interpretivism:

Interpretivism is diametrically opposed to positivism and has its origins in Max Weber's notion of 'Verstehen' (German for understanding and interpreting 'meaning' and human actions). It is based around a central idea that social scientists require a strategy that recognises the differences between humans and the objects of analysis in the natural sciences. It seeks not to explain behaviour, but to understand it (Bryman, 2001). Within this framework there are three different interpretivistic approaches, phenomenology, symbolic interactionism and post-modernism.

'Phenomenology' has its origins in the work of Albert Schutz. It asserts that human action is meaningful, whereby humans base their actions on their own constructed reality, which is based on their own experiences. Because human actions are predicated on this thought process it is the job of the social scientist to view actors behaviour within this context, 'to see things from the other person's point of view' (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975).

‘Symbolic Interactionism’ began with the work of George Herbert Mead, before being furthered by Herbert Blumer, and can be seen as a development of phenomenology. It states that the individual is repeatedly interacting with their environment and constantly interpreting its symbolic meaning (Bryman, 2001). The individual does this through three core principles, meaning, language and thought. As with phenomenology, meaning is the central pillar of the theory, with individuals assigning different meanings to the same situations. Language and thought complement this, with people assigning different meanings to words and processes dependent on the situation they are in (Nelson, 1998). ‘Symbolic Interactionism’ requires the researcher to capture this process of interpretation through which people construct their actions or make their decisions. It is an interesting approach that allows the researcher to assess peoples’ behaviour in a given situation in a more complex manner. However, because of its emphasis on present interactions, it is a little weak in assessing the impact that pre-conceived notions formed in an actor’s past, can have on their interpretation of meaning, thought and language. When dealing with individuals from the NEET population this would have posed difficulties, as their well-documented psychological problems (Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Yates and Payne, 2006) and their lack of self-efficacy are often the result of a lifetime’s experience of failure.

Post-modern thought, like other schools of interpretivism, is centred on the idea that knowledge is not absolute. But it takes this notion a lot further, and brings into question the whole idea that social science can discover or comment on anything in concrete terms. In its eyes social knowledge is absolute in its *relativity*. To a post-modernist, the social scientist is not seeking to uncover a pre-determined external reality, in for example, the same way that Einstein determined modern physics through his ‘Theory of Relativity’. Instead, the social world is viewed as a context out of which many different accounts can be hewn (Bryman, 2001). A post-modernist refuses to depict knowledge as some independent real order of being (McLennan, 1995). It is critical of meta-narratives and grand theories, and extols the idea that any described vision of reality is merely one of many for any given situation. Some post-modernists even reject the need for epistemological theory, as they see it as just another product of the enlightenment. This epistemological approach is also prevalent in feminist thought, with the added caveat of a socially constructed reality that is centred on the domination of women. Feminists believe that the researcher perpetuates the social, sexual and ethnic differences in society, as they themselves view social phenomenon through their own perception of reality, a view that has been shaped by their own social experience. Research

should not be based on an objective pursuit of ‘God’s eye knowledge’, but instead should be based on an attempt to emancipate all oppressed people, particularly women (McLennan, 1995).

Criticisms of post-modernism state that it contradicts itself through self-reference, and notes that postmodernists presuppose concepts they otherwise seek to undermine, such as freedom, subjectivity or creativity (Aylesworth, 2005). In this sense post-modernism uses terms and ideas that have no concrete foundation, because nothing does. How can they argue a point and refer to freedom, when the notion of freedom to a post-modernist is relative (i.e. one person’s freedom is another’s slavery)? The answer is that they cannot and this is the contradiction that is at the heart of post-modernist thought. This is where philosophical arguments can get complex, as in an absolutely relative world, nothing truly exists.

5.3 - Summary

As was outlined earlier, a purely positivistic approach or one based in empirical realism would have been unsuitable for this thesis, as it would not have allowed for the acceptance or accommodation of social reality. Equally, post-modernism and its feminist wing were incompatible epistemological positions for this research. To adopt a post-modernist framework would have been to instantly dismiss the hypothesis that self-efficacy can be improved or that a causal relationship with the social enterprise intervention could be established. This would have posed the research with questions of whether self-efficacy exists and if it does can it be accurately measured?

A phenomenological approach offers several benefits to this thesis. In accepting that every social actor has their own socially constructed view, the research could consider sub-cultures and what really motivates the actors to become and remain NEET. In constructing a view of what motivates social actors from the NEET population, it will be necessary to try to look at the world from their standpoint, which could offer interesting insights into examining both NEET behaviour and opinions. However, as an interpretive approach, it does not necessarily always combine with the positivist and deductive theory that was inherent to this thesis through the evaluation of self-efficacy changes over time.

A critical realist approach, however, provided the strongest epistemological underpinning for this thesis. It allowed the synthesis of objectivist and constructionist ontological approaches and of positivist and interpretivist epistemological approaches. This allowed the research to adopt an approach that viewed self-efficacy as a social construct that could be measured, alongside a view that social structures and organisations (such as social enterprises) can have causal impacts upon this level of perceived self-efficacy. Critical realism was also compatible with the mixed-methodological approach taken in this thesis. In reaching an understanding of the ontological and epistemological approach to be utilised in the research, as well as in developing the methodological approach, the author was privileged to have a meeting with Roy Bhaskar (the founder of critical realist thought) regarding the suitability of a critical realist approach to this thesis. During this meeting Roy Bhaskar concluded along with the researcher that a critical realist approach represented the best epistemological approach for the research and Bhaskar gave his support to what he considered a valid and important study.

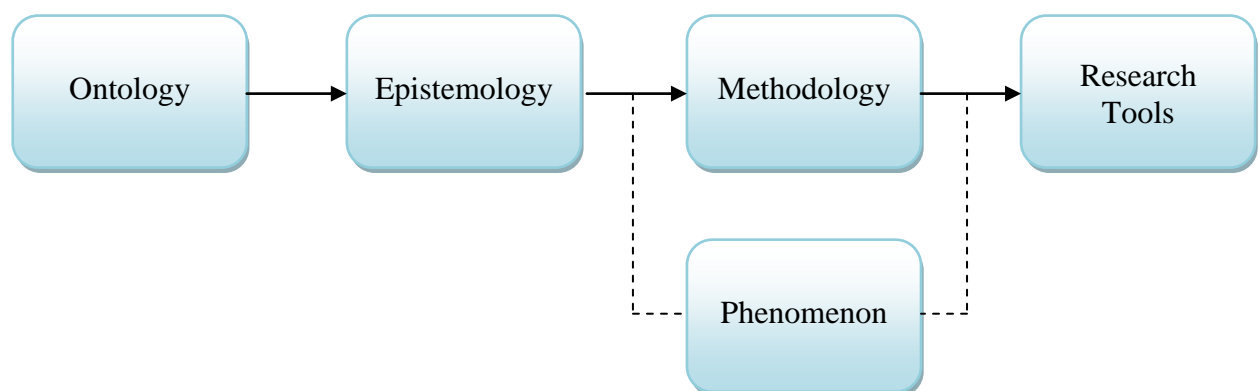
Chapter 6 – Research Methodology

Chapter Five presented the epistemological and ontological approach utilised in this thesis, namely ‘critical realism’. This chapter will build upon this by reviewing the research methods utilised in previous studies in the areas of social entrepreneurship and self-efficacy and using these to build the argument for the research method used in this thesis. This will be followed by a discussion around the specific research methods and tools utilised in this thesis in relation to the aims and objectives of this study, the reliability and validity of the methods and instruments used and the process of data gathering and analysis. The chapter will then end with a description of the three case-study organisations involved in this research study and the work-integration programmes that they provide to NEETs and a reflexive acknowledgement of potential researcher bias and the steps that were taken to minimise the effects of this.

6.1 – Research Methodology

Research methodology concerns the research approach taken by the researcher(s), based upon their ontological and epistemological beliefs, and the nature of the question that they wish to consider. In this context, methodology provides the principles and the framework within which research is conducted, and allows a researcher to adopt a certain philosophical position within which to study phenomena (Seale, 1998). Figure 6.1 below outlines the process of an ontological position and how this leads to the research method adopted.

Figure 6.1 – The Process of Ontology to Method:



Traditionally, quantitative methods such as large-scale questionnaires or data gathering are associated with the positivist paradigm, and methods such as in-depth interviews or focus

groups are associated with interpretivist approaches to knowledge. However, as Miles and Huberman (1994) highlight, quantitative and qualitative approaches should not be tied to ontological or epistemological considerations. Self-efficacy as a concept and in research (as discussed in Chapter Four) is an excellent illustration of this last point. The majority of self-efficacy research, as will be discussed shortly, is associated with quantitative research in which large-scale samples of participants complete questionnaires relating to a particular efficacy construct. However, self-efficacy itself as a construct is an individual's perception of their own ability to complete a task, and so is both subjective and socially constructed. This leaves the researcher with a dilemma as to whether their approach is a deductive, positivistic approach, or whether it is indeed an inductive method. There is no clear-cut answer to this methodological problem, and much depends upon the researcher's own ontological and epistemological standpoint, as well as in relation to more practical problems relating to the phenomena that they are investigating. It is therefore important to be aware that whilst most often quantitative research methods are utilised in positivistic research and vice-versa for qualitative methods, they are not always mutually exclusive (Bryman, 2008). Table 6.1 below outlines the research tools 'traditionally' associated with positivist and interpretivist epistemological approaches.

Table 6.1 – Positivist & Interpretivist Research Tools		
Epistemology	Research Method	Research Tool
Positivist	Quantitative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structured Interviewing • Questionnaires • Structured Observation • Content Analysis • Secondary Data Analysis • Official Statistics
Interpretivist	Qualitative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnography • Participant Observation • Unstructured Interviewing • Semi-structured interviewing • Focus Groups • Language Analysis • Secondary Data Analysis

Adapted from (Symonds & Gorard, 2010).

6.1.1 - Methodological Approaches in Social Enterprise, NEET & Self-Efficacy Research:

Social enterprise research is a relatively new field, and as such is methodologically under-developed. This is in part because much of the research has been focused on clarifying issues of concept definition in relation to social enterprise itself, as well as explaining the policy background and support on offer for nascent social entrepreneurs (Peattie and Morley, 2008). This has led to what Taylor (2007) described as the field lacking capacity and critical mass in research and of suffering from underdeveloped theory (see Chapter Two for a more detailed discussion of social enterprise research). The impact upon research has been to create a focus within the literature of engaging in small-scale, practice led research heavily centred upon case-studies (Taylor, 2007). The research has therefore been mainly qualitative in nature, with case-studies of organisations and entrepreneurs seemingly the norm and this has led to research designs that utilise small population samples that are examined over short periods of time. Indeed, longitudinal research is almost non-existent (Jones *et al.*, 2007).

Such research gaps also extend into the area of performance-measurement in social enterprises and impact evaluation, an area directly linked to the research aims of this thesis. When reviewing the literature relating to measuring the performance of social enterprises, Peattie and Morley (2008: 32) cite the complete lack of ‘...direct, empirically based studies that provide evidence of the positive benefits of social enterprises’. There is therefore a real need in social enterprise research to move away from the small-scale qualitative studies that have so far categorised social enterprise research, particularly in the area of performance measurement, such as Gibbon and Affleck (2008), Somers (2005) and McLoughlin *et al.* (2009). This research ‘gap’ is nowhere more prevalent than in defining ways to measure social enterprise performance. Whilst some attempts at quantitative research into work-integration social enterprise performance measurement have been undertaken, notably Borzaga and Loss (2006), these have been limited in scope and in methodological rigour (see Chapter Two for a more detailed analysis). Because of this paucity of methodological the importing of existing research methods that have been validated in prior research to the social enterprise research discipline is beneficial. This would allow for rigorous research to be carried out that would be underpinned by theories that offer both explanative value and that are ‘socially relevant’ (Haugh, 2012). In designing the research methodology for this thesis there was therefore a need to explore the methodological approaches utilised in the research fields that were relevant to this thesis; namely NEET and self-efficacy research.

Research into NEETs is similar to social enterprise research, in that they are also a relatively new research area. Whilst youth research has been ongoing for decades, the term NEET has its origins in the work of Instance *et al.* (1994) and their definition of the ‘Status Zero’ individual (see Chapter Three for a more detailed discussion on NEET research). Nevertheless, whilst research into NEETs is relatively new and underdeveloped, it has its roots in youth studies that have decades of research tradition to draw from, particularly from the 1970’s and 1980’s when the end of post-war near-full employment led to the issue of youth unemployment becoming topical (Rist, 1980; Taggart and Ganzglass, 1980; Hendry & Raymond, 1986; Jones and Wallace, 1992; Banks *et al.*, 1992). The more entrenched historical research background in the field has led to contemporary NEET studies that utilise increasingly complex and diverse methodological approaches to research. This body of research includes large-scale studies, such as Yates and Payne’s (2006) study that involved interviewing 855 young NEETs through the Connexions Agency in order to identify the individual characteristics that contributed to NEET status and Furlong’s (2006) research into the backgrounds of 363 Scottish school-leavers. In contrast to this body of quantitative research, research into NEETs has also utilised more qualitative methods utilising smaller samples. Ball *et al.* (1999) took a narrative approach focusing on five NEET individuals, which utilised in-depth interviews that allowed the researchers to explore their individual life history, the problems that they encountered on a daily basis, as well as their hopes for the future. Similarly, Phillips (2010) used an ethnographic research method at three drop-in centres for NEET young people, in order to understand the feelings and life experience of the young people that attended.

Self-efficacy research has almost exclusively utilised quantitative research methods, except for when developing theory or constructing specific self-efficacy scales, in which qualitative or mixed-method research approaches have been undertaken. In relation to the latter point, Chen *et al.* (2001) utilised 22 psychology students (14 undergraduates and 8 post-graduates) to qualitatively analyse the content validity of the New General Self-Efficacy Scale (NGSE) that they had developed. This was done by providing the 22 students with definitions of general self-efficacy and asking them to state which questions in the scale they believed related to the construct definition. Once the scale had been reduced to only the questions that the students believed related to the construct, the scale was then tested for reliability using a quantitative method in which 316 undergraduate students completed the NGSE several times over one semester (Chen *et al.*, 2001). Similar approaches were also undertaken in the development of the social self-efficacy scale (Smith & Betz, 2000) and the self-regulative

efficacy scale (Schwarzer *et al.*, 1999). Away from the field of developing self-efficacy measurement tools, the approach to self-efficacy research has been almost entirely quantitative. Studies such as Von Nebbitt's (2009) study of self-efficacy in African-American adolescents sampled 213 such youths and administered them with Schwarzer and Jerusalem's (1995) General Self-Efficacy Scale. The data analysis conducted was entirely quantitative utilising univariate, bivariate and sequential regression analyses. Similar quantitative approaches were utilised by other research, notably Bacchini and Magliulo (2002) and Bandura *et al.* (2001).

A meta-analysis of prior research was conducted via the online 'Metalib' database. A search was conducted on three key terms ("social enterprise", "NEET" and "self-efficacy") and this was then refined down to those research articles that had the key-term in the title or abstract and which were related to the subject matter (i.e. NEET is also an acronym for 'nuclear excitation by electronic transition'). These were then coded as 'empirical' or 'conceptual' papers based upon their content and the empirical papers were sorted into those that had adopted a quantitative, qualitative or mixed-method research approach. Table 6.2 below outlines the results of this analysis.

Table 6.2 – Methodology in Social Enterprise, NEET & Self-Efficacy Research							
Research Field	Journal Articles <i>N</i>	Refined Search <i>N</i>	Empirical Research			Conceptual Research <i>N</i> (%)	Other <i>N</i> (%)
			Quantitative <i>N</i> (%)	Qualitative <i>N</i> (%)	Mixed Methods <i>N</i> (%)		
Social Enterprise	131	68	5 (7.4%)	24 (35.3%)	6 (8.8%)	22 (32.4%)	11 (16.1%)
NEETs	81	41	9 (22%)	17 (41.5%)	4 (9.8%)	5 (12.2%)	6 (14.5%)
Self-Efficacy	159	80	57 (71.2%)	1 (1.3%)	3 (3.8%)	4 (4.9%)	15 (18.8%)

NB. '%' is the percentage of the refined search total. 'Other' relates to articles that were book reviews, literature reviews, meta-analyses or could not be accessed or did not specify the methodological approach undertaken.

The meta-analyses of social enterprise research identified 68 relevant articles and showed that 51.5% of these were empirical studies, with the majority of these being qualitative studies (68.6%), whilst conceptual studies accounted for 32.4% of the articles analysed. These results are broadly similar to those of research conducted by Short *et al.* (2009) in which a meta-analysis of the research was conducted in the field of 'social entrepreneurship'. Short *et al.* (2009) found that out of 152 research articles 80 (52.6%) were 'conceptual' studies and 72

(47.4%) were ‘empirical’ studies. When the ‘empirical’ studies were broken down by methodology, the 72 research studies consisted of 54 qualitative studies (74%), 16 quantitative studies (22%) and two (4%) studies that did not specify the methodological approach (Short *et al.*, 2009). The review of prior NEET research identified 41 relevant research articles, of which 73.3% were empirical research articles and only 12.2% were related to conceptual studies. Within the empirical studies 56.7% were qualitative studies, whilst quantitative research studies accounted for 30% with mixed-methods research taking the remaining 13.3%. The scope and depth of prior self-efficacy research required an additional filter to be applied during the ‘Metalib’ search, in which only the studies that were classed as being directly within the field of ‘psychology’ were included. The review of the prior self-efficacy research revealed 80 relevant studies of which 76.3% were empirical studies and 4.9% were conceptual in nature. In relation to the empirical studies the majority were quantitative in nature (93.4%) with just 1.6% taking a qualitative approach and 5% using a mixed-method approach.

The above data outlined in Table 6.2 provides an overview of a sample of the prior literature in social enterprise, NEET and self-efficacy research in relation to the research approaches that the studies adopted. The data demonstrates the varied methodological nature of the three fields and such variation in part demonstrates why a mixed-method approach was adopted in this thesis, as this allowed for the combination of the quantitative and qualitative methodologies found in the three research fields relevant to this research study. In relation to the epistemological approach outlined in Chapter Five (critical realist), a mixed-methods approach was also suitable for this thesis.

6.1.2 - A Case for Mixed-Methods Research:

The origins of mixed-methods research can be traced back to research conducted by Campbell and Fiske (1959) who combined different quantitative research tools and called it ‘multi-method research’ (Creswell and Plano-Clark, 2007). Over the last four decades there have been increasing calls for the rejection of research methodologies that are developed from polarised epistemological positions and for the movement to mixed-methodological approaches that combine both quantitative and qualitative approaches in order to better explain social phenomena (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003a). Feyerabend (1975) led this call with a rejection of methodological frameworks that originated from either positivist or interpretivist stances, and instead called for researchers to utilise research methods as tools to

explain society. Epistemological positions that reflected this new movement also arose, most famously the 'Critical Realist' approach first espoused by Bhaskar (1975) which was discussed in Chapter Five. These rejections of the polarisation of research methodologies led to the development of mixed methods research, which Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004: 17-18) define as '...the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques into a single study'. Collins *et al.* (2007) highlight the rapid growth over the last decade of research articles in the social sciences adopting mixed-method approaches.

Such a synthesis of qualitative and quantitative research tools does not necessarily involve the adoption of mixed-methods research, or the abandonment of a well-defined epistemological position, as was shown earlier in Chapter Five (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In practical terms the research method(s) and tools adopted will reflect not only the epistemological position of the researcher, but also the reality 'on the ground' of their research aims and the accessibility and size of the research sample. Nevertheless, mixed-methods research has been labelled as the 'third methodological movement' (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003) and as an emancipatory approach to research methodology (Greene, 2005).

The combination of research methodologies into one cohesive mixed-methods approach also has its critics. Hughes (1990: 11) stated that '...every research tool or procedure is inextricably embedded in commitments to particular versions of the world and to knowing that world'. Another critique of mixed-methods research has been that it adopts two separate paradigms (qualitative and quantitative), each of which have separate and individual values and methods that are intertwined and incompatible (Bryman, 2008). Both of these critiques though are problematic, as neither of the arguments can be clearly shown to be true. Indeed, as was shown earlier, Miles and Huberman (1994) illustrated that there is an overlap between epistemological positions and the research tools that can be used, and it is not clear that quantitative and qualitative research methods are inextricably linked to any particular epistemology. The use of large-scale questionnaires in quantitative research and in-depth interviews in qualitative research is much more an issue of research practicalities 'on the ground' rather than to specific issue of ontology and epistemology. Equally, the development of epistemological approaches (i.e. Critical Realism) that allow for the combination of objective knowledge in a socially constructed world also negate these arguments.

Another and fundamentally different critique has also been levelled at mixed-methods research from a qualitative perspective. Giddings and Grant (2006: 59) note that by its very nature, mixed-methods research must include some form of quantitative element, and as such mixed-methods research has become a ‘...Trojan horse for positivism...’. Again, Giddings and Grant’s critique comes from ideological epistemological perspectives that both reject positivism, but also tie quantitative methods to positivistic approaches. In addition to this Symonds and Gorard (2010) stated that mixed-methods as a paradigm is flawed, because all paradigmatic approaches to research are wrong. They state that ‘...far from freeing researchers from the restrictions of paradigms.....mixed methods can actually reinforce the binary positioning of the qualitative and quantitative paradigms...’ (Symonds and Gorard, 2010: 133). This approach originates from a point of view that all paradigmatic approaches to research methodology are wrong, and that any researcher should instead approach their research design from the perspective of construction, transformation, conceptual positioning, weighting and timing (Symonds and Gorard, 2010). Nevertheless, the core idea of this methodological approach seems to be a mere extension of the mixed-methods revolution in social science research. Table 6.3 below outlines the concepts behind these stages.

Table 6.3 – Core Research Design Mechanisms	
Mechanism	Description
Construction	How elements of the research process are constructed and can be used to construct further elements.
Transformation	When data become transformed between elements of the process (e.g. words into numbers).
Influence	How elements of the research process inform and influence each other – this includes triangulation.
Conceptual Positioning	The ways in which different methods are used to answer the research question(s).
Weighting	The degree of influence given to elements of the research process.
Timing	How the elements of the research process are conducted in time, in relation to each other.

Taken from (Symonds & Gorard, 2010: 132).

A mixed-method approach to the research reported in this thesis was adopted. The ability to utilise both quantitative methods (self-efficacy questionnaires) and qualitative methods (semi-structured interviews and focus groups), allowed the research to not only explore the impact that social enterprise has on self-efficacy, but also to explore in-depth the reasons behind any

changes, as well as to also ascertain the problems and characteristics surrounding NEET status. This approach also allowed the research questions set out in the next section to be answered accurately through a process of triangulation (McLeod, 1994). A mixed-method study also provided the best methodological approach for the ‘critical realist’ approach that underpins the research. The nature of the research reported in this thesis was of combining different fields of research whose methodological backgrounds and norms are based in both the quantitative and qualitative paradigms. A mixed-methods approach therefore allowed for the fusion of these paradigms in order that the thesis could make a valid contribution to knowledge in all three areas of research. In doing so the methodological approach of this thesis counters any critique from post-structuralists such as Symonds and Gorard, as the research is not constrained by methodological positioning, but instead positively and appropriately utilises tools from both the qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches in a cohesive research approach.

6.2 - The Research Methods

Research methodology and research methods, whilst often used to mean the same thing, are in fact different entities. Whilst a research methodology involves a more general approach to research that is correctly or incorrectly associated with epistemological and ontological positions, the term research *methods* relates to the techniques that are used to gather the data in the research (Bryman, 2008). Throughout the present chapter and Chapter Five, the ideas of truth, knowledge, ontology, and epistemology and research methodology have been discussed and an argument has been advanced for the adoption of a mixed-methodological approach to be utilised in the research that is grounded in ‘critical realism’. In this next section the overall research approach will be outlined in relation to the research aims and the overall methodological structure. This will then be followed by an examination of the specific research methods to be used in relation to their reliability and validity, as well as the types of analytical frameworks that will be employed in the data analysis phases. A description of the three case-study organisations that participated in the research will also be provided. The section will then end with a discussion of the ethical impacts and considerations of the research.

6.2.1 - Research Motivation:

The oil crises of the 1970's damaged developed economies and brought an end to the era of near-full employment that had characterised the post-war western economic world. The high unemployment levels that subsequently persisted from the late 1970's through to the mid-1990's perhaps had its highest impact upon young school leavers. As was shown in Chapter Three, the UK's saw a reduction of 60% in the output of the manufacturing, construction and farming industries (DCSF, 2007). This collapse, alongside similarly catastrophic reductions in other 'traditional' industries such as coal mining has meant that employment for unskilled school leavers is often short-term and insecure. This has led to what many researchers have characterised as the prolongation of the transition from school to work, and the increased complexity of this phase (Jones and Wallace, 1992; Banks *et al.*, 1992; Bynner, Chisholm and Furlong, 1997; Sabates *et al.*, 2011).

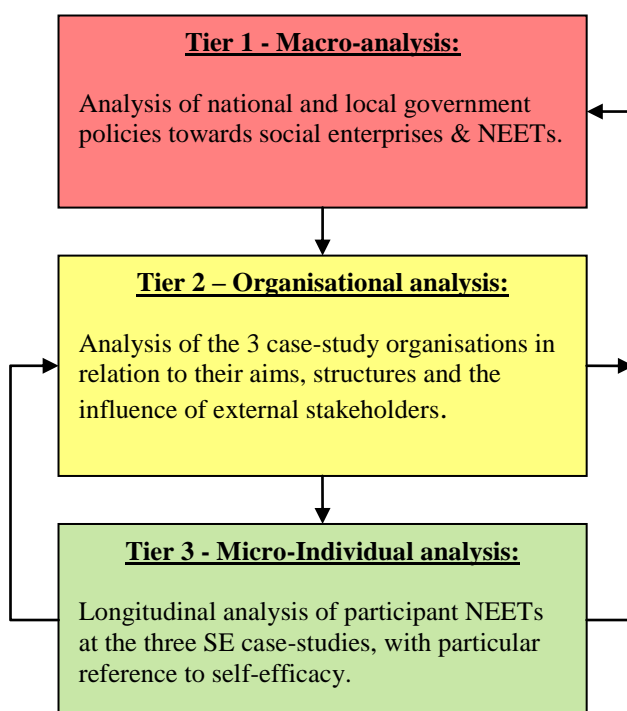
Over this period of time the UK government has attempted to pursue policies designed to alleviate youth unemployment and its associated problems. Such policies have included the Youth Training Schemes (YTS) introduced in the 1980's and an attempt to increase post-16 educational participation in the 1990's that resulted in a 19% increase in young people remaining in education after the age of 16 years (Maguire and Thompson, 2007). More recently there has been the introduction and subsequent withdrawal of the 'Connexions Agency' and the 'Educational Maintenance Allowance' (EMA), as well as the introduction of the 'Education and Skills Act' in 2008 designed to raise the school leaving age to 18 years (DfE, 2011).

The election of the new Conservative/Liberal Democrat Coalition government in May 2010 and their subsequent emphasis on the 'Big Society' has seen work-integration social enterprise (WISE) come to the fore as a means of alleviating NEET levels. However, as was shown in Chapter Two and earlier on in this chapter, academically rigorous evaluation of WISE performance is almost non-existent (Peattie and Morley, 2008). This is worrying as not only is it important to know when pursuing policy that the outlets for such policy delivery are providing a suitable service, but when dealing with vulnerable young people such as NEETs there is an ethical and moral imperative to ensure that such programmes provide tangible benefits to the NEETs taking part in them (Denny *et al.*, 2011). This provides a primary but not exclusive justification for this research and is an area that the research can make an original contribution to knowledge.

6.2.2 – Research Aims, Hypotheses and Questions:

The aim of the research was to develop a methodological approach for evaluating the impact that work-integration programmes have upon the self-efficacy levels of NEETs that engage with their intervention programmes and to utilise this in a comparative study of WISE and for-profit work-integration programme performance. In order to achieve this aim the research will consist of a linked three-tier approach, outlined below in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2 – The Three-Tiered Research Approach:



Based upon this approach this research study has the following two research aims.

1. To develop a longitudinal, mixed-methods approach suitable for evaluating the *outcome* performance of WISEs that deliver employment enhancement programmes to NEET individuals.
2. To utilise this methodology to assess the comparative *outcome* performance of similar-sized WISEs and for-profit organisations delivering work-integration programmes.

These two research aims along with the analysis of the prior literature outlined briefly in this chapter and in more detail in Chapters Two, Three and Four led to the development of the

following research hypotheses and questions that were explored by the quantitative and qualitative elements of the research respectively. These research hypotheses and questions are outlined in Table 6.4.

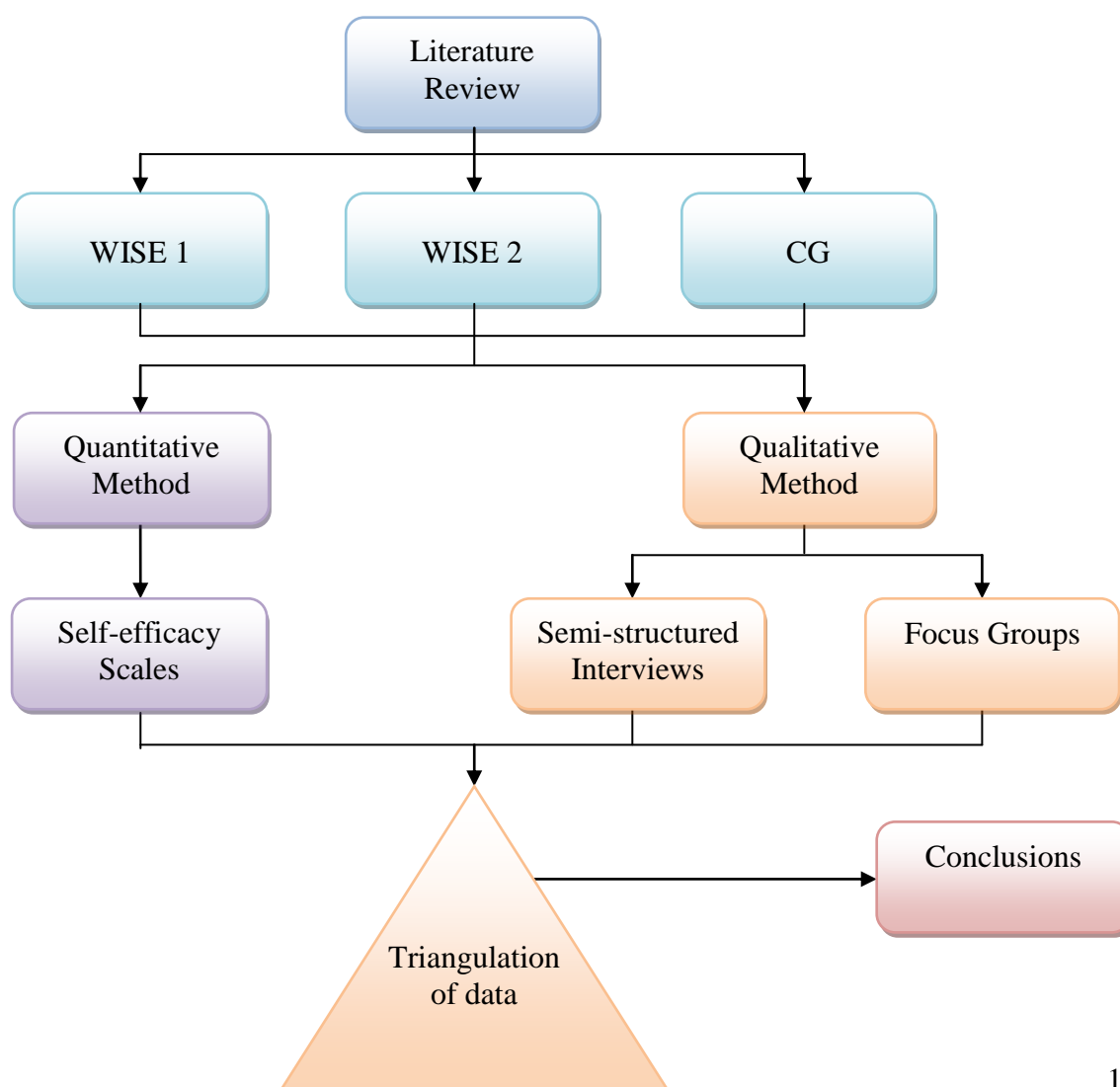
Table 6.4 - Research Hypotheses & Questions	
Research Hypotheses	
Hypothesis 1	NEET participants' at all three work-integration organisations will display a statistically significant increase in GSE, SRE or SSE between T1 and T2.
Hypothesis 2	There will be a statistically significant difference between the T1-T2 changes in NEET GSE, SRE and SSE at the two WISE organisations and the T1-T2 changes in GSE, SRE and SSE at the non-WISE CG.
Hypothesis 3	In relation to behavioural plasticity, the 'lower complements' at the two WISE organisations and the CG will display greater increases in GSE, SRE and SSE than the respective 'upper complements'.
Research Questions	
Research Question 1	What historical factors led the individual to the point of being NEET and how has this impacted upon their self-efficacy levels and future aspirations?
Research Question 2	How have individuals' levels of self-efficacy been changed by their participation on the work-integration programme and how has this affected their future aspirations?
Research Question 3	How have each case-study organisation's aims, objectives and structure impacted upon the provision offered to NEET participants?
Research Question 4	What is contemporary government policy towards NEETs and the work-integration organisations that assist them, and how does this impact upon programme implementation at an organisational level?

6.2.3 - Methodological Overview:

As was outlined earlier in this chapter, this study utilised a mixed-methodology in order to answer the research hypotheses and questions outlined above. In the initial phase a literature review was conducted in relation to academic research, official statistics and government policy. The quantitative methods utilised by the research methodology included self-efficacy scales that the NEET participants completed. The qualitative research tools utilised included

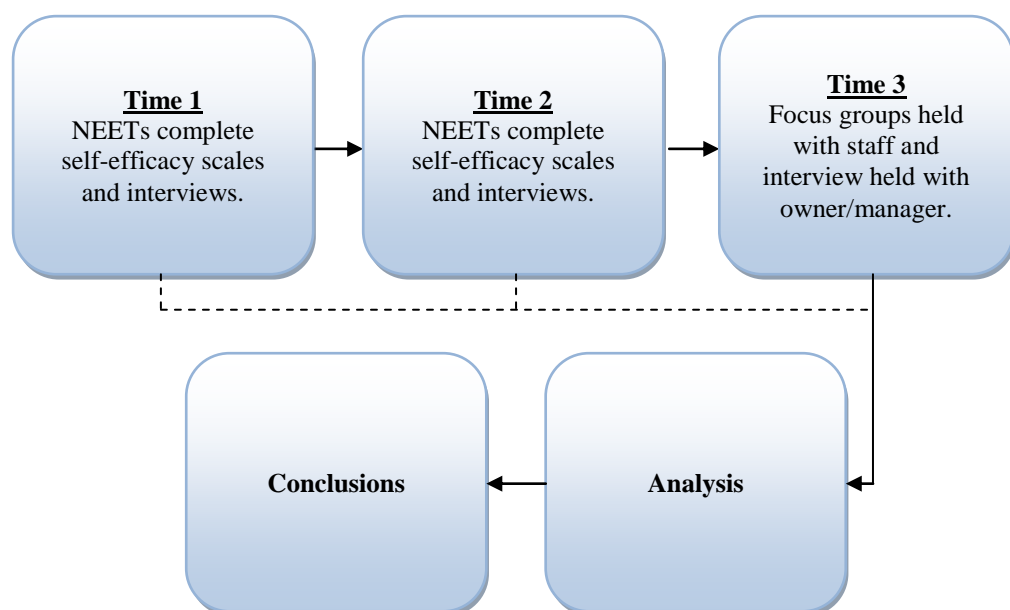
semi-structured interviews held with the NEETs and the owner(s)/manager(s) of the WISE, alongside focus group discussions with the WISE staff that allowed for a different perspective upon the impacts on the NEET participants and the organisational factors that lay behind these. All these sources of data were then analysed together in a process of triangulation (McLeod, 1994). Triangulation helps to address the limitations of a single approach by combining several methods (Flick, 2006) and specifically achieves this through the linking of quantitative and qualitative research methods (Denzin, 2009). It is as Ragin (1994: 100) states ‘...a way of using independent pieces of information to get a better fix on something that is only partially known or understood’. This allows not only for quantitative changes in self-efficacy levels over time to be examined, but also for these changes to be understood at a deeper level through the use of the in-depth data gained during the semi-structured interviews both with the NEETs and the staff. Further detail on each of the research tools adopted in this study can be found in the next section of this chapter. The overall methodological structure is outlined below in Figure 6.3.

Figure 6.3 – Methodological Structure:



The research adopted a comparative, multi-case study approach at two WISEs and a separate for-profit comparison group. The same research approach was utilised at the social enterprise case-studies and the comparison group. At each case-study organisation the NEET participants completed a questionnaire containing three self-efficacy scales (these will be described later in this chapter) at the start of the programme (Time 1), as well as taking part in semi-structured interviews. The NEET participants again completed the questionnaires and took part in the interviews at the end of the programme (Time 2). This was repeated with all new NEET participants entering the WISE programme until it ended. At this point (Time 3), focus groups were held with the staff at the three case-study organisations and semi-structured interviews were also held with the owner(s)/manager(s) of the three case-study organisations. These focus groups/interviews were conducted in order to elicit a deeper understanding of the reasons behind any perceived impacts on the NEETs both generally and in relation to self-efficacy. Figure 6.4 below outlines this process.

Figure 6.4 – Case-study Evaluation:



The data gained from the two WISE case studies was then compared with that gained from a for-profit comparison group. This comparison group was carefully selected so that the NEET individuals going through them were as closely matched to the NEET population participating in the social enterprise intervention as possible. The use of the term ‘comparison group’ is deliberate, in order that it rejects the overtly positivistic language of a traditional ‘control

group'. The use of a comparison group means that the thesis adopts what Glaser and Strauss (1967) term a deliberate strategy of theoretical sampling. Ragin (1994) identifies theoretical sampling as a consistent approach to take when data triangulation is the strategy for analysis. A discussion of the sampling method used will take place later in this chapter, along with a detailed analysis of the specific research tools to be used. However, first it is important to justify utilising a case-study approach.

6.2.4 – Case-Study Research:

Stake (1995) states that the case-study approach is concerned with examining the complexity and nature of the case in question. Whilst a basic case-study approach does entail an intensive study of a single case (Bryman, 2008) this over simplifies the multi-faceted nature of case-study research, which can encompass multiple cases and several different research approaches. Yin (1989) states that there are three main types of case-study approach, intensive, comparative and action. An intensive case-study allows theory development based upon an intensive examination of a culture or organisation. A comparative case-study involves the comparison of several organisations in order to allow the development of concepts relating to those organisations. Finally, an action case-study involves theory development in a process of change, whereby a spectrum of cases are observed in order to detail and understand processes of change, and thus to develop theory that assists practice and social science (Cunningham, 1997).

The case-study approach is often mistaken as one that is solely qualitative in nature, but a case-study method can contain qualitative methods, quantitative methods, or even both within a mixed-methods framework (Bryman, 2008). One of the main criticisms levelled at case-study research design is that the results that it generates are not generalisable to the population at large. This is because of the inherent difficulties associated with generalising results from small samples that are often unrepresentative. However, Nisbet and Entwistle (1970) state that this can be overcome by conducting research at several small but similar case-studies under similar conditions to see if the results gained are replicated. Equally, whilst the results obtained from case-study research may not always be generalisable to populations, they can be to theoretical propositions (Yin, 1989). These potential flaws were acknowledged and accommodated into the research design. First, the sample used was representative, as it specifically targeted NEET individuals from similar backgrounds (complicated NEETs) (Yates and Payne, 2006). Second, these NEETs were all involved in similar intervention

programmes at similar organisations, and this allowed comparisons to be made. Finally, the research specifically examined whether there was a difference in *outcome* benefits between similar interventions that took place both in two social enterprises and a for-profit enterprise organisation. This was conducted partially in order to test the hypothesis that the social enterprise organisations would have a more beneficial impact upon participants than the private organisation. In so doing the research was not looking to generalise to the wider NEET population per se (although due to the multiple case-studies and hence relatively high numbers of NEETs involved, this was partly possible), but was instead testing out theoretical propositions.

This research study was comparative in its nature with the two social enterprise case-studies being compared with each other and the comparison group. This study can therefore be identified as taking a comparative case-study approach. Within this type of approach it utilised a case-comparison approach, as opposed to other methods such as a survey of cases or creative interpretations, and there were two main reasons for this choice of case-study approach. First, a comparative case-study approach allowed an analysis of individual cases and the production of explanations for why certain conditions did or did not occur, and then to compare these individual cases with others as well. This allowed an analysis that focused on more conventional scientific methods, in which different but similar cases are examined, so that differences between them could be explained (Cunningham, 1997). In relation to this research, this involved comparing social enterprises with a non-social enterprise and then explaining the differences between them in terms of their organisational structure. Second, such approaches are common in the area of business research (Peters and Waterman, 1982; Bennis and Nannus, 1985), where the comparative approach has been used successfully to understand and describe why different companies are successful. Finally, in answering theoretical questions ‘...comparing provides a methodological means to an explanatory or theoretical end’ (Nissen, 1998: 401).

Whilst the critique of case-study research has been outlined above, this thesis recognised these potential faults and limited any negative impacts upon the validity of the study by accounting for them at the research design stage. In answering the research questions outlined earlier in the chapter, a case-study approach was both the only viable option that would allow a valid in-depth analysis of each organisation and a comparator between the different case organisations, whilst also being compatible with the mixed-methods research design. As Yin

(1989: 14) states, a case-study design ‘...allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristic life events.’

6.2.5 – Ethical Considerations:

Research involving NEET individuals is problematic for researchers for both ethical and practical reasons. NEET individuals are a vulnerable and impressionable group of young adults, who have often experienced a history of social and educational exclusion centred in familial problems (Bynner and Parsons, 2002). This creates dilemmas for the researcher both ethically, practically and in terms of the power dynamic.

First, issues of confidentiality and anonymity had to be strictly adhered to throughout the research. For instance, whilst these two conditions were universal to any participants taking part in this study, if the participant admitted to a serious criminal offence during one of the interviews, or informed the researcher that they themselves had been a victim of a crime, the researcher was faced with the dilemma of whether he should breach confidentiality, either for the participant’s own safety or the safety of others. In the ethical guidelines of the British Psychological Society, this dilemma is neatly captured in the dichotomy between the researcher’s responsibility to offer confidentiality to participants, whilst also protecting them from physical or mental harm (Banyard and Grayson, 2000). Second, unequal power relations between the researcher and the interviewee were also important considerations in the research. As will be discussed later in the chapter in relation to the design of the interview questions, Stanley and Wise (1983) highlighted how issues surrounding the educational experience and achievements of both the interviewer and interviewee can affect the power relations between the two. However, there were also practical problems such as the difficulty of conducting research with individuals who do not turn up for interviews at the agreed time, or do not complete the intervention programme that they are on. This causes the researcher an enormous amount of lost time and resource, particularly in a study such as this thesis that utilises an intervention methodology, as data is lost due to participant withdrawal either from the research or the intervention programme.

In considering these aspects, it was important for the researcher to have the appropriate procedures in place to deal with any of the above considerations that may arise throughout the fieldwork. The submission to the University of Northampton’s ethics committee stated that whilst confidentiality and anonymity were paramount to the research, issues disclosed in the

interview that related to serious criminal activity or involved the safety of the interviewee, the researcher or others would be reported to staff at the case-study organisation, who had responsibility for and a duty of care to the participants during the intervention.

In relation to the power balance between the researcher and the interviewee, three measures were put in place. First, all interviews would take place on a one-to-one basis so that the participant could ask freely about anything that they didn't understand. This was important, particularly for the questionnaire, as there may be language that the participants did not understand, but which in a peer situation they may not clarify for fear of 'looking stupid'. This was not only an important consideration for the well-being of the participants, but also for the validity and reliability of the research, as honest and accurate answers could only be obtained if the participants fully understood each question. Second, the researcher throughout the fieldwork always dressed casually (i.e. jeans, t-shirt/jumper etc.) so that they would be in-keeping with the dress-code observed by the participants. This was done in an effort to make the participants feel as comfortable as possible throughout the research process. Finally, the research and each participant's rights were fully explained to them in simple terms prior to their engagement with the research, and copies of this were also available if the participants wished to take them away to read in detail. The practical problems outlined above were much more difficult to prevent, as participant drop-out on the intervention programmes was often high. Ethically, if a participant felt that the course was not right for them, then they had the right to withdraw from the programme and the research. Nevertheless, what appeared as a problem at the start of the fieldwork process actually became an important research conclusion at the end of the study (see the data analysis and conclusion chapters for a more in-depth discussion of this last point). One final point to note is that throughout the research the University of Northampton's ethical guidelines were followed, as were those of the British Psychological Society.

6.2.6 - Quantitative Research Methods:

As was outlined earlier, the quantitative methods utilised in the research involved three self-efficacy scales combined within one questionnaire. The three areas of self-efficacy selected were general self-efficacy, self-regulation self-efficacy (which refers to behavioural responses under pressure) and social self-efficacy (a detailed overview of these three concepts is outlined in Chapter Four). In this section the validity and reliability of the three scales chosen to measure these concepts is examined.

The General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSE) developed by Schwarzer and Jerusalem (1995) was selected for use in this study for five reasons. The scale itself has been tested on hundreds of thousands of participants (Schwarzer, 2010) and utilised in research studies that have examined the concept of general self-efficacy (Bäßler & Schwarzer, 1996; Schwarzer *et al.*, 1999; Von Nebbitt, 2009) across 23 different countries. In all of these studies the Cronbach- α measurement has consistently been between .76 and .90 with the majority above .85, which is above the .70 recommended by Kline (1999) and the .80 recommended by Henson (2001). Additionally, the scale has been shown to be unidimensional (Scholz, 2002). In terms of criterion validity the GSE scale has again been tested in thousands of research studies in which positive correlations were found with favourable emotions and work satisfaction and negative correlations were found with depression and anxiety (Schwarzer, 2010). Other general self-efficacy scales have been developed, most notably the Self-Efficacy Scale (SES) Sherer *et al.* (1982) and the New General Self-Efficacy Scale (NGSE) Chen *et al.* (2001). However, the SES has lower Cronbach- α scores for reliability of .61 (Chen *et al.* 2001; Scherbaum *et al.*, 2006) whilst the NGSE has not been as extensively used and tested in research as Schwarzer's (1995) GSE scale. This last point is particularly important as it is the cross-cultural capability of Schwarzer and Jerusalem's (1995) GSE scale that will make it suitable in this study, as unlike Chen *et al.*'s (2001) NGSE scale it has been used in the UK in prior research (Lane *et al.*, 2003; Gregory *et al.*, 2008).

The Self-Regulation Efficacy scale (SRE) chosen for use in this research was developed by Schwarzer *et al.* (1999). Again, in terms of reliability it achieved a Cronbach- α of .76 across a sample of 442 individuals. This is again above the recommended level of .70 set by Kline (1999), although below the 0.80 recommended by Henson (2002). Whilst there is little research on the validity of the scale it has been shown to be closely correlated with proactive coping and general self-efficacy beliefs (Schwarzer, 2010).

Smith and Betz's (2000) Social Self-Efficacy Scale (SSE) is the third and final self-efficacy scale utilised in this research. This scale was chosen as it has been shown to have a high internal reliability score, with a Cronbach- α of .94 when tested on a sample of 354 individuals. This compares favourably to other scales such as Sherer and Adams' (1983) Social Self-Efficacy Subscale (SSES), which reported a Cronbach- α of .63 and the social subscale of the Skills Confidence Inventory (SCI), which reported a Cronbach- α of .86 (Smith and Betz, 2000). Also, in relation to construct validity the scale was shown to be a valid

instrument with statistically significant, negative correlations with social anxiety and shyness (Smith and Betz, 2000).

These three scales were then combined into an overall questionnaire, with the three scales ordered separately and in sequence (GSE, followed by SRE and finally SSE). Prior to the three scales there was a page to capture demographic details. The demographic details chosen were based on prior research that had linked several factors (i.e. socio-economic status, housing, criminal background) to NEET status (Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Payne, 2002; Furlong, 2006; Yates and Payne, 2006). This allowed for relationships between these independent demographic variables and the dependent variable self-efficacy scores to be explored. The front page of the questionnaire included a summary of the study, as well as details about the researcher and assurances of confidentiality and anonymity. A copy of this questionnaire can be found in Appendix A. The second questionnaire administered at Time 2 was identical, except for the omission of the demographic details page.

The analysis of the questionnaire data was conducted using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS version 17.0). The below list encompasses the statistical tests that were run.

1. Tests for sample distribution ‘normality’.
2. Tests for ‘outliers’ using box-plots.
3. Cronbach- α scores – this allowed the research to contribute to the knowledge surrounding the reliability of the three scales used and to test the reliability of the data gathered.
4. Descriptive Statistics (mean and standard deviation).
5. Paired-sample *t*-tests - to assess the changes in self-efficacy between Time 1 and Time 2 within each case-study.
6. Independent sample *t*-tests – to allow comparisons of the changes in self-efficacy between case-studies.
7. ANOVA – to allow testing of the impact that the independent variables (demographic data) had on self-efficacy.

6.2.7 - Qualitative Research Methods:

The qualitative research tools employed in this research were semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Ragin (1994: 91) states that qualitative research is a process in which the researcher immerses themselves in a research setting in an ‘...effort to uncover the meaning and significance of social phenomena for people in those settings’. Bell (1987) sees qualitative research as providing insights rather than statistical knowledge. The qualitative data offered insights into the social phenomena and reasons behind any changes in participant self-efficacy. In this section the design of the semi-structured interview questions are discussed in relation to the research surrounding both interviewing as a method, and the prior literature relating to social enterprise, NEETs and self-efficacy.

Salkind (2006) identified semi-structured interviews as a good research tool to obtain information that may otherwise be difficult to come by, whilst Lincoln and Guba (1985: 273) state that one of its major advantages is the ability to allow the respondent ‘...to move back and forth in time – to reconstruct the past, interpret the present, and predict the future’. This last point made the use of semi-structured interviews extremely useful in this study as it allowed the researcher to explore the past experiences of the NEET individual, how that had shaped their present and how they viewed their future. This also provided very useful insights into the changes in these reconstructions between T1 and T2 and so aided the understanding and interpretation of the quantitative data through the process of triangulation (McLeod, 1994).

In developing the questions for the semi-structured interview it was important to ensure that they were not only grounded in the literature, but also that they were worded in a manner that was easily understood by the interviewees. This last point was important, because ‘complicated’ NEETs are characterised by poor educational experiences and low levels of literacy (Bynner and Parsons, 2002). Therefore, for the interview questions it was considered important to break down the concept of self-efficacy into simpler terms. In doing this the researcher was attempting to minimise any unequal power relations between interviewer and interviewee that might arise through issues of education, of which much research (particularly feminist) has been very critical (Stanley and Wise, 1983; Maynard and Purvis, 1994). Therefore, questions surrounding the participants perceptions of their levels of confidence, motivation and self-belief were included on the interview schedule, as these have been shown in prior research to either be constituents of, or strongly linked to, general self-efficacy (Pajares, 1996; Judge *et al.*, 1997; Lucas and Cooper, 2005). Equally, because prior research

relating to NEETs emphasises the role of familial and educational backgrounds (Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Furlong, 2006), questions on these areas were also included, along with perceptions of their current position in life and the hopes and expectations for the future. At Time 2 the interview structure also dealt with questions surrounding the individuals time on the intervention programme, their perceptions of the impacts that it had on them and the reasons why? The interview schedules also contained an overview of the research for the interviewee to read. There was also a space after this for the participant to sign, in order to formally provide their consent to take part in the research. Both interview schedules for the Time 1 and Time 2 NEET interviews can be found at Appendices B and C. Additionally, all interviews were digitally recorded and a full transcript from each recording was made. In making full transcripts of the interview recordings the researcher was then able to textually analyse what was said during the interview in greater detail. This allowed for a greater immersion in the data as is consistent with utilizing an analytical approach based upon Constant Comparative Method (CCM), which is discussed in detail shortly.

Semi-structured interviews were held with the owner(s)/manager(s) at the three case-study organisations at Time 3, following the completion of the phase of the research involving the NEET participants. The interview schedule was designed to elicit information relating to the following eight areas and was based specifically upon the prior literature relating to third sector and social enterprise research outlined in Chapter Two, as well as some of the literature outlined in Chapters Three and Four. As with the NEET interviews, all interview data was analysed using CCM. The areas discussed in the owner/manager interviews are broadly outlined below and a copy of the interview schedule for the WISE and for-profit organisation's owner(s)/manager(s) can be found at Appendices D and E respectively.

- The history of the organisation.
- The aims and values of the organisation.
- The funding structure of the organisation.
- The rationale behind the intervention programme delivered.
- Staff recruitment, training and support.
- Current organisational attempts at performance measurement.
- The contemporary economic and policy environment.
- The future of the organisation.

Focus groups were held with the staff at each of the social enterprise case studies and at the comparison group at Time 3, following the completion of the phase of research involving the NEET participants. The nature of the focus group questioning was semi-structured. The staff focus group schedule, like the owner/manager interview schedule was grounded in the prior literature specifically outlined in Chapter Two, as well as in Chapters Three and Four. The five specific areas covered are listed below and a copy of the focus group schedule for the WISE and for-profit organisation's staff can be found at Appendices F and G respectively.

- The history of the organisation.
- The aims and values of the organisation.
- The rationale behind the intervention programme delivered.
- Staff recruitment, training and support.
- Current organisational attempts at performance measurement.

Krueger (1994: 6) states that focus groups are '...carefully planned discussions designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment'. Massey (2011) considers that they allow data to be captured from the individual, as well as from the individual within a larger, social group. Vaughn *et al.* (1996) see focus groups as combining the research methods of interviewing and participant observation, whilst related to this Farnsworth and Boon (2010) see the hybrid nature of focus groups as problematic for the accurate analysis of the data gathered from them. This allowed for themes relating to the impact that each case-study had on the NEET individuals to be examined from a different perspective to that in the interviews, and allowed for the data from each to be compared in a process of triangulation that aided the validity of any conclusions derived from the data (McLeod, 1994). All focus groups were digitally recorded and a full transcript from this recording was made.

6.2.8 – Qualitative Data Analysis:

The qualitative data in this thesis was analysed using CCM (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). CCM is an iterative procedure designed for the qualitative analysis of text, based on 'Grounded Theory' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Tesch (1990) considers comparison as the intellectual basis that underpins all analysis in Grounded Theory. CCM has been successfully applied in previous studies across a wide range of disciplines from social venture creation (Haugh, 2007), to music composition strategies (Seddon and O'Neill, 2003)

and more recently in the analysis of NEET interviews (Denny *et al.*, 2011). CCM involves a process whereby categories emerge from the analysis of textual data via inductive reasoning, rather than through the creation of predetermined categories that are used to code the textual data (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994). McLeod (1994) identified the five main stages of analysis involved in CCM as follows. ‘Immersion’ - ‘units of analyses’ are identified from the data; ‘Categorisation’ - ‘categories’ emerge from the ‘units of analysis’; ‘Phenomenological reduction’ - ‘themes’ emerge from the ‘categories’ and are then interpreted by the researchers; ‘Triangulation’ - support for researcher interpretations of ‘themes’ is sought in additional data; ‘Interpretation’ - overall interpretation of findings is conducted in relation to prior research and/or theoretical models.

The use of CCM in this thesis was appropriate for three reasons. First, it has been used in prior research fields related to this thesis, such as social venture creation, and psychology as listed above. CCM is also a form of qualitative analysis that involves the process of triangulation with other data (McLeod, 1994), which forms an intrinsic part of the research methodology of this thesis. This process allows the CCM approach to improve its claims of high internal reliability and validity as a qualitative research tool (Boeije, 2002). Finally, as Boeije (2002: 393) states ‘...when the sampling has been conducted well in a reasonably homogenous sample, there is a solid basis for generalising the concepts and the relations between them to units that were absent from the sample’. This last point regarding sampling is very important to this thesis, and will be discussed in the next section. Overall, the use of CCM in this thesis was not only appropriate and grounded in prior research, but also helped to improve not only the internal reliability of the data analysis conducted, but also improved the internal and external validity of the conclusions drawn from the research.

6.2.9 - Sampling:

Samples are taken as a subset of the population and used to make generalisations about populations as a whole (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2001). Collins *et al.* (2007) identify sampling design as one of the most vital steps in developing any mixed-methods research and that within this, the researcher has to consider both sampling ‘schemes’ and sample sizes for both the qualitative and quantitative phases of the research study. A sampling scheme can be defined as the method utilised for identifying and capturing data from your sample. Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007) identified 24 different sampling schemes, five of which were random sampling techniques, and nineteen of which were non-random (i.e. purposive)

sampling techniques. As this thesis examined three case-study organisations that dealt with a targeted population ('complicated' NEETs), the sampling scheme adopted was a 'purposeful sample'. Within the framework identified by Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007), this thesis adopted a 'critical case sample', that is a sample where the researcher is '...choosing settings, groups and/or individuals based upon specific characteristic(s) because their inclusion provides the researcher with compelling insight about a phenomenon of interest.' (Collins *et al.*, 2007:272).

In relation to the sampling scheme, the sampling time-frame had to be considered. In relation to the NEET participants this research study utilised a concurrent-nested approach as defined by Collins *et al.* (2007). This required that the qualitative and quantitative phases occurred at the same time (concurrent) and that the same participants were utilised in both the quantitative and qualitative phases of the research, with the qualitative participants representing a sub-sample of those used in the quantitative phase (NB. qualitative participants were selected by randomly drawing the names of half of the NEET participants out of a container).

Sample-size simply relates to the size of the sample that the researcher selects to investigate a particular phenomenon. In quantitative research there is much debate about what constitutes an acceptable sample-size. Field (2009) places the minimum size for a quantitative analysis at 28 participants (to measure large effect sizes), 85 participants in order to measure medium size effect sizes and 783 participants to measure small effect sizes. However, other research has suggested lower sample-sizes ranging from 21 participants to 82 participants depending upon the type of hypothesis employed (one-tailed or two-tailed) and whether the research design is correlational, causal-comparative or experimental (Onwuegbuzie *et al.*, 2004). As this thesis took a causal-comparative approach with a one-tailed hypothesis, then the recommended sample size was 51 participants per case-study (Onwuegbuzie *et al.*, 2004). However, as a mixed-method approach was undertaken and as the nature of social enterprises is to offer small-scale interventions, the quantitative data supported the qualitative data through a process of triangulation (McLeod, 1994). Therefore, the sample-size was less crucial to this research and so whilst the aim was to achieve the recommended level of 51 NEET participants per group, smaller sample-sizes were not considered too problematic. Indeed, as Hair *et al.* (1998) argues, large sample-sizes can be problematic as they show statistically significant results for very small effect sizes. Additionally, as Bock (1975) identified, normality in samples can be achieved with just 50 observations, or if the effect size

is large as few as 10-20 observations (cited in Stevens, 1996). This last sample-size was achieved in the research.

In relation to the qualitative element of the research project, the sample-size adopted was again reflected in prior literature. As was discussed earlier, CCM which is based in Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) was adopted as the method of analysis for the qualitative data. Cresswell (1998; 2002) states that 'Grounded Theory' research should contain between 15-30 participants in order to provide valid and reliable results. However, qualitative research is not about pre-determined sample targets, as the researcher should disengage from the fieldwork once they have reached what Boeije (2002) refers to as 'saturation point'. Therefore, no specific target number of interviews was set in the design of the research, although Cresswell's (1998; 2002) target of 30 interviews was borne in mind for the NEET participants.

Finally, when identifying the three case-study organisations that participated in this research study, criteria were set as to the types of organisation required. These considerations were centred upon the size of the organisation, how established it was, the type of programme that they delivered, the types of NEETs that attended on the programme and how that programme was funded. In relation to these criteria, it was desirable that both the social enterprise(s) selected for participation and the comparison group be as similar as possible. Therefore, WISE 1 and the CG were selected as they were similar in organisational size and both were established businesses (both had existed for over 15 years). Additionally, both ran 'Foundation Learning' programmes that were aimed at 'complicated' NEETs and were funded and monitored by the YPLA alongside the local authority and SFA. WISE 2 was also added to the research as a 'convenience' sample case-study organisation as the opportunity arose to conduct research there. All three case-study organisations will now be described in more depth.

6.3 – The Three Case-study Organisations

Two social enterprise organisations took part (WISE 1 and WISE 2) in this research study. There was also a 'for-profit' work-integration organisation operating as a comparison group (CG) and for reasons of confidentiality all three shall remain anonymous. In this section there is a brief examination of the history and 'mission' of each case-study organisation that

participated in the research, as well as a description of the work-integration programmes that they each delivered.

6.3.1 – WISE 1:

WISE 1 was established as a social enterprise in 2002 by its co-founders having been a conservation and training business previously (1995-2002). WISE 1 is a rural-based social enterprise that operates in ancient woodland in the East Midlands and it has four key missions, which are listed below.

1. Maintain our ancient woodland for use by the public.
2. Teach and develop young people to help them realise their potential.
3. Create products and services valuable to the community.
4. Promote the cause of environmentalism and sustainability.

WISE 1 manages the woodland, which is open to the public, in an environmentally sustainable manner. Sustainability is also an economic goal as they aim to run an economically viable social enterprise by creating an annual surplus that can be used for investment. WISE 1 does this through a mixture of public grants and contracts, but also through the organisation of public events, accommodation and the sale of commercial products made sustainably from the woodland. It also runs an employment, education and training programme for disadvantaged young people who are either excluded from school, unemployed or have other social problems and it is this programme that forms the core of its WISE status. The programme that was analysed as part of this research study was the Foundation Learning programme that they deliver as part of a service delivery contract with the YPLA and SFA. Like most Foundation Learning programmes the programme delivered aimed to provide vocational activities and qualifications alongside subject based learning (i.e. maths and English) that was largely drawn from the ‘Qualifications and Credit Framework’ (DfE, November 2011; Allan *et al.*, 2011) to NEET individuals. It also provided personal and social development (PSD), which aimed to raise the confidence, motivation and self-belief of the NEET individuals that participated.

WISE 1 is a multiple-goal organisation that aims to offer work and training integration, environmental sustainability in the local area and also to influence public policy in the areas of welfare provision, social enterprise and the environment. Additionally, the organisation takes part in knowledge transfer partnerships, which have seen it establish links with a local

university, as well as regional social enterprise development organisations. It is also a multi-stakeholder organisation with the business run by a board of volunteer directors, upon which the staff, local community and local government are all represented. As WISE 1 delivered state contracts for the 'Foundation Learning' programme it had to submit to performance evaluation that was conducted by both the funders and OFSTED. WISE 1 has also won several awards for innovation and sustainability, as well as for knowledge transfer.

6.3.2 – WISE 2:

WISE 2 was established in January 2010 as a joint collaboration project between a regional social enterprise development agency and a local university. WISE 2 is a social enterprise employment agency that aims to provide educational and vocational training, alongside employment placements, to NEETs, unemployed graduates and older career professionals. It is based in the East Midlands and having been established in January 2010, it began training and employment provision in March 2010. The majority of WISE 2's funding was derived from the European Social Fund as it successfully applied for a grant to establish the enterprise in 2008, and it did this not just based around its business aims, but also alongside a desire to study the growth and success of the enterprise through collaborative research with the partner university. WISE 2 has five core aims and these are listed below.

1. To provide sustainable employment to unemployed people, ranging from the long-term young unemployed to recently redundant professionals and unemployed graduates.
2. To provide training and education to individuals in order to both improve employability and facilitate changes in career.
3. To provide 'life' assistance by offering integrated support in the areas of housing, counselling, drug addiction and criminality, alongside training for basic life and social skills.
4. To provide social enterprise research and development by examining the effectiveness of the social enterprise programme in terms of its beneficial effects on participants, and the strength of its business model.
5. To help promote and expand social enterprise locally by...
 - a. Establishing links with local authorities and identifying public sector contract opportunities.

- b. Demonstrating to the private sector that social enterprise offers a cost-effective method of recruitment.

The programme that was evaluated in this research study was the 'Plan B' programme that WISE 2 delivered to NEET participants. The 'Plan B' intervention was an intensive six-week programme that involved the NEET participants engaging in confidence and motivation building exercises, tasks involving team-working, the provision of employability enhancement classes (CV writing, job-search assistance, interview skills etc.) and one-to-one mentoring designed to assist the participants with personal, employment and educational problems. The project was funded through the ESF, although income was also drawn from a café/social club that was run on-site.

WISE 2 operated a multi-goal social mission to deliver sustainable employment support to NEET individuals in the local area, as well as demonstrating the value of social enterprise in the work-integration sector. Additionally to this, the organisation took part in knowledge transfer partnerships, which have seen it establish links with a local university, as well as a regional social enterprise development organisation. It was also a multi-stakeholder organisation with the business run by a board of directors in collaboration with a 'steering group' that comprises the directors plus additional stakeholders. In relation to its ESF contracts, stringent evaluation criteria existed and had to be reported on by the organisation (i.e. number of people inducted on to the programme etc.).

6.3.3 – The Comparison Group (CG):

The CG in this research study was a for-profit work-integration company based in the West Midlands. It was originally established in 1982 by its founder and sole-owner and since then has delivered work-integration training to young unemployed individuals, which has been mainly funded through state service delivery contracts. Whilst the organisation is not a social enterprise it does have a secondary social mission that is to deliver employment enhancement training to NEET individuals.

The CG organisation delivered a 'Foundation Learning' programme to NEET individuals that as with WISE 1 aimed to provide vocational activities and qualifications alongside subject based learning, largely drawn from the 'Qualifications and Credit Framework' (DfE, November 2011; Allan *et al.*, 2011) to NEET individuals. It also provided personal and social

development (PSD), which aimed to raise the confidence, motivation and self-belief of the NEET individuals that participated. In addition the participants also engaged with ‘employability’ lessons that included interview skills, job-search assistance, telephone skills and CV writing.

The CG organisation was a single-stakeholder organisation in which the decisions were made by the owner in collaboration with the staff. However, the owner was heavily involved in the local youth provision networks being a member of the local NEET strategy group that was run by the local authority, as well as being a member of a local group of work-integration training providers. Additionally, as with WISE 1, delivering state-funded contracts from the YPLA/SFA meant that performance evaluation had to be conducted for both the funders and OFSTED.

6.4 – The Pilot Study

An adaptation of the research methodology was piloted at one of the case-study organisations (WISE 2) prior to any research commencing at either WISE 1 or the CG. This pilot study was conducted by the researcher in collaboration with his supervisor and a colleague at the university. Six NEET individuals participated in the pilot study and were administered with Chen *et al.*’s (2001) ‘new general self-efficacy’ (NGSE) scale, as well as Athayde’s (2009) ‘Attitude to Enterprise’ (ATE) scale at Time 1 and again at Time 2. They also participated in semi-structured interviews at Time 1 and Time 2. The interview data was analysed using CCM (Guba and Lincoln, 1985) and the results of this analysis were combined with the quantitative data through a process of triangulation (McLeod, 1994). The results of the pilot study confirmed that a longitudinal, multi-case-study research design operating within a qualitative paradigm was a suitable method for evaluating a WISE intervention with NEET individuals, and that the qualitative data allowed the researchers to confirm the quantitative data gathered through the NGSE and ATE scales. This research was subsequently published in the Social Enterprise Journal (Denny *et al.*, 2011). The research approach adopted by Denny *et al.* (2011) was adapted to replace Chen *et al.*’s (2001) NGSE scale with Schwarzer and Jerusalem’s (1995) GSE scale outlined earlier in this chapter. This decision was based upon the latter’s greater cross-cultural suitability, more extensive use in prior research and in particular prior work-integration research. The ATE scale (Athayde, 2009) was removed as this was not relevant to this study. However, whilst the instruments used changed, the

principle of an intervention methodology operating within a qualitative paradigm and validated in the prior literature (Denny *et al.*, 2011) was retained.

6.5 – Reflexivity in the Research Process

In relation to the qualitative data gathered and the analysis conducted, whilst the value and validity of an approach utilising CCM was demonstrated in this thesis, it must be acknowledged that there are still limitations to the research in this area. Indeed, Silverman (2004) acknowledges the importance of setting the context that the research took place in when addressing the limitations of a research study. The research was funded by a university bursary provided by a UK university that is active in the social enterprise research field. It was also conducted by a researcher who had a specific interest in the area of social enterprise and whom had a positive opinion of the third sector and specifically social enterprise. It must therefore be acknowledged that there was potential for bias to influence the outcome of the research as both the researcher and the funding institution could be viewed as ‘pro’ social enterprise. However, such a potential for bias was acknowledged by the researcher throughout the development of the research study, the fieldwork stage and the analysis and writing up stages. The researcher was careful throughout the interview process to not lead the interviewees either directly through prompts or indirectly through body language (e.g. nodding when an interviewee said something positive or negative about the programme). The results of the research, which broadly show little difference in the *outcome* performance of the three case-studies in relation to the quantitative and qualitative data, are perhaps testament to this fact. Indeed, throughout the fieldwork stage, great care was taken to not lead any interviewees (particularly the NEET participants) and to ensure that the accounts that they gave were *their* stories and perceptions and nobody else’s. Nevertheless, the analysis of qualitative data rarely takes place in a vacuum (O’Connor, 2011). The use of an analytical framework based around self-efficacy meant that the analysis of the interview data was always going to be influenced (at least partially), as the researcher was looking for changes (or what may be perceived as changes) in self-efficacy amongst the participants. Indeed, it was unlikely that the NEET individuals themselves would talk about self-efficacy or know what it was, so the analysis focused upon looking for perceived changes in confidence, motivation and self-esteem. These are constructs that are not only linked to self-efficacy and specifically GSE (Judge *et al.*, 1997), but that would also be familiar to a NEET individual. It is important to acknowledge therefore that the increases in self-efficacy that are reported in

the analysis of the qualitative data, are researcher perceptions based upon prior psychological research of participant perceptions of changes in their confidence, motivation and self-esteem. This does not invalidate the findings of the qualitative research, but it is an important context that must be made clear when reporting this research (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

6.6 – Summary

This chapter has examined the discussion surrounding the nature of quantitative and qualitative research, the nature of mixed-methods research and related this to the discussion on epistemological approaches outlined in Chapter Five. An argument was presented for the mixed-method approach adopted in this research study, based in critical realist philosophy, as well as in an analysis of prior research in the fields of social enterprise, NEETs and self-efficacy. Having established the philosophical and methodological positions that the research adhered to, the specific mixed-methods approach adopted were then examined along with the need for research methods that have been validated in other fields of research to be imported into new settings (i.e. social enterprise) (Haugh, 2012). The aims and objectives of the research and the methodological structure were outlined in detail, both as an overview and in relation to the specific research instruments that were utilised. The reliability and validity of the self-efficacy scales adopted, along with the rationale behind the interview and focus group schedules used, were outlined in relation to the prior research discussed in Chapters Two, Three and Four and the comparative nature of the research study. The analysis techniques utilised for the quantitative and qualitative data were also outlined and their use in prior, related research was also discussed. The importance of sampling was also examined both in terms of the sampling scheme employed in this thesis, as well as the sample size targets set. It was argued that on the quantitative side whilst the ideal sample-target would be 51 participants per case-study, the mixed-methods approach adopted in this thesis and the triangulation of data that would occur (McLeod, 1994) meant that sample-sizes were not crucial to the validity or reliability of the quantitative data analysis (Onwuegbuzie *et al.*, 2004). On the qualitative side, the sample-size was deemed to not be overly important to the research, but reaching ‘saturation point’ was (Boeije, 2002). The sampling scheme would use a ‘critical case’ method in which the participants are chosen based upon specific characteristics (‘complicated’ NEET status) and particular settings (they are taking part in an intervention at one of the case-study organisations) (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007). The sample would also be a concurrent sample as the qualitative and quantitative phases occur at

the same time (Time 1 and Time 2), whilst it would be nested as the same population would be utilised for both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the research, though the qualitative participants would represent a sub-sample of the quantitative sample (Collins *et al.*, 2007; Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007). The difficulties involved in conducting research with NEET individuals were also discussed both in relation to the researcher and the participants.

Finally, a description of the case-study organisations was provided in relation to their history, organisational aims and values, the intervention programme that they delivered to NEETs and funding and decision-making structures. An overview of a related pilot-study was also provided as this highlighted the validity of the research method utilised in this thesis. Finally, the chapter ended with an exploration of potential researcher bias and the efforts made to minimise the impact of this on the research study. In summary, the philosophical and methodological approach to this research study is outlined below in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5 – Epistemological & Methodological Overview	
Methodological Aspect	Approach
Ontology	Sceptical Absolutism
Epistemology	Critical Realism
Methodology	Mixed-method
Research Approach	Comparative
Research Aims	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To develop a longitudinal, mixed-methods approach suitable for evaluating the <i>outcome</i> performance of WISEs that deliver employment enhancement programmes to NEET individuals. 2. To utilise this methodology to assess the comparative <i>outcome</i> performance of similar-sized WISEs and for-profit organisations delivering work-integration programmes.
Quantitative Research Tools	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Self-efficacy Scales
Qualitative Research Tools	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Semi-structured Interviews 2. Focus Groups
Sample	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frame = Critical Case • Quantitative Size = 27-51 per case-study • Qualitative Size = 10+ per case-study • Time = Concurrent & Nested

Chapter 7 – Quantitative Results & Analysis

In this chapter the results from the quantitative element of the research are presented. Statistical analysis was undertaken of the data collected from the NEET individuals at the two work-integration social enterprises (WISE) and the for-profit comparison group (CG), in the form of the three self-efficacy scales, general self-efficacy (GSE), self-regulation self-efficacy (SRE) and social self-efficacy (SSE) outlined in the previous ‘Research Methods’ chapter (Chapter Six). The demographic data captured at Time 1 from the NEET individuals was tested for relationships with their GSE, SRE and SSE scores at Time 1, along with an investigation into any relationships between the demographic variables. An analysis of the changes in participant GSE, SRE and SSE are also presented both for each case-study organisation independently and in terms of performance comparisons between the three work-integration organisations. Finally, analyses of the effects of behavioural plasticity upon the changes in GSE, SRE and SSE at the three work-integration organisations are also explored. A discussion of the results is then undertaken in reference to the research hypotheses developed in Chapter Six (and outlined below) and the prior research discussed in the literature review. However, first an overview of the sample and an analysis of the reliability of the self-efficacy scales utilised in the research is presented along with a breakdown of the NEET sample utilised in the research.

Hypothesis 1: NEET participants at all three work-integration organisations will display a statistically significant increase in GSE, SRE or SSE between T1 and T2.

Hypothesis 2: There will be a statistically significant difference between the T1-T2 changes in NEET GSE, SRE and SSE at the two WISE organisations and the T1-T2 changes in GSE, SRE and SSE at the non-WISE CG.

Hypothesis 3: In relation to behavioural plasticity, the ‘lower complements’ at the two WISE organisations and the CG will display greater increases in GSE, SRE and SSE than the respective ‘upper complements’.

7.1 – Sample Data, Instrument Reliability & Demographic Relationships

7.1.1 – The Sample:

In total 142 NEETs engaged in the research across the three case-study organisations. This sample consisted of 103 males and 39 females ($m = 72.5\%$, $f = 27.5\%$), with an age-range of 16-24 years ($\bar{x} = 18.21$, $SD = 1.94$). Analysis of the data revealed three outliers overall, with two present in the WISE 1 data and one present in the CG data. These were removed during the process of data cleaning as is recommended by Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) for outliers that are multivariate. Therefore the final sample utilised in the analysis included a total of 139 participants at T1. A full breakdown of the demographic data for these 139 participants, both as a whole and for each case-study organisation, is presented in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 – Sample Data Breakdown						
Demographic		Organisation			Total	% of Sample
		WISE 1	WISE 2	CG		
Gender	Male	29	40	32	101	72.7%
	Female	3	20	15	38	27.3%
Mean Age	(in years)	17.53	19.38	17.13	18.19	N/A
Highest Educational Qualification	None	10	13	8	31	22.3%
	<5 GCSEs	12	14	17	43	30.9%
	>5 GCSEs	7	21	20	48	34.5%
	A-Levels	2	7	0	9	6.5%
	Degree (Hons.)	1	3	0	4	2.9%
	Missing	0	2	2	4	2.9%
Time Spent Unemployed	<6 months	19	14	17	50	36%
	6-12 months	2	17	15	34	24.5%
	12+ months	11	27	14	52	37.4%
	Missing	0	2	1	3	2.1%
Criminal History	None	15	36	28	79	56.8%
	Arrested	5	7	7	19	13.7%
	Cautioned	6	9	6	21	15.1%
	Convicted	6	8	5	19	13.7%
	Missing	0	0	1	1	0.7%
Total Participants		32	60	47	139	(100%)

Table 7.1 above highlights the differences and similarities between the demographic characteristics of the samples at each of the three case-studies. The results reveal that the

majority of the NEETs that attended the work-integration programmes were males (72.7%), and this was particularly prominent at WISE 1 where there were only three female participants out of the 32 involved in the research. This is not surprising when the focus of this study was on what Yates and Payne (2006) termed ‘complicated’ NEETs as opposed to ‘young parents’. The proportion of male and female NEET individuals who are actively seeking work nationally is also different, with only 59% of females classed as NEET actively seeking employment compared to 84% of males (DfE, July, 2010). Indeed, only 5% of females are in government supported training schemes such as ‘Foundation Learning’ at 18 years of age compared to 9% of males (DfE, July 2010).

The data also reveals the extremely high number of NEETs involved in the research that had not progressed above GCSE educational qualifications (87.7%), with 61% of this subsample having fewer than 5 GCSE qualifications (NVQ Level 1). This compares with a national NEET figure of 67% for all 18 year olds with fewer than 5 GCSEs (DfE, July, 2010), suggesting that in relation to highest educational qualification, the sample was representative of the national NEET cohort. Additionally, this compares with a national figure of just 29% of all 18 year olds that have fewer than 5 GCSE qualifications (DfE, July, 2010). A total of 61.9% of the NEET participants had been unemployed longer than six months, with over half of these having been unemployed for over a year. Furthermore, 28.8% of participants had been convicted of an offence, whether that was in the form of a police caution or a criminal conviction. In relation to this, 13.7% had a criminal conviction, compared to a national average of 7.8% (Soothill *et al.*, 2008).

Of the 139 NEETs who participated in the research at T1, 74 were still present at T2, giving a survey retention rate of 53.2%. This equated to individual NEET retention rates at each organisation of 50.0% (WISE 1), 56.7% (WISE 2) and 51.1% (CG). Cross-tabulation analysis utilising Chi-squared tests revealed no statistically significant differences between the retention rates at each case-study organisation. One-way ANOVAs were applied in order to compare the GSE, SRE and SSE scores of participants who only completed questionnaires at T1, with those of participants who completed questionnaires at T1 and T2. The tests were applied to both the sample as a whole and to each case-study organisation individually. No statistically significant differences were found for initial GSE, SRE and SSE. However, there was a trend for those NEETs that had completed the intervention programmes to have higher GSE (+ 2.33%) and SRE (+2.67%) at T1 than the NEETs that didn’t complete the interventions.

Cross-tabulations were also run utilising the Chi-squared test in order to analyse potential relationships between the NEET demographic data and whether the NEETs completed the intervention programmes. No statistically significant relationships were found. Further to this analysis, the sample was dichotomised into two complements (lower and upper) for each self-efficacy scale (GSE, SRE and SSE) based upon behavioural plasticity (Brockner, 1988) (see Chapter 4.3.1 for an explanation of this concept). The lower complements contained those NEETs with GSE, SRE and SSE scores at T1 lower than the median for the sample, and the upper complements contained those NEETs that had initial GSE, SRE and SSE scores equal to or greater than the sample median score at T1. The lower and upper complements were then coded to represent categorical data and were then analysed utilising cross-tabulation Chi-squared tests to examine any potential relationship with programme completion. No statistically significant relationships were found for initial GSE and SSE scores, but a relationship was found between initial SRE and the likelihood of completing the intervention programme. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 – Cross-tabulation for SRE & Programme Completion				
Scale	Complement	Programme Completed		X ²
		Yes	No	
SRE	Lower	43.1%	56.9%	4.11*
	Upper	60.5%	39.5%	

NB. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$.

Cross-tabulation analysis utilising Chi-squared tests revealed that 43.1% of the NEETs from the lower SRE complement completed the intervention programmes for the sample as a whole, compared with 60% of the NEETs from the upper SRE complement and this result was statistically significant ($p < .05$). When the odds ratio was calculated from this result, the data revealed that the NEETs from the upper SRE complement were over twice as likely to complete the intervention as the NEETs from the lower SRE complement.

7.1.2 – Instrument Reliability:

In order to examine instrument reliability the data gathered from the GSE, SRE and SSE scales at each case-study organisation were subjected to a Cronbach's α test. The results for these tests are outlined below in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 - Cronbach's α for GSE, SRE and SSE scales				
Scale	Intervention Phase	WISE 1	Cronbach's α WISE 2	CG
GSE	Time 1	.71	.72	.78
	Time 2	.69	.75	.67
SRE	Time 1	.73	.81	.76
	Time 2	.70	.81	.74
SSE	Time 1	.94	.96	.95
	Time 2	.97	.96	.94

The results of the Cronbach's α tests showed that all three scales utilised in the research performed reliably. Whilst the GSE scale did not achieve the recommended Cronbach's α value of .80 (Henson, 2001) it did achieve higher than the minimum value of .70 (Kline, 1999) in all but two phases of the research (T2 at WISE 1 and the CG). This does not present the research with any reliability concerns however, as extensive use of the GSE scale in prior research extends validity to the instrument (Scherbaum *et al.*, 2006). An addition to this, the SRE and SSE scales passed Kline's (1999) threshold of .70, in many cases achieving significantly higher Cronbach's α –values than the .80 specified by Henson (2001). Additionally, Cronbach's α were run on all items within both scales, and no individual items were found to have affected the overall reliability score disproportionately.

7.2 – The Demographic Data

In order to test for relationships between the demographic data gathered (gender, time spent unemployed, highest educational achievement and prior criminality) and self-efficacy scores at T1, one-way ANOVAs were utilised. The use of ANOVAs for this analysis was appropriate as the data was tested and found to be normally distributed. The minimum alpha value for statistical significance was set at the 95% confidence interval ($p < .05$) as was appropriate for detecting a large effect size with a sample of this size (Hair *et al.*, 1998). This analysis was conducted on the entire sample of NEETs, as the data was collected at T1 and so was not organisation or intervention dependent. The results for these tests are displayed in Tables 7.4 through to 7.7.

7.2.1 – Gender:

Table 7.4 – Self-efficacy scores at T1 with gender as the factor					
Scale	Gender	N	Scores at T1 (%)	SD	F
GSE	Male	93	72.90	9.20	.03
	Female	35	72.57	9.77	
SRE	Male	101	69.13	11.46	1.23
	Female	38	71.58	11.95	
SSE	Male	101	72.10	14.63	5.21*
	Female	38	65.45	17.03	

NB. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$. NB. the lower *N* value for GSE at WISE 2 is due to 11 participants not completing a GSE scale at T1, of which 9 completed the intervention. This applies for all further tables including GSE data at WISE 2.

The results for the effect of gender on self-efficacy scores at T1 (Table 7.4) revealed non-significant differences for GSE and SRE. However, there was a statistically significant difference ($p < .05$) between males and females for SSE scores at T1, with males being on average 6.65% more socially efficacious than females.

7.2.2 – Time Spent Unemployed:

Table 7.5 below outlines the data for the NEET sample in relation to the amount of time that they spent unemployed prior to engaging with one of the three work-integration programmes.

Table 7.5 - Self-efficacy scores at T1 with time spent unemployed as the factor					
Scale	Time spent unemployed	N	Scores at T1 (%)	SD	F
GSE	0-6 months	47	72.34	8.00	.22
	6-12 months	31	73.79	9.91	
	>12 months	47	72.50	10.31	
SRE	0-6 months	50	69.70	9.20	.35
	6-12 months	34	71.47	13.13	
	>12 months	52	68.85	12.79	
SSE	0-6 months	50	70.69	14.59	.17
	6-12 months	34	69.48	18.77	
	>12 months	52	70.72	14.92	

NB. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$. NB. Three participants did not state how long they had been unemployed.

Interestingly, no statistically significant differences were found between length of unemployment prior to commencing on the programme and initial GSE, SRE and SSE scores.

7.2.3 – Highest Educational Achievement:

Table 7.6 below outlines the data for the NEET sample utilised in this research in relation to the highest educational qualification achieved prior to engaging with one of the three work-integration programmes.

Table 7.6 - Self-efficacy scores at T1 with highest educational achievement as the factor					
Scale	Time spent unemployed	N	Scores at T1 (%)	SD	F
GSE	No quals.	29	70.78	9.75	3.08*
	<5 GCSEs	41	70.85	8.47	
	>5 GCSEs	43	74.59	8.86	
	A-Levels	9	78.61	8.21	
	Degree	2	87.50	3.54	
SRE	No quals.	31	67.82	10.99	2.91*
	<5 GCSEs	43	67.15	11.49	
	>5 GCSEs	48	71.67	11.34	
	A-Levels	9	74.17	11.32	
	Degree	4	85.63	8.26	
SSE	No quals.	31	69.32	16.17	1.61
	<5 GCSEs	43	70.83	15.04	
	>5 GCSEs	48	70.65	15.34	
	A-Levels	9	76.44	16.47	
	Degree	4	73.00	12.72	

NB. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$. NB. Four participants did not state their highest educational qualification.

The results in Table 7.6 illustrate the statistically significant effect ($p < .05$) that highest educational achievement had upon both GSE and SRE scores at T1. There was no statistically significant difference between SSE scores at T1 and highest educational achievement. Due to the low numbers of participants with a degree ($n = 4$) and the considerably higher average GSE and SRE scores that they had at T1, they were removed from the data set and the one-way ANOVA was re-run. This did not affect the statistically significant differences ($p < .05$) between GSE and highest educational achievement, but it did render the SRE result statistically insignificant. This would suggest that only initial GSE was effected by highest educational achievement.

7.2.4 – Criminal History:

Table 7.7 below outlines the data for the NEET sample utilised in this research in relation to the NEET individual's criminal history (i.e. have they ever been arrested or cautioned/convicted of a criminal offence) prior to engaging with one of the three work-integration programmes.

Table 7.7 - Self-efficacy scores at T1 with criminal history as the factor					
Scale	Prior Criminality	N	Scores at T1 (%)	SD	F
GSE	No convictions	70	72.61	9.71	.53
	Arrested	18	73.89	9.20	
	Cautioned	21	72.74	8.69	
	Convicted	18	71.94	9.06	
SRE	No convictions	79	71.36	11.74	2.05
	Arrested	19	69.47	10.16	
	Cautioned	21	69.52	11.06	
	Convicted	19	63.42	11.67	
SSE	No convictions	79	68.37	16.93	.14
	Arrested	19	75.45	12.72	
	Cautioned	21	72.50	12.78	
	Convicted	19	69.18	13.22	

NB. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$. NB. One participant did not state their prior criminality.

The results in Table 7.7 reveal that there was no statistically significant differences in the GSE, SRE and SSE scores of those with different levels of criminality.

7.2.5 – Participant Outcomes at the Three Case-study Organisations:

In order to test for sample differences in self-efficacy at T1 between the three case-studies, a one-way ANOVA was also run to compare GSE, SRE and SSE scores with organisation as the factor. The results are displayed below in Table 7.8.

Table 7.8 – Differences in participant SE at T1 with organisation as the factor					
Scale	Case-study Organisation	N	Scores at T1 (%)	SD	F
GSE	WISE 1	32	68.36	8.46	5.65**
	WISE 2	49	73.47	9.73	
	CG	47	75.16	8.67	
SRE	WISE 1	32	65.08	12.14	3.88*
	WISE 2	60	71.96	10.70	
	CG	47	70.27	10.80	
SSE	WISE 1	32	67.58	16.99	1.47
	WISE 2	60	69.39	14.29	
	CG	47	73.28	14.17	

NB. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$.

The results in Table 7.8 revealed a highly statistically significant difference ($p < .01$) between the participant GSE scores at T1 at each case-study organisation. The NEET participants at WISE 1 had statistically significant lower GSE and SRE than the NEET participants at either WISE 2 or the CG. Interestingly the participants at the CG had the highest GSE and SSE levels of all three organisations and were very similar to WISE 2 for participant SRE scores at T1. When highest educational achievement was analysed utilising Chi-squared tests for each case-study organisation separately, the results showed that WISE 1 and WISE 2 were inducting NEETs with fewer educational qualifications on to their programmes than the CG. At WISE 1 and WISE 2 a larger proportion of the NEETs enrolled had no qualifications at all (31.3% and 21.7% respectively), compared with the CG value of 17.00%. Whilst the result was not statistically significant ($p = .12$) it does suggest that the CG was inducting individuals with higher educational achievements than WISE 1 and to a lesser extent WISE 2.

7.3 – Quantitative Results & Hypotheses Testing

7.3.1 – Hypothesis 1:

Hypothesis 1: NEET participants' at all three work-integration organisations will display a statistically significant increase in GSE, SRE or SSE between T1 and T2.

In order to test for changes in participant self-efficacy, one-tailed paired-sample t-tests were run on participant GSE, SRE and SSE scores at T1 and T2 for all three organisations independently. The results are displayed below in Table 7.9.

Table 7.9 – Changes in GSE, SRE and SSE scores between T1 and T2							
Scale	Organisation	N (T1)	Phase	Score (%)	T1 to T2 Change (%)	SD	<i>t</i>
GSE	WISE 1	16	T1	67.81	+ 4.53*	8.46	2.44
		(32)	T2	72.34		5.81	
	WISE 2	25	T1	74.20	+ 4.90**	8.09	3.12
		(49)	T2	79.10		8.66	
	CG	24	T1	77.81	+ 3.75**	4.85	3.04
		(47)	T2	81.56		6.20	
SRE	WISE 1	16	T1	66.09	+ 2.19	10.61	0.76
		(32)	T2	68.28		8.20	
	WISE 2	34	T1	73.24	+ 1.17	13.12	0.79
		(60)	T2	74.41		13.06	
	CG	24	T1	71.25	+ 0.83	9.75	0.35
		(47)	T2	72.08		11.20	
SSE	WISE 1	16	T1	66.65	+ 0.15	17.26	0.06
		(32)	T2	66.80		14.61	
	WISE 2	34	T1	68.12	+ 5.10*	17.95	2.46
		(60)	T2	73.22		15.42	
	CG	24	T1	73.30	+ 1.00	11.35	0.47
		(47)	T2	74.30		13.11	

NB. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$.

The results reveal that there was a statistically significant increase in the GSE scores from T1 to T2 of the NEET participants at all three case-study organisations. There was no significant change in SRE levels at any of the three case-studies and only at WISE 2 was there a statistically increase in the SSE levels of NEET participants. At WISE 1 there was an increase in GSE of 4.53% ($p < .05$), a non-significant increase in SRE of 2.19% and a non-statistically significant increase in SSE of 0.15%. At WISE 2 there was an increase in GSE of 4.90% ($p < .01$), a non-statistically significant increase in SRE of 1.17% and a statistically significant increase in SSE of 5.10% ($p < .05$). At the CG there was an increase in GSE of 3.85% ($p <$

.01), whilst SRE and SSE displayed non-significant increases of 0.83% and 1.00% respectively. *Hypothesis 1 confirmed.*

7.3.2 – Hypothesis 2:

Hypothesis 2: There will be a statistically significant difference between the T1-T2 changes in NEET GSE, SRE and SSE at the two WISE organisations and the T1-T2 changes in GSE, SRE and SSE at the CG.

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare these differences in performance with respect to changes in GSE, SRE and SSE at the three case-study organisations between T1 and T2. The results for this analysis are displayed below in Table 7.10.

Scale	Case-study Organisation	N	Change between T1 & T2 (%)	SD	F
GSE	WISE 1	16	+ 4.53	7.43	.16
	WISE 2	25	+ 4.90	7.86	
	CG	24	+ 3.75	6.03	
SRE	WISE 1	16	+ 2.19	11.51	.09
	WISE 2	34	+ 1.17	8.67	
	CG	24	+ 0.83	11.70	
SSE	WISE 1	16	+ 0.15	9.88	1.50
	WISE 2	34	+ 5.10	12.08	
	CG	24	+ 1.00	10.40	

NB. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$.

The results revealed that there was no statistically significant difference between the three organisations in terms of the *outcome* benefits (GSE, SRE and SSE) that they provided their NEET participants through the intervention programmes. This result was further confirmed when bilateral comparisons were run utilising independent-sample t-tests. This suggests that the two WISE case-studies provided no additional *outcome* benefits to NEETs than the CG. *Hypothesis 2 not confirmed.*

7.3.3 – Hypothesis 3:

Hypothesis 3: In relation to behavioural plasticity, the ‘lower complements’ at the two WISE organisations and the CG will display greater increases in GSE, SRE and SSE than the respective ‘upper complements’.

Due to the results of prior research utilising self-efficacy scales in work-integration programmes (Eden and Aviram, 1993; Creed *et al.*, 2001) that had indicated the effect of behavioural plasticity (Brockner, 1988), this was tested for in the data. In order to test for plasticity, initial GSE, SRE and SSE scores were dichotomised into two groups on the basis of a median split, as this was the method utilised in the prior research studies (Eden and Aviram, 1993; Creed *et al.*, 2001). It is important to recognise that the utilisation of such a data analysis approach has analytical limitations, as the use of the median value to dichotomise the sample is a simplistic method that can leave two different values in two different complements, even though each value is numerically closer to the other. For example, if the median value is 80%, then a value of 79% would be placed in the lower complement, whilst a value of 80% would be placed in the upper complement. Whilst this has been an accepted method in prior business research (Eden and Aviram, 1993; Creed *et al.*, 2001), an analytical approach utilising linear regression would have provided a more sophisticated method of analysis for this hypothesis. However, the sample-size of NEETs at the three case-studies organisations was lower than the minimum acceptable level of $(50 + 8m)$ as outlined by Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) where m is the number of independent variables utilised in the analysis.

In dichotomising the group, the lower complement consisted of participants who scored lower than the median value for the sample at T1 for each self-efficacy construct, and the upper complement consisted of participants who were equal to or above the median. A paired-sample t-test was performed on the lower and upper complements at each case-study organisation independently, so as to examine the effect of plasticity on each programme’s impact. The median value for and the number of participants present in both the lower and upper complements at each organisations are displayed below in Table 7.11.

Table 7.11 – Lower & upper complements for GSE, SRE & SSE at each organisation					
Organisation	Scale	<i>N</i>	Median (%)	Lower Complement (n)	Upper Complement (n)
WISE 1	GSE	32 (16)	68.75	16 (9)	16 (7)
	SRE	32 (16)	65.00	15 (5)	17 (11)
	SSE	32 (16)	70.40	14 (7)	18 (9)
WISE 2	GSE	49 (25)	72.50	21 (11)	28 (14)
	SRE	60 (34)	70.00	23 (11)	37 (23)
	SSE	60 (34)	69.20	29 (18)	31 (16)
CG	GSE	47 (24)	77.50	22 (10)	25 (14)
	SRE	47 (24)	70.00	20 (9)	27 (15)
	SSE	47 (24)	75.20	22 (13)	25 (11)

NB. The numbers in brackets represent the proportion that went on to complete questionnaires at T2.

This data was then subjected to paired-sample t-tests for both complements at each organisation. The results for this complement analysis are presented in Tables 7.12 and 7.13.

Table 7.12 – Paired-sample t-tests for changes in GSE, SRE & SSE between T1 & T2 (lower complement)							
Organisation	Scale	<i>N</i>	Intervention Phase	Mean Score (%)	Change between T1 & T2 (%)	SD	<i>t</i>
WISE 1	GSE	9	T1 T2	61.67 70.83	+ 9.16***	5.00 4.84	5.68
	SRE	5	T1 T2	54.00 62.50	+ 8.50	7.83 11.18	1.14
	SSE	7	T1 T2	50.06 57.03	+ 6.97 (CS)	9.12 15.14	2.41
WISE 2	GSE	11	T1 T2	67.05 74.77	+ 7.72*	3.84 7.62	2.56
	SRE	11	T1 T2	58.18 62.05	+ 3.87	5.49 12.84	1.20
	SSE	18	T1 T2	54.67 65.16	+ 10.49**	12.37 16.39	3.46
CG	GSE	10	T1 T2	73.25 80.25	+ 7.00**	1.69 4.92	3.77
	SRE	9	T1 T2	61.67 71.39	+ 9.72*	7.40 13.70	2.63
	SSE	13	T1 T2	65.29 70.71	+ 5.42 (CS)	7.13 13.57	1.94

NB. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$ & CS = close to significance ($p < .10$).

Table 7.13 – Paired-sample t-tests for changes in GSE, SRE & SSE between T1 & T2 (upper complement)							
Organisation	Scale	N	Intervention Phase	Mean Score (%)	Change between T1 & T2 (%)	SD	t
WISE 1	GSE	7	T1 T2	75.71 74.29	- 1.42	4.01 6.73	0.66
	SRE	11	T1 T2	71.59 70.91	- 0.68	6.15 5.16	0.30
	SSE	9	T1 T2	79.56 74.40	- 5.16 (CS)	8.24 8.57	1.89
WISE 2	GSE	14	T1 T2	79.82 82.50	+ 2.68 (CS)	5.67 8.09	2.03
	SRE	23	T1 T2	80.43 80.33	- 0.10	8.78 8.23	0.07
	SSE	16	T1 T2	83.25 82.30	- 0.95	8.59 7.24	0.49
CG	GSE	14	T1 T2	81.07 82.50	+ 1.43	3.50 7.00	1.04
	SRE	15	T1 T2	77.00 72.50	- 4.50 (CS)	5.53 9.91	2.03
	SSE	11	T1 T2	82.76 78.55	- 4.21	7.29 11.72	1.65

NB. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$ & CS = close to significance ($p < .10$).

The results show that the effects of behavioural plasticity were evident across all three case-study organisations. At WISE 1, NEETs from the lower complement displayed greater *outcome* benefits in the form of increased GSE, SRE and SSE scores between T1 and T2 than their counterparts in the upper complement. Indeed, the lower complement at WISE 1 had a highly statistically significant increase ($p < .001$) in GSE of 9.61%, compared to a decrease of 1.42% for the higher complement NEETs. Such differences in experience were also evident in the SRE and SSE scores of WISE 1 NEETs, with those in the lower complement displaying increases of 8.50% (SRE) and 6.97% (SSE) compared to decreases for the upper complement of -0.68% (SRE) and -5.16% (SSE). At the WISE 2 case-study organisation the NEETs in the lower complement also displayed statistically significant increases in GSE and SSE of 7.61%

($p < .05$) and 10.49% ($p < .01$) respectively, whilst they also experienced a non-significant increase in SRE of 3.87%. This compared to the upper complement NEETs who displayed a smaller and non-statistically significant increase in GSE of 2.68% and minor decreases in SRE (0.15%) and SSE (0.95%). Finally, at the CG the lower complement NEETs also displayed statistically significant increases in GSE of 7.00% ($p < .01$) and SRE of 9.72% ($p < .05$), whilst the increase in SSE of 5.42% was close to statistical significance ($p < .10$). This compared with results for the upper complement NEETs at the CG that revealed a non-statistically significant increase in GSE of 1.43% and non-statistically significant decreases in SRE and SSE of 4.50% and 4.21% respectively. Furthermore, inter-organisational analysis of the differences in GSE, SRE and SSE changes for the lower and upper complements using one-way ANOVAs revealed no statistically significant differences. *Hypothesis 3 confirmed.*

7.4 – Discussion

The overall results revealed that the GSE, SRE and SSE scales performed reliably, confirming the results of prior research (Scherbaum *et al.*, 2006; Schwarzer *et al.*, 1999; Smith and Betz, 2000). The research also confirmed the prior research conducted by Denny *et al.* (2011) into the suitability of utilising GSE scales in research with NEETs. The results also suggest that the Schwarzer *et al.*'s (1999) SRE scale and Smith and Betz's (2000) SSE scale are also suitable as research tools for research involving NEETs.

The analysis of the data for the overall NEET sample involved in the research produced some interesting results. The demographic data confirmed that all three work-integration organisations were mainly involved in assisting 'complicated' NEETs back into employment (Yates and Payne, 2006). This was shown in three areas, the lack of educational success enjoyed by the NEETs prior to enrolling at the work-integration programmes, the high proportion of the sample that had spent long periods unemployed and the relatively high levels of criminality or police involvement that constituted the NEET samples' 'prior experiences'. All of these are indicators of what Yates and Payne (2006) termed the 'social exclusion' that drives 'complicated NEET' status and links between these variables and NEET status have also been demonstrated in prior research (Payne 1998, 2000; Britton *et al.*, 2002; Maguire and Yates, 2005). In relation to prior educational experience, high levels of low educational achievement were prevalent amongst a large proportion of the NEET sample across all three case-study organisations, with 53.2% of the sample having achieved fewer

than 5 GCSEs and nearly a quarter of the entire sample having no educational qualifications at all. Less than 10% of the sample had progressed beyond the GCSE educational stage. In relation to the length of time spent unemployed, 61.9% of the sample had been unemployed for longer than 6 months, whilst over a third of the sample had been unemployed for longer than a year. Criminality or prior involvement with the police in criminal matters was also a characteristic of the sample, with 28.8% of the NEETs involved in the research having either received a police caution (or the youth equivalent reprimand) or having being convicted of a criminal offence. Just over half of the sample had no prior experience of being arrested or convicted of a criminal offence. The sample as a whole therefore reveals that a large proportion of the NEETs involved in this research can be termed as ‘complicated NEETs’ and the data seems to support the links made in prior research between ‘social exclusion’ predicated upon low educational achievement, long-term unemployment and prior criminality and NEET status (Williamson, 1997; Payne, 2002; Yates and Payne, 2006).

In terms of the number of NEETs still involved in the research at T2, the research had a retention rate of 53.2%. This represented a significant drop-out rate both in terms of the research and in relation to the number of NEETs that failed to complete all three work-integration programmes. The retention rates for each case-study organisation were 50% at WISE 1, 56.7% at WISE 2 and 51.1% at the CG. No statistically significant differences were found between the retention rates of the three organisations. Interestingly, analysis of the relationship between initial GSE, SRE and SSE levels and NEET retention on the three work-integration programmes did not reveal any statistically significant results. This seems to be at odds with prior research that suggests that self-efficacy, and specifically GSE and SSE, are related to success in employment and educational settings (Eden and Aviram, 1993; Smith and Betz, 2000, Creed *et al.*, 2001; Meyers and Houssemand, 2010) and may suggest that such relationships are related to sustained attendance and completion of work-integration programmes. The lack of a statistically significant result in this area may also be related to the relatively small sample size of NEETs in this study when compared to the prior research outlined above that had utilised larger sample-sizes i.e. 354 participants (Smith and Betz, 2000) and 161 participants (Creed *et al.*, 2001).

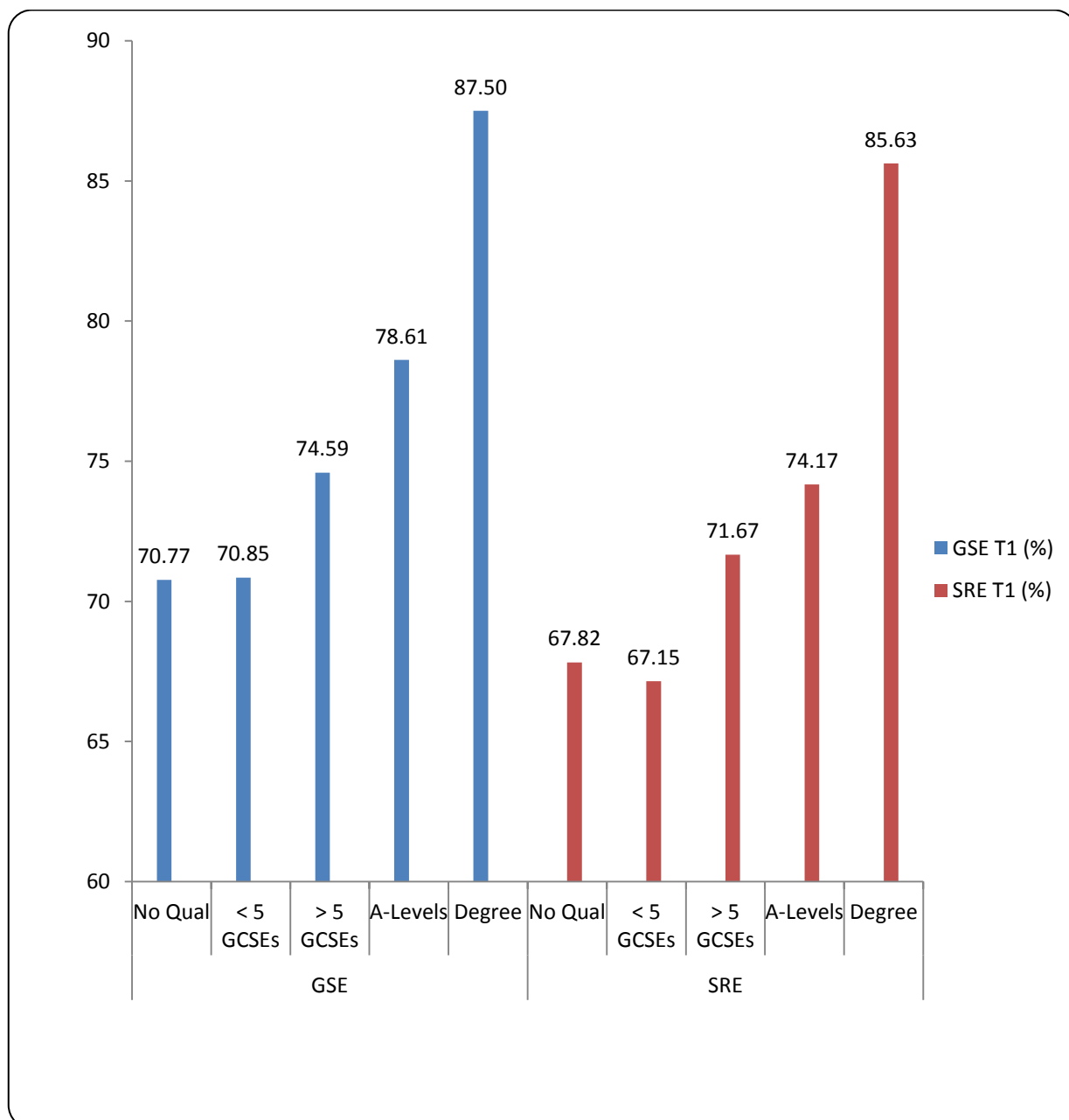
When the SRE scores at T1 were dichotomised into upper and lower complements based upon a median split in line with behavioural plasticity, analysis revealed a statistically significant relationship between SRE and the likelihood of completing the programme ($p < .05$). The data showed that those NEETs in the upper complement (i.e. they had higher than average SRE at

T1) were more than twice as likely to complete the work-integration programme in which they were placed. The SRE construct is based upon an individual's ability to maintain focus and a 'favourable emotional balance' when pursuing a given goal (Schwarzer, 2011) and therefore it would be likely that an individual that had lower than average SRE scores would be more likely to 'drop-out' of an intervention programme if they faced difficulties. Indeed, if an individual's SRE is lower than average, they can be seen to have more limited coping abilities and this would mean that they would be more likely to disengage from an intervention programme if they faced a difficult or stressful situation. This aligns with prior research (Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Furlong, 2006), which identified NEETs as being vulnerable to behavioural problems. Emotional arousal is not conducive to performance as emotional reactions under pressure are linked with externalised locus of control and low social skills (Bandura, 1977). Therefore, it is unsurprising that the results suggest that for 'complicated' NEETs with a history of 'social exclusion', the ensuing inability to maintain a 'favourable emotional balance' (Schwarzer, 2011) results in withdrawal from the work-integration programmes. The SRE results discussed above therefore suggest that it is possible to predict an individual's likelihood of completing an intervention programme by administering an SRE scale at T1. However, further research, utilising larger sample-sizes, is recommended in order to clarify this research finding.

The analysis conducted upon the relationships between the demographic variables captured at T1 (gender, time spent unemployed, highest educational achievement and criminality), with the T1 GSE, SRE and SSE scores of NEET individuals provided some interesting results. Surprisingly, no relationship was found between the length of time spent unemployed and initial self-efficacy levels and so the research is unable to support prior research linking prolonged unemployment to significant decreases in self-efficacy (Paul and Moser, 2009; Thomsen, 2009; Meyers and Houssemand, 2010). This may be related to the particularly difficult backgrounds of 'complicated' NEETs, in which 'social exclusion' predicated on familial problems, educational under-achievement and in some cases prior criminality has such a significant effect upon self-efficacy levels so as to moderate the effects of unemployment. In relation to gender there was no statistically significant difference found between GSE and SRE at T1 for males and females, although this finding was limited by the small sample of females involved in the research study. There was however, a statistically significant difference ($p < .05$) between male SSE (72.10%) and female SSE (65.45%). This seems to indicate that NEET males have higher *perceived* social efficacy than their female counterparts, and hence approach social situations with more confidence. Further research is

needed in this area, as in this study the sample-size of the female group was significantly smaller than the male sample ($m = 93$, $f = 35$). No statistically significant relationship was found between criminality and T1 GSE, SRE and SSE levels for NEETs. Perhaps the most interesting result to come out of the demographic analysis was the direct relationship between prior educational achievement and GSE and SRE scores at T1. Figure 7.1 illustrates this graphically.

Figure 7.1 – Highest Educational Achievement & GSE/SRE at T1:

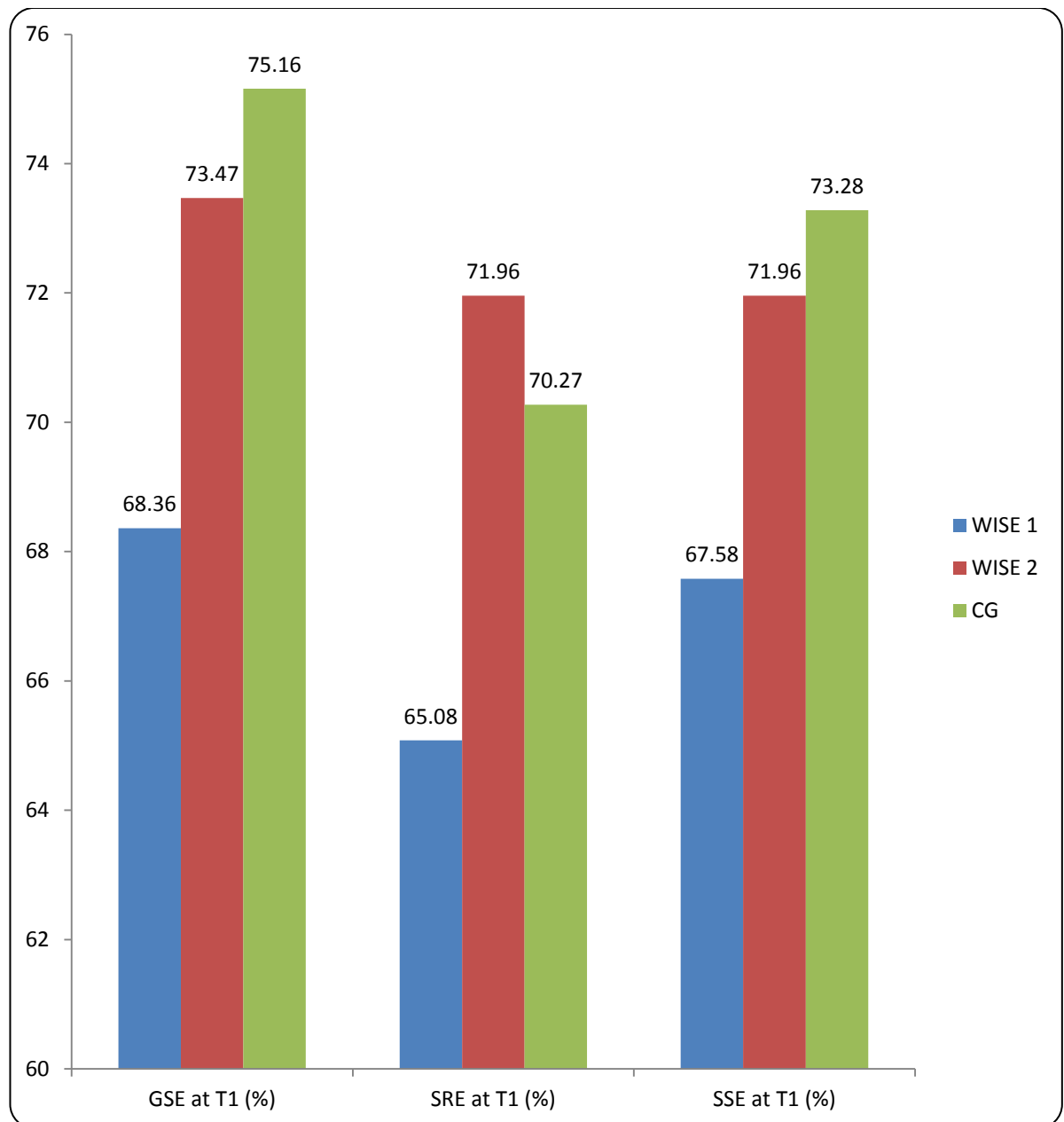


There was a statistically significant relationship ($p < .05$) between highest educational achievement and GSE and SRE scores at T1. Notably, this was still present for GSE even

when the 'degree' variable was removed from the analysis. Whilst there was little difference between the GSE and SRE scores of those NEETs who had no qualifications and those that had five GCSEs or less, it seems that both GSE and SRE then significantly increase once the individual's educational achievements surpass five GCSEs. This confirms prior research by Bynner and Parsons (2002) that highlighted the importance of prior highest educational achievement in predicting NEET status. It would seem that the prior educational experience of NEETs is related to their perceived GSE and SRE, although the exact direction of this relationship is unclear. Prior research into GSE established that mastery experiences in life can augment GSE (Chen *et al.*, 2001) and it may be that low educational achievement or failure operates as one of the facets of social exclusion that inhibits and reduces GSE. However, prior research has also outlined the impact that low self-efficacy has upon academic achievement (Zimmerman and Bandura, 1994; Zimmerman, 1995, Bandura, 1997; Zhang and Zhang, 2003), so it could be considered that low-GSE is not the result of low academic achievement but one of its causes. This could equally hold for SRE, as a lack of ability to maintain emotional balance in the school and classroom environment could also be very damaging to educational achievement. These two areas will be explored further in Chapter Eight when the results from the qualitative interview data are discussed in relation to prior educational experience. The quantitative data presented here does *suggest* that there is a direct link between educational achievement and GSE and SRE scores.

A very interesting result was obtained from the data when the differences between the T1 GSE, SRE and SSE scores for the NEETs at the three individual case-study organisations were analysed. Results revealed a statistically significant difference between the T1 GSE of the NEETs at the three case-study organisations ($p < .01$) and the T1 SRE of the NEETs at the three case-study organisations ($p < .05$). There was also a difference between the T1 SSE scores of the NEETs across the three organisations but this was not statistically significant. The NEETs at the CG organisation consistently had the highest or very close to the highest GSE, SRE and SSE scores at T1, whilst conversely WISE 1 had the lowest GSE, SRE and SSE scores at T1. Figure 7.2 outlines these differences.

Figure 7.2 – GSE, SRE & SSE at T1 with organisation as the factor:



The results outlined above in Figure 7.2 illustrate that even with the ‘complicated’ NEET category there is considerable variation, providing support for prior research that has labelled NEETs as a heterogeneous population (Yates and Payne, 2006; Furlong, 2006). Additionally, it highlights the differences between the NEETs recruited by each of the case-study organisations on to their individual programmes. The NEETs at the CG and to a lesser extent WISE 2 have statistically significant higher GSE and SRE levels at T1 than those NEETs at WISE 1. This suggests that there is some level of differentiation in the way that each organisation recruits the NEETs on to their individual work-integration programmes, with WISE 1 seeming to induct NEETs that are more ‘socially excluded’ and who have lower self-efficacy scores than the other two organisations, and in particular the CG. This, combined

with the differences in highest educational achievement outlined by the Chi-squared analysis earlier in the chapter, suggests that the CG inducted less ‘socially excluded’ NEET individuals than the WISEs, and in particular WISE 1. This induction process may be less open and more selective, hence leading to an induction of NEETs that are closer to and easier to reintegrate into employment. Whilst the NEETs at all three case-study organisations can be categorised as ‘complicated’ NEETs with a ‘here and now’ mentality (Ball *et al.*, 1999), it could be argued that within this the NEETs at the CG are what Ball *et al.* (1999) termed the ‘small dreams’ group of NEETs, who whilst belonging in the ‘complicated’ NEET group and suffering from social exclusion similar to their ‘short-term’ counterparts, are also more grounded in their aspirations and more employable in the job-market. This will be explored further in Chapters Eight and Nine when the qualitative interview data from both the NEETs and the case-study organisation staff and owners are analysed and discussed.

An examination of the changes in NEET GSE, SRE and SSE over time at the three case-study organisations revealed that all three case-study organisations had a positive effect upon the GSE, SRE and SSE levels of the NEETs who completed the intervention programmes. This suggests that all three organisations were achieving positive *outcome* benefits for their NEET clients throughout the interventions. At WISE 1 the NEET participants experienced a statistically significant increase in their GSE scores between T1 and T2 of 4.53% ($p < .05$), whilst also experiencing non-statistically significant increases in SRE (+ 2.15%) and SSE (+ 0.15%). At WISE 2 the NEET participants displayed statistically significant increases in GSE of 4.90% ($p < .01$) and SSE of 5.10% ($p < .05$), whilst also producing a non-statistically significant increase in SRE of 1.17%. At the CG the NEET participants experienced a statistically significant increase in GSE of 3.75% ($p < .01$), and minor non-significant increase in SRE (+ 0.83%) and SSE (+ 1.00%). These results therefore confirm prior research by Borzaga and Loss (2006) in highlighting the positive effect that work-integration programmes (and specifically WISEs) have in producing *outcome* benefits for unemployed individuals. It also shows that both WISEs and for-profit work-integration organisations can improve the ‘human and social capital’ of the individuals that go through their programmes (Nyssens and Platteau, 2006).

Interestingly, analysis of the differences between the *outcomes* produced by the three case-study organisations in the form of GSE, SRE and SSE changes between T1 and T2 showed that there was not a statistically significant difference in organisational performance, suggesting that the two WISE organisations were not performing better than the CG in terms

of *outcome* performance as defined by self-efficacy. This is a surprising result as it would be reasonable to expect that the WISEs would provide ‘added value’ in the area of *outcome* performance due to their more holistic and socially driven approach to work-integration. However, these results could be misleading as if we investigate the *outcome* performance a little more deeply, the results reveal that the WISEs are achieving similar *outcome* performances to the CG but with a more ‘socially excluded’ NEET population. It could therefore be suggested that the added value offered by WISEs arises not through the more easily measured *output* and *outcome* performances, but due to their willingness to induct NEET individuals that are less employable, less academically able and more ‘socially excluded’. Additionally, the blurred boundaries in terms of organisational aims and values between WISEs and non-WISEs are not always as clear-cut as attempts at definition would like to suggest. This problem of definition that was outlined in Chapter Two, such as social enterprise characteristics (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001), goal-setting and aims (Campi, 2006), the extent of trading in income and the pressures that this brings (Haugh, 2005), must be considered when attempting to reach conclusions from this data. The WISEs involved in the research had aims and values that were similar to the CG (financial), and reciprocally the CG had some aims and values that were similar to the WISEs (socially and environmental). Both of these points are explored further in Chapters Eight and Nine.

When the effect of behavioural plasticity (Brockner, 1988) was factored into the analysis of the quantitative data, the results revealed the strong effect that it had upon NEET performance across the three case-study organisations. Across the lower complements of NEETs at all three work-integration organisations, there were statistically significant increases in GSE scores between T1 and T2, and in some cases statistically significant increases in SRE and SSE. However, the NEETs in the upper complements displayed no statistically significant increases in GSE, SRE or SSE between T1 and T2. For the lower complement NEETs there were statistically significant increases in GSE at WISE 1 (+ 9.16%, $p < .001$), WISE 2 (+ 7.72%, $p < .05$) and the CG (+ 7.00%, $p < .01$). There was also a statistically significant increase in SRE at the CG (+ 9.72%, $p < .05$) and SSE at WISE 2 (+ 10.49%, $p < .01$). For the upper complements there were minimal, statistically insignificant changes in GSE, SRE and SSE between T1 and T2 across all three organisations. These results suggest that the intervention programmes offered by the two WISEs and the CG were mainly benefitting those NEET individuals who displayed lower than average GSE, SRE and SSE at T1, and were having no effect upon those NEETs that entered on to the programmes with higher than the group average levels of self-efficacy. This confirms the prior research findings of Eden and

Aviram (1993) and Creed *et al.* (2001) in highlighting the importance of plasticity when approaching intervention evaluation. It also confirms prior research into the heterogeneous nature of NEETs (Yates and Payne, 2006; Furlong, 2006) and suggests that it may be beneficial to work-integration programmes (and the NEETs that access them) to assess NEETs abilities in areas such as self-efficacy before putting them through specific training programmes. This is not to say that NEETs should be excluded from accessing work-integration programmes based upon self-efficacy tests as this would be unethical. However, WISEs and similar organisations could perhaps offer different programmes that are tailored to different groups of NEETs with differing needs. For instance, NEETs with higher than average self-efficacy levels could perhaps skip confidence building and motivational aspects of the interventions, in order to move into employment sooner, whilst those with lower than average self-efficacy would access the areas of the intervention that focused upon building up these soft-skills prior to entering into employment. A cautionary note should be applied to these results though due to the limited number of NEETs and case-study organisations involved in this research, and further research into behavioural plasticity specific to NEETs is recommended in order for these conclusions to be verified.

7.5 – Summary

This chapter has explored and analysed the quantitative data gathered in this research. The results confirmed prior research into the reliability of the GSE, SRE and SSE scales used (Scherbaum, 2006; Schwarzer *et al.*, 1999; Smith and Betz, 2000), as well as the suitability of GSE scales for use in research with NEETs (Denny *et al.*, 2011). Additionally, the research suggests that the use of the SRE and SSE scales with NEETs in research studies is suitable and can provide valid and reliable results. The demographic data gathered confirmed that the majority of the NEETs that were inducted on to the three work-integration case-study organisations were what Yates and Payne (2006) termed ‘complicated’ NEETs. These NEET individuals have a history of ‘social exclusion’ that is predicated upon a history of familial problems, educational underachievement, long-term unemployment and in some cases criminality. The data gathered in the quantitative phase of the research confirmed that the NEETs that participated had low educational qualifications, relatively high exposure to criminality and long-term unemployment experience. This supports prior research conducted that identified these demographic characteristics as being synonymous with NEET status (Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Payne, 2002; Furlong, 2006; Yates and Payne, 2006).

In relation to the retention of NEETs on the three work-integration programmes, the data analysis revealed that NEET drop-out from the programmes could be predicted by SRE scores at T1. Indeed, NEETs from the lower SRE complement (those with lower than average T1 SRE scores) were over twice as likely to fail to complete the work-integration programmes as those NEETs from the upper SRE complement. This confirmed prior research by Bynner and Parsons (2002) and Furlong (2006) that identified NEETs as being vulnerable to behavioural problems and illustrates how such emotional problems inhibit their ability to optimise their performance in employment or educational settings (Bandura, 1977).

The NEET experiences of the three work-integration programmes delivered by the case-study organisations in relation to changes in GSE, SRE and SSE between T1 and T2 also provided interesting results. The data revealed that all three programmes had a statistically significant effect upon the GSE scores of the NEETs that completed them and that there were also some significant effects upon the SRE and SSE scores of the NEETs at individual organisations. This confirmed prior research by Borzaga and Loss (2006) that illustrated the positive effect that WISEs have in relation to ‘soft outcomes’ upon the individuals that engage with them. These results also supported prior research by Nyssens and Platteau (2006), which outlined the manner in which WISEs develop ‘human and social capital’. However, where the results of this research diverge from the prior work of Borzaga and Loss (2006) and Nyssens and Platteau (2006) is in the use of a CG. The CG data showed that the *outcomes* produced by the WISEs were not specific to social enterprises and that there was no statistically significant difference between the *outcome* performance of the WISEs and that of the CG. This suggests that in the area of GSE, SRE and SSE WISEs offer no significant ‘added value’ compared to for-profit organisations. The results of the changes in GSE, SRE and SSE between T1 and T2 were made more acute once ‘behavioural plasticity’ was factored in (Brockner, 1988). The data for changes in GSE, SRE and SSE between T1 and T2 for the lower and upper complements at the three case-study organisations revealed that only the lower complement NEETs were gaining an *outcome* benefits from the programmes. This result supports prior research by Eden and Aviram (1993) and Creed *et al.* (2001) into the effects of plasticity upon work-integration programmes, but extends it to show that plasticity also affects WISE programmes and the experiences of the NEETs that engage with them. This offers important insights into the problem of ‘one-size-fits-all’ programmes, even when they are targeted at specific groups of the unemployed such as NEETs. It also supports prior research into the heterogeneous nature of NEETs (Croxford and Raffae, 2000; Yates and Payne, 2006), but also

suggests that there is a degree of heterogeneity even within NEET sub-categories such as ‘complicated’ NEETs. This result suggests that work-integration programmes should perhaps be split into different parts that are then offered to NEET individuals on a ‘need to access’ basis. However, further research with larger sample sizes and involving more work-integration organisations is needed before this result can be confirmed.

Perhaps surprisingly when examining the T1 GSE, SRE and SSE scores of the NEETs at the three case-study organisations, statistically significant inter-organisational differences were found. The NEETs at the CG were found to have significantly higher GSE, SRE and SSE than the NEETs at WISE 1 and significantly higher GSE and SSE than the NEETs at WISE 2. Additionally, a difference (albeit not statistically significant) was found between the highest educational achievements of the NEETs at the two WISEs and the NEETs at the CG, with the WISE organisations inducting more NEETs with no qualifications than the CG (in the case of WISE 1 nearly twice as many). Whilst this result was not statistically significant it is still important to consider as it suggests that the CG inducted less ‘socially excluded’ NEET individuals than the two WISE organisations. When this finding is coupled with the data outlined above suggesting that there were no differences in *outcome* performance between the three case-study organisations, it suggests that perhaps the ‘added value’ offered by WISEs is not measurable in terms of the *outputs* or *outcomes* achieved, but in the types of young people that they offer help to and the fact that they achieve similar results with more ‘socially excluded’ individuals. This finding will be explored further in Chapter Eight when the qualitative interview data with the NEETs at T1 and T2 will be analysed in relation to their prior life experiences, expectations and experiences of the course and their future aspirations. It will also be explored in Chapter Nine where the qualitative interview data with the WISE and CG staff and owners will be analysed.

Chapter 8 – Qualitative Analysis & Results (NEETs)

In this chapter the results of the qualitative analysis of the semi-structured interview data gathered from the NEET participants at all three case-studies (WISE 1, WISE 2 and the CG) at Time 1 (T1) and Time 2 (T2) are presented. The results are then discussed in relation to the prior literature outlined in Chapters Two, Three and Four, the quantitative results discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter Seven) and the research questions outlined below and discussed in Chapter Six. These research questions were grounded in the prior literature discussed in Chapters Two, Three and Four. The interview data was analysed CCM, a method of analysis discussed in Chapter Six. However, first a brief outline of the NEET sample that participated in the qualitative element of the research is presented.

Research Question 1: What historical factors led the individual to the point of being NEET and how has this impacted upon their self-efficacy levels and future aspirations?

Research Question 2: How have individuals' levels of self-efficacy been changed by their participation on the work-integration programme and how has this affected their future aspirations?

8.1 – Semi-structured interview NEET sample data

When administering the T1 self-efficacy scales to the NEET participants at each case-study organisation, a random sample of the NEETs on each programme was selected to participate in the semi-structured interviews by drawing names out of a container. At T2, any NEETs that were still present at each case-study organisation that had completed a T1 interview were then re-interviewed. Both interview schedules are presented in the appendices section of the thesis (Appendices B and C). Only the T1 interviews of those individuals who were still present and interviewed at T2 were analysed in line with the methodology adopted in the research. The sample breakdown for the interview data is presented in Table 8.1.

Case-study organisation	Table 8.1 – Qualitative interview sample data			
	Total participants at T1	Interviews conducted		Drop-out Rate
		T1	T2	
WISE 1	34	19	10	47.4%
WISE 2	60	31	17	45.2%
CG	47	20	7	65%
Total	141	70	34	51.4%

8.2 – Qualitative Analysis and Results (NEET Interviews)

8.2.1 – WISE 1 Qualitative Analysis and Results:

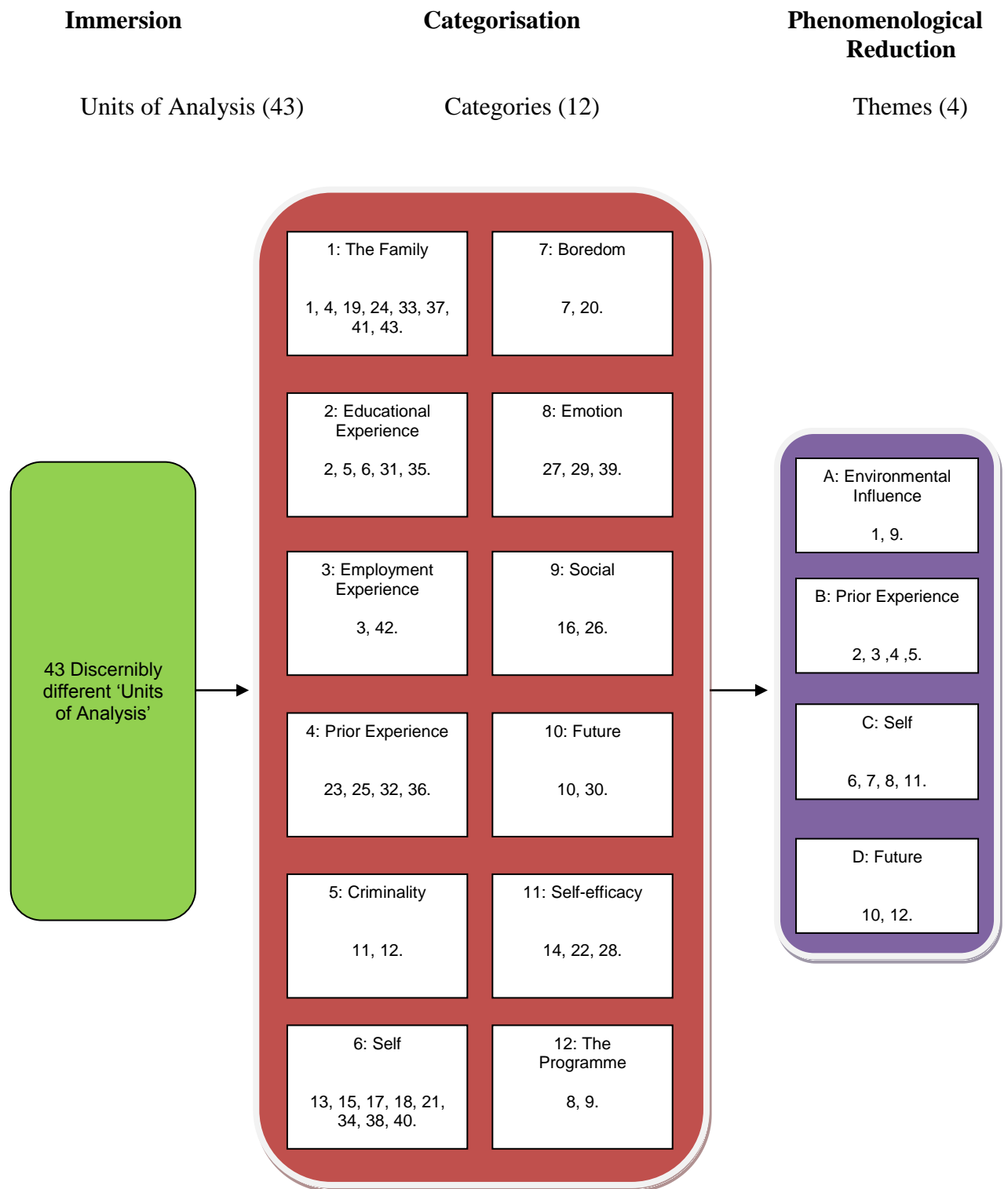
WISE 1 at T1

Analysis of the T1 interview transcripts involved the researcher engaging with the five stages of CCM. During ‘immersion’, the researcher identified 43 discernibly different units of analysis from the data (e.g. ‘negative employment experience’ and ‘family breakdown’). During ‘categorisation’, these ‘units of analysis’ were grouped into 12 ‘categories’ and from these 12 categories four ‘themes’ emerged through a process of ‘phenomenological reduction’. These four emergent ‘themes’ were subsequently interpreted by the researcher as: ‘environmental influence’, ‘prior experience’, ‘self’ and ‘future’. A diagrammatic illustration of this qualitative analysis process is provided for further clarification (see Figure 8.1). This process was replicated for all the subsequent CCM analyses.

WISE 1 at T2

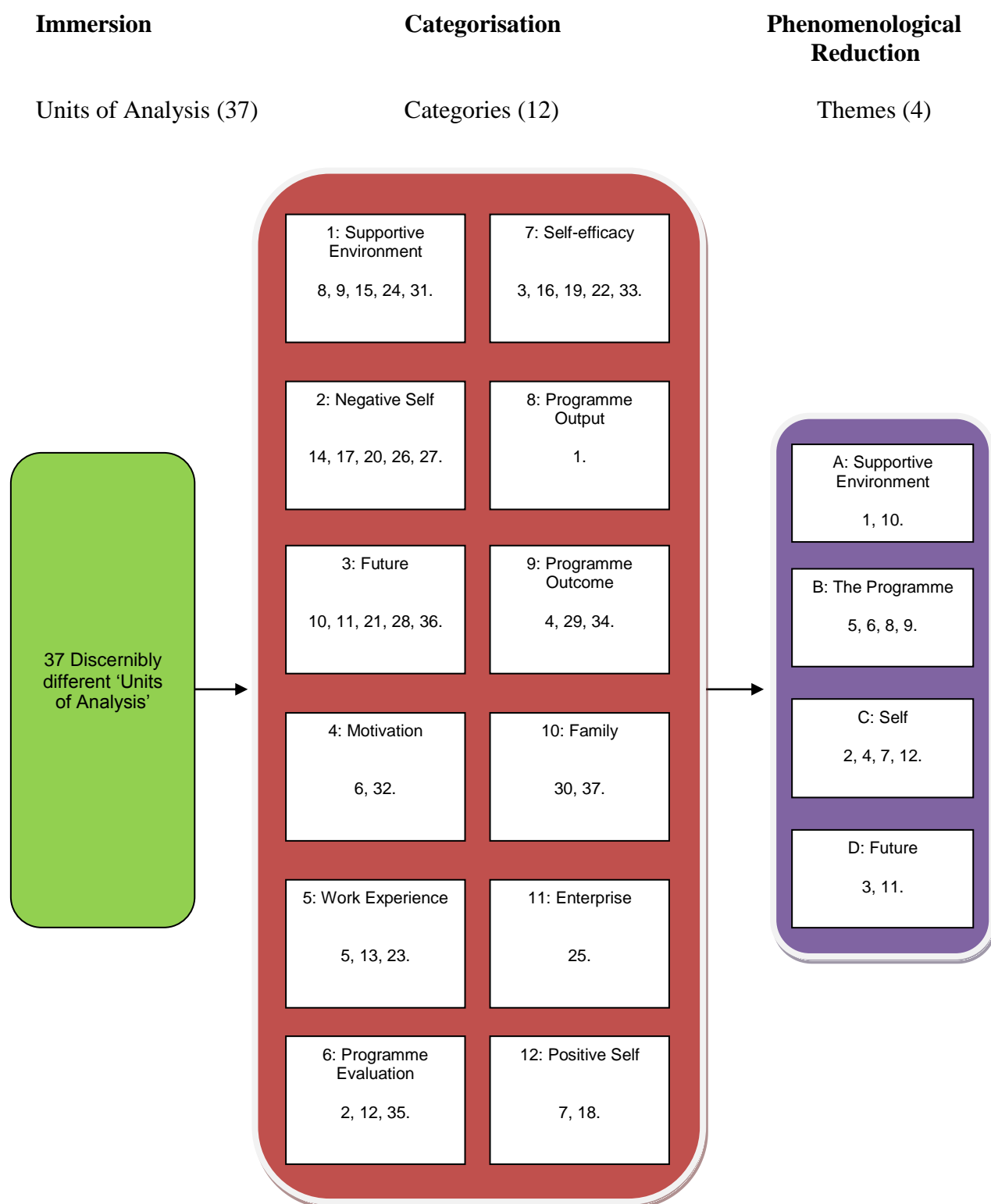
During immersion, the researcher identified 37 discernibly different ‘units of analysis’ (e.g. ‘achievement’ and ‘further education’). ‘Categorisation’ resulted in 12 ‘categories’ emerging from the 37 ‘units of analysis’. During ‘phenomenological reduction’, four ‘themes’ emerged from the 12 ‘categories’. These four emergent ‘themes’ were subsequently interpreted by the researcher as, ‘supportive environment’, ‘the programme’, ‘self’ and ‘future’ (see Figure 8.2).

Figure 8.1 – Phases of CCM Analysis at Time 1 (WISE 1):



NB. The numbers displayed above in Figure 8.1 in the 'categories' boxes correspond to the relevant units of analysis contained in that category. A full list of these units of analysis can be found at Appendix H, along with the rules of inclusion for the categories and themes. The numbers in the 'themes' boxes correspond to the relevant category contained in that theme.

Figure 8.2 – Phases of CCM Analysis at Time 2 (WISE 1):



NB. The numbers displayed above in Figure 8.2 in the 'categories' boxes correspond to the relevant units of analysis contained in that category. A full list of these units of analysis can be found at Appendix I, along with the rules of inclusion for the categories and themes. The numbers in the 'themes' boxes correspond to the relevant category contained in that theme.

Eight overall themes emerged from the analysis of the interview data from WISE 1 (four at T1 and four at T2). These themes were interpreted as participant perceptions. Two of the themes that emerged at T1 ('self' and 'future') re-emerged at T2. Two of the themes that emerged at Time 1 ('environmental influence' and 'prior experience') did not re-emerge at T2, but were superseded by two new themes ('supportive environment' and the 'programme'). It is proposed that an examination of the similarities and differences between the themes at T1 and T2 will reveal the participants' perspective of the *outcome* benefits of the work-integration programme that they engaged in. In the following discussion the participant quotations selected represent examples taken from 'units of analysis' relating to each relevant theme.

Time 1

Theme A – Environmental Influence:

The NEET participants talked extensively at T1 about the environmental influences in their lives. These influences were largely negative and had been reported as the cause of a number of negative past experiences in the young person's life. These negative influences included familial problems such as family breakdown, absent fathers, poor relations with step-parents, parental unemployment, bereavement and parental rejection. There was also an acknowledgement that things improved when the individual was in what they perceived to be a positive social environment.

"...because for 10 years he [Step-dad] bullied me and my Mum and that is why I went off the rails that is the source of all my problems." (P9)

"Well I got kicked out a few times but then I kept going back but then I got kicked out properly. It was because I was getting in trouble with the police and she [Mum] didn't like it.....She just couldn't cope with what I did and all that, like coming back when I have been drinking." (P11)

"No my Mum and Dad split up when I was young. I still see him sometimes and err...Mostly he is in and out of prison though..." (P16)

“They [parents] are not working at the minute because my Mum has got something where she doesn't like going out in public places [agoraphobia] or something like that.” (P12)

“I don't know I think it was the people I was hanging around with. That's when I started drinking and all that stuff like that and taking drugs.... I don't really want to do it most of the time but I just do it because...well I don't know because they just tell me to really.” (P11)

Theme B – Prior Experience:

Theme B was related to the ‘prior experiences’ of the NEET participants prior to starting at WISE 1. As with the ‘environmental influences’ theme, these experiences were largely negative and were predicated upon negative school experiences (including bullying, poor academic achievement and exclusion), transient prior employment experiences, negative job-seeking experiences, previous training and college programmes and criminality. Often, these negative ‘prior experiences’ were related to the negative ‘environmental influences’ outlined above.

“Like when I was in school I didn't really do very well and I got booted out when I was in Year Nine. Basically I was just causing so much trouble that by the end of Year Nine I had been kicked out of four different schools.” (P14)

“I left school, I hated school it was shit. I was no good at most of it and I missed all of my exams, well most of them I only got a few grades out of it. So I finished school and struggled to find a job so mostly sat at home on my laptop or whatever and now I am here.” (P16)

“I went to College, I managed to get into College but I got kicked out because I got caught smoking weed in the classroom. I was with a mate and that and he brought a load of weed in.” (P14)

“I didn't do anything. I went to work with my Mum and her boss doing industrial cleaning, I did eight and a half hours a day, five days a week, for £30 a week. So I left

the job, I think anyone would, its EMA pay.... For 8 1/2 hours a day it is ridiculous.”
(P9)

“I just look on the Internet for anything that I can apply for. I mean I have got no qualifications and I am not 18 and they want 18 or over. So there aren't many job vacancies that I can apply for and I apply for jobs that I can apply for, but they usually get taken by other people and I don't even get an interview most of the time.”
(P16)

“At first it was all silly stuff like at school silly stuff, but the police with those come around for garden helping, booting footballs...Then eventually it got around to burgling houses, possession of a knife...” (P9)

Theme C – Self:

Theme C was related to the NEET perceptions of themselves in areas such as confidence, self-belief and self-efficacy. The NEET participants generally talked about having low confidence (particularly when meeting new people), low belief in their abilities and varied motivation levels. The participants also talked about their difficulties controlling their emotions, of the boredom that they experienced being NEET and of the regrets that they had relating to their past. Many of these negative self-perceptions stemmed from or were related to the negative ‘environmental influences’ and ‘prior experiences’ that were identified in Themes A and B.

“I am motivated if like what I'm doing. If it's something that I want to do I will get motivated to do it but I don't really want to do it then I wouldn't really be that motivated then.” (P11)

“I get quite knocked if I don't do it first time around, it was like at school. I remember being the only one that couldn't answer a certain maths question and the teacher had gone over every single way possible about getting it and I still couldn't get it. So I thought you know what I'm not doing it, and I didn't even acknowledge she was there I just blanked her completely. If I can't do something first time around I probably won't do it again.” (P9)

"I'm not confident ...I'm not completely confident with meeting groups of new people and stuff like that, like when everyone knows everyone but you don't know anyone. I'm not completely confident with that." (P16)

"Just having nothing to do really sitting around. I have done a lot now recently, I have just come out of court. I don't like sitting around and I have done that far too long I have done it for three years." (P9)

"I have done Anger Management and stuff like that with the Youth Offenders, but... It was all right but it didn't really do a lot though.... I don't know really." (P11)

"I see other people my age and they are doing College or some of them are going to University. It makes me think that I wish I had just stayed at school and not caused all the trouble. Like you wished that you can change some stuff sometimes..." (P14)

Theme D – Future:

Theme D related to participant perceptions of their future prospects, both in the short-term (on the course) and the long-term (after completing the course). In the short-term the participants talked about their motivations and expectations for the programme and in the long-term they talked about future aspirations and prospects. These aspirations were often vague or unrealistic when taking into account the participant's qualifications and work experience. Additionally, some of the participants articulated modest aspirations such as raising a family and getting married. Only one participant had any kind of career plan and even this was relatively unstructured and merely consisted of specific aims, but with only a vague idea of how those aims could be realised. Many of the NEET participants viewed their lack of qualifications as a barrier to achieving these future goals.

"Well [friend] just said about joining it and it was something to do instead of just being at home doing nothing whilst I wait for somebody to ring back about a job in whatever, so I thought I would do it." (P12)

"Just keep busy really get some money in. Because at the minute or before now I haven't had any money coming in so I will be glad to get the EMA and

everything.....and I think my Mum can claim benefits for me like child tax credits and stuff like that, whilst I'm on an education course..." (P16)

"I'm hoping for it [job after the course] to be in gardening mainly. I have told the woman anyway I've said if anything I want it to be gardening." (P13)

"So now I'm just trying to get more qualifications because they do a construction one here. So I'm just trying to do that one because it helps me get more. I'm done pissing about because I am 18 now. I've just got to stop messing around." (P14)

"I do want kids and that and I do want to get married, but I would prefer to have a job and that can be stable before I did do anything like that so that I would be able to look after everything." (P11)

Time 2

Theme A – Supportive Environment:

At T2 the theme of 'environmental influence' was replaced by theme of 'supportive environment'. The participants talked about the positive support that they had received from WISE 1 and about how they were 'treated like an adult', 'trusted', given 'responsibility' and 'respected' during their time on the programme. The participants also articulated a feeling that the 'supportive environment' allowed them to develop, and contrasted this with their negative experiences of school, college and prior training courses. Whilst there was still some association with the negative influences in their lives, such as family breakdown and financial problems, these were limited to two participants who made three comments in these areas. This change in the perceptions of the environment surrounding the participants was also highlighted by the disappearance at T2 of the 'prior experience' theme that emerged at T1. The NEETs no longer talked about their negative prior experiences or used them as excuses for failure.

"I think it's a lot better here than what is anywhere else that I've been to be honest with you, because they actually do treat you like an adult and you actually do get treat

[treated] well... *It is definitely more supportive here because they actually make sure that they look after you.*" (P14)

"They treat you nice here, like at school they just treat you like a piece of shit. Then like when we treat them back like a piece of shit they just go tell the head-teacher and they get you excluded." (P17)

"I have become an assistant Ranger..... Well I'm mainly there twice a week doing it with eco-minds where they are like a bit disabled and stuff like that. So we work with them to get them to recover. So whilst [Ranger's name] has his dinner I will take over and then obviously when [Ranger's name] has had his dinner I will have mine." (P13)

"Because like with all the other places I haven't had a lot of respect for them because they didn't to me. But then the minute I came here I felt welcome and stuff like that, like [previous school] and [previous course] just didn't speak to you. But like here I've had loads of people speaking to me and stuff like that, so I felt welcome straight away." (P13)

"It only 20 quid less though. But my Mum can claim benefits for me while I'm on EMA. So she gets more..... We don't know whether when I stop getting EMA she will still get tax credits. But then again it will stopping due anyway because I'm 18 in June so..." (P16)

Theme B – The Programme:

The theme 'the programme' emerged from the interview data at T2, and encompassed participant evaluations of the work-integration programme that they had been through, its content and the achievements that they had experienced in terms of *outputs* and *outcomes*. The *outputs* consisted of qualifications such as BTECs, as well as up-to-date CVs and Health and Safety qualifications. The *outcomes* included a sense of 'achievement', as well as changes to their outlook on life and 'maturity'. The NEETs also talked about how the work-experience on the programme had developed them and how they now recognised skills that they did not know that they had prior to the intervention, such as 'leadership' and the ability to work in a team.

“Well it's like when I first started I was like shy at first, because obviously I didn't know anybody apart from my brother and Craig. Obvious I got put in their group and after about three days I was just like a team leader if you know what I mean. They have even... Like the big boss [name] she's even dragged me in a few times saying keep doing it because now that you are working the rest want to work.” (P13)

“Really good that you have been here because you are learning to do stuff around other people... The people whose gardens it is, and the people that is here you know working with different people. Getting to know them and stuff.” (P11)

“Has been real fun and I don't mind getting up in the morning because it is really fun and that. Like with any other place I used to go to before I used to just think, I don't want to get up and I don't want to go, but with this I'm just up and I want to go. Everything that you do there was a different thing to do every day and is really good.” (P14)

“I've done land-based studies, it's like you do units and then like with the units you get points for them and you at the moment and it's a whole qualification, I can't remember what the other three are, but it adds up to a BTEC.” (P11)

“Sometimes you just take a picture and you are like I don't like that, but if you actually taught how to do one then you can actually take some really nice pictures and I quite enjoy taking photos..... you do feel really good if you take a good picture and that and everyone looks at it and says that is really good that is. It makes you feel really good because you know that you took it.” (P14)

“Yeah so you have to get work to get a job, like you have to do stuff to get a job but I didn't really think that before I just I would leave school and get a job, but it's not that easy..... Yeah you have got to do things that you don't want to do to be able to do the stuff that you do want to do.” (P11)

Theme C – Self:

The theme of ‘self’ re-emerged from the interview data at T2, although at T2 the participants perceptions of themselves had become more positive. The participants talked about increases

in 'confidence' (particularly in social situations), 'self-belief', and 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' motivation. The participants also talked about how successfully completing tasks and projects on the course ('mastery experiences') improved their 'self-efficacy', although there was still a general acknowledgement that they still struggled with academic work. However, there were still some negative self-perceptions articulated by many of the participants such as 'anger management issues'. These were often couched in the past and the participants acknowledged that they had either improved or been supported in these areas whilst on the course.

"It has changed quite a lot because before I was not even motivated I would just get up, go out drink, do drugs, just do all that and then go home and sleep, wake up the next morning or even afternoon whatever... But now that I've got this is really good because actually gives you something to go for." (P14)

"[I feel] a lot more confident.....Around people. It is easier now to go up to people and talk to them if I don't know them. It is been good this place like that." (P18)

"I've even been into town before and told people where I work and they say 'oh yeah I've been there and it's really nice and that and really kept well'. Obviously that makes you feel better because you know that you are doing a job there to keep it better to it make you feel good." (P14)

"Well it feels better because I know by now can actually achieve something if I try. So I didn't really believe in myself last time like when I was at school, I just felt stupid, but now I know if I try I can." (P11)

"It is better now [self-belief] than what it was. Like before I didn't think I could do all these things, like I didn't think I could do photography, but now that I've tried it and got the hang of it and worked at it I've produced work that is now going to go up in an exhibition here....It shows you that if you try it it's not as bad as it looks." (P9)

"I've had some close calls but I haven't hit anyone yet..... just that the other day somebody said something about my Mum so I told him to shut his mouth or I would fill it and he shut up so that was the end of it." (P10)

Theme D – Future:

As with ‘self’ the theme of ‘future’ re-emerged from the data at T2. However, at T2 the NEET participants expressed a more positive future outlook and saw their employment and further education prospects as being more promising. The participants articulated not just short-term future plans for after their time on the course, but also had a more detailed career plan. These long-term plans took the form of employment, further education and one participant also stated a desire to get his/her own flat and pass his/her driving test. The two participants from T1 who had also talked about prior, informal businesses that they had established again stated a desire to be self-employed in the future. This increased positive outlook was related to the improvements in self-perception discussed in Theme C.

“Well after I finished at [WISE 1] I'm going to go and get my forestry qualifications, because I'm going to do this because it is a lot better for me, because I can get quite angry with people sometimes and that. But when I'm out here and that is not that many people about so I can't really get that angry with them so. It really has calmed me down a hell of a lot.” (P14)

“I knew I wanted to come out with wood work and the construction qualification, I didn't know which path to take, but there is close contacts with [company name] construction here. So hopefully I can get on their apprenticeship.” (P9)

“I don't know I might give college a try. Because I've applied for college twice before I came here and I got in but then I just didn't fancy doing it.” (P11)

“...I want to drive. That's what I'm aiming towards now because now that I have got my new flat and I have got money to do it up I can now start saving for it, where as when I was at my Mum's I couldn't find any money to do it.” (P9)

“Yeah I do yeah [feel more employable].....it was more that I didn't know what it would be like. I didn't know what the workplace would be like and whether it would be anything like school or not. But I'm pretty sure that it would be like this place so yeah I'm quite happy with that.” (P16)

“Try and do my test [driver’s test] and then have my own business. If that doesn’t all plan out, then I’ll have to look for another job.” (P17)

8.2.2 - WISE 2 Qualitative Analysis and Results:

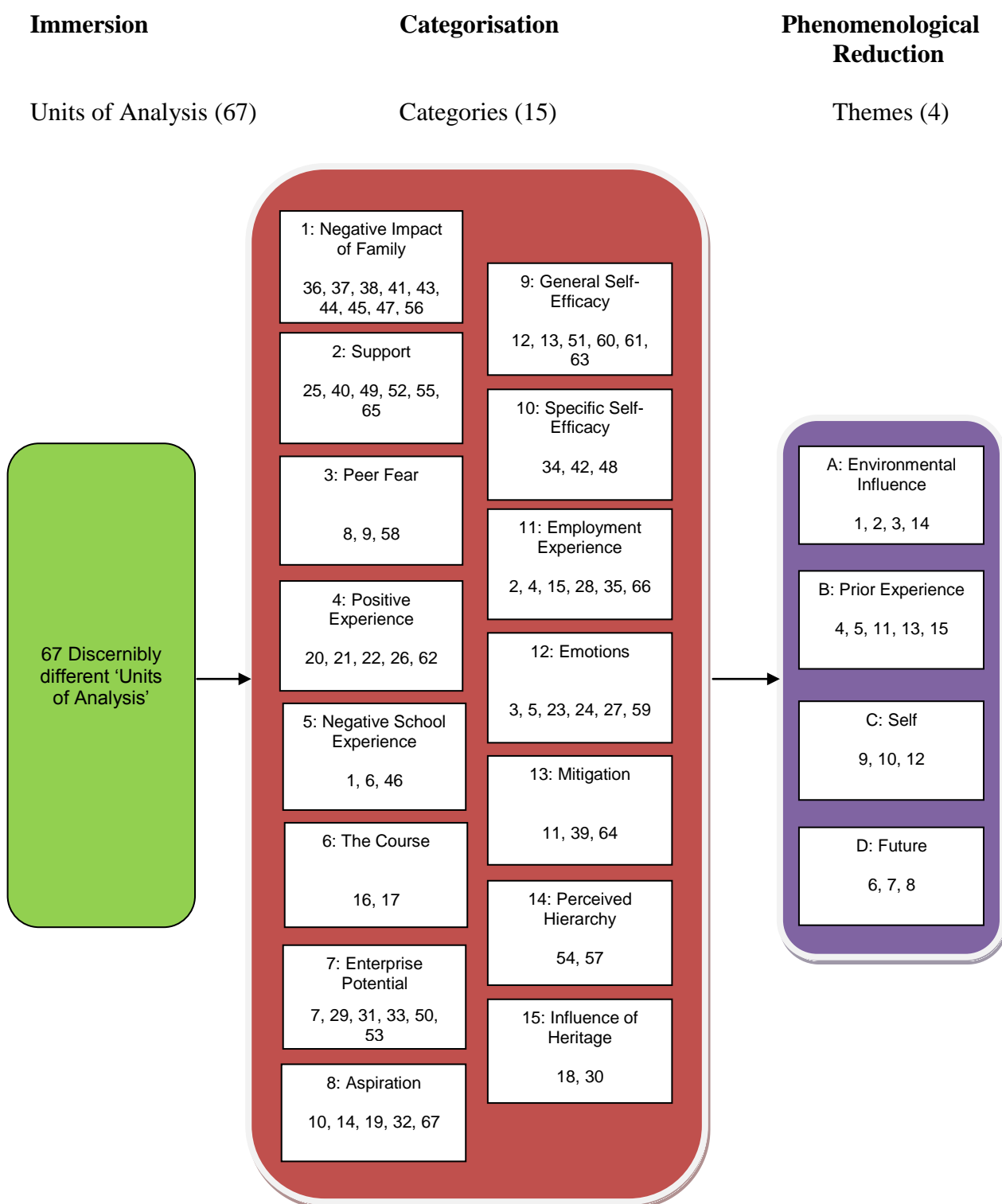
WISE 2 at T1

Analysis of the T1 interview transcripts involved researcher engaging with the five stages of CCM. During ‘immersion’, the researcher identified 67 discernibly different units of analysis from the data (e.g. long-term unemployment and ‘negative school experience’). During ‘categorisation’, these ‘units of analysis’ were grouped into 15 ‘categories’ and from these 15 categories four ‘themes’ emerged through a process of ‘phenomenological reduction’. These four emergent ‘themes’ were subsequently interpreted by the researcher as: ‘environmental influence’, ‘prior experience’, ‘self’ and ‘future’. A diagrammatic illustration of this qualitative analysis process is provided for further clarification (see Figure 8.3). These four themes were identical to the four themes that had emerged at WISE 1 at T1.

WISE 2 at T2

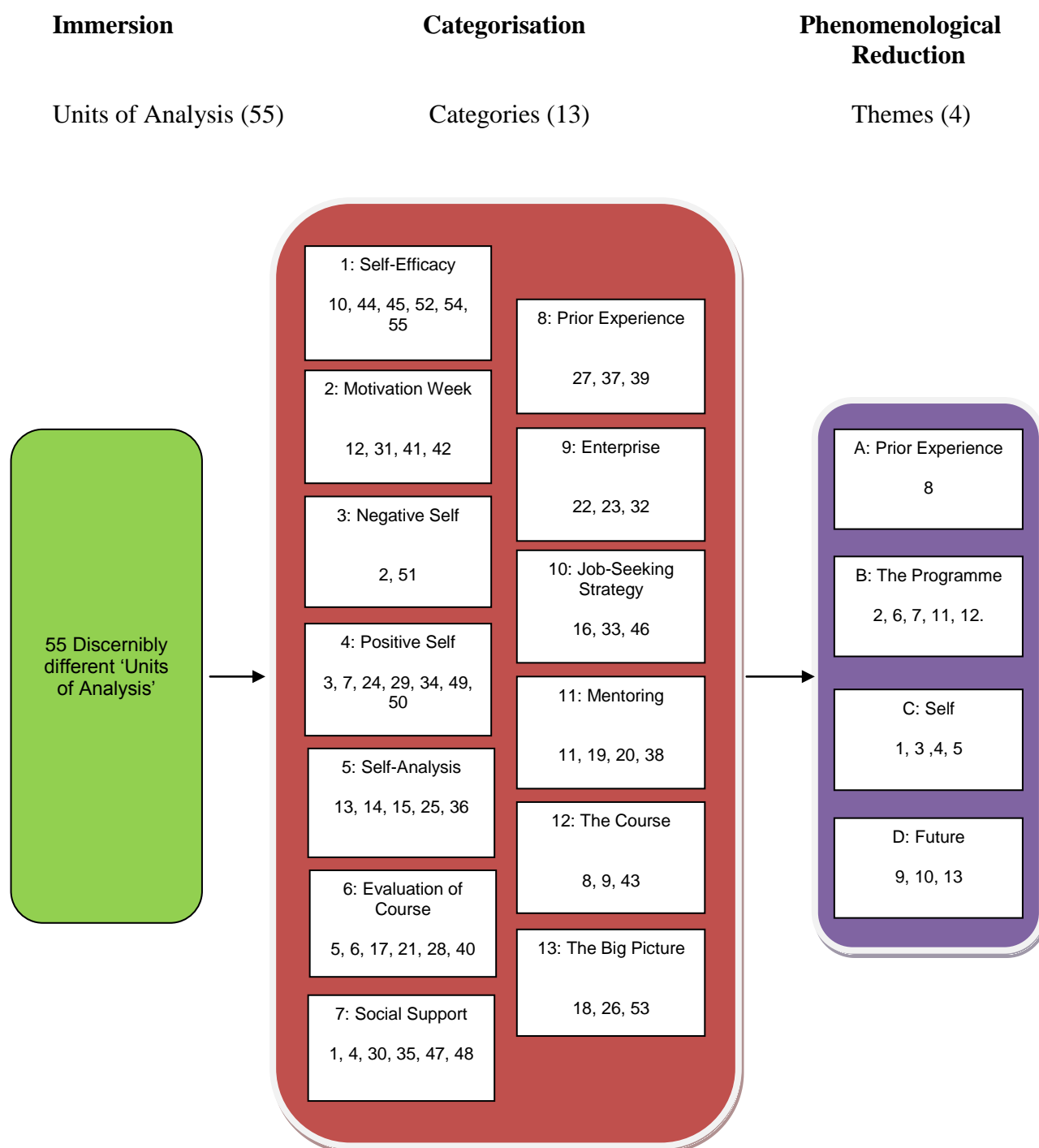
During immersion, the researcher identified 55 discernibly different ‘units of analysis’ (e.g. business idea; ‘mentoring’ and ‘assertiveness’). ‘Categorisation’ resulted in 13 ‘categories’ emerging from the 55 ‘units of analysis’. During ‘phenomenological reduction’, four ‘themes’ emerged from the 13 ‘categories’. These four emergent ‘themes’ were subsequently interpreted by the researcher as, ‘prior experience’ ‘the programme’, ‘self’, and ‘future’ (see Figure 8.4). This was identical to the four themes that had emerged at T2 at WISE 1 except that at WISE 1 Theme A was ‘supportive environment’ and at WISE 2 Theme A was ‘prior experience’.

Figure 8.3 – Phases of CCM analysis at T1 (WISE 2):



NB. The numbers displayed above in Figure 8.3 in the 'categories' boxes correspond to the relevant units of analysis contained in that category. A full list of these units of analysis can be found at Appendix J, along with the rules of inclusion for the categories and themes. The numbers in the 'themes' boxes correspond to the relevant category contained in that theme.

Figure 8.4 – Phases of CCM analysis at T2 (WISE 2):



NB. The numbers displayed above in Figure 8.4 in the 'categories' boxes correspond to the relevant units of analysis contained in that category. A full list of these units of analysis can be found at Appendix K, along with the rules of inclusion for the categories and themes. The numbers in the 'themes' boxes correspond to the relevant category contained in that theme.

Eight overall themes emerged from the analysis of the interview data from WISE 2 (four at T1 and four at T2). These themes were interpreted as participant perceptions. Three of the themes that emerged at T1 ('prior experience', 'self' and 'future') re-emerged at T2. One of the themes that emerged at T1 ('environmental influence') did not re-emerge at T2 but was superseded by a new theme ('the programme'). It is proposed that an examination of the similarities and differences between the themes at T1 and T2 will reveal the participants' perspective of the *outcome* benefits of the work-integration programme that they engaged in. In the following discussion the participant quotations selected represent examples taken from 'units of analysis' relating to each relevant theme.

Time 1

Theme A – Environmental influence:

The major 'environmental influences' cited by the participants were the negative influences resulting from the breakdown of their family, being 'kicked out' of the family home and other familial problems such as bereavement. Participants also discussed the negative peer relationships that they had and the pressures that this brought to their lives in the form of drink, drugs and crime. However, some of the NEET participants did talk about certain positive aspects of their environment, such as supportive friends and family, and the importance of role-models. One participant even discussed the role of religion as a positive environmental influence upon their life.

"No they split up when I was three.....but my Mum's married again and I don't get along with him at all so I try and keep away from there as much as possible". (P27)

"Yeah I was shoplifting to fund that habit and also stealing from my Mum. But I woke up at the end of the day when I got threatened with prison and I said it's not worth it, so I stopped the shoplifting." (P30)

"Erm, we lost someone close in the family and then work wouldn't give me time off and I had to leave and look after my Mum, because she got really ill." (P24)

“...I was really hanging around the wrong type of crowd. And because I was there for so long you just grow with them and you don't really see what you're turning into. And when I look back at some of things I used to do, the stuff that I've done, it's just not acceptable.” (P26)

“My Stepdad now, he's changed me, well he's got some very strong views about how a person should be and how they should act in today's world. And he speaks to me like a friend as well, and he just makes you feel comfortable...” (P28)

“And because my family is Christian, and I'm a Christian myself as well, I thought 'well what would God think'? So yeah that is a strong thing in my life now because I kind of went off the edge of believing, but I've got that back so that helps.” (P30)

Theme B – Prior experience:

Many of the prior experiences cited by the participants were related to negative school experiences often involving bullying, disruptive behaviour and poor achievement in Maths and English. Participants also talked about their negative experience of employment and training courses and offered ‘mitigation’ for the reasons behind their failure. Some participants also talked about their cultural heritage and the impact that this had upon their lives.

“I left there [school] in Year Ten because of bullying and things like that and then I came here [youth centre] ‘cos they had like a school for kids who'd left school early and I was here for about a year doing my GCSEs.” (P27)

“So, then like from the years messing about every day the teachers started not liking me. So, every time I walk in my lesson she'll be like 'No you're out because I know you are going to mess about'.” (P20)

“Well the agency work that I had I believe that I worked my behind off, I really do...but they have all laid me off after a week or two so I haven't bothered putting them on my CV. That's what agencies do isn't it, you are expendable.” (P30)

“Erm will have spent six months since leaving college, I spent time looking for jobs. Really my skills and qualifications have let me down quite a bit and I've sent CV's in all over the place, and they got back to me saying you're not what we're looking for or they've not even got in any contact with me either.” (P23)

“No I feel myself I've got to have Maths because everywhere like warehouse jobs they always say like you have got a test like to pass” (P20)

“Yeah it feels alright. I want to like, I don't really like Kettering myself but I've never like been there.” (P20)

Theme C – Self:

Participant descriptions of 'self' were often grounded in issues of self-confidence. Often poor performance in school had undermined their confidence in 'performance' situations, which had led to them faking confidence. Lack of self-confidence often resulted in anxiety when entering new social situations. However, some reported that success in performance situations can reverse poor self-images. Emotional problems and feelings were also discussed by participants with negative emotions such as 'boredom' and 'inertia' expressed, along with positive emotions such as 'pride' and 'maturity'.

“When it's something that I believe in and that I, you know believe I can do, yeah I'm very confident but when it's something I'm not too sure about, I don't know or something I'm not familiar with, I could still fake confidence in it...” (P27)

“I don't know. Obviously, I'm nervous because I'm going to meet a lot of new people but that comes with it do you know what I mean? That's it really, a bit nervous about meeting new people and that's it”. (P21)

“And I just done that [building course] and passed that so I was doing skills two days and then the college three days so I passed that and that got me a bit better more confident in myself as well like.”(P20)

“I know when that opens [project they worked on], as soon as that opens I’ll be able to say to people well if you go inside that, that’s the project I was doing and that’s the inside of it.” (P21)

“But I am sort of getting bored of this now; I want to do something else that is actually of a benefit to me. So that’s why I signed up for this.” (P22)

Theme D: ‘future’

The theme ‘future’ was predicated upon participant expectations of the programme that they were about to embark upon, as well as their future aspirations once they had completed the course. Participants’ future aspirations tended to be very vague, uncompromising and unrealistic, often not really predicated on opportunities available to people with their qualifications and experience. Additionally, when the participants were realistic about the opportunities available to them in the future they tended to be very negative, perceiving their lack of qualifications and experience as barriers to their future progress. This negative outlook was often related to participant’s negative prior experiences and their negative perceptions of themselves, as discussed in Themes B and C. Some participants also expressed nascent entrepreneurial intentions, although ideas of becoming self-employed were vague and set in the distant future.

“Because I am not prepared to do anything I don’t want to, I’ve made a conscious decision about two months ago to never do anything that I don’t want to do and that’s the way I am going to live my life...” (P28)

“No. I will be famous, I know it might sound deluded, I will be famous. A lot of people are saying I am good because I can write my own lyrics and sing my own songs.” (P26)

“Because my old boss has said that if I ever need any help writing a business plan or doing anything like that then he would give me a hand. It would take a while but he would be willing to do it as long as I don’t start up a stupid business like he did, he’d help me out so that’s fine...but if it’s not going to work out and I can’t think of any ideas then I’d maybe do it over the long-term and maybe think of it as I got along.” (P34)

“Especially something like Events Management, which is a bit more specialist and the whole recession and spending money thing, they have got less free money as it were.....I just want to keep it local for the time being, and just focus on doing the right thing and then maybe in the future I will have the skill base and the confidence to approach a big company; but at the moment I just don’t think that I would be any use to them so I think that I just need to build myself up as a person first.” (P28)

“...well, at the moment, because I haven’t got a place to live, I can’t go out and get a job or temporary job because you need an address and vice versa. I need a job to get a place to live. So, without this thing with the cafe I’d be completely beggared but it’swell hopefully, it should help me out now.” (P29)

Time 2

Theme A – ‘prior experience’:

The theme of ‘prior experience’ re-emerged at T2 but with a very different emphasis. Instead of talking about the negative prior experience from school and work, participants talked about the positive prior experiences that they had whilst engaged with the programme. They also positively compared the current programme with other programmes they had completed previously. These comparisons include an acknowledgement that the intervention programme delivered by WISE 2 was good because the environment and staff were more supportive and the programme was more practically based and involved enjoyable activities. At T2 ‘prior experience’ provided a more positive influence on their outlook for the future.

“The other ones that I went on, at the end of the courses, I felt abandoned. So it was like go home, say ‘bye bye, ta-ra, go on’, then go on to another course...But from this course, I have managed to perhaps get a future job out of it or an apprenticeship.” (P21)

“I have been through three E2E courses I’ve done college, I’ve done school and none of it sort of put things into perspective as well as this did.” (P19)

“All the other projects was just hand me a form and fill that in do that whereas this one’s more practical do it like learn how to do it see how to do it feel how to do it and then sort of write how to do it do it all at the same time rather than being just jotting it all down so it has been good.” (P23)

“Yeah definitely, it has made me feel more like it’s more attainable, like it’s made me feel like....like...say ‘I know I can do it now’.” (P25)

“...it’s quite fun ‘cos there are people and I just thought that if I could have an environment like this that was mine it would be alright.” (P34)

Theme B – ‘the programme’:

Participants were generally positive about their engagement in the programme, stating that they enjoyed having structure to their day and trying new activities. Many of the participants expressed positive changes in their outlook resulting from the activities that they engaged in. These changes in outlook included increased self-belief from engaging with tasks that prior to engagement worried them, improved team-working skills and attempts at critical self and peer reflection. The participants acknowledged that the programme had helped to alleviate their fears of meeting new people and of engaging in new activities. There was also a sense of community through the realisation that finding work was difficult for many of their peers and this helped alleviate feelings of being the ‘only one’. The participants also talked about the supportive environment that the programme provided them and even talked about feelings that the staff and other participants were like ‘family’. There was some critique of the programme in that some participants didn’t feel that generic courses such as that delivered by WISE 2 were appropriate and that a more individual approach needed to be taken. However, the general consensus at T2 was that ‘the programme’ had been largely beneficial for the majority of participants.

“We also had to do, like gather round in a group in circles and we had to tell everyone’s weaknesses and good things about the people that were there. That was really good, quite emotional as well. Some people burst into tears hearing the truth and stuff. That was quite good ‘cos it was a sort of bonding exercise.” (P22)

“Erm, it's been more structured like I knew for definite what I would be doing each day of the week erm so it helped me plan the week.” (P23)

“When I got asked to do it [look after 20 children] I thought bloody hell, but actually it wasn't too bad, it was quite fun and a new experience. So basically I've learned to try new things and that's what this has given me the opportunity to do so far.” (P30)

“Like I am not the only one to have been struggling to get a job and I am like not the only one who does this kind of thing. I have met new people and people who are interested in the same things that I am interested in and its being quite good.” (P21)

“You are part of a family here, I know it sounds cliché but they make you feel... They never make me take my cap off or my hoody off, they never make me feel insignificant to another person, like I am as important as [staff name] is and vice versa, and [staff name] is the top guy here. So that's so good the feeling of friendship here.” (P30)

“...you shouldn't have a set, set like of rules for everyone. Say if at [WISE 2] there are people that want to do [the programme], you would have to interview every single individual and think what would be best to do in this situation, because you can't just say you will all do the teambuilding, because everyone ends up doing the same old shit and going nowhere.” (P26)

Theme C – ‘self’:

As with the ‘prior experience’ theme, when ‘self’ re-emerged at T2 it was a much more positive theme with participants describing how their experiences on the programme had changed how they felt about themselves. They described how they had learned new social skills, evaluated negative previous behaviours, gained in self-confidence, self-respect and self-belief. The participants also talked about being more self-aware and realising their own strengths and weaknesses. This learning process and receiving deserved praise exemplified how experiencing the more positive environment at WISE 2 helped to reverse poor participant self-image. However, at T2 participants understandably still had negative self-images or even unrealistic future ideas. These were articulated through a lack of confidence about the future for some participants, or unrealistic aims such as only going to college if there was a ‘guarantee’ of a job afterwards.

“I got a lot of confidence out of the project and I got some motivation out of it cos I’ve never motivated myself really to push myself to do something. And doing that, I actually pushed myself to do something and get something out of it.” (P22)

“I feel a lot more confident in myself, a lot more motivated to go out and get myself a job now because I am less nervous and everything. I got that out of it now cos I can just go out there and make my mark in the world really so it’s quite good.” (P22)

“The tutors were very supportive and they encouraged me to get involved with the rest of the group, like take the lead role at some point and just get on with the activities and it was just with their support I found the confidence to open up to the group and take a lead in an activity.” (P23)

“Yeah, with the pats on the back and everyone around me saying ‘yeah you got potential, and you got potential for marketing’... I know confidence comes into it, but I had the confidence just not much self-belief. But now that boost is there it’s really kicked in.” (P30)

“The way I think and the way I feel is changed it is just not I’m not the same person anymore I’m not the same hyperactive constantly wanting to talk to everybody constantly, ready to go sort of person I’ve changed like sort of calmed myself down, changed the way I think you know.” (P19)

“I don’t want to go to college unless... I don’t want to waste two or three years of pursuing something that isn’t going to happen. So I want some kind of guarantee. That’s why I’m scared of college because I’ve seen so many people succeed at College but not in their future after college. So, what’s the point?” (P30)

Theme D – ‘future’:

Again, ‘future’ re-emerged at T2 with the participants describing much more specific and realistic plans for the future. These plans included more structured job searching activities, such as CV writing, career planning and focusing upon jobs that they had the requisite skills for. Participants also talked about gaining experience in sub-optimal employment so that they

could then gain their ideal job. In some cases participants had actually succeeded in finding jobs and some participants also stated a desire to start a business at some point in the future, although these plans were often vague and distant.

“I’ll have to write CVs and send them out and be ready for it. I’ll have to research for the job I’ll be applying for as well. I need to know what I am doing and basically go from there.” (P22)

“Yeah I have got a plan. A Plan of where I want to go and what I want to do if you know what I mean and I’ve figured out my steps of how to get there. So, [WISE 1] and the mentoring training is giving me the steps I need to get the apprenticeship that the woman said I could have.” (P21)

“The mock interview that I had here [WISE 1], really, really, helped with the interview I had at [company] because that was two days after I had the mock interview. And yeah I went into the interview and got offered the job the same day.” (P24)

“No, I’ll hopefully be mentoring with people from [WISE 1] but if I stick with this for a while then once this apprenticeship opens up I should be able to go for that and that will give me an edge. Because I have been doing this training that will give me an edge to get it.” (P21)

“Whereas now I know that you can set up your own projects or business, which I did not know before this course. Really, I didn't know officially how you would go about that or like if that's possible to do. It's something I would consider for the future...That will be on hold for a little while until I've worked at this place for a while, or done some sort of work for a few years...” (P23)

8.2.3 – CG Qualitative Analysis and Results:

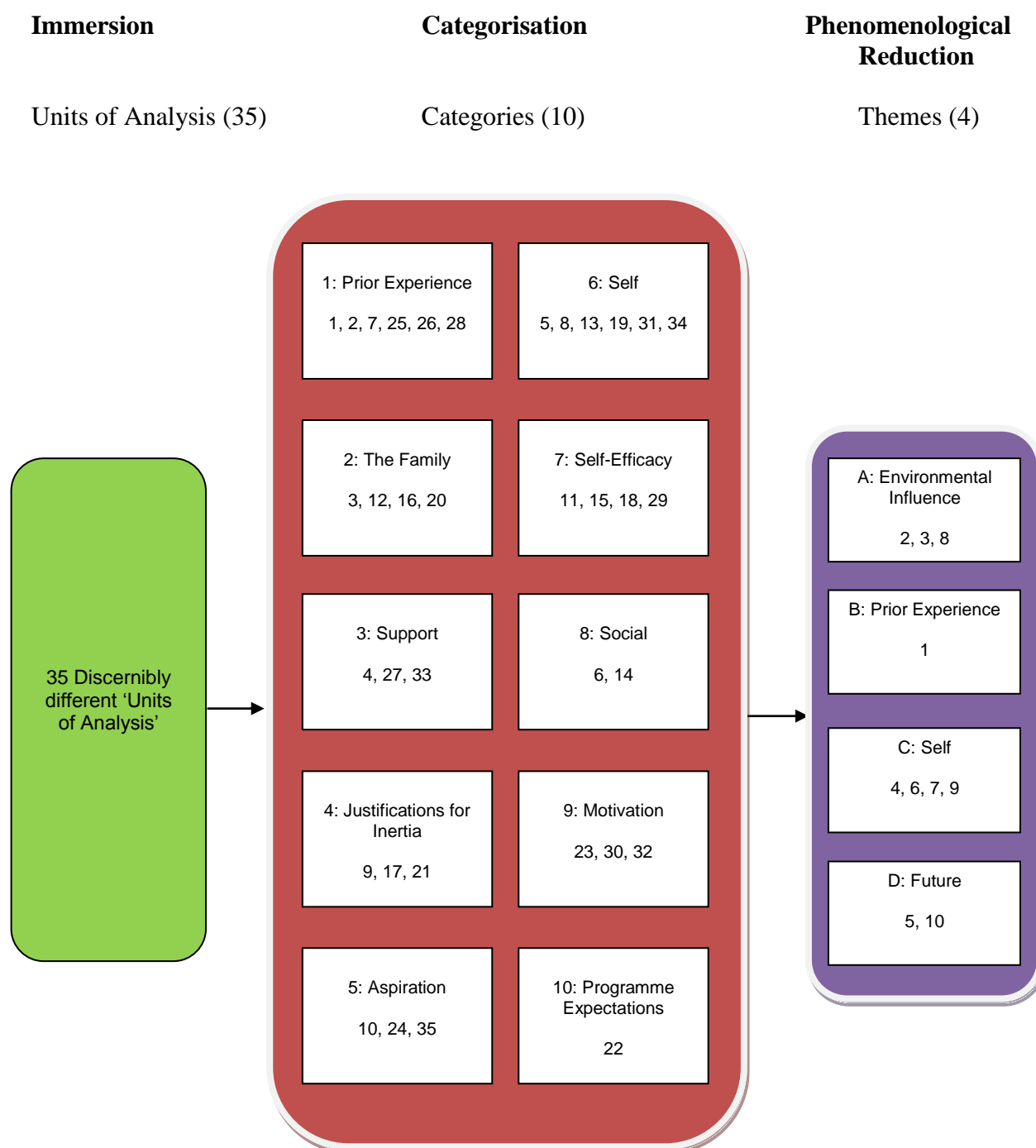
CG Time 1

Analysis of the Time 1 interview transcripts involved the researcher engaging with the five stages of CCM. During ‘immersion’, the researcher identified 35 discernibly different units of analysis from the data (e.g. ‘educational experience’, ‘exam results’ and ‘previous programmes’). During ‘categorisation’, these ‘units of analysis’ were grouped into 10 ‘categories’. During ‘categorisation’, these ‘units of analysis’ were grouped into 10 ‘categories’ and from these 10 categories four ‘themes’ emerged through a process of ‘phenomenological reduction’. These four emergent ‘themes’ were subsequently interpreted by the researcher as: ‘environmental influence’, ‘prior experience’, ‘self’ and ‘future’. A diagrammatic illustration of this qualitative analysis process is provided for further clarification (see Figure 8.5). These four themes were identical to the four themes that had emerged at T1 at WISE 1 and WISE 2.

CG Time 2

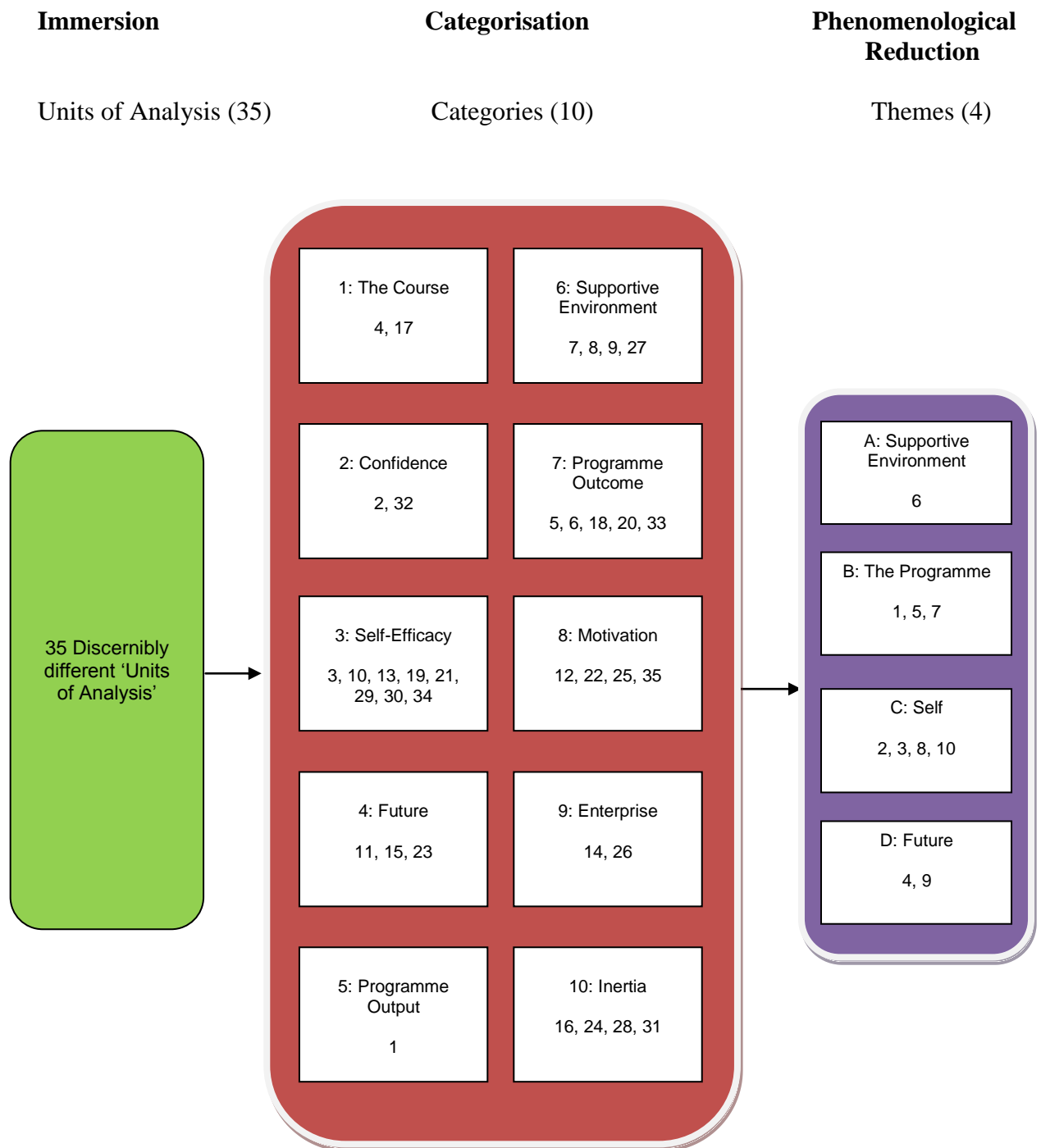
During immersion, the researcher identified 35 discernibly different ‘units of analysis’ (e.g. ‘teamwork’ ‘creativity’ and ‘maturity’). ‘Categorisation’ resulted in 10 ‘categories’ emerging from the 35 ‘units of analysis’. During ‘phenomenological reduction’, four ‘themes’ emerged from the 10 ‘categories’. These four emergent ‘themes’ were subsequently interpreted by the researcher as, ‘supportive environment’, ‘the programme’, ‘self’ and ‘future’ (see Figure 8.6). These four themes were identical to the themes that had emerged at T2 at WISE 1.

Figure 8.5 – Phases of CCM Analysis at T1 (CG):



NB. The numbers displayed above in Fig. 8.5 in the 'categories' boxes correspond to the relevant units of analysis contained in that category. A full list of these units of analysis can be found at Appendix L, along with the rules of inclusion for the categories and themes. The numbers in the 'themes' boxes correspond to the relevant category contained in that theme.

Figure 8.6 – Phases of CCM Analysis at T2 (CG):



NB. The numbers displayed above in Fig. 8.6 in the 'categories' boxes correspond to the relevant units of analysis contained in that category. A full list of these units of analysis can be found at Appendix M. The numbers in the 'themes' boxes correspond to the relevant category contained in that theme.

Eight overall themes emerged from the analysis of the CG interview data (four at T1 and four at T2). These themes were interpreted as participant perceptions. Two of the themes that emerged at T1 ('self' and 'future') re-emerged at T2. Two of the themes that emerged at T1 ('environmental influence' and 'prior experience') did not re-emerge at T2 but were superseded by two new themes ('supportive environment' and 'the programme').

Time 1

Theme A – 'environmental influence':

As with the participants at the two WISEs, the major environmental influences cited by the participants at the CG were the negative influences resulting from family breakdown, family bereavement and negative peer relationships. The lack of a Father figure or positive role-model in the lives of the participants was often a factor in their environment that negatively affected other aspects of their lives such as school. Whilst some participants did talk about positive role models such as step-parents this was not the norm and the lack of a cohesive family unit generally had a negative affect upon them. However, in comparison to the participants at both WISE 1 and WISE 2, the 'environmental influences' upon the participants at the CG were less negative and so the participants could be viewed as being less 'socially excluded'. Some of the participants had an extended and supportive family and parents who were in long-term employment.

"My parents split up when I was about three months old so I've never really known them together. My Mum went to prison for drug dealing and shoplifting when I was six. I've always lived with my Dad my Nan and Granddad, but now my Dad lives in Stoke." (P1)

It was all right until my Mum went away and then I went a bit off-track, like not going in [to school] and playing up. Then the teacher started not liking me and I didn't get any help." (P5)

"Because like before that I was working all the time or I was looking for jobs all the time, but then I started hanging around with the wrong people and I started smoking

too much weed and then I just couldn't be bothered no more. I would just lie in bed all day.” (P1)

“My Dad passed away five years ago.....it was three o'clock in the morning on Tuesday, 16 January...” (P2)

“One of my brothers is really supportive and my Dad as well, because my brother was the first one that took me into that position [in the construction place].” (P4)

“He's [Step-Dad] the one that inspired me to do my football coaching at College. So I do look at him as a role model. I'm not sure why really he gives me the opportunity to prove myself, which not many people do.” (P6)

Theme B – ‘prior experience’:

The T1 interviews at the CG revealed that many more of the participants had gained higher qualifications compared with the participants from WISE 1 and WISE 2. They also tended to have more work experience but even with these potential advantages their ‘prior experience’ was still largely negative. School had been not very enjoyable for the participants and a minority of the participants had truanted from school or mentally disengaged from learning. The qualifications did not lead to better opportunities and any employment obtained was both transitory in nature and poorly paid. Maths and English were again perceived as problematic subject areas and the need to gain more qualifications preoccupied many of the participants. Often the participants had entered into further education to gain these qualifications but had then dropped out for various reasons. These partly negative and incomplete experiences had left them feeling unsure of their futures or what to do next.

“I'm 18 I left school when I was 15. I completed all of my GCSEs. I got three B's, six C's and two D's. I got two B's in English and a B in art...Then after I went to Cadbury College for about three weeks and started to do my A-levels, but I couldn't be bothered so I got a job at McDonald's... Then I left that and I have been doing like nothing for over a year, I am here now because I need to get a job and I can't get one.” (P1)

"I didn't really like it [school] because I don't like writing much. I am like an active person and so school, I just didn't get along with." (P2)

"I started not going and then obviously because I wasn't going my grades were going down and down and I started playing up and doing stupid things." (P5)

"I was working there [butchers] for one and a half months and the manager came up to me and he said to me 'We are finding it difficult to pay staff I'm afraid we are going to have to let you go. You are temporary staff and we have a tight budget this and that.' So, he gave me this letter and said 'We are going to have to let you go next week'." (P3)

"I left school with three...Two GCSEs, a C in Bengali and a C in drama. So I did a bit of an apprenticeship but I never carried on with the apprenticeship because I had to go on holiday so I left that. Then I went to [college name] and I did Business Level I and I passed that. I was doing Business Level II and then I dropped out so I've just come here." (P3)

Theme C – 'self':

Unlike the participants at the two WISEs, the CG participants didn't seem to focus on issues of confidence but instead gave fairly 'honest' self-assessments. Some participants described themselves as aggressive and others talked about a lack of motivation or only being motivated by things that interested them. However, similar to the participants at the two WISE organisations they did talk about requiring 'respect' and also of a lack of confidence in certain social situations, particularly in formal settings such as presentations or job interviews. Finally, there was also a more mature approach from the CG participants who were more reflective upon the impacts that a lack of qualifications and particularly unemployment had upon them and the need sometimes to obtain less than ideal employment as a temporary measure.

"I'm not really very motivated. Like I can get myself out of bed in the morning if I really need to, but if I don't need to then I just sleep. Like if people tell me to do something I do it because I have to do it rather than because I want to do it." (P5)

“Well, when it comes down to pen and paper I'm not very motivated at all, but when it's the active side anything active I'm pretty much motivated a lot. It's like when I was on this apprenticeship and we had to do stuff on the railway I was always motivated.” (P2)

“...my main confidence issue is when I have a group of people staring at me, like when you do talks, that is when I get less confident..... I just feel shy because everyone is staring at me and half the people I don't know and I have to sit there and talk about what I'm doing, its again mainly pressure on me.” (P6)

“A lot of people give you respect [when you are wearing a suit]. I realise because I work in a butcher's, people don't speak to you right. They just say ‘Give me that, give me that’. You aren't given any respect like them saying ‘Give me that please’.” (P3)

“When you ain't got money you start doing bad things, you start robbing, you start getting trouble with the police, this and that.....So I got a job, it's not the best job, you have to do a lot in that place and the way that they treat you isn't really that good either, but you just have to handle it for the time being and keep working at it.” (P3)

Theme D – ‘future’:

Once more the CG participants differed from the WISE participants in that they had more specific aspirations that were more realistic in relation to their qualifications and experience. They also aspired to improve their qualifications to increase their chances of finding more interesting work. One participant had a slightly less realistic aspiration of becoming a pilot but did not have the self-belief that it was genuinely achievable.

“I heard that they teach you how to get a job, how to be employed, what they look for and an apprenticeship. I don't mind getting onto an apprenticeship, an apprenticeship to get the job that I want, because obviously it will give me the training that I need for employers... You know they will say he's got the qualifications we want, he has got the training, he knows what he's doing, just a bit more training and he will be able to do what needs to be done. So I don't mind.” (P3)

“I’m hoping to probably get a few extra qualifications because that’s what I wanted to do at College and I didn’t get it. Qualifications are what I want to get out of it [the programme] and probably an apprenticeship at the end.” (P6)

“I only did childcare because that was the only thing that was on offer. I didn’t know what I wanted to do. My aim now is to get into Retail and Customer Service because you just get new things every day, you know, new things to deal with.” (P1)

“I don’t want to be going to work moaning that I hate this job, I want to get something that I enjoy. I don’t mind being electrician, like fitting air-conditioning units because I’ve heard a lot of good money, but then again I also wouldn’t mind being a businessman, where I would wear suits and go to the office.” (P3)

“I wanted to I don’t know be a pilot. I got my grades but eventually I would have been disappointed.” (P5)

Time 2

Theme A – ‘supportive environment’:

At T2 the participants’ responses during the interviews focused on the positive support they received on the programme rather than referring back to the negative environmental influences that characterised their T1 responses. They described the staff on the programme as being more helpful and understanding than teachers at their previous schools and colleges, and provided more support and a more relaxed and friendly environment. This ‘supportive environment’ made participants feel they were being treated like adults and gave them the respect that they talked about wanting at T1. Some participants also talked about the peer-support that they gained through the programme, which was also important for their self-development. The ‘supportive environment’ on the CG programme allowed the participants to improve their confidence, presentation skills and job-search strategies.

“Here [on the programme] it is more laid-back compared to College, because I can’t deal with rules sitting in the classroom all the time. Whereas here, you have got a bit more freedom so it’s better and the staff are easier to talk to...” (P1)

“Yeah I think improved, it definitely improved. We have help from [teacher] and I liked it when she helped, she would help you on the side.” (P3)

“The teachers back in my old college they wouldn't really help you, it is just basically they will go through it once and then that's it you have to do it. The ones that come here you have got more support from these people than the last place. The classmates as well a much better than the last place.” (P4)

“A lot, I'm a lot more confident now.....because I think I just realised that there is no point in being shy because you will not get hurt. So just say what you got to say and get on with it.” (P1)

“The teacher, yeah we got along with her and basically she helped us a lot. It was a really friendly environment and she really helped us. We used the computers to look for jobs and if we had any problems she would just try and help us as much as she could.” (P3)

Theme B – ‘the programme’:

The participants described the employability content of the programme as being the most useful. They saw direct practical links with what they were doing and how it could help them find work in the future. What also emerged from the statements cited below is the impression that the participants were gaining confidence in their ability to present themselves and to function appropriately in the workplace. This was particularly aided by the team-working that the participants had to engage with and the fact that at some point they engaged with every single other participant on the programme. The programme also dispelled any naïve ideas that the participants had about behaviour in the work-place or in job-interview situations.

“Yeah we all had to introduce ourselves and we all did the same things so nobody was getting left out. We had to work with each other and in that way we got to know each other, not just one person we got to know everyone in the class, because we worked with different groups on different days.” (P3)

“Employability was good I learnt a lot from that. I think I learnt the most out of employability rather than anything else, because we did interview skills and what not to do in interviews, and I learnt how to write proper CV and how to write proper cover letter and stuff like that, and what stuff I need to put on them.” (P1)

“...well they [CG staff] give you a bit of help of how to take a phone call, what to say in a phone call, so that you are prepared. With the interview skills they prepare you for real-life interviews and all this.” (P2)

“...I would sometimes say something bad about myself instead of saying something positive, whereas now I would always say something positive. Recently I just had an interview and the person said after the interview I did a really good interview so I can see straightaway it has helped me a lot.” (P6)

“I was surprised yeah surprised. Like, any bad thing that you do might put them off, like if you walk out the room and say something someone else might hear what you say, like the another person waiting for the interview.” (P3)

Theme C – ‘self’:

At T1, the participants’ views of ‘self’ were largely negative, whilst at T2 they described themselves in much more positive terms. Participants talked about how the programme had given them increases in self-confidence (particularly in formal social settings), boosted their motivation levels and bolstered their self-belief. There was still a tendency to revert to feelings of inertia by stating that they would do something ‘next week sometime’ and to view themselves as somehow inferior to employed individuals, but these instances were few.

“It's like my confidence is...well towards work I can work better in a team now than I did before. I can work a lot more and be a lot more confident with people that I don't know.” (P2)

“I know what I want to do and be able to do because I'm creative and I can cope with ideas for practically anything, obviously like design wise and stuff like that.” (P1)

“I know that you have to start somewhere at the bottom, obviously you have to start at the bottom, but I just want to work my way to the top.” (P3)

“Well before I was really shy with people where as now it has really given me a big confidence boost that I can just speak up whenever I want to now and become more involved.....[asked why this change had occurred] because of the tasks that we have done that helped me to get to know people better. When I build a relationship up with someone I just feel better and more confident talking to people.” (P6)

“No I'm going to do it, I still got to do it, probably next week sometime. I've got to find out... Because not all performing arts courses do stage production so I've got to find out whether they actually do stage production.” (P1)

Theme D – ‘future’:

Participant perceptions of the ‘future’ at T2 changed from focusing on qualifications and job aspirations to specific actions they were taking to realise those aspirations. The statements made by the participants at T2 reflected a general feeling of optimism for the future and this was in part due to the career plans that they had developed whilst on the programme. Whilst the CG participants were relatively mature in their future aspirations at T1 when compared to the participants from the two WISEs, this maturity had increased. Some participants also talked about establishing their own businesses in the future. This ‘enterprising’ attitude was in part attributed by the participants to the ‘creative’ opportunities offered to them on the programme.

“It's got better because I found something that I really, really, want to do. Set design stage lighting the management that kind of stuff. Whereas before, I didn't know what I wanted to do, I just wanted a job.” (P1)

“No I didn't really have a clue before. Nothing was planned out. Ever since I've come here they have helped me in my career choice. In class there was a task where basically anyone who didn't have a clue about their career choice, they would be like helping them out to search for stuff and go through a career and they would read out the skills, like what skills do they need. And they would give a list of all the skills that they would need from their employees.” (P4)

“I’m going to stick to Carpentry for now because it was one of my main choices, I’m going to see what road that takes me down.” (P2)

“My future, my future plan is to move on to College and get an apprenticeship in Plumbing or Electronics and once I have finished college I would hope to get my own business in Plumbing or Electronics and just carry on.” (P4)

“I always knew that I was creative, but I just didn’t really do anything with it... I’ve realised I can get a job in something that I enjoy, where as before I just thought the job was a job to make money but now I can do it and enjoy it as well.” (P1)

8.3 – Discussion

The overall findings of the quantitative and qualitative research presented above support the finding of the pilot study conducted at the beginning of the research that an intervention methodology, utilising both qualitative and quantitative methods in the form of semi-structured interviews and self-efficacy scales, is an appropriate means to measure *outcome* when assessing NEET work-integration programmes (Denny *et al.*, 2011). The triangulation of the quantitative results and qualitative findings of this research provided support to researcher interpretations of the overall results of the research study (McLeod, 1994). A discussion of the qualitative results will now be undertaken in relation to the research questions outlined at the start of this chapter.

8.3.1 – Research Question 1:

What historical factors led the individual to the point of being NEET and how has this impacted upon their self-efficacy levels and future aspirations?

Emergent themes from the NEET interviews at T1 supported the interpretation of the quantitative data at T1 by revealing that the majority of the participants belonged to what Yates and Payne (2006) labelled the ‘complicated’ NEET subgroup. This subgroup of NEETs have a history of ‘social exclusion’ that is predicated upon negative prior experiences and negative environmental influences. Findings of the current research also supported prior research reporting that NEETs are a heterogeneous entity (Yates and Payne, 2006) but

suggested that within this the subgroups formed (i.e. 'complicated' NEETs) tended towards homogeneity in their experiences. This was characterised in the current research sample through the emergent themes of 'environmental influence' and 'prior experience'. These two themes revealed links and provided a common story amongst the NEETs of family breakdown, leading to problems and occasionally withdrawal from school, and ultimately failure in the workplace or further education. This finding supports prior research that suggested that familial problems and educational failure were highly likely to lead to NEET status and 'social exclusion' (Instance *et al.*, 1994; Armstrong *et al.*, 1997; Pearce & Hillman, 1998; Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Luck, 2008). These negative 'environmental influences' and 'prior experiences' impacted upon the theme of 'self' in which the NEETs articulated a largely negative view of themselves that was centred upon low self-confidence and motivation. This influenced the theme of 'future' in which the participants talked negatively about their future prospects and often held unrealistic and short-term aspirations. This finding offers support to prior research by Ball *et al.* (1999) which identified a subgroup of NEETs termed the 'here and now' group. These NEETs have generally suffered from 'social exclusion' and have future aspirations that are both short-term and unrealistic.

The theme of 'environmental influence' involved the influence of family and friends upon the participants' life. This influence was largely negative and revealed familial problems including family breakdown, absent fathers, bereavement or illness, parental rejection or abuse and long-term parental unemployment. In social settings this negative influence was characterised by peer relationships that had often led the NEET participant into truanting, alcohol and drug abuse and sometimes crime. This finding supports prior research by Payne (2002) that linked chaotic living arrangements, low academic achievement and problems at school, with 'social exclusion'. This created a negative environmental influence that surrounded the young person and contributed towards their problems at school. Interestingly, whilst the theme of 'environmental influence' emerged from the T1 data at all three case-studies, these participant 'environmental influences' were more negative at both of the WISE case-studies than at the CG. Whilst the participants at the CG had experienced 'social exclusion' in the form of family breakdown and bereavement as well as negative peer relationships, the participants did not report experiencing some of the more acute problems reported by the NEETs at the WISEs such as parental abuse, long-term parental unemployment and parental rejection. Additionally, reports of instances of criminal behaviour and alcohol and drug abuse were found to be fewer at the CG when compared to the WISEs. This suggests that the participants enrolled at the CG were less 'socially excluded' than those

enrolled at the two WISE organisations. It also supports the notion of the heterogeneous nature of NEETs (Ball *et al.*, 1999; Yates and Payne, 2006), even when the focus is on a particular sub-group (i.e. ‘complicated NEETs’) (Yates and Payne, 2006). The findings also provide support for the interpretation of the results of the statistical analysis of the demographic data gathered at T1 and reported in Chapter Seven, which suggested that the CG was inducting less ‘socially excluded’ individuals on to its work-integration programme.

The theme of ‘prior experience’ also emerged at T1 across all three of the case-study organisations involved in the research. This theme was linked to the largely negative theme of environmental influence that was outlined above and was characterised by problems at school and subsequent educational failure and a lack of qualifications. This then led to both an inability to access further education and also negative and transient employment experiences. In some cases the interviewees had never had a job. This finding supports prior research that linked educational failure to failure in the employment market and hence subsequent NEET status (Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Furlong, 2006; Luck, 2008). The interviewees also reported experiences of bullying at school, academic failure, an inability to cope with classroom environments and truanting. Some participants also stated that many of these problems at school had begun shortly after familial problems had occurred such as parental separation, bereavement or abuse. The participants also talked about their negative employment experiences during transient work situations, being made redundant or sacked or being unable to gain employment at all. The often transient nature of employment meant that many of the participants were almost transient NEETs and this had led to them receiving intermittent support from agencies such as Connexions. This finding supports prior research that highlighted the problems of NEET definition and how it can lead to those on the cusp of NEET status being ignored by policy-makers and government agencies (Bentley and Guremurthy, 1999). Again, as with the theme of ‘environmental influence’, the participants at the CG reported fewer negative experiences than those at the two WISEs. Whilst the participants at the CG had nevertheless experienced problems at school and in transient employment, they were not as severe as those reported by the participants at the two WISEs. The CG participants had generally achieved higher educational qualifications at school although this had rarely led to better experiences in employment. Even for these less ‘socially excluded’ individuals, ‘employability’ remained a serious problem.

The theme ‘self’ emerged from the data at all three case-study organisations and was characterised by participants articulating a negative view of themselves that was centred upon

feelings of low self-confidence (particularly in social situations), a lack of motivation or laziness, and emotional problems. This negative self-image was based in the participants' negative 'prior experience' and the negative 'environmental influences' in their lives. This lack of confidence, motivation and self-belief were interpreted by the researcher as being low self-efficacy, as prior research has shown these constructs to be key components of self-efficacy (Judge *et al.*, 1997). Self-efficacy beliefs are based upon past experiences (Gist and Mitchell, 1992), as positive mastery experiences reinforce efficacy beliefs and negative experiences reduce perceived efficaciousness (Bandura, 1997). Additionally, environmental influences can also affect efficacy beliefs as individuals also develop self-efficacy through the 'vicarious experience' of watching others close to them, such as family, succeed (Bandura, 1977). Therefore, researcher interpretations of the interview data gathered at T1 from the participants at the three case-study organisations point towards NEET individuals having weak self-efficacy beliefs, which are rooted in the negative 'environmental influences' and 'prior experiences' outlined above. Furthermore, high degrees of emotional arousal are also damaging to efficacy beliefs (Bandura, 1977, 1997) and the NEET participants involved in this research talked of struggling to cope emotionally in stressful situations. It can be argued that these emotional problems restrict their self-efficacy beliefs by both contributing to their failure in 'prior experiences' and in reducing their chances of successful 'mastery experiences' in future tasks. This finding supports the interpretation of the quantitative results outlined in Chapter Seven that demonstrated a correlation between self-regulative efficacy scale (SRE) scores at T1 and completion of the work-integration programmes. Interestingly, as with the themes of 'environmental influence' and 'prior experience', the qualitative analysis of the interview data revealed a difference between the self-efficacy beliefs of the participants at the two WISEs and the participants at the CG. The CG participants tended to be more realistic in their self-assessments and whilst confidence was still an issue, it was restricted to social situations rather than being a general lack of confidence as was the case with the participants at the two WISE organisations. It is suggested that this reduced anxiety and higher self-efficacy is based upon the positive 'prior experience' of the NEETs at the CG, which enabled higher self-efficacy through mastery experiences (i.e. higher educational qualifications). Again, this finding supports the interpretation of the quantitative data discussed in Chapter Seven, which outlined the higher educational qualifications of the CG participants and the correlation between educational success and general self-efficacy (GSE). It also offers some support to prior research that linked past educational experience/success with future success in employment and education (Payne 1998, 2002; Britton *et al.*, 2002).

The theme of ‘future’ also emerged from the T1 interview data at all three case-study organisations, and was based upon participant aspirations and also their perceptions of their future prospects both in the short and long-term. These ‘future’ perceptions and aims were often unrealistic (Furlong and Biggart, 1999; Croll, 2008) or motivated by negative ‘environmental influences’ such as parents being able to claim benefits if they enrolled on a particular programme. The negative ‘prior experiences’ outlined above also impacted upon participant future aspirations as most participants dismissed the viability of further education due to their negative past educational experiences. This finding demonstrates how for NEETs future actions and behaviour are constrained by past failures and experiences and the impact of these negative ‘prior experiences’ and ‘environmental influences’ is to reduce self-efficacy as outlined by Bandura (1997). The participants at all three case-study organisations were extremely wary of aspirations that would lead them into new and unfamiliar environments and this may be due to low participant self-efficacy levels inhibiting their ability to engage with new and challenging tasks and environments as proposed by Lindley and Borgen (2002). Participants’ long-term future perceptions were largely negative and reflected a belief that their options were limited due to a lack of qualifications and a lack of employment opportunities, that restricted their ‘horizons for action’ (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996). Participants articulated vague aspirations that were both unrealistic and distant to their present situation, offering support to prior research that suggested that the most ‘complicated’ NEETs engage in wishful thinking as a coping mechanism (Ball *et al.*, 1999; Furlong and Biggart, 1999; Croll, 2008; Sabates *et al.*, 2011). Indeed, in most cases the NEET participants were what Sabates *et al.*’s (2011) model would have defined as ‘misaligned under’ or ‘aligned low’ (quadrants *iii* and *iv* of the model).

8.3.2 – Research Question 2:

How have individuals’ levels of self-efficacy been changed by their participation on the work-integration programme and how has this affected their future aspirations?

Findings from the analysis of the NEET interviews at T2 revealed that the participants at all three case-studies perceived positive *outcome* benefits related to their time spent on the work-integration programme. These positive *outcome* benefits were articulated in the form of perceived psychological benefits for example, increases in confidence and motivation. As both of these constructs are key components of GSE (Judge *et al.*, 1997), this finding was interpreted as revealing increased participant GSE. During the T2 interviews, the participants

talked about their positive engagement with the programme and how the daily structure and ‘mastery experiences’ that they had experienced had led to higher social confidence and increased motivation. The participants also talked about the ‘supportive environment’ that they experienced on ‘the programme’ and this replaced or reduced the impact of the negative themes of ‘environmental influence’ and ‘prior experience’ that had emerged as themes at T1. They also talked positively about the enhanced employability skills that the work-integration programmes had given them and how this had led to more structured job-search activity. This led to the emergence of a more positive theme of ‘self’ at T2 in which the participants talked about increased confidence, motivation and creativity. The fourth emergent theme of ‘future’ was thus also more positive with participants articulating realistic career aspirations, which importantly were grounded in actual ‘career plans’ detailing how they would achieve their goals. Interpretations of the emergent themes at T1 and T2 indicate the positive effect that both the two WISE organisations and the CG organisation had upon the NEET participants that completed the programmes in terms of *outcome* benefits. Triangulation (McLeod, 1994) of the results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis support researcher interpretations of the finding from both sets of data.

The T2 theme of ‘supportive environment’ that emerged at WISE 1 and the CG, replaced the negative theme of ‘environmental influence’ that emerged at T1. The participants talked about the support that they received from WISE 1 and the CG and how they were treated ‘like an adult’, ‘with respect’ and given ‘trust’ and ‘responsibility’. Participants positively contrasted this support with their negative ‘prior experiences’ of school, college and employment and talked about how the ‘supportive environment’ offered to them had allowed them to positively develop their confidence, motivation and self-belief. This was interpreted during the analysis as increases in participant self-efficacy, through verbal persuasion (Judge *et al.*, 1997; Bandura, 1997; Chen *et al.*, 2001). The data contained within the theme ‘supportive environment’ offers support to prior research into the positive effect that work-integration social enterprises have upon participants (Borzaga and Loss, 2006). However, it also suggests that this effect is not exclusive to WISEs but that it also occurs at for-profit work-integration providers, represented in this case by the CG. The theme of ‘prior experience’ that emerged from the data at T1 at both WISE 1 and the CG was not present at T2, which may be symptomatic of how the ‘supportive environment’ at WISE 1 and the CG diminished the effect of these negative experiences and so reduced ‘social exclusion’ (Williamson, 1997; Payne, 2002; Yates and Payne, 2006). The theme of ‘prior experience’ did reappear at T2 in the analysis of the interview data from WISE 2. However, as with WISE 1 and the CG, the

emphasis made by the participants upon their negative ‘prior experiences’ was greatly reduced following their interaction with WISE 2. The participants instead talked positively about their experience on the work-integration programme and used this to relate to and contrast with their previous negative experiences of education and employment, as well as previous training programmes that they had completed. This perspective allowed them to take a more positive outlook on their future, as the participants now felt that they had the support to progress in the job-market. This optimism allowed the participants to look beyond barriers to employment or further education that had seemed insurmountable at T1 (such as lack of qualifications), which prior research has shown to be important in NEET status (Furlong, 2006).

The theme ‘the programme’ emerged from the T2 interview data at all three case-study organisations and was predicated upon participant evaluations of the programme that they had just experienced, specifically with reference to programme content and their achievements in the form of *outputs* and *outcomes* (McLoughlin *et al.*, 2009). The *outputs* articulated by the participants included educational qualifications such as BTECs, as well as CV enhancement, employability skills (i.e. interview skills, work experience) and Health and Safety qualifications. Actually gaining these qualifications provided a huge boost to the participants who often had had very little success in educational work. These educational ‘mastery experiences’ were one of the main factors behind improvements in participant self-perceptions and hence future outlooks. The participants linked their ability to succeed to the ‘supportive environment’ offered by the three programmes, and the researcher proposes that this ‘supportive environment’ allowed for ‘mastery experiences’ via ‘verbal persuasion’, both of which can augment self-efficacy beliefs (Bandura, 1997). In relation to the *outcome* benefits experienced by the participants they talked about a ‘sense of achievement’ and growing ‘maturity’. There was also an acknowledgement that they had been able to develop their social skills and overcome fears of new situations. Again, the researcher interpreted this as an increase in self-efficacy as the participants were more open to new and challenging environments (Lindley and Borgen, 2002). Finally, the NEETs at all three case-studies talked about the importance of meeting other young people in similar situations, which allowed them mitigate feeling of isolation or of individual failure. This social experience coupled with the ‘supportive environment’ provided a ‘substitute family’ for some of the participants. This substitution allowed them to reduce the effect of the negative ‘environmental influences’ and ‘prior experiences’ talked about at T1 and hence was a contributory factor in reducing the effects of ‘social exclusion’ (Payne, 2002; Furlong, 2006; Yates and Payne, 2006).

The theme of 'self' also re-emerged at T2 from the interview data at all three case-study organisations, but because of the positive effects of 'the programme' and the 'supportive environment' outlined above, the participants' self-image became much more positive. The NEETs at all three case-study organisations expressed increases in confidence (particularly in social situations), increases in motivation (both intrinsic and extrinsic), and improved self-belief. The participants stated that these changes in confidence, motivation and self-belief were due to the work-integration programmes that they had completed, and in particular the process of undertaking and completing tasks on the programme (i.e. educational qualifications or team exercises). This finding has been interpreted as representing increases in general self-efficacy augmented through 'mastery experiences', 'vicarious experience' and 'verbal persuasion' (Bandura, 1977, 1997; Chen *et al.*, 2001) as prior research has shown confidence, motivation and self-belief as core components of GSE (Judge *et al.*, 1997). Such an evaluation is also supported by the quantitative results outlined in Chapter Seven through a process of triangulation (McLeod, 1994), which detailed statistically significant increases in GSE between T1 and T2 at all three case-studies. However, participants had still retained some negative self-perceptions in the form of recognising that they still had emotional problems, anger management issues or acknowledgment that they continued to be constrained by medical problems such as 'attention deficit hyperactivity disorder' (ADHD). This is quite understandable and it would be unrealistic to state that a lifetime of limited academic achievement, poor school attendance or exclusion, chaotic living arrangements and low socio-economic status that are the result of 'social exclusion' (Payne, 2002), could be fully overcome by a work-integration programme. Similarly, no statistically significant changes in self-regulative efficacy between T1 and T2 at any of the case-study organisations were evident in the quantitative data. Nevertheless, the overall effects upon the NEET participants' self-image at all three case-studies were positive and offer support to prior research that suggests that work-integration programmes have a beneficial effect upon the participants that engage with them, particularly in relation to 'human and social capital' (Borzaga and Loss, 2006; Nyssens and Platteau, 2006).

The 'supportive environment' and mastery experiences offered by 'the programme' not only had a positive effect upon the theme 'self', but also caused a much more positive and optimistic theme of 'future' to re-emerge from the T2 interview data at all three case-studies. Participants reported being more energised about their future prospects, and this had resulted in clearer and better defined aspirations. The participants had moved away from what Ball *et al.* (1999) termed the 'here and now' and 'hazy futures' groups towards the 'definitive group'

in which the NEETs had ‘clearer’ and ‘possible’ aspirations. This was in part because the programmes had widened the participants ‘horizons for action’ by increasing their confidence, skills and their ‘perception of opportunity’ (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996). This provided a buffer for and limited the other constraints on a young person’s career choices such as the post-16 transition, the ‘prior experiences’ of the young person and the ‘environmental influences’ that surround them (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996; Ball *et al.*, 1999). Some participants also stated a desire to establish their own business at some point in the future. Whilst this desire was often vague and placed into the distant future, it also demonstrated the ‘enterprising’ effect that the work-integration programmes had upon the NEET participants. Again, this can be interpreted as being due to an increase in self-efficacy, as prior research has linked self-efficacy to entrepreneurial intentions (Aviram, 2006; Nabi, Holden & Walmsley, 2010). The increase in self-efficacy that has been evident in both the quantitative and qualitative data gathered in this research study indicates that some participants had begun to believe that they were capable of being enterprising and hence becoming self-employed. This increased attitude to enterprise was also part of the participants attempt to de-limit their horizons by examining self-employment as a means of overcoming limited employment opportunities in their locality as found by Hodkinson *et al.* (1996).

The effect of behavioural plasticity (Brockner, 1988) that was demonstrated in the quantitative results in Chapter Seven was also evident in the qualitative interview data gathered from the NEET participants at T1 and T2, thus supporting prior research that indicated the effect of behavioural plasticity in work-integration programmes (Eden and Aviram, 1993; Creed *et al.*, 2001). The interview data showed that whilst both samples had suffered broadly negative prior experiences, these experiences and the resulting ‘social exclusion’ were more broadly entrenched for the NEETs participating at the two WISE case-study organisations. The reduced ‘social exclusion’ and subsequently higher self-efficacy levels of the NEETs participating at the CG organisation impacted upon the plasticity effect and so reduced the change between T1 and T2 in GSE levels. The qualitative interview data shows no difference in the *outcome* performance between any of the three case-study organisations and this is reflected in the identical or very similar themes that emerged from the qualitative data at T2. The two WISE organisations are therefore achieving very similar *outcomes* to those of the CG organisation with a participant sample that has been shown to be more socially excluded. Therefore, as the two WISE organisations recruited a cohort of NEETs that were more ‘socially excluded’ and hence had lower self-efficacy levels at T1, the scope for improvement in self-efficacy was greater.

8.4 – Summary

The qualitative results discussed in this chapter have supported the conclusions drawn from the quantitative data discussed in Chapter Seven through a process of triangulation (McLeod, 1994). The results of the current study have also confirmed the result of the pilot study that proposed and validated a mixed-methods research approach to evaluating the *outcome* benefits of WISEs that offer work-integration programmes to NEETs (Denny *et al.*, 2011). The results from this present research study support the research methodology utilised as being appropriate for an evaluation of WISEs working with NEETs, and have also shown that such an approach is suitable when conducted at for-profit work-integration organisations.

The emergent themes from the T1 interview data support prior research linking NEET status with ‘social exclusion’ (Yates & Payne, 2006; Payne, 2002; Williamson, 1997). The research also supports prior NEET research by Yates and Payne (2006) into the heterogeneous nature of NEET experiences, albeit suggesting that such differing experiences can still be thematically homogenised to a degree. It is also proposed that the negative emergent themes of ‘self’ and ‘future’ are also indicative of low self-efficacy amongst the participants, predicated upon the emergent themes of ‘environmental influence’ and their ‘prior experience’. Findings of the analysis of the interview data at T1 also offer support to the conclusions drawn in Chapter Seven that the NEET participants at the CG were less ‘socially excluded’ than the participants at the two WISEs due to less negative ‘environmental influences’ and ‘prior experiences’. This reduced social exclusion had resulted in at least some positive ‘mastery experiences’ in the form of higher educational achievement and a more positive work-experience than the participants at the WISE case-studies, which in turn had resulted in what was interpreted as higher levels of self-efficacy. These findings support the quantitative data outlined in Chapter Seven, as well as prior research linking educational experience to NEET status (Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Luck, 2008). Finally, the research findings offer support to prior research that reports that prior success in life, persistent positive vicarious experiences, verbal persuasion and psychological states can augment general self-efficacy (Chen, Gully and Eden, 2001).

The results from the T2 interviews demonstrate the positive effect of the three work-integration programmes on the NEET participants that engaged with them. This confirms prior research into the positive effects that work-integration programmes have upon the participants that engage with them (Borzaga and Loss, 2006), particularly in relation to improvements in ‘human and social capital’ (Nyssens and Platteau, 2006). The participant

perspectives gained from the interviews also revealed that this improvement in self-image and future aspiration were a direct consequence of the work-integration programme that the NEETs had experienced, as well as the ‘supportive environment’ and mastery experiences that the participants experienced on the programmes.

Analysis of the qualitative results also revealed support for the findings of prior research into the effects of plasticity in work-integration programmes and the impact that this factor may have upon participant experiences of the programmes and the *outcome* benefits that they gain from them (Eden & Aviram, 1993; Creed *et al.*, 2001). Finally and perhaps most importantly, the qualitative results suggest that WISEs do offer ‘added value’ in relation to their for-profit counterparts, via their willingness to take on more ‘complicated’ NEETs suffering from greater degrees of ‘social exclusion’ (Payne 2002; Yates & Payne, 2006). Whilst the small sample size in terms of numbers of participants and case-study organisations mean that further research is required to verify this conclusion, the support that the qualitative data discussed in this chapter and the quantitative data outlined in Chapter Seven lend to each other, mean that the conclusions drawn from the data gathered in this research study can be considered valid and reliable. This last research finding is central to this thesis and will be discussed further in relation to organisational factors in Chapter Nine.

Chapter 9 – Organisation & Policy-makers Analysis & Results

This chapter focuses on the organisational factors that affected the delivery of the work-integration programmes at the three case-study organisations. There will also be an examination of the policy and funding frameworks that the three organisations operate in and how these constrain and affect the delivery of the work-integration programmes to NEET participants. In providing this overview the results from the qualitative analysis of the data from the semi-structured interviews and focus groups gathered from the owners, managers and staff at the three work-integration organisations are presented. The results of the analysis of the semi-structured interview data obtained from public-sector officials working for three different government agencies in a UK local authority are also presented. A discussion based upon these results is then undertaken in reference to both the prior literature and the quantitative and qualitative results from the NEET participants, which was discussed in the previous chapters (Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight), as well as with reference to the research questions outlined below and discussed in detail in Chapter Six. These research questions were grounded in the prior literature discussed in Chapters Two, Three and Four. All interview data was analysed using CCM and a full description of this method of analysis can be found in Chapter Six.

Research Question 3: To critically assess each case-study organisation's aims, objectives and structure with reference to how these impact upon the provision offered to NEET participants.

Research Question 4: What is contemporary government policy towards NEETs and the work-integration organisations that assist them, and how does this impact upon programme implementation at an organisational level?

9.1 – Organisational & Policy-Maker Sample Data

Semi-structured interviews were held with the owners/managers and focus groups were undertaken with the staff at each case-study organisation. In relation to government policy, an interview was held with a senior member of staff from a local Connexions agency, along with two senior members of staff from the same local authority. These last two members of staff were responsible for policy direction in the local authority and worked closely with the

‘Young Person’s Learning Agency’ (YPLA) and the ‘Skills Funding Agency’ (SFA). The policy related interviews were conducted in order to ascertain whether external factors such as funding contracts constrained the case-study organisations and hence affected programme delivery to NEETs. The interview schedules relating to these interviews and focus groups are presented in the appendices section of the thesis (Appendices D, E, F and G). The interview data was analysed by organisational type. The results are presented for social enterprises (WISE 1 and WISE 2), for the for-profit work-integration organisation (CG), as well as for local authority staff (LAS). The sample breakdown for the interview data is presented in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1 – Organisational & Policy-Maker Sample Data				
Organisation		Organisational Position		
		Owner/Manager	Senior Staff	Staff
Social Enterprise	WISE 1	1 x interview (2 participants)	Focus Group (3 participants)	Focus Group (7 participants)
	WISE 2	1 x interview	N/A	Focus Group (3 participants)
For-Profit	CG	1 x interview	N/A	Focus Group (6 participants)
Policy-maker Interviews				
Local Authority Staff	Connexions		1 x interview	
	Education & Skills Division		1 x interview (2 participants)	

9.2 – Qualitative Analysis and Results

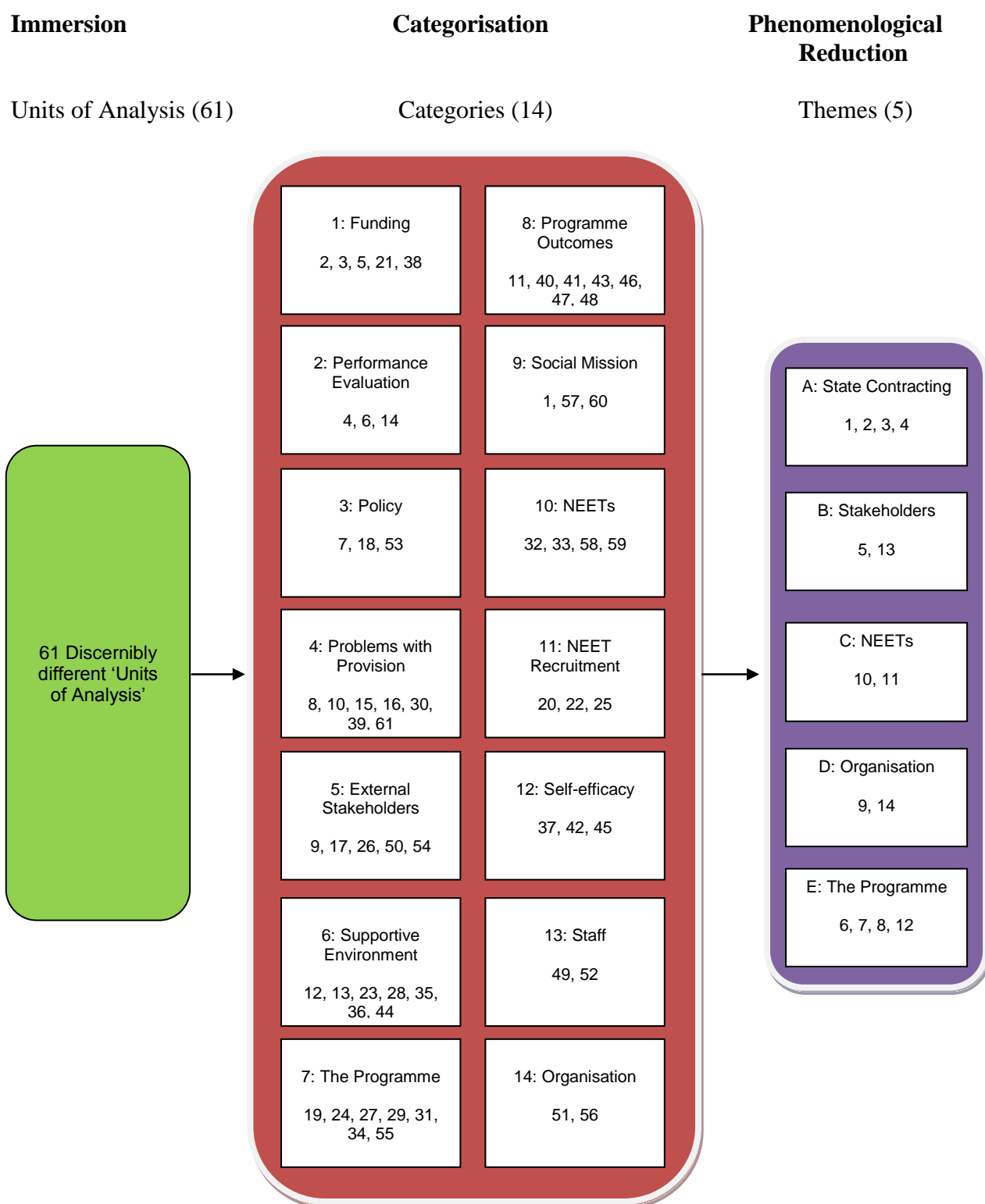
The analysis and results of the qualitative interview data gathered at the organisational and policy-maker level is presented below.

9.2.1 – Social Enterprise (WISE 1 & WISE 2) Qualitative Analysis and Results:

Analysis of the interview and focus group transcripts involved engaging with the five stages of CCM. During ‘immersion’, 61 discernibly different units of analysis were identified from the data (e.g. ‘funding pressures’ and ‘foundation learning’). During ‘categorisation’, these

‘units of analysis’ were grouped into 14 ‘categories’ and from these 14 categories five ‘themes’ emerged through a process of ‘phenomenological reduction’. These five emergent ‘themes’ were subsequently interpreted as: ‘state contracting’, ‘stakeholders’, ‘NEETs’, ‘organisation’ and ‘the programme’. A diagrammatic illustration of this qualitative analysis process is provided for further clarification (see Figure 9.1). This process was replicated for all the subsequent CCM analyses.

Figure 9.1 – Phases of CCM Analysis for WISEs (Owners/Managers & Staff):



NB. The numbers displayed above in Figure 9.1 in the 'categories' boxes correspond to the relevant units of analysis contained in that category. These units of analysis can be found at Appendix N, along with the rules of inclusion for the categories and themes. The numbers in the 'themes' boxes correspond to the relevant category contained in that theme.

Five overall themes emerged from the analysis of the interview data from the social enterprise case-studies (WISE 1 and WISE 2). These themes were interpreted as organisational perceptions based upon key actors within both social enterprises. It is proposed that an examination of these themes will reveal the factors that influence and assist the implementation of the work-integration programmes provided. In the following discussion the participant quotations selected represent examples taken from ‘units of analysis’ relating to each relevant theme.

Theme A – State Contracting:

The staff and owners/managers of both social enterprise case-studies talked about the difficulties that are inherent in state contracting and how this affected the provision of the work-integration programmes that they offered. The difficulties of coping with the complex funding arrangements and balancing the organisations ‘triple-bottom line’ were discussed, along with the problems caused by the need to provide performance evaluation data in order to prove that the contracts granted to the WISEs had been fulfilled. Both of these factors impacted upon provision and added an additional strain to the organisations in relation to fulfilling their ‘social missions’. The participants also articulated the problems surrounding current work-integration provision for the 16-24 years of age cohort, particularly with reference to the guidelines and programmes laid down by government (central and local) and other funding agencies such as the ESF. Constant changes in government policy were also outlined in relation to the impact that this had upon the programmes that were delivered and the funding and performance criteria that had to be fulfilled. Finally, the growth of WISE 1 over the years had also led to tensions in balancing the financial and social elements of the business.

“...from my side of the fence we need to get kids through within a certain period of time to maximise the opportunity and the funds available, to be sure that we have the contract and can repeat that contract again the following year.” (P47)

“...where as in the past we could take a loss and we would keep them on our terms and we would know that they had been here too long, and whilst we wouldn't get funded for them we would keep them on and that would be fine. Whereas now there is such an emphasis on the financial side, how can we justify that in today's economic climate?” (P39)

“There is another major contractual problem and again that is getting worse, is this fixation with value for money in a very much numbers based model. And the procurement process, that they want traceability...” (P60)

“Yeah. At the minute I have taken people on in this particular group that I don't think is right for this program because we've got to meet the numbers.” (P56)

“...we're up against the colleges and we are up against large organisations and training providers in Lincoln that have the resources to do that [performance evaluation]. We don't have that...” (P47)

“I would like to see a way of being able to recognise some of those soft achievements that we talked about earlier. If you can get a kid to leave here and he applies for a job and gets a job, or learns interview techniques or how to write a CV or all the other things that he has learned, such as giving him the confidence or the self-respect, even if he hasn't got a job with it then hang on a minute that is a brilliant contribution to society.” (P39)

“...policy is driven by Whitehall talking to big business, and in the case of the 16-19 age group they listen to colleges, and in the case of under 16's they listen to schools. All of those different sectors have an agenda that is about protecting their way of doing things.....They don't do the soft skills very well so they don't want that to be on the agenda.....I thought what a load of nonsense and if that is what is driving government are wasting our time, because you'll never get value for money by that system. You will get people who can tick boxes and know how to fill in application forms...” (P60)

Theme B – Stakeholders:

Stakeholders were stated by many of the participants to be crucial to the successful functioning of the two WISEs, whether these were internal (staff and trustees) or external stakeholders (local government staff, funding bodies, the Police etc.). External stakeholder's misperceptions of what a social enterprise represented, along with poor communication and a perceived lack of trust, caused the organisations difficulties and hence impacted upon the programmes that the WISEs delivered. Examples of ideal external relationships that had

occurred were given in relation to the functioning of the programme, and the importance of the internal stakeholders was also iterated. Here the importance to the social mission of an inductive recruitment policy towards staffing along with regular training was also discussed.

“We seem to fear to trust anybody now and there has to be a process now auditing us, and yes with a trust basis then there will occasionally be dodgy things will happen or something will go wrong. But I reckon that will be very much a minority and the vast majority of cases you will get much better value for money and you'll get much better performance if you just trust people.” (P60)

“...it is an absolute disgrace the information that comes with the learners and it's always been like that as far as I have seen.....the information that comes, particularly with the Foundation Learning and particularly through Connexions, I've always thought it was terrible absolutely terrible.” (P48)

“That is the added value I think in that because of the trust they know that we are not going to step out of line and they also know that we would be the first to say to the staff no check that with the council and just ring them and just check it...” (P45)

“The staff could be, you know we could be hiring say Steve could say I need a Forrester who has got A, B, C and D, and then that Forrester would come thinking he was only going to be a Forrester and we would have to say well actually we are looking for something deeper. We are looking for somebody who is totally committed to the social enterprise and everything that we are. So you know very soon whether that is going to be the case or not to be honest with you.” (P45)

“Well our training, I've got like a list of the training that we give our staff, there is compulsory training and then there is additional training as well.” (P56)

Theme C – NEETs:

The owners/managers at both WISEs talked about the NEETs that their respective organisations worked with. The difficulties of breaking the negative cycles and values that were inherent in the young people because of their family and social backgrounds were raised and specifically the barrier to employment that this created. The diversity of the NEET

population was also discussed and how this had been altered by the 'credit crunch' and the subsequent recession. The difficulties of recruiting the NEET young people were discussed, especially in relation to the removal of EMA and Connexions. Additionally, the impact upon programme provision of having an open-induction policy was outlined, mainly due to the increase in participants with high levels of social exclusion. However, it was felt that this open-induction policy was vital to the social aims of the two WISEs.

"...the level of kids that we are getting on the programme has gone up a little bit...It's just the fact that the NEET group has vastly increased in the last two years to what 1½ million or something if you take all the figures in..." (P60)

"We try to get quite a lot of young people into work and we spent some time in Lincoln and there were a lot of people who were out picking squashes and the guy was paying £7-8 an hour...and pretty much the attitude of half the lads was 'well that is a job for Polish people'. So all the Polish people were out there working getting £7.50 an hour and these guys weren't. And that is the kind of thing I'm talking about but that is an attitude that they have got from the parents. You are always fighting against that." (P48)

"They are very diverse, we've had graduates, we've had young people with learning difficulties, some who have got no kind of academic background at all, we've got people who have not attended school for years. So yeah a very diverse group." (P56)

"The biggest problem has been the demise of Connexions, so Connexions who were a crap organisation if you pardon the phrase, but they were the main source of referrals and for the child to get his EMA they had to go to Connexions in order for parents to draw down the children's allowance as they have to be in education, training, or employment. So they went to Connexions for referral [now they cannot]." (P45)

"I have always felt as an organisation we are almost morally obligated to take on some of the learners the other sites won't take, which has within itself great challenges but it also has greater rewards from a social point of view. So yes, they may be more difficult and may not have the finances attached to them than if you really just selected from the top end, but if everybody selected from the top end then who really takes care

of the rest. That is the beauty of social enterprise and where we sort of step into the equation.” (P42)

“But there is a flip side of that where the ones that felt like that anyway now feel like they have got an excuse almost. So someone like [name] for example, deep down he knows that he can't, well that he's got so much distance to travel before he can get a job. Not even, but in terms of his frame of mind really and I think now the climate the way it is it is almost like they have got an excuse...” (P56)

Theme D – Organisation:

The interview and focus group participants talked about the structure of the two WISEs and how this allowed for the staff to be more flexible and informal in their programme delivery. Perhaps more importantly though was the organisational emphasis upon the social mission and how this allowed the various stakeholders to prioritise as much as possible social outcomes over financial outcomes. The impact that the social and voluntary aims of the WISEs had upon the local communities was also raised alongside an acknowledgement that the WISE organisations felt that they were at the heart of their communities.

“What we do is that all the salaries are a bit lower, particularly the chief executives and the senior people they are lower, but we have got a darn sight more staff because we use the money to spread much more. So you end up with what really matters which is the sharp end, you've got more one to ones rather than sticking 20 kids in a classroom with rows of computers with one instructor in the front and wondering why they walk out at lunchtime.” (P60)

“So we have got a base in [location] and a base in [location], and we deliver generic youth work programmes, things like youth clubs and different activities. In [location] we have an arts program that we deliver, and we also have some contracts to [location] youth training, which is a part of [council name], to deliver what was E2E and what is now Foundation Learning.” (P56)

“I think it is giving young people an opportunity for self-fulfilment and self-development in relation to a working environment, because they are all used within the projects at [WISE 1] that they manage and deliver. So I think it is very unique in

the way that kids achieve qualifications but also in their own self belief as well, which is enjoyable but challenging I think in lots of aspects.” (P47)

“It has a massive impact and that is where the trust and the support that you get from your overarching body which is your trustees is hugely important. When you go to a trustee meeting and say we could lose £111,000 this year because we have not done... And they said right okay let's have a look, who have we saved, who is a better person. And they are prepared to look at that and whilst you don't want to lose the money they are prepared to just look at that and say we will not just turn into a sausage factory.” (P45)

“...We can be less stuffy than if we were a more formal training agency because we've got like... We are community focused as well, which is part of the social enterprise model. We are a CIC and our focus is the local community.....So that kind of community aspect is... Adds to it or makes it different, say rather than going to just a standard training provider.” (P56)

Theme E – The Programme:

The interviewees discussed the supportive (but structured) environment that the two WISEs offered in relation to treating the young people with respect and making sure that they enjoyed the programme. Mentoring and providing role-models were seen as important in developing the programme participants and the focus upon small class-sizes allowed the staff to interact with the NEETs on a more individual level. Providing a working environment in which mastery experiences could be undertaken and where effort was rewarded either financially or through verbal encouragement was also viewed as key to the success of the programmes run. Alongside this, the flexibility that the WISE structure gave staff on the ‘frontline’ also allowed for a more individual approach to be taken with the NEET participants. This all came together to produce what the participants viewed as *outcome* benefits such as increases in confidence, motivation and self-belief that were viewed as more important than *output* benefits such as qualification gained.

“But here they're drawn in to an environment where they know that the other kids haven't been here no one has been here before, and so they have got that fresh slate and they can try stuff that they have never done before and they can build up a little

bit of that self-respect bank balance again. That then filters out into real life. The kids here at [WISE 1] will use axes and will chop trees down but the very essence is that they'll build that self-respect back up again so that they will then in outside life try new things, because they can gamble a little bit of that self-respect and they can risk failure again because they have built it up.” (P39)

“We've got to create an environment where they feel good about themselves but that needs to be balanced out by challenging their behaviour when it's not on.” (P56)

“Yeah because you got to be interested in helping whoever you are mentoring because if you don't have the interest then what good are you really to put it bluntly. Like you are not going to be any good to them if you're not that interested or you're only doing it because you have to.” (P58)

“I think you are trying to treat them with respect from the start which I feel improves their self-worth. When I used to teach the kids for a year or so, I used to ask them ‘what was the thing that you hated most about school?’, and they almost without exception said the way that the teachers spoke to them.” (P46)

“The fact that we use names like [first name] instead of [surnames] makes it more like a work environment over a school environment. They are doing real work it is not pretend work and they are going out, they are putting a high-visibility jacket on and their boots on and they're going out there and working... I think that is a big thing for their confidence...” (P48)

“Yeah I think some of the kids that come here have confidence but it's the wrong kind of confidence, where they do things or get away with doing things without any consequence. I think what we do is change their confidence by doing different activities and getting them to achieve different things.” (P42)

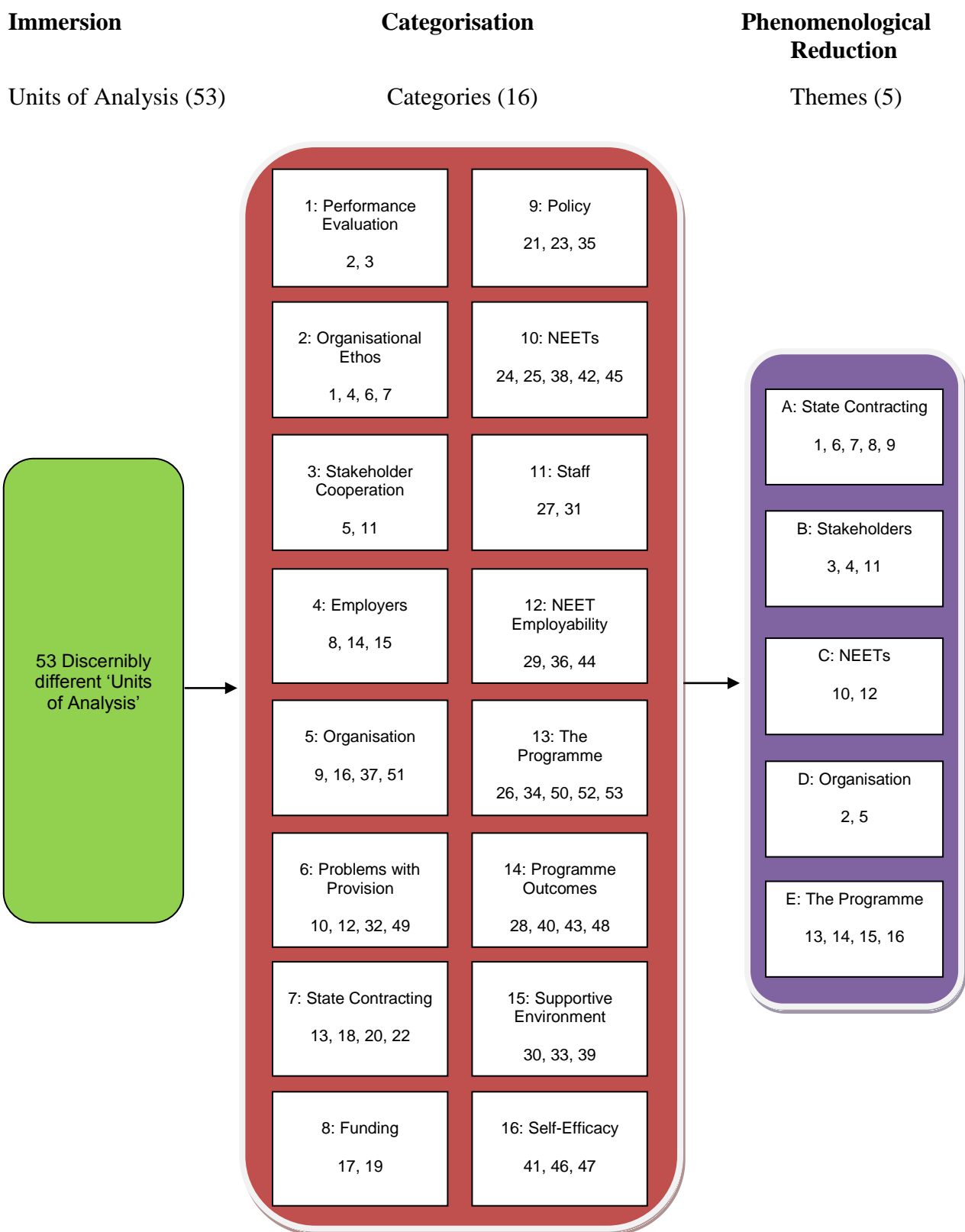
“I mean certainly in terms of our work we are looking at young people who aren't particularly employable... So given that self-motivation is not something that comes easily to them, part of [WISE 2 programme] is aimed at working through that and that is a bit that is timetabled in. But challenging themselves on their perception of themselves and what they need to do to move forward as well.” (P56)

“I think all of us here make an effort that if any of the guys do something even reasonably well or even just give them a go, we make sure that we praise them and I think that that actually helps to develop their confidence because they realise ‘I’m not useless and I actually do have ability’. So then they take pride in themselves.” (P43)

9.2.2 – Comparison Group (CG) Qualitative Analysis and Results:

Analysis of the transcripts from interviews and focus groups involved engaging with the five stages of CCM. During ‘immersion’, the researcher identified 53 discernibly different units of analysis from the data (e.g. ‘profits’ and ‘mentor’). During ‘categorisation’, these ‘units of analysis’ were grouped into 16 ‘categories’ and from these 16 categories five ‘themes’ emerged through a process of ‘phenomenological reduction’. These five emergent ‘themes’ were subsequently interpreted by the researcher as: ‘state contracting’, ‘stakeholders’, ‘NEETs’, ‘organisation’ and ‘the programme’. A diagrammatic illustration of this qualitative analysis process is provided for further clarification (see Figure 9.2).

Figure 9.2 – Phases of CCM Analysis for the Comparison Group (Owners/Managers & Staff):



NB. The numbers displayed above in Figure 9.2 in the 'categories' boxes correspond to the relevant units of analysis contained in that category. These units of analysis can be found at Appendix O, along with the rules of inclusion for the categories and themes. The numbers in the 'themes' boxes correspond to the relevant category contained in that theme.

Theme A – State Contracting:

The owner and staff at the CG talked about the problems inherent in state contracting for work-integration programmes, and the problems cited were almost identical to those discussed by the WISE owners/managers and staff. The problems identified were performance evaluation, funding pressures, problems with the provision criteria that had to be delivered in order to fulfil the contract, the inadequacy of the education system and short-term and constantly changing policy. The limited funding also meant that the young people could only be given limited amounts of time on the work-integration programmes, and the staff felt that this limited timescale restricted their ability to offer young people significant assistance. Finally, a lack of trust from state funding bodies was also felt to be a hindrance to effective organisational performance because of the onus that it placed upon the CG staff to meet and evidence performance targets.

“Now in many ways there are a lot of pressures against the organisation doing that for many of the reasons that we have talked about before you know about the sort of target culture and how we have got to prove what we do and they have to have a portfolio and they have got to have all the evidence that has to be verified.....That is a constant battle that we are fighting really.” (P49)

“And again what I'm not saying it would definitely be a cure timescale is a factor in that as well. Somebody like that would need an awful lot more time being spent on them I think and we don't have that luxury. We are very time bound I think...” (P53)

“Therefore they go into the schools and they are not socially aware and they are not able to operate properly, so the schools contain them behaviourally and so forth but then the whole thing is that they come out of school totally unemployable.” (P49)

“I think it is our contract because we are expected to have X amount of people roll in every month but we only have a certain amount of capacity to keep them. So they expect the rollout as well. So if you start 10 one month then you expect 10 to go as well.” (P51)

“One of the big problems that we have to handle as a business is the short term-ism of it all really, in that you've only got a contract for a year and they talked a lot about

giving indicative three-year contracts so you have got some idea of where you will be as long as you perform, but this never materialised and so every year for your money you have to renegotiate your contract.” (P49)

“The senior management think that they [NEETs] have got to come here every day, because ultimately if they are here every day then they will achieve earlier and we are a business so then you can get the next one in. But then there are learners who can't do that, so when you suggest that they are only going to do an hour and a half per day for six weeks.....then that learner is going to be on the program as far as the books are concerned for three times a length of time and yet we only get the same amount of money as if they were here for 6 or eight weeks.” (P52)

“Of course they [local and central government] do tend to expect everything to happen at the last minute because the politicians don't make their decisions until the last minute and then you have to do it within a couple of months which is absolutely totally inadequate in terms of any business trying to survive. So there is some really bad things that happen I think in the way that the government try and run things.” (P49)

Theme B – Stakeholders:

The owner and staff at the CG discussed the importance of stakeholder relationships and cooperation in delivering the intervention programmes. There was also an acknowledgement that ongoing staff training was important, even though this was something that the CG organisation felt it could improve upon. The most frustrating aspect of stakeholder relations for the CG owner and staff was related to the lack of buy-in of employers in both supporting work-integration organisations and in supporting government training and education schemes. Employers were also deemed to be overly focused on maths and English skills which is at odds with the qualifications that the young people are leaving school with.

“...we have worked very closely with Connexions and we do believe in working with people and networking. So I am the chairman of the [regional] network of training providers and we do try and share things and help each other and also to ensure that the pathways are smooth and clear.” (P49)

“The first thing that tends to happen with certainly employers is English and maths and that is the first question that they ask. One of the jobs is to progress them onto something positive but without English and maths or a vocation of any description then there is not a job that will take them on.” (P51)

“...they [employers] only participate in the national structure, the NVQs, almost as or on charitable basis, because they think it's actually a good thing but they never commit themselves..... they operate with a tiny overlap but there is no genuine commitment by companies to the government structure. It does ask questions of the government structure in terms of how relevant it is to business.” (P49)

“Well we are quite good and very basic training.....think that where we are falling down at the moment is that I don't think we do enough ongoing training in terms of developing peoples confidence in and understanding of things that are quite fundamental to what we do...” (P49)

Theme C – NEETs:

This theme was centred upon the perceptions of NEETs held by the owner and staff at the CG, both in terms of the backgrounds that the young people came from and their employability. These perceptions were related to the familial influences that the young person was subjected to at home, the diversity of the NEET cohort, and the inherent social exclusion that most NEETs had suffered to varying degrees. This was seen to impact upon their confidence and left the young people with an impatient view of life where they were not prepared to work hard unless there was going to be instant reward. All of these factors were seen to impact upon their employability negatively as they did not have the correct temperament, which ultimately led to either low expectations or unrealistic aspirations.

“Yes and its third-generation benefit families and that is what we are up against. Before we even get that academic ability or their individual need you have got to get past parents ringing up asking how long are they on the program for and will it affect my benefits? Not what is my child going to get out of this?” (P54)

“I think that is one of the biggest problems is that certain young individuals have greater problems and so therefore they take longer periods of time to help them and

we are not actually given that time. We are expected to perform to a high degree in such a short space of time I think and as you can probably appreciate, these young people come to us with a whole load of problems that you have to surmount before you can even get them to a stage where they can actually learn.” (P53)

“They are worried what people are thinking about them even though they are not seeing them face-to-face, in fact sometimes telephone skills are worse for people than interview skills. So I say to them what about an interview on the telephone and it is just all gone. So it is confidence in many, many, different ways.” (P55)

“There is definitely also an impatience to achieve and they don't have the time to achieve. They want to achieve but they don't have the time to achieve... I think the main thing is all so then back to what you said earlier that their vision of the future is what is going to happen tomorrow or next week. They have a very limited future vision.” (P53)

“...but perhaps the biggest issue that we have is attendance and timekeeping. To be employable. They don't seem to get it that you have got to be here at nine and finish at three. But you know they will turn up at 9:20 or 10 o'clock or they won't turn up at all and sometimes they will ring you and sometimes they won't and they seem to think it is acceptable.” (P51)

“It's quite scary actually how many come here and what their expectations of employment are... their perception of what they think they are going to be paid is usually on average about 10 grand [£10,000] more than the job is going to pay them.” (P54)

Theme D – Organisation:

The participants at the CG talked about the organisation both in terms of its structure and its ethos. Whilst the organisation is a for-profit company the ethos was still very much centred on the social mission and helping people, even if this was tempered by a realisation of the need to make a profit and be financially viable. However, over time the pressure to remain financially viable and to meet the targets that were being set by state contracts meant that the social mission became less important. In terms of structure the organisation is relatively flat

with little middle management. However, whilst this allows the staff more freedom there was also a feeling that it sometimes led to a decision-making process that was more reactive rather than proactive. Additionally, whilst the CG is a for-profit company, profits are not drawn out of the business by the owners, but nor are they necessarily reinvested in the social mission or infrastructure. Indeed, they are held in reserve as security for the future of the company.

“When you join the company and the ethos was the learner and the journey and things like that, and progressively it has become more about finances and figures and achievements and all that kind of thing and I'm not that kind of person really.” (P53)

“Well I think the simplistic answer to that is that we are changing people's lives and we are in a sense setting people off on a much richer journey than if they hadn't actually been with us, which is why we talk about whole person growth.....We passionately believe in the contribution that we can make to society and particularly in areas like [location] by what we do and the opportunities that we give people.” (P49)

“...we have currently restructured and made it [organisational structure] even flatter than it was on the basis that we need to be confident enough in our staff and encourage them to take their own responsibility and to contribute to the improvement of our work through their ideas and passion.” (P49)

“I actually think that the company is really reactive rather than proactive. If something doesn't work then rather than try to anticipate that with simple measures in place to address the issue they let it run and let it roll and only when it gets to a point where they don't have any choice will they remedy it...” (P53)

“We don't take any profit out of the company.....We have healthy reserves at the moment but we don't use them other than to invest in the business. Now we currently going through a refurbishment cycle now where we are trying to ensure that the facilities are improved and so we are spending money on that right now.” (P49)

Theme E – The Programme:

The CG owner/staff talked about the programme structure (Foundation Learning) and how it offered a supportive environment to the NEET participants. Like the interviewees at both WISE case-studies they saw this supportive environment as being important in obtaining *outcome* benefits such as boosts in confidence. The high drop-out rates of NEETs was also discussed along with the induction policy, which was not open and assessed a NEET's suitability based upon the interview and their past experience. The allocation of a mentor (life-coach) was seen as key to the supportive environment as it offered the NEETs one-to-one emotional support. The supportive environment was also coupled though with an expectation that the NEET young people take personal responsibility for their actions and lives. It was this that the interviewees felt were essential in allowing them to achieve outcome benefits such as pride and increases in self-efficacy. The identification of a structured career plan for the young person was also seen as important.

“Foundation Learning itself is designed to work with those that are not ready for an apprenticeship but to hopefully make them ready or at least half ready by the end of the program that we run with them...” (P54)

“Sometimes if they are being really difficult then we will give them an end date and say right you have got until this date to improve and to get something otherwise we are finishing you and your place.” (P50)

“Sometimes alarm bells would ring [at the induction interview] and so we would just say we will ring you up. You know we have had learners come in and they have been to 10 other training providers. Well what is going on then if you're coming here to do the same program? So we ring up some of the other providers and find out why?” (P50)

“I think at school and college it is different because it is often by choice that they have a mentor, here it is part of the programme and I think that some of them they don't like talking about it but actually they are the ones that benefit more. It is tailored so that if somebody needs more support than they see somebody more often, so we don't make them all see them every week if they don't need to.” (P54)

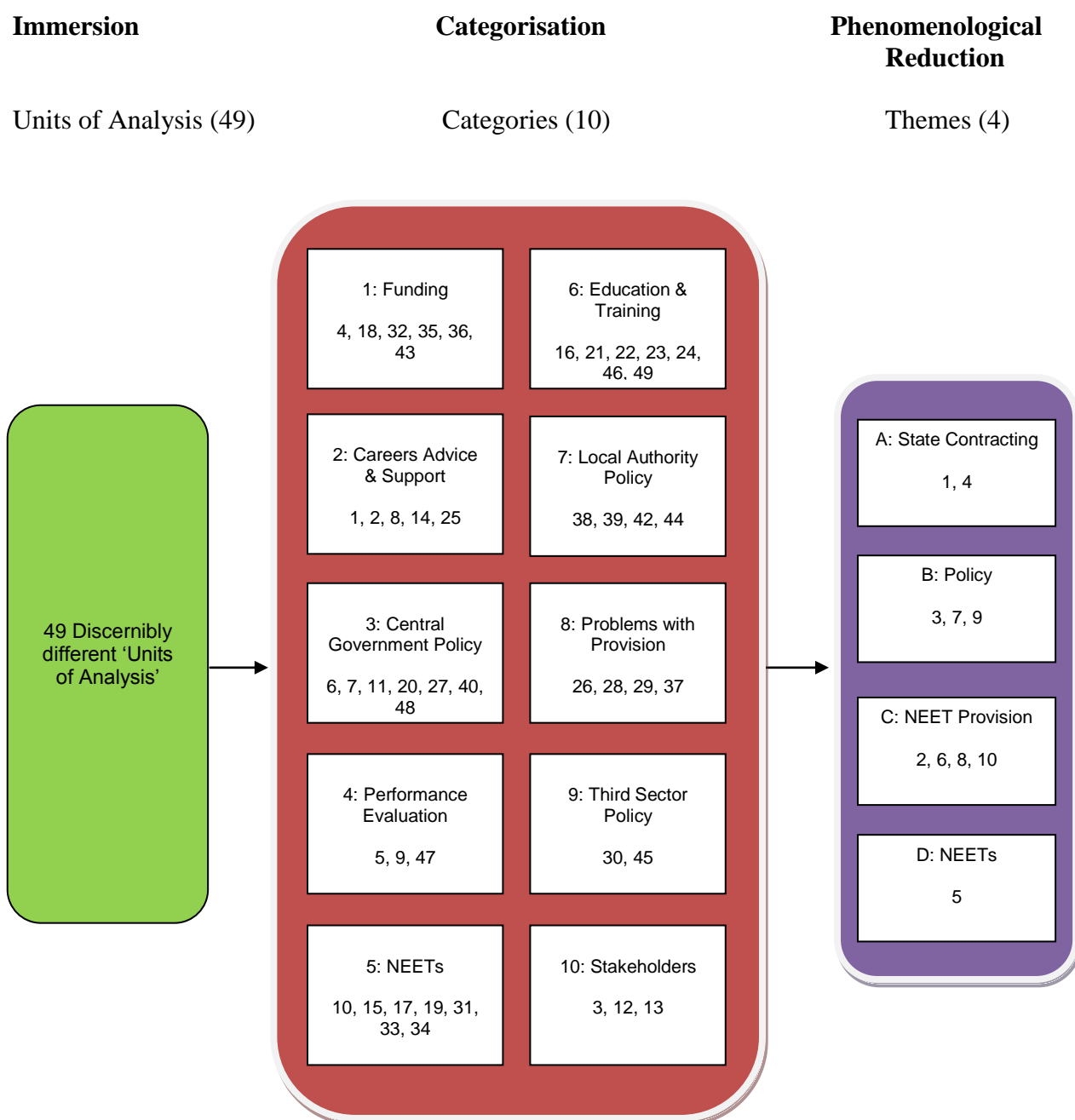
“So we try and create an environment where people can develop their awareness of themselves, they can develop their self-esteem. They develop self-reliance where they become or they accept responsibility for the consequences of what they are doing.”
(P49)

“In a certain person’s workshop the way that it is delivered gives them or shows them that if you come to a subject with the mindset that you can’t do it then that is actually broken down quite effectively in my opinion. Once they have realised that they can then it sort of gives them self-confidence and then that self-confidence gives them the motivation...” (P53)

9.2.3 – Local Authority Staff (LAS) Qualitative Analysis and Results:

Analysis of the interview and focus group transcripts involved the researcher engaging with the five stages of CCM. During ‘immersion’, the researcher identified 49 discernibly different units of analysis from the data (e.g. ‘performance evaluation’ and ‘local authority mission’). During ‘categorisation’, these ‘units of analysis’ were grouped into 10 ‘categories’ and from these 10 categories four ‘themes’ emerged through a process of ‘phenomenological reduction’. These four emergent ‘themes’ were subsequently interpreted by the researcher as: ‘policy’, ‘state contracting’, ‘NEET provision’ and ‘NEETs’. A diagrammatic illustration of this qualitative analysis process is provided for further clarification (see Figure 9.3).

Figure 9.3 – Phases of CCM Analysis for Local Authority Staff:



NB. The numbers displayed above in Figure 9.3 in the 'categories' boxes correspond to the relevant units of analysis contained in that category. These units of analysis can be found at Appendix P, along with the rules of inclusion for the categories and themes. The numbers in the 'themes' boxes correspond to the relevant category contained in that theme.

Four overall themes emerged from the analysis of the interview data from the Local Authority interviewees. These themes were interpreted by the researcher external stakeholder perceptions based upon key actors within the Local Authority. It is proposed that an examination of these themes will reveal the political and financial factors that influence and assist the implementation of the work-integration programmes provided by the three case-study organisations involved in the research. In the following discussion the participant

quotations selected represent examples taken from ‘units of analysis’ relating to each relevant theme.

Theme A – State Contracting:

The interviewees talked about the impact of funding and performance evaluation pressures on the organisations that provide education and training programmes to NEETs. However, they also discussed the need for these measures to be built into public sector contracts in order to maintain the quality of provision across the Local Authority area. They talked about the different available funding streams (e.g. European Social Fund) and the two government agencies who distributed this funding (the ‘Young Person’s Learning Agency’ and the ‘Skills Funding Agency’). The funding model described was one of lagged funding, in which the organisation contracted to provide work-based learning to NEETs is funded based upon their performance the previous year. There was also a discussion surrounding the statutory responsibilities placed upon the Local Authority by legislation.

“...the way that the contract works is a lagged funding system. What that means is that people basically get what they achieved the previous year. So if the provider was supposed to deliver a thousand young people.....and they only delivered 800 by the day of the census if you like... The day that the data was taken then that is what they get. But if they did 1200 then they get 1200 and that is how the lag system works. It is based upon the previous year but it is rewarding them for participation that is what it is doing.” (P36)

“It used to be Learning Skills Council [LSC] but then they split just before the Conservative government, so it is now the YPLA that fund young people's provision. Then you have also got the SFA.....it is the YPLA who fund it [Foundation Learning] because they have responsibility for foundation learning.....Then the SFA they fund young people's provision [apprenticeships] but there is an exception to that.....there is also the ESF.....they fund projects that are contracted for and commissioned by the SFA.” (P35)

“Yeah and classic example is where the funding that we were talking about earlier, dictates behaviour so they don't want to take learners that are going to be

challenging. Actually we want them to take learners that are challenging where as they might not want to because it affects their success rates or their funding.” (P36)

“The only statutory responsibility that the local authority maintain is to provide advice and guidance to NEET young people, vulnerable groups which is traditionally youth offending young offenders, teenage parents and young women, looked after care leavers, mainly because there are targets about regression for those and also Learning and Development Difficulties [LDD] young people.” (P35)

“It is important for us to maintain a strong relationship because the education White Paper talked about the local authority role being around obviously the statutory duty in terms of sufficiency of places, and the quality of the places.” (P36)

“Yes I am very passionate about the success rate factor [performance evaluation tool] because if we go back to the early days of the Learning Skills Council we had swathes and swathes of people [work-integration organisations] who we were paying for bums on seats. So we were paying for provision where people were not achieving anything and it was just wasting public funds as far as I was concerned.” (P36)

Theme B – Policy:

In relation to government policy the participants made three clear distinctions between central government policy, local authority policy and policy towards the third sector that was again differentiated by central and local government aims and objectives. The interviewees talked about how central government policy drove local authority provision and priorities. The main policy drivers were centred on the cuts to public spending being made by the current Conservative led coalition, specifically in relation to the removal of the Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMA), the planned raising of the participation age to 18 years and the imminent introduction of the ‘work programme’. The recommendations made by the Wolf report were also discussed along with the ‘Big Society’. At a local level the local authority’s mission and NEET strategy were highlighted along with the use of sub-regional groups (SRGs) to facilitate cooperation between local authorities.

“So we will be severely reduced because we are losing 50% of our budget from April, so probably just over 50% of the current staff. So we have already lost some but then

again in other places there is no Connexions service at all. We would have to try and sell some services to schools but we are remaining in the local authority, but it's quite worrying because it is very piecemeal for young people.” (P35)

“In terms of their engagement with the third sector I do know that that has been disappointing and that the third sector wanted to work with them [work programme] but it hasn't necessarily happened. That is perhaps to do with the fact organisations have got to bankroll it because it is payment on results so that is a barrier. Also what we're talking about earlier with people creaming off the best the sort of deadweight that would have found a job anyway.” (P36)

“So basically in terms of where we are with that [raising the participation age] from 2013 17-year-olds will... And I hate the phrase stay on I think that is misleading but they will have to do the participating in education or training, employment, apprenticeships and also volunteering. So they are the five areas that count in terms of whether the local authority has achieved the raising of the participation age..... It changes the landscape I think in terms of youth unemployment. The questions really are though for the young people in terms of the curriculum offer, how will it help them?” (P36)

“Yes and if [other local authority] can't offer provision and we can then young people can travel. Or if we have got a nice new shiny building just across the border then you sometimes get learners saying I really want to go to that really nice new fancy place, we've seen that with the new-build that is opening. So there are cross-border workings [sub-regional group].” (P37)

“So in [location] we have the NEET strategy group and they have produced the NEET strategy for [local authority]. It has been going for about five years now and it is basically different local authority departments that have an interest in NEET. So for instance the youth offending service, teenage pregnancy, somebody from care leavers, somebody from the schools, college representatives, work-based learning representing the private providers, and other departments as well so somebody from the adult and community section, somebody from young people looking at disabilities.” (P36)

“I would say that the local authority is keen to work with the third sector and certainly from the top, because they have even got third sector strategy they have got third sector toolkit, so we are working with the third sector and there is a framework that we used to work with them. So the will is there. I think the issue is more around the capability of the actual third sector to work with.....To basically tender for contracts and to have the capacity to and the capability to deliver the outcomes that we want and I think that that was the issue.” (P36)

Theme C – NEET Provision:

The local authority staff discussed the various types of NEET support and provision that was provided across their area. The majority of NEET support was the responsibility of Connexions who had to provide impartial careers advice and guidance, although this role was soon to end due to changes in policy. The interviewees also discussed the increasing role of technology in providing this careers advice and guidance through the use of websites. The programmes and organisations providing education and training ranged from colleges providing further education to work-based learning providers such as the two WISEs (WISE 1 and WISE 2) and the for-profit organisation (CG) that participated in this research. The various other stakeholders that were involved in this provision were also discussed particularly in relation to problems in communication between them. Finally, problems with provision were also identified such as limited timescales and inflexible programmes and training providers.

“Yeah I think the idea is that it should be independent and impartial advice and independent and impartial being the two key things. Obviously as part of the guidance process the personal adviser would talk to the young person about what they wanted to do and sometimes it might be oh I want to do an apprenticeship but you are not level II yet so what could you do to get their...It should always be them that makes a decision but obviously you go to the guidance process to make sure that what they're going for is realistic about the end of the day it has to be a decision we don't say I would go to this one.” (P35)

“I think it is about the third year of it now but we have got a website that was set up.....All qualifications are uploaded onto the site, so it is for parents and it is the learners, and they basically can go onto and search A-level maths, put the postcode

in, put a mile radius in and it will bring up all the provision that will offer A-level maths. Or they could put in a sector area for an independent private provider and they can have a look and click into the provider's webpage from there.” (P37)

“The NEET churn. Yeah I do think that happens..... I do think that some of it is about the quality of provision that is there. They change it but they never really change it. Training provision, some of the quality of it and the length of time of it as well as we have said. I think that all impacts...So maybe we don't look enough that the individual really. It is all that one size fits all really.” (P35)

“Foundation learning it's below level two [NVQ Level 2], so when it first came about there were providers saying that they only wanted level one [NVQ Level 1 or above] because obviously it is much easier. There are those that had open-access and those that were saying that they wanted entry-level three [NVQ Entry-level 3 minimum].” (P35)

“It's just our research has shown that it's [NVQ Level 3] not necessarily the priority group that we need to cater to, it is still there so obviously we still need to provide, but some research has shown that it is foundation learning from entry-level one up to level two [NVQ Entry-Level 2 to NVQ Level 2] that is required based upon individual need.” (P37)

“So in terms of the local authority I would say the funding bodies are [the key stakeholders] but then also the National Apprenticeship Agency which sits within the Skills Funding Agency. Also because of the scale of [local authority] there is a lot of work that goes into talking to different departments and different teams within the council to ensure that our approach is integrated. Because it is so easy here for the left-hand and the right hand to not work together so that is key really, that we have an integrated approach to NEET.” (P36)

Theme D – NEETs:

This theme was centred upon participant perceptions of the NEET cohort, in relation to the problems of defining NEET status, the impact upon the NEET population of the recession and the various social problems associated with ‘sustained’ NEET status such as negative prior

educational experience, young parenthood and limited aspirations/horizons. NEET support was often made difficult by the number of 'not known's' (those young people that had been out of contact with Connexions for over three months), as not knowing what the young person was currently doing made it difficult to target them with assistance. There was also discrepancy caused by differing definitions of NEETs, with local authorities defining NEETs as 16-18 years of age, which was contradictory to the centrally defined age-grouping of 16-24 years of age. This combination of serious social exclusion coupled with institutional problems of definition made reducing NEET numbers and offering valuable support difficult to maintain.

"Because the higher your not known's is the less reliable your NEET figure is, because there are two figures, one unadjusted and one adjusted. The adjusted figure takes into account not known's and there is a rise nationally in the number of not known's which is causing concern.....Because I was at a meeting with Department for Education last week and I was kind of like well what do you expect because you haven't got the staff, because behind every NEET figure and even the not known figures there is a relationship. It is not a static thing as we are speaking it is changing." (P35)

"Because to understand young people really we are talking about people up to the age of 25 really and that is what this government talks about in terms of NEET. Local authorities talk about NEET in terms of 16 to 18 year-olds and up to age 25 there is disability, but this government talks about all under-25s as NEET. And the press talk about under-25s as NEET." (P36)

"When you look at those 'not available for the labour market' (NALM), a high percentage are teenage mothers who perhaps aren't able to work at the moment, so it tends to be a bit later that they might go into the labour market and they might need additional support. So we just do that. I think nationally there might be more young women who are NEET because of that figure than there are young men. But when you look at the young men a lot of it is about white working class and I'm sure you know that and they would feature higher in that group. When it comes to teenage parents it is very difficult to identify teenage fathers." (P35)

“I think when they first leave school they are probably keener to do something and the longer somebody remains NEET, like unemployed young people or unemployment, the harder it is to move [them back into education, employment or training]. I think there has been some research nationally and you could say...I think it is about 3% of the NEET cohort [all 16-24 year olds], are what they call ‘sustained’ NEET. The longer somebody remains and the older they get the harder it is to move them. The older they are then the chances are they have been through a lot of the provision already and they don't want to do it.” (P35)

“I think that the biggest impact of the recession is that sometimes you are seeing 18-year-olds that you wouldn't expect to be NEET. 18 or 19-year-olds that have got fairly good qualifications and that seems to have been a little bit of a trend in certain parts.” (P35)

“I think the common thread that all these young people have was a poor experience of education. So we even had young people who have got nine GCSE grades of A or A, but they had been bullied at school, so that was the common thread.....I think that moving accommodation, so those that have been in accommodation less than six months, that seems to impact them as well in becoming NEET; and unemployment or intergenerational worklessness, because you don't have any role models.” (P35)*

9.3 – Discussion

The results outlined above will now be discussed in reference to the research questions outlined earlier in this chapter and in Chapter Five, as well in relation to the prior literature outlined in Chapters Two, Three and Four.

9.3.1 – Research Question 3:

To critically assess each case-study organisation's aims, objectives and structure with reference to how these impact upon the provision offered to NEET participants.

The importance of stakeholder relationships was iterated by the owners and staff at the two WISEs, with both case-study organisations stating that a multi-stakeholder approach allowed

for improved programme delivery. This offers support to prior research that found that over two-thirds of UK social enterprises are multi-stakeholder (Campi *et al.*, 2006). Internal stakeholders (staff, clients and trustees) were viewed as the most important stakeholders as securing their ‘buy-in’ to the social mission had the biggest impact upon programme delivery and this underlined the dual ownership structure operated by the two WISEs (Gui, 1991; Reid and Griffith, 2006). In addition to this the WISEs were very proactive in staff training and development and saw this as a key area in maintaining or improving programme delivery performance. The use and development of this ‘social capital’ (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1993a) was viewed as key to securing successful *outcome* benefits (McLoughlin *et al.*, 2009). However, external stakeholders (local authorities, employers, Police, Church etc.) were also seen to affect programme delivery and performance, particularly if they didn’t ‘buy in’ to the social mission. In particular a lack of ‘trust’ or ‘engagement’ from external stakeholders was viewed as a real limiting factor in enabling optimal programme delivery to the NEET participants. This caused problems in the decision-making process as the social entrepreneurs, managers and staff had to spend valuable time negotiating with these external stakeholders rather than focusing upon the social mission and making decisions in relation to said mission. This finding supports prior research by Hirschman (1980) and Borzaga and Mittone (1987) that highlighted how multi-stakeholder relationships could slow down the decision-making process. There was also a frustration with the lack of engagement from employers with the WISEs and the programmes that they delivered. It was felt that employers were often happier to focus upon their own training programmes and that they were less interested in government funded initiatives.

The CG organisation also adopted a multi-stakeholder approach, although this was more limited than the relationships forged by the WISEs, with the external stakeholders mainly consisting of local government and employers. This can be seen as representing limited ‘social capital’ as the CG did not utilise the same breadth of stakeholders and networks in pursuing its mission (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1993a). Internally the CG staff and owner held the view that as with the NEETs clients, the members of staff were stakeholders in the business. As with the two WISEs, staff training was seen as important, although the CG owner was the first to admit that this was an area that they could improve upon and this again reflected the more limited ‘social capital’ utilised by the CG in the delivery of its mission (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1993a). Nevertheless, the internal stakeholders still bought into the social mission that the owner of the CG articulated, and whilst this wasn’t quite as deeply embedded as at the two WISEs, it does show the difficulty that is inherent in distinguishing

between social enterprises and non-social enterprises. This offers support to prior research that focused upon the difficulties of defining social enterprises through their ownership structure as the for-profit CG involved in this research did at least operate a form of dual ownership (Gui, 1991; Reid and Griffith, 2006).

The staff and owners/managers at the two WISEs were extremely positive about the impact of the organisational structure of the WISEs on the delivery of the work-integration programme and social mission. The dual ownership structure operated by the WISEs (Gui, 1991; Reid and Griffith, 2006) in which the staff had input into the decision-making processes at a strategic and operational level allowed the staff to be more flexible and informal in programme delivery. This allowed the staff to focus upon what Emerson and Twersky (1996) defined as the 'double-bottom' line, and the staff recognised that the knowledge that the social mission was of paramount importance to the owners allowed them the self-belief to pursue social goals on the frontline at the expense of economic and performance evaluation (socio-political) considerations (Campi *et al.*, 2006). Equally, when the staff did have to pursue economic goals this was still viewed as fulfilling the social mission as all profits were reinvested into the WISE organisations, which to the staff meant that they were not in the business of profit-maximisation (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001). This allowed the WISEs to resist the pressures placed upon them by state contracts more robustly than the CG, although the pressure to morph from a client-focused to funder-focused organisation was sometimes irresistible (Aiken, 2006). Additionally, the WISE organisations felt that they were at the heart of their communities and the impact that they had in these areas was seen as key to fulfilling their social mission. This offers support to prior research that suggested that social enterprises utilise the market and non-market economies to create mutually beneficial and reciprocal relationships with the local community (non-monetary economy) (Laville and Nyssens, 2001).

The CG case-study staff and owner talked about how the organisational structure that was in place was there in order that they could fulfil their economic *and* social goals. Indeed, the company ethos was very much centred upon the social mission and a notion of 'helping people', although this was tempered by the acknowledgement that they needed to make profit and remain financially viable. The pressure to balance social and economic goals as part of a triple-bottom line (Emerson and Twersky, 1996) is a feature of social enterprises and indeed the CG did have social, economic and socio-political aims (Campi *et al.*, 2006). Whilst the social mission was not as important to the CG as it was to the WISEs, this finding does

suggest that defining social enterprises merely along organisational aims is problematic, which conflicts with prior research by Campi *et al.* (2006). However, there was an important difference between the CG and the two WISEs in how they responded to the pressure on their social missions that came from state contracting. Performance evaluation in these contracts and the perceived rigidity of what was to be delivered in order to fulfil them was viewed by the CG staff and owner to be a hindrance upon performance. The need to meet targets in order to secure funding and remain financially viable meant that ‘mission drift’ occurred in relation to the social goals of the organisation (Aiken, 2006; Seddon *et al.*, 2012). The onset of public sector spending cuts has only increased this pressure that Spear (2001) defined as being due to the UK’s centralised and fiscally frugal welfare state. The CG organisation also seemed to be situated in the middle ground between a for-profit organisation and a social enterprise in relation to profit distribution. Indeed, whilst the CG did not redistribute its profits into the social mission, they were also not withdrawn by the owners. Instead, they were left in reserve in order to secure the company’s long-term future. Such a stance could be viewed as socially driven as in securing the company’s future the profits are in effect allowing the social mission as it exists at the CG to continue. It is difficult to ascertain therefore whether the CG organisation’s aim was profit-maximisation or not, as at this moment they have not been taken out of the company, but nor have they been reinvested into the social mission (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001).

In relation to the work-integration programmes that were delivered, the interviewees at the two WISEs saw the supportive and structured environment as key to the success that they had in assisting NEET individuals. This support was offered mainly through the use of mentors that acted as role-models and advisors to the young people, and also via small class sizes that allowed more one-to-one interaction. This allowed the staff to develop trust with the NEETs and to normalise the programme for them, hence enabling them to develop ‘social capital’ within the young people (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1993a). The staff members stated that it was important in developing the NEETs to set them that they could achieve individually and as part of groups, and that they often offered encouragement to the young people as they progressed. This was interpreted as being the mastery experiences, verbal persuasion and vicarious experience that are crucial in the development of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977, 1997; Chen *et al.*, 2001). This offers support through the process of triangulation (McLeod, 1994) to the results discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight and offers explanations at an organisational level for the changes in self-efficacy displayed by the NEETs. Additionally, the staff talked about the increases in confidence, motivation and self-belief of the NEETs that

they witnessed as the young people progressed through the course. Again, this was interpreted as increases in general self-efficacy as confidence, motivation and self-belief are the core components of GSE (Judge *et al.*, 1997). The WISE staff viewed such *outcome* benefits (McLoughlin *et al.*, 2009) as being more important than the *output* benefits (such as qualifications) that policy-makers and local government contracts were perceived to be focused upon (particularly the Foundation Learning programme that was delivered by WISE 1). They felt that often the pressures of having to meet these *output* criteria meant that their ability to deliver *outcome* benefits to the NEETs was compromised, although they tried to minimise this as much as possible. This offers support to prior research that suggests that performance evaluation and state contracts can often hinder the social mission of a social enterprise (Aiken, 2006).

The staff and the owner at the CG case-study also discussed the importance of providing a supportive environment within their programme, which was also a Foundation Learning programme. As with the staff, owners and managers at the two WISEs they saw this as being key to obtaining *outcome* benefits such as increases in confidence, motivation and self-belief, which again were interpreted as increases in GSE (Judge *et al.*, 1997). As with the WISEs the allocation to each individual of a mentor/life-coach was seen as important in developing trust with the NEETs, as was offering them a structured programme that had to be adhered to. This structure consisted of giving the young people clearer and more structured career aspirations and plans and helped give the young people a definitive and positive perception of their future (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996; Ball *et al.*, 1999). The key difference between the programmes delivered by the WISEs and the CG however, was in relation to the induction policy. The induction policy at the CG was not open and instead relied on the young people attending an interview during which it was decided whether they were suitable for the programme (and whether the programme was suitable for them?). The decisions at these interviews were made based upon the young person's past experience and their attitude/demeanour at the interview. Whilst there were no rigid entry criteria set this process did allow the CG to perhaps filter out the NEETs that were not suitable for the programme or the organisation, and this would explain the lower levels of 'social exclusion' experienced by the NEET cohort at the CG when compared to the WISEs (Furlong, 2006). This offers a possible explanation for the different levels of social exclusion at each organisation discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight.

In relation to the NEET individuals, the owners, managers and staff at both of the WISEs and the CG articulated similar perceptions for the origins and background causes of young people's NEET status. The role of the young person's home environment and their familial background were seen as particularly important. This confirms the findings discussed in Chapter Eight and also supports prior research that linked chaotic living arrangements with 'social exclusion' (Payne, 2002). Educational experience was also seen as a very important factor that the interviewees perceived as being linked to NEET status, with low academic achievement and exclusion from school being seen as a barrier to employment and further education. This supports the findings presented in Chapters Seven and Eight and also offers support to prior research linking educational failure to NEET status (Payne 1998, 2002; Britton *et al.*, 2002; Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Furlong, 2006; Luck, 2008). The interviewees also acknowledged the heterogeneous nature of the NEET cohort (Ball *et al.*, 1999; Yates and Payne, 2006) and talked about how the recent recession had increased this heterogeneity with less socially excluded individuals now becoming NEET. The negative impact of 'social exclusion' upon NEET young people's self-perceptions was also discussed by the interviewees, who felt that the influences and experiences outlined above negatively impacted upon the confidence, motivation, self-belief and emotional balance of young people who become NEET, which were again interpreted as being a negative impact upon GSE (Judge *et al.*, 1997), due to negative past experiences (Gist and Mitchell, 1992). The staff at the two WISEs also acknowledged that the organisations' open-access induction policy meant that they had to achieve the same results as other work-integration organisations but with a more socially excluded NEET cohort. This was seen as a key part of the social mission but highlights the added pressure that social enterprises are under when trying to fulfil public sector contract commitments (Aiken, 2006). This perhaps was the main organisational difference between the CG and the two WISEs, in that both had social aims but the former was more willing to sacrifice these in order to fulfil funding and contractual commitments.

9.3.2 – Research Question 4:

What is contemporary government policy towards NEETs and the work-integration organisations that assist them, and how does this impact upon programme implementation at an organisational level?

Government policy in the area of NEET work-integration is undergoing major changes at the present time following the election of the coalition government in May 2010. There have been

public spending cuts made following the ‘Comprehensive Spending Review’, which has led to the removal of the Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMA) for young people aged 16-18 years to be replaced by the 16-19 bursaries (DirectGov, 2012). The Wolf Report was also commissioned and recommended that the incentives to take vocational qualifications pre-16 were removed, that young people with unsatisfactory maths and English GCSE qualifications continue to study these post-16, that the content and delivery of apprenticeships be evaluated and for the regulatory framework to move away from regulating individual qualifications towards the regulation of the awarding organisations (DfE, 2011). The raising of the participation age that was passed into law as the Education and Skills Act in 2008 has also brought a requirement that all young people remain in full-time education (either further education, training or work-based learning) until they are 17 years of age from 2013 and 18 years of age from 2015 (DfE, 2011).

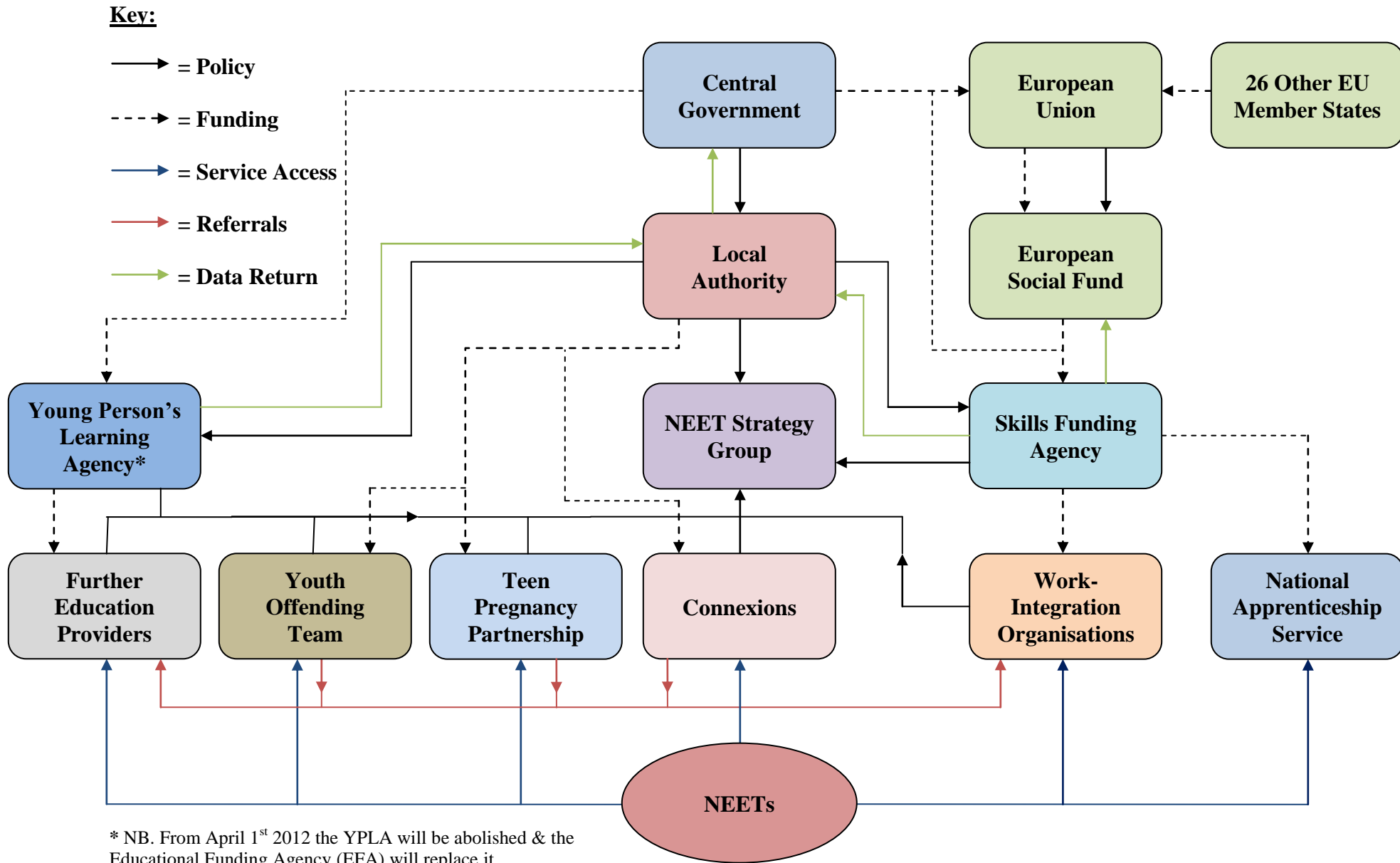
The three interviewees from Connexions and the Local Authority discussed these points and the impact that they would have upon the funding of work-integration organisations and the programmes that they deliver. The impact of the public spending cuts were seen as key to the future of youth provision as the Connexions Agency was either being reduced or abolished depending upon the Local Authority. Additionally, some Local Authority departments have experienced staffing cuts of greater than 50%. The removal of EMA funding for young people in further education or work-based learning was also seen as problematic. The interviewees were unclear as to the impact that this would have upon NEET levels. Whilst they felt that it would reduce the number of young people in further education, the local authority staff were unsure as to whether this would be absorbed by employers or whether NEET numbers would increase. This supports prior research that suggested that the EMA never really impacted upon NEET levels, but merely altered the proportion of young people in further education as opposed to employment (Maguire and Yates, 2005; Kavanagh *et al.*, 2011).

The shift in policy away from state unemployment provision (Jobcentre Plus) to private and third sector provision for the long-term unemployed was also seen as important. The interviewees stated a clear desire both at a national and local government level for the increase in the use of the third sector in delivering employment integration services for young people, supporting prior research into the UK governments’ acknowledgement of the importance of this sector in public sector service delivery (Seanor and Meaton, 2007). Indeed, the local authority in question had a specific toolkit and mission statement for engaging with the third sector, a finding which supports prior research into the use of local agreements

between the state and the third sector (Stoker, 2004; Craig *et al.*, 2005). However, the use of third sector providers had not increased as hoped (only two out of 15 providers in the local authority area were third sector organisations) due to what the local authority staff perceived as a lack of capability and capacity in the sector. Whilst this offers support to prior research that identified the growth of private and third sector unemployment provision (Kendall, 2003; Heyes, 2011) it underlines tensions that exist between government policy towards the third sector and the capacity to meet these policy requirements by the sector itself. Finally, the interviewees also underlined the importance of the Education and Skills Act 2008 that aims to raise the educational participation age to 18 by 2015 (DfE, 2011). There was some scepticism about the impact that this would have that was specifically related to the curriculum that would be offered to young people up until the age of 18. Indeed, if the curriculum offer was to remain the same then provision would not alter that much, aside from the fact that no-one in the 16-18 years age-group could be classed as NEET.

The area of public sector contracting and the funding and performance and evaluation measures that this entails was discussed at great length by the local authority interviewees and the staff, owners and managers at the three case-study organisations. From these discussions the following organisation map of further education and work-integration provision for young people was created (see Figure 9.4).

Figure 9.4 – Organisational Chart for NEET Policy, Support Services & Funding:



As can be seen in Figure 9.4, all funding originates from central government and goes to the Young Person's Learning Agency (YPLA) or the Skills Funding Agency (SFA), either directly (YPLA and SFA) or indirectly via the European Social Fund (ESF) (SFA only). Policy directives from central government are then passed down to local authorities who have a statutory/contractual requirement to ensure that the required provision is met, that the quality of such provision is assessed and that data on this provision and unemployed young people is collated and returned to central government and where appropriate the ESF. The YPLA (to be replaced by the Educational Funding Agency from April 1st 2012) has the responsibility for post-16 further education, whilst the SFA has responsibility for work-integration organisations and the National Apprenticeship Service. Both the SFA and YPLA also feedback into the local authority's NEET strategy group in which other connected agencies such as Youth Offending Teams, the Teen Pregnancy Partnership and Connexions also input. The NEET Strategy Group is then used by the local authority to help develop policy for the NEET cohort in that local authority area. Whilst all local authorities differ subtly in how this structure is arranged, Figure 9.4 provides a generalised organisational view of education and employment provision for young people in the UK. Indeed, it offers support to prior research that highlighted the attempts by government to increase the horizontal connections at a local level in service delivery (Aiken, 2006). It also supports prior research by Craig *et al.* (2005) that stated that in an effort to combat social exclusion, a larger number of local actors have become involved in the policy planning process.

The impact of funding contracts upon work-integration organisations in terms of the programmes delivered was something discussed by all three local authority interviewees. The funding model operated was one of 'lagged funding' in which the work-integration organisations are funded based upon their performance over the previous 12 months. The interviewees felt that this meant that any changes made to provision were slow to be implemented as funding was seen as the key driver of provider behaviour and the data was always 12 months old at the point of assessment. This meant that it was often a year before desired changes in provision were actually put in place. Whilst there was some acknowledgement that funding based upon performance evaluation could cause providers to become funder rather than client focused, as found by Aiken (2006) and Seddon *et al.* (2012), there was also a robust belief that such performance evaluation measures were key in order to maintain the quality of provision across the local authority area. Indeed, the local authority staff felt that the learning criteria in place for programmes such as Foundation Learning and the funding and performance evaluation that was carried out all offered enough flexibility to

allow providers to deliver bespoke training programmes. The interviewees felt that funding and policy restrictions were often used as excuses by providers for poor performance or for inflexible training programmes. Whilst there was a stated desire to work with the third sector and social enterprises, there was no acknowledgement that these types of organisations should be subject to different funding and performance criteria. This again offers support to prior research by Aiken (2006) in which it was suggested that the state has little understanding of social enterprises and that this is compounded by an obsession with targets and performance evaluation.

The difference between the views of the local authority staff and the views of the owners, managers and staff at the three case-study organisations towards state contracting was striking. All three organisations articulated a belief that there was a severe lack of trust from funders in contracts whether the contracts were central government or ESF funded. For the social enterprises the complexities of the funding arrangements and the detailed performance data that was required to prove that contracts had been fulfilled placed a serious strain on the WISEs social mission. Indeed, it was felt by the interviewees that the strict criteria laid down in state contracts meant that the unique commitment to the triple-bottom line that social enterprises take is partly negated by the ‘mission drift’ that occurs due to the need to fulfil contractual commitments (Emerson & Twersky, 1996; Campi *et al.*, 2006; Aiken, 2006). This was also seen as a problem by the interviewees at the CG who also felt that performance evaluation pressures (i.e. OFSTED inspections) were detrimental to performance on the frontline, although the CG organisations’ lesser commitment to the triple-bottom line meant that this impact was reduced. The lack of recognition of *outcome* benefits in the performance evaluation process was also seen as a hindrance to performance as the staff at all three case-study organisations felt that there was too much focus upon the more easily measurable *outputs* such as qualifications gained. Finally, constant policy changes in the areas of work-integration with young people was also seen as a negative, as staff in all three organisations felt that they were constantly having to try and adapt their programmes to suit the latest policy directive from Whitehall. This related to such changes as the removal of EMA, the change from Entry to Employment (E2E) to Foundation Learning and the annual revision of contracts. There was a feeling that larger organisations that could cope with these changes as well as being more adept at meeting funding requirements and performance criteria were being favoured. This last point offers some support to prior research that identified the state as being crucial in determining the size of the work-integration market and the types of organisations that survive in it (Spear, 2001). Additionally, as Spear (2001) highlighted, in a

market in which there is high volume unemployment and a focus upon 'hard outcomes' or *outputs* in performance evaluation, social enterprises will be 'squeezed out' in favour of larger providers.

The local authority staff also articulated a belief that provision for NEETs was sometimes imbalanced in that there was often a lot of provision for the more able school leavers (predominantly at NVQ Level 2 and above) but provision for the more disadvantaged young people (NVQ Levels 1 and below) was often missing. This lack of focus on the 'complicated' NEETs (Yates and Payne, 2006) was an area of work-integration and educational provision that they felt could be improved. The local authority staff also agreed with the assessments made by the three case-study organisations that one of the problems of provision was the fixed or limited timescales of programmes such as Foundation Learning. This meant that the programmes could not cater to the individual needs of NEETs whom the interviewees acknowledged were a heterogeneous and diverse group (Yates and Payne, 2006). However, there was also a belief that this inflexibility was not just related to government policy and funding contracts, but also to inflexible and un-reactive providers. One area that the local authority staff acknowledged was related to poor communication between stakeholders in the policy-making and programme implementation arenas, despite the setting up of the NEET Strategy Group outlined above. This concurred with the experiences of the staff at all three case-study organisations who found communication between agencies and organisations to be poor. This suggests that whilst prior research has identified the increased role that local actors and networks play in this area (Craig *et al.*, 2005; Aiken, 2006) there are still problems in establishing and running these 'horizontal' networks.

The final area that the local authority staff discussed was related to their perceptions of the origins of NEET status. There was an acknowledgement of the problems of definition in relation to NEETs, with the local authority defining them as young people aged 16-18 years (soon to become 16-19 years), whilst central government defined them as young people aged 16-24 years of age. Whilst this offers support to prior research into the difficulties and political problems of defining NEET status (Furlong, 2006; Yates and Payne, 2006), it also highlights that in doing so the young people that are not defined as NEET but who are perhaps in one of the inadequate training programmes that the local authority is keen to improve, are being missed as they are not officially classified in the NEET statistics (Bentley and Gurumurthy, 1999). The local authority staff stated that the origins of NEET status were intrinsically linked to negative educational experience, young parenthood and limited

aspirations and horizons (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996; Payne 1998, 2002; Ball *et al.*, 1999; Britton *et al.*, 2002; Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Furlong, 2006; Luck, 2008; Yates and Payne, 2006). There was a perception amongst all of the interviewees at the local authority and the case-study organisations that constantly changing policy, coupled with definitional problems, poor stakeholder communication, funding and evaluation constraints and sometimes inadequate provision were combining to restrict reductions in NEET numbers and social exclusion.

9.4 – Summary

The qualitative results presented in this chapter offer support to the qualitative and quantitative findings outlined in Chapters Seven and Eight through the process of triangulation (McLeod, 1994). This is particularly the case in relation to the conclusions reached in the previous two chapters centred around the origins of NEET status, the heterogeneous nature of the NEET cohort and the social exclusion that they face (Yates and Payne, 2006; Furlong, 2006). Additionally, the results from the owner, manager and staff interviews at the WISEs and the CG support the findings from the NEET interviews relating to the organisational factors that allow the NEET individuals to develop self-efficacy between T1 and T2. The supportive environment that the three case-study organisations offer allows self-efficacy to develop as verbal persuasion provides the NEET individuals with the encouragement to undertake mastery experiences and hence develop self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977, 1997). This is further compounded by the NEET individuals undertaking these mastery experiences as part of a group, hence undergoing vicarious experience that leads to self-efficacy development (Bandura, 1977, 1997). Equally, the increases in confidence, motivation and self-esteem that the staff at the three case-study organisations talked about was interpreted as increases in GSE (Judge *et al.*, 1997). The organisational similarities between the two WISEs and the CG in terms of how they approach their NEET provision and their commitment to the social mission also supports the quantitative and qualitative data outlined in Chapters Seven and Eight that showed no significant differences in the *outcome* benefits experienced by NEET individuals at any of the three case-study organisations.

At an organisational level both of the social enterprise case-studies (WISE 1 and WISE 2) and the for-profit comparison group case-study (CG) were found to be largely similar in how they delivered their intervention programmes. However, two differences were found and these were related to the induction policies of the two WISEs and the CG and the way that funding

and service-contract pressures affected performance. In relation to induction policies, the WISEs were found to run an open-access policy that allowed anyone NEET who wished to participate to join the programme (subject to available space and funding). This was not the case for the CG that held interviews with the NEETs prior to them accessing the course (although for the Foundation Learning programme run by the CG these entry interviews were not overly selective). This provides support to the findings detailed in Chapters Seven and Eight that the WISEs (and particularly WISE 1) were inducting a more ‘socially excluded’ NEET cohort than the CG and offers a potential insight into the ‘added value’ that social enterprises may offer. This difference is a key finding of this research, as such differences are not always obvious when the focus of performance measurement is upon *output* data such as qualifications gained.

In relation to funding and contract pressures both the WISEs and the CG were affected, with the performance evaluation criteria and the funding criteria stipulated in the contracts from the YPLA and SFA shaping provider behaviour negatively. This took the form of providers not always offering the correct or ideal provision to NEETs, instead offering the support that allowed them to hit their performance targets more easily. Whilst this factor affected the provision at both the WISEs and the CG, the impact was less at the WISEs who resisted contractual pressures more robustly due to their commitment to their social aims. This confirms prior research into the ‘mission drift’ that can occur due to external pressures but also shows how this mission drift can vary depending upon an organisations commitment to its social mission (Aiken, 2006, Seddon *et al.*, 2012). However, interviews with the policy-makers also revealed a perceived need for such funding contracts and performance evaluation in order to ensure uniformity in quality of provision. The local government staff felt that without such criteria work-integration organisations could end up delivering whatever provision that they wanted, which would inevitably lead to differences in the quality and breadth of provision across the local authority area. It remains to be seen though whether the desire to create such uniformity of provision is beneficial to young people and whether it in fact stifles social enterprise creativity. This last point could also explain the very similar *outcome* benefits that the research measured at all three case-study organisations.

Finally, the constant flux of the policy environment in which youth unemployment services reside, coupled with a lack of trust between the state/funders and providers, appears to create problems for service delivery on the frontline to NEET individuals as too much of the providers time is focused upon meeting funders rather than client’s needs (Aiken, 2006). This,

coupled with problems related to NEET definition and a lack of low-end provision (NVQ Level 1 and below) means that some NEET individuals are receiving inadequate or no provision at all (Bentley and Gurumurthy, 1999). Improved communication between policy-makers, funders and work-integration organisations is needed to help solve this, along with a recognition that different types of providers (for-profit, third sector etc.) require different funding contracts and evaluation criteria.

Chapter 10 – Conclusions

10.1 – Research Overview

The results of the research have been presented and discussed in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine in relation to the prior literature outlined in Chapters Two, Three and Four and the research aims outlined in Chapter Six. This chapter presents an overall summary of these findings in reference to the prior literature and the research aims, as well as identifying how the completion of the research aims offers an original contribution to knowledge. Additionally, policy recommendations will be made based upon the data gathered in the research and the conclusions that have been drawn from this data. The chapter will then conclude with an exploration of the weaknesses of the research, along with a suggestion for further possible areas of study based upon the results outlined in this thesis.

The research has examined the delivery of work-integration programmes to young people not in education, employment or training (NEET) by two work-integration social enterprises (WISEs) and a for-profit organisation utilised in the study as a comparison group (CG). The focus of the research was to examine the *outcome* benefits experienced by the NEETs that completed the programmes and to explore any differences between the *outcome* performance of the three case-study organisations. The *outcome* measure used in the research was self-efficacy, a psychological construct related to an individual's perception of their ability to complete a given task (Bandura, 1997), which has been shown in prior research to be linked to success in educational and vocational activities (Locke *et al.*, 1998). Therefore an individual with high levels of self-efficacy will have greater confidence in their ability to successfully gain employment (Lucas and Cooper, 2005) and indeed prior research has identified a positive relationship between self-efficacy and employability (Eden and Aviram, 1993; Creed *et al.*, 2001; Meyers and Houssemand, 2010).

A longitudinal, quasi-experimental approach using both quantitative and qualitative methods was adopted in order to explore changes in self-efficacy over time. The quantitative element of the research used self-efficacy scales and the specific measures of self-efficacy employed were Schwarzer and Jerusalem's (1995) General Self-Efficacy (GSE) scale, Schwarzer *et al.*'s (1999) Self-Regulation efficacy (SRE) scale and Smith and Betz's (2000) Social Self-Efficacy (SSE) scale. These scales were employed at the beginning of the programme (T1)

and the end of the programme (T2). The qualitative element of the research involved the NEET participants engaging in semi-structured interviews at T1 and T2. In order to understand the organisational effects upon work-integration provision and any cross-organisational differences in *outcome* performance, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the owner, managers and staff at the social enterprise. Additionally, semi-structured interviews were conducted with funders and policy-makers in a specific local authority to clarify how external pressures upon the three case-study organisations might affect the provision of services to NEET individuals. The research data is rich and has provided interesting insights into the area of work-integration provision for young people by both private and third sector organisations. These results and the conclusions drawn from them will now be discussed in relation to the research questions and hypotheses outlined earlier in the thesis, as well as with reference to the original contribution to knowledge that this research study offers.

10.2 – Research Conclusions

The research study had two research aims that are listed below. In relation to these aims the research explored the following research hypotheses and questions, outlined below in Table 10.1.

Research Aims:

1. To develop a longitudinal, mixed-methods approach suitable for evaluating the *outcome* performance of WISEs that deliver employment enhancement programmes to NEET individuals.
2. To utilise this methodology to assess the comparative *outcome* performance of similar-sized WISEs and for-profit organisations delivering work-integration programmes.

Table 10.1 - Research Hypotheses & Questions
Research Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1	NEET participants' at all three work-integration organisations will display a statistically significant increase in GSE, SRE or SSE between T1 and T2.
Hypothesis 2	There will be a statistically significant difference between the T1-T2 changes in NEET GSE, SRE and SSE at the two WISE organisations and the T1-T2 changes in GSE, SRE and SSE at the non-WISE CG.
Hypothesis 3	In relation to behavioural plasticity, the 'lower complements' at the two WISE organisations and the CG will display greater increases in GSE, SRE and SSE than the respective 'upper complements'.

Research Questions

Research Question 1	What historical factors led the individual to the point of being NEET and how has this impacted upon their self-efficacy levels and future aspirations?
Research Question 2	How have individuals' levels of self-efficacy been changed by their participation on the work-integration programme and how has this affected their future aspirations?
Research Question 3	How have each case-study organisation's aims, objectives and structure impacted upon the provision offered to NEET participants?
Research Question 4	What is contemporary government policy towards NEETs and the work-integration organisations that assist them, and how does this impact upon programme implementation at an organisational level?

10.1.1 – Validation of the Methodological Approach Utilised:

The utilisation of the three self-efficacy scales detailed above in order to gather the quantitative data required to test hypotheses 1-3, offered support to prior research (extensive in the case of GSE) that had shown the three scales to be reliable and valid (Scherbaum, 2006; Schwarzer *et al.*, 1999; Smith and Betz, 2000). Additionally, the research has shown that all three scales are suitable for use with NEET individuals, providing that the same methodology is adopted in which the participants complete the scales in isolation from their peers. This last point offers an original contribution to knowledge as these scales have not before being used exclusively with a UK based 16-24 years sample population, especially one that suffers from serious social exclusion and tends to have experienced a lack of success in educational and vocational settings (Williamson, 1997; Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Payne, 2002; Yates and Payne, 2006; Luck, 2008). The use of a comparative mixed-methods design utilising both

quantitative and qualitative research methods within a quasi-experimental, longitudinal research design has also been validated, with the qualitative research findings confirming the quantitative results through the process of triangulation (McLeod, 1994). This confirms the initial findings that were outlined in the pilot study conducted prior to the main body of research (Denny *et al.*, 2011). This innovative methodological approach offers a new and robust means of assessing the *outcome* performance of WISEs as outlined by McLoughlin *et al.* (2009) in the SIMPLE methodology, which also allows for comparisons to be made with similar-sized for-profit organisations.

10.1.2 – The Origins of NEET Status:

In regards to the historical factors behind NEET status the data gathered supported prior research that identified negative prior educational experience as the most important determinant in leading to NEET status post-16 (Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Furlong, 2006; Luck, 2008). The quantitative data demonstrated a positive relationship between highest educational qualification and GSE at T1, and this was supported by the NEET interview data in which the NEET participants discussed the impact that their school experience had had upon them. This negative school experience had caused the majority of NEET individuals to withdraw from school either formally (via truancing or expulsion) or informally (through not engaging in the classroom or with assessments). This had resulted in poor or non-existent qualifications that then compounded the NEET individual's inability to obtain employment. This led the NEET young person to aspire to unrealistic or vague aspirations that were not grounded in their prior educational and employment experience (Furlong and Biggart, 1999; Croll, 2008). In addition to this the importance of the NEET young person's environment was also shown to be important, with family breakdown or problems often preceding or being the catalyst for negative school experiences. In the semi-structured interviews the NEET participants often spoke about how problems at home had led them to disengage from school and enter into negative peer relationships. This also supports prior research (Payne, 2002) that linked chaotic living arrangements with educational failure and subsequent 'social exclusion'. This research finding offers another important contribution to knowledge and a policy recommendation by suggesting that current government initiatives aimed at reducing the NEET population by targeting support at 16-24 year olds, whilst important, should be in part redirected towards identifying those at risk of becoming NEET pre-16 and offering these individuals intensive support (whether at home or in school).

10.1.3 – WISE *Outcome* Performance & the Comparison Group (CG):

The quantitative results confirmed that WISEs do have a beneficial effect on the self-efficacy levels of NEET individuals. This was supported through triangulation (McLeod, 1994) by the qualitative interview data gathered from the NEET participants in which they articulated a belief that their confidence, motivation and self-belief had improved due to attending the WISE. As these three psychological constructs are core components of GSE (Judge *et al.*, 1997) then this was interpreted as being a perceived increase in self-efficacy. This supports prior research that had suggested that WISE interventions benefitted the unemployed population as a whole in regards to ‘soft outcomes’ (Borzaga and Loss, 2006) and also that WISEs develop ‘human and social capital’ within the individuals that participate on their programmes (Nyssens and Platteau, 2006). However, where this thesis makes an original contribution to knowledge is in its use of a comparison group. This comparative element of the research showed that when self-efficacy is used as the *outcome* measure, there is no discernible performance difference between WISEs and for-profit organisations. This was again supported through the process of triangulation (McLeod, 1994) as there was no statistically significant difference between the quantitative data obtained from the WISEs and the CG, and also no discernible difference in the perceived experiences of the NEETs gathered in the qualitative data. This research finding in part fills the gap in knowledge relating to WISE performance that was identified by Peattie and Morley (2008), although the small number of case-studies and the relatively small participant sample-sizes mean that further research in this area is required before this particular conclusion can be asserted confidently.

The research identified two organisational factors that were responsible for the positive effect that the three case-study organisations had upon the NEET individuals that engaged with and completed their programmes. First, the supportive environment that both of the WISEs and the CG provided their participants was crucial in developing their self-efficacy. The encouragement that staff deliberately gave to the young people helped them to engage with and master new experiences, both individually and collectively. This was interpreted as providing three of the four methods for augmenting self-efficacy; mastery experiences, verbal persuasion and vicarious experience (Bandura, 1997; Chen *et al.*, 2001). This finding was supported both by the interviews conducted with the NEET participants and also the owners, managers and staff at the case-study organisations, and provides an explanation for the increases in self-efficacy identified across all three organisations in the quantitative data. Second, the structured environment that all three organisations offered to the young people

was also seen to be important by the participants and the owners, managers and staff at the case-study organisations. All three offered relatively fixed timetables that meant that the participants gained qualifications in English, maths and ICT during their time on the programme. However, more importantly the young people were given structured careers advice and assistance with CV writing, interview skills and job applications. This provided the young people with much more positive future outlooks and importantly gave them a path to follow to achieve these future aims. This moved the NEET individuals from what Hodkinson *et al.* (1996) termed the ‘here and now/hazy futures’ group towards the ‘definitive’ group where aspirations are clear and the means of achieving them are understood. The employment support that was offered to the young people helped to ‘de-limit’ their ‘horizons for action’, which had been constrained by negative prior experiences (education and employment) and environmental influences (family background) (Hodkinson *et al.*, 1996; Ball *et al.*, 1999).

The quantitative and qualitative data gathered from the NEET participants, as well as from the owners, managers and staff suggested that there were very few differences between the two WISE organisations and the CG. This supports prior research that identified the difficulty of identifying exactly what constituted a social enterprise, in terms of organisational characteristics, goal-setting and aims and financial income streams (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001; Haugh, 2005; Campi *et al.*, 2006). Indeed, both of the WISEs and the CG shared many common features, particularly around income generation and organisational aims. However, there were two key organisational differences between the WISEs and the CG and these impacted upon the delivery of the work-integration programmes to the NEET participants. The first was related to the induction policies operated by the three case-study organisations and the second was in relation to the how each organisation responded to the pressures of state contracting in terms of funding and performance evaluation.

10.1.4 – The ‘Added Value’ of WISEs & External Pressures:

The two WISEs operated an open induction policy in which any NEET individual irrespective of background could access the programme, subject to available space. This was in contrast to the CG which operated a limited induction policy whereby potential participants were interviewed prior to being accepted on to the work-integration programme. This allowed the CG to filter out individuals that were not suitable for the programme and explained why the NEET sample at the CG was less ‘socially excluded’ than the NEETs at the two WISEs

(Furlong, 2006). The staff at the WISEs felt that this placed an added pressure on them in terms of delivering public sector contracts as they were expected to perform to the same level as other work-integration organisations but with a more socially excluded NEET cohort. This induction policy was seen to be central to the social mission and was an area that the WISEs would not compromise in, but it nevertheless highlights the added pressures that WISEs are placed under when competing for public sector contracts and in delivering them (Aiken, 2006).

There were also other performance and funding problems that impacted upon both of the WISEs and the CG. The first of these related to the mission drift that occurred due to funding restrictions and performance evaluation measures. The ‘lagged funding’ model operated in which funding was based upon the previous 12 months performance meant that changes to provider behaviour were often slow to occur. It also meant that the three case-study organisations were very focused upon meeting the performance criteria set out in their contracts with The State. This inevitably led to ‘mission drift’ (Emerson & Twersky, 1996; Campi *et al.*, 2006) and confirmed prior research that suggested that complex funding and evaluation criteria cause providers to become funder rather than client focused (Aiken, 2006; Seddon *et al.*, 2012). Nevertheless, the interview data gathered from all three case-study organisations suggested that such ‘mission drift’ occurred less in the two WISE organisations due to their greater commitment to their social mission. Indeed, these two key research findings also provide another contribution to knowledge and also an additional policy recommendation in that public sector contracts should acknowledge the centrality of the social mission in social enterprise, by placing social enterprises within different funding and performance evaluation frameworks. This would acknowledge the difficulties that social enterprises have in balancing the double or triple-bottom line (Emerson and Twersky, 1996; Reid and Griffith, 2006). This would also allow the government to formally acknowledge the central role that the third sector plays in public sector delivery (Stoker, 2004; Craig *et al.*, 2005; Seanor and Meaton, 2007), particularly in the area of unemployment provision (Kendall, 2003; Heyes, 2011). Finally, it would bring about a reduction in the existing tension identified in this study and in prior research (Aiken, 2006) between governmental desire to utilise the third sector in public sector provision and the third sector’s lack of capability to successfully operate in public sector contracting.

Another problematic area as viewed by the case-study owners and staff, as well as the governmental staff interviewed related to communication between the case-study

organisations, funders, policy-makers and other government agencies was seen as poor, despite attempts to improve this. As was shown in Figure 9.4 in the previous chapter, the number of agencies and organisations involved in NEET provision is significant and the links between them complicated. The interviews with the government staff indicated that attempts to increase these links over the past decade had been made, and in some cases had been successful. However, all participants (excluding the NEETs) held the view that communication in this area could be improved. This finding offered support to prior research that stated that in an attempt to reduce NEET figures local government has increased horizontal connections between organisations and agencies (Aiken, 2006) and that increasing numbers of local actors have been involved in the policy-making process (Craig *et al.*, 2005). This research study also suggests that these links need to be improved, particularly with the work-integration organisations that work with NEETs.

An additional area of concern articulated by the owners, managers and staff at the three case-study organisations related to the fluidity of the policy environment, particularly at central government level. Regular changes in policy relating to NEET provision, such as the change from 'E2E' to 'Foundation Learning', or the implementation and then removal of EMA, when combined with the annual revision of and competition for contracts was seen as being detrimental to smaller organisations, such as those involved in this research. It was felt that larger organisations were able to cope with these changes better, as they could afford to employ staff whose role was solely to deal with policy and contract changes. This supports prior research that identified the state as being important in determining the size of the work-integration market and the types of organisations that survive in it (Spear, 2001). Additionally, as Spear (2001) highlighted, in a market in which there is high volume unemployment and a focus upon 'hard outcomes' or *outputs* in performance evaluation, social enterprises will be 'squeezed out' in favour of larger providers. This is certainly the environment that the UK is currently operating in as this research has identified. The lack of a long-term and cohesive focus on NEET strategy by policy-makers has also led to perceived gaps in provision. The research presented in this thesis has identified that there is a large amount of provision at the NVQ Level 2 and NVQ Level 3 levels, whereas provision at NVQ Level 1 and below (generally encompassing those NEETs that are more socially excluded) is comparatively poor. This leads to gaps in provision that mean that those NEETs that are most at risk of remaining NEET for long periods are not offered the assistance that they require. Therefore, government strategy towards youth unemployment and the reduction of NEET figures has to be both more detailed and long-term in its vision. As was outlined earlier, there

should be earlier interventions (pre-16 years of age) with young people identified as being NEET, and NEET strategy for the 16-24 years of age cohort has to be more targeted at those young people that are the most ‘complicated’ NEETs (Yates and Payne, 2006).

10.1.5 – Behavioural Plasticity:

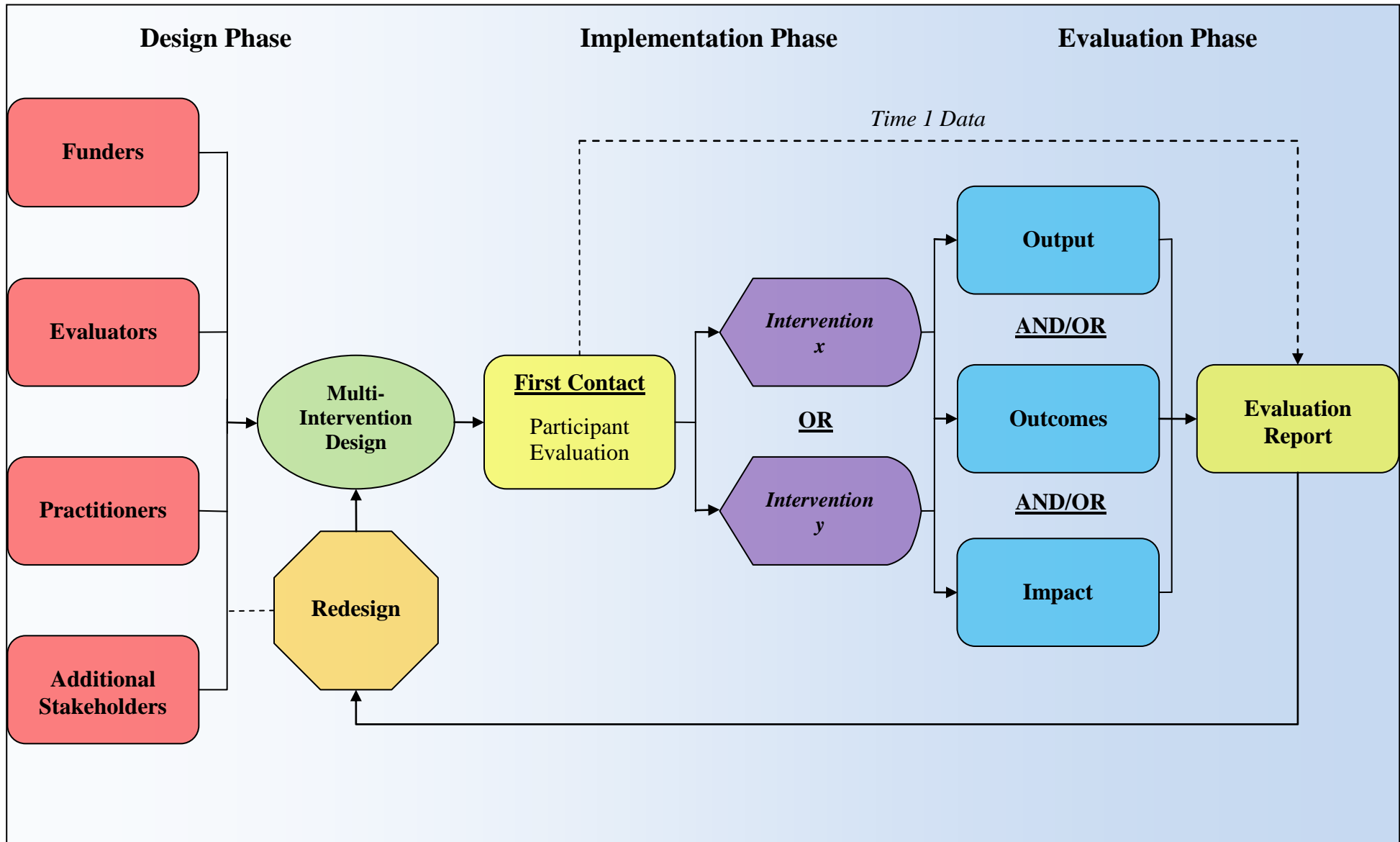
Finally, the impact of behavioural plasticity (Brockner, 1988) was also shown to be significant at work-integration organisations irrespective of organisational type, with individuals that had lower than average self-efficacy scores at T1 benefitting from the programmes, whilst individuals with higher than average self-efficacy scores experienced no significant increase in their self-efficacy levels. This supports prior research in the area of work-integration that had suggested that behavioural plasticity was a significant factor (Eden and Aviram, 1993; Creed *et al.*, 2001). This has important implications for the future of employability programmes targeted at NEETs, as it suggests that a significant proportion of the NEETs that access such programmes may experience small or no *outcome* benefits whatsoever (in terms of self-efficacy). This suggests that the ‘one-size fits all’ provision (Foundation Learning) that is currently offered to individuals at NVQ Level 1 or lower is inadequate and not sufficiently targeted. The qualitative data from the semi-structured interviews held with the owners, managers and staff at the case-study organisations and the local authority staff, also supports this conclusion. All these interviewees felt that provision for NEETs could be better and that it was often too rigid for what was an extremely complex and heterogeneous group (Yates and Payne, 2006).

10.1.6 – Work-Integration Programme Design:

Based upon the conclusions drawn from this research study the author proposes that funders, government, work-integration organisations and other relevant stakeholders should work together more closely in order to develop ‘multi-programmes’ whereby a provider offers different programme types based upon a screening process conducted prior to the individual’s start at the work-integration programme. The screening process could involve tools such as self-efficacy scales in order to assess whether a confidence building employability programme (such as Foundation Learning) was actually suitable for the young person in question. The programme provider could then, based upon the results of such a process, direct NEET individuals to the most appropriate programme for their specific requirements. For example, if two courses were designed, one that took into account the need for some students

to raise their self-efficacy levels and another that recognised that some students required alternative course content, an evaluation measure based upon self-efficacy could be used to direct the students to the more appropriate course. Furthermore, if programme evaluation tools are developed that can inform future programme content in a cyclical development based upon the ‘Multi-Goal, Theory Driven Approach to Evaluation’ (Chen & Rossi, 1980) then this could benefit all stakeholders in the process. The results of such screening and evaluation tools could be used to constantly revise and improve programme content and delivery and communication between the various stakeholders would be improved. The design of a programme based upon ‘social science theory’ to assist NEET individuals would also make the performance evaluation of such programmes, certainly in relation to the softer *outcome* benefits, easier to undertake. This would be because the tools for such evaluation would already exist, for example Schwarzer and Jerusalem’s (1995) GSE scale, and this would allow funders to direct funding to those organisations that are best at achieving the *outcomes* desired, as opposed to the funding ending up at those organisations that are best at ‘appearing’ to achieve *outputs*. The following model is proposed in order to illustrate this (see Figure 10.1).

Figure 10.1 – ‘Multi-Theory’ Intervention Programme Design & Evaluation:



10.3 – Original Contribution to Knowledge

As was outlined in section 10.2, this thesis has made a number of contributions to knowledge in relation to methodology, theory and evaluation. These original contributions to knowledge are outlined below in Table 10.2.

Table 10.2 – Original Contributions to Knowledge

1. The research has validated the use of self-efficacy scales in research studies involving NEETs. The GSE scale has also been shown to be a valid tool for measuring the outcome performance of work-integration programmes delivered by both WISEs and for-profit organisations.
2. The research has demonstrated that a mixed-method, longitudinal and comparative research design is a valid methodological approach for the evaluation of the *outcome* performance of work-integration programmes, as well as inter-organisational *outcome* performance, confirming prior research conducted by Denny *et al.* (2011).
3. In utilising self-efficacy theory to explore the *outcome* performance of work-integration programmes the thesis has also provided a theoretically based *explanation* for the *outcome* benefits experienced by the NEETs. This theoretical underpinning allowed the research to explore the organisational factors that were behind such change. The research identified that the centrality of the social mission at the WISEs was responsible for their open-induction policies and their greater ability to resist funding pressures.
4. The results reported in the thesis confirm prior research linking educational performance at school and ‘chaotic living arrangements’ at home to NEET status (Bynner and Parsons, 2002; Payne, 2002). These findings suggest that government initiatives aimed at reducing NEET levels should not be focused solely on the 16-24 years age group, but should also attempt to intervene with those young people aged less than 16 years who are at risk of becoming NEET.
5. In utilising a comparison group in the study the research reported in this thesis filled the research gap identified by Peattie and Morley (2008) in relation to the comparative evaluation of the *outcome* performance of WISEs and for-profit organisations delivering work-integration programmes.
6. The research identified the negative impact that current commissioning practices has upon WISEs and suggests that local authorities should adopt different commissioning models with social enterprises that acknowledge the centrality of their social mission to the business model.
7. Finally, the research findings led to the development of the ‘Multi-Theory Intervention Programme Design & Evaluation’ model. This proposes that *all* stakeholders should be involved in the design of work-integration programmes and that such a programme should also be designed in relation to current social science theory (Chen and Rossi, 1980).

10.4 – Policy Recommendations

In section 10.2 the research design and findings were outlined, along with the research conclusions. These research conclusions have five policy implications that were outlined in section 10.2. A concise outline of these research conclusions is presented below in Table 10.3.

Table 10.3 – Policy Recommendations	
Policy Recommendation	Description
1. Government policy should be redirected to offer greater assistance to those young people at risk of becoming NEET pre-16.	This research has demonstrated the importance of ‘chaotic living arrangements’ and negative school experience in leading to NEET status at 16. Government policy should therefore be targeted more at identifying and assisting those at risk of becoming NEET pre-16 and offering these individuals intensive support (whether at home or in school).
2. Government policy should have a greater focus upon ‘complicated’ NEETs.	The NEET strategy for the 16-24 years of age cohort has to be more targeted at those young people that are the most ‘complicated’ NEETs, as these are the young people most likely to remain long-term NEET. Additionally, there is currently a lack of provision at NVQ Level 1 and below.
3. Public sector contracts should acknowledge the uniqueness of WISEs in relation to funding and evaluation.	Public sector contracts should acknowledge the centrality of the ‘social mission’ in WISEs, by placing them within different funding and performance evaluation frameworks. This would acknowledge the difficulties that social enterprises have in balancing their double or triple-bottom line and would also reduce the tension identified in this study between the desire of the public sector to utilise the third sector in provision and the third sector’s lack of capability to successfully operate in regular public sector contracts.
4. Horizontal links and communication between stakeholders needs to be further improved.	In an attempt to reduce NEET figures local government has increased horizontal connections between organisations and agencies, as well as increasing the numbers of local actors that have been involved in the policy-making process. However, this research study suggests that these links need to be improved, particularly between the organisations that work with NEETs and funders and policy-makers.
5. All stakeholders should work together to design work-integration programmes that are based in social science theory.	The findings from this study indicate that funders, government, work-integration organisations and other relevant stakeholders should work together more closely in order to develop ‘multi-programmes’ whereby providers offer different programme types based upon a screening process conducted prior to the individual’s start at the work-integration programme.

10.5 – Research Limitations & Areas for Further Research

10.5.1 – Research Limitations & Areas for Further Research:

Whilst the research conclusions outlined above are both valid and reliable, and go some way to answering the gaps in social enterprise research outlined by Peattie and Morley (2008), there are a number of limitations that need to be acknowledged. First, the relatively small sample size must be acknowledged, both in relation to the NEET participants and the number of case-study organisations. Whilst the quantitative element of the research involved 139 participants at T1 this had reduced to 74 at T2, which is comparatively low for quantitative research. Nevertheless, considering the social backgrounds of the participants this did represent a respectable retention rate of 53.2%. A total of 74 participants is also above the figure of 51 participants recommended for the quantitative element of a mixed-methods research study by Onwuegbuzie *et al.*, (2004). Further quantitative research with NEETs in order to test the findings of this research would also greatly enhance the validity of the conclusions reached in this thesis.

Another limitation of the quantitative element of the research relates to the lack of a Time 3 (T3) in which the self-efficacy scales could be administered to the NEET participants several months after they had left the work-integration organisation. This would have allowed the research to test whether the changes in self-efficacy were permanent and would also have allowed the research to ascertain the employment status of the NEETs and examine potential links between self-efficacy and employment *outputs*. This was not done for three reasons. First, the resources (both in relation to time and finances) were not available to the researcher to conduct such a study, as it would have involved visiting individual NEETs home addresses, which also posed ethical issues for the safety of the researcher. Second, the ‘socially excluded’ nature of the ‘complicated’ NEET participants’ transient and chaotic living arrangements would have made tracing individuals extremely difficult (Payne, 2002; Furlong, 2006; Yates and Payne, 2006). Indeed, the research experienced a near 50% drop-out rate for NEET participants between T1 and T2, which already left the quantitative element of the research comparatively low in numbers. Third, the main aim of the study was not to ascertain links between employability and self-efficacy as this has already been done in prior research (Eden and Aviram, 1993; Creed *et al.*, 2001). Instead it was to examine the *outcome* performance of WISEs and to compare these with a for-profit CG. Therefore, it would not have been appropriate to deploy the limited resources available towards gathering this data.

Nevertheless, this would provide an interesting area for future research if the requisite research resources could be deployed.

The qualitative element of the research did include a total of 60 participants either in semi-structured interviews ($n = 41$) and focus groups ($n = 19$), which is a significant number for qualitative research (Onwuegbuzie *et al.*, 2004). However, whilst the number of individual participants was satisfactory, the number of case-studies was limited. Only two WISE organisations participated in the research and only one for-profit organisation as a comparison group. This limited scope was due to both the limited funds and time available to the researcher, as well as the exploratory nature of the research. However, for the research conclusions outlined in this thesis to be generalised to UK WISEs and work-integration organisations as a whole, a further study involving a larger sample of case-study organisations would be required. In relation to this, whilst interviews were conducted with local government and Connexions staff these interviews only took place inside one local authority (albeit one of the largest in the UK). This was again due to the limited funds and time available to the researcher, and in relation to Connexions was also due to the change in UK government policy that led to the reduction or closing down of local Connexions offices. Therefore, in order for the conclusions around policy-makers and funders to be further validated and generalised, further research could be conducted with additional local authority staff, as well as potentially with funders from the ESF and policy-makers in central government.

A further area for future research relates to exploring the theoretical framework of the thesis in more detail. The relationship between GSE and NEET status could be explored in more depth through a mixed-methods and longitudinal evaluation of GSE levels amongst young people both before the age of 16 years (and hence prior to official NEET status) as well as whilst NEET. The research could track the experiences of a cohort of young people to explore in greater depth the life events that had the greatest impact on them and to understand these impacts through the lens of general self-efficacy. This would provide further evidence for the validity of GSE as a construct related to social exclusion and hence NEET status and also provide an overview of the types of life events and experiences that can affect GSE. This would also provide the NEET research field with a theoretical based understanding of the causes of social exclusion and hence NEET status, as much of the current literature in the field is empirically based research utilising government statistics (Bynner and Parsons 2002; Furlong, 2006). Additionally, this would allow for the findings of this thesis in relation to the

validity of self-efficacy as a theoretical framework for measuring the *outcome* performance of WISEs to be explored in more depth. This would allow the research to answer the call made by Haugh (2012), who stated that the strength of any research field is related to the ‘qualities’ of the theories that underpin it and their social relevance. In testing self-efficacy with NEETs in greater depth this would not only allow for the theory to be further validated but it would also allow the researcher to test the ‘social relevance’ of self-efficacy theory as a means of explaining NEET status and its origins.

The final limitation of and area for further research relates to the model that was proposed earlier in this chapter. As has already been outlined, the small number of case-studies and the limited sample of NEETs mean that the conclusions drawn from the research data cannot be confidently generalised to the wider population of work-integration organisations. Therefore, the ‘multi-theory intervention programme design and evaluation’ model can only be currently viewed as a preliminary model from an exploratory study. Further research to test this model would help to validate it, and this could be done via the establishment of a work-integration social enterprise utilising public or European funding whereby the model was used from the outset in the design and evaluation of the work-integration social enterprise. Such a research project could also be further strengthened if another WISE was established at the same time that utilised existing methods for the establishment of such programmes (i.e. not utilising relevant social science theory and not involving all stakeholders) (Chen and Rossi, 1980).

10.6 – Summary

The research presented in this thesis has demonstrated the applicability of a multi case-study, quasi-experimental, longitudinal and mixed-methods research design using self-efficacy in order to evaluate the *outcome* performance of WISEs and other work-integration organisations that assist NEET individuals (Denny *et al.*, 2011). It has also demonstrated the applicability of such a model for the comparative evaluation of social enterprise and non-social enterprise organisations that operate in the work-integration field. The use of self-efficacy and specifically GSE as an appropriate measure of *outcome* performance in work-integration organisations that assist NEETs has also been demonstrated (Eden and Aviram, 1993; Denny *et al.*, 2011). Furthermore, a mixed-methods approach that also utilises semi-structured interviews with NEET participants within a longitudinal research design in order to

illicit participant perceptions of change during a work-integration programme has also been validated (Denny *et al.*, 2011).

The quantitative and qualitative data obtained in this research study has also supported prior research that linked the origins of NEET status to 'social exclusion', chaotic living arrangements and negative prior educational experience (Furlong, 2006; Payne, 2002; Yates and Payne, 2006). This is compounded by a limited focus upon the NEET problem that places the emphasis on state intervention between the ages of 16-24 years, or in some cases 14-16 years. This is despite a broad body of prior research that indicates that the origins of NEET status can lie at a much earlier age, and can be predicted as early as birth (low birth weight) and 10 years of age (socio-economic status) (Bynner and Parsons, 2002). The data gathered in this thesis supports such findings, with the NEET participants in the T1 interviews articulating negative aspects of their home-life as being the trigger that led to educational disengagement and ultimately NEET status.

In relation to the *outcome* performance of WISEs and for-profit work-integration organisations where the *outcome* measured is self-efficacy, the research study has highlighted that there is no significant difference in achievement between the two different organisational types. Indeed, there were considerable similarities between the organisational structures and aims of the two WISE organisations and the CG. This highlighted the difficulties in defining what constitutes a social enterprise in relation to organisational structure, financial income and goal-setting already noted by others (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001; Haugh, 2005; Campi *et al.*, 2006). The organisational similarities between the WISEs and the CG outlined in this thesis may explain the similarities in *outcome* performance of the three organisations. However, the similarities may also be explained by the restrictive effect that public sector contracting has on all of the smaller organisations that have to operate within it. The financial funding models, which make organisation's funding dependent upon their annual performance evaluation, lead to organisations becoming funder rather than client focused (Aiken, 2006; Seddon *et al.*, 2012). This 'mission drift' causes problems for all work-integration organisations irrespective of whether they are a social enterprise or for-profit company (Emerson & Twersky, 1996; Campi *et al.*, 2006). However, this research study suggests that social enterprises are better equipped at resisting this 'mission drift' because of their core social mission. Finally, the funding and performance evaluation regimes operated by UK state and European funding bodies do not recognise the uniqueness of social enterprise. This lack of recognition demonstrates both a lack of understanding of social

enterprise, as well as the important role that the third sector plays in public sector service delivery (Stoker, 2004; Craig *et al.*, 2005; Seanor and Meaton, 2007). This lack of support coupled with a welfare system that is focused upon high throughput numbers of unemployed individuals, evaluation that is *output* driven and significant regular policy changes (Spear, 2001), mean that smaller organisations such as social enterprises are restricted in and often pushed out of the state contracting market. As this research study has identified that social enterprises induct more socially excluded NEET individuals on to their programmes than their for-profit counterparts, then policies that marginalise social enterprises could restrict access to government funded programmes for the more socially disadvantaged.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Example T1 Self-Efficacy Questionnaire



PhD Survey

As you are currently enrolled at [organisation name], the University of Northampton would like to ask for your assistance with a survey it is conducting. The purpose of the survey is to evaluate the performance of [organisation name] and the impact that it has on yourself and your future career opportunities.

Your assistance in completing this questionnaire will allow us to better understand the impact of the course that you are currently enrolled at and as much as possible to improve the experience of young people who come to [organisation name] in the future. It should take approximately ten minutes to complete.

Be assured that all information you provide via the questionnaire will be treated in the strictest confidence and securely stored at the University of Northampton on password protected computers.

You have the right to withdraw from this survey at any time in the future and your response will subsequently be destroyed.

Your effort in completing this questionnaire is greatly appreciated

Personal Details

First Name: **Surname:**

D.O.B: **Gender:**

Mobile No: **Email Address**

Today's Date: **Signature:**

The following details are required in order to allow us to understand your individual backgrounds and circumstances. All details given are treated confidentially and stored securely. Your details will not be disclosed to any third parties and you will not be named individually in the research. All disclosures will be anonymous. Please tick the box that best describes your personal situation.

Marital Status: Single ☐ Married/Cohabiting ☐ Living with Parents ☐ Other ☐

Home Status: Owner ☐ Rental ☐ Council Tenant ☐ Other ☐

What is your approximate combined household income (including parents if applicable)?

£0-9,999 ☐ £10,000-19,999 ☐ £20,000-29,999 ☐ £30,000-39,999 ☐

£40,000-49,999 ☐ £50,000-59,999 ☐ £60,000+ ☐ Don't Know ☐

What is your highest educational achievement?

No qualifications ☐ Under 5 GCSEs/GNVQ Foundation ☐ 5+

GCSEs/GNVQ Intermediate ☐ A-Levels/NVQ Level 3 ☐

Degree/NVQ Level 4 ☐ Masters Degree/NVQ Level 5 ☐

In the last 2 years approximately how long have you spent unemployed?

Less than 1 Month ☐ 1-6 Months ☐ 6-12 Months ☐ 12+ Months ☐

Please tick *one* of the below options that best corresponds to your parents occupations:

Professional (i.e. Lawyer, Doctor, Teacher) ☐ Manual Worker ☐

Semi-Professional (i.e. Manager, clerical) ☐ Unemployed ☐

Disabled/Sick ☐ Retired ☐ Other ☐ Not Applicable ☐

Have you ever been arrested or convicted of a criminal offence?

Never ☐ Arrested Only ☐ Arrested & Cautioned ☐ Arrested & Convicted ☐

Questionnaire – Start

This questionnaire is designed to help us get a better understanding of the impact that this organisation has on the people who take part in it. Your answers will help aid our understanding of its performance and will allow us to improve the service for future users. All answers given are strictly confidential. They will be stored securely and you will not be identified by name in any analysis of the results. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Part 1 (Schwarzer, 1995):

Carefully read the statements below. Rate how well each statement applies to you by circling the appropriate number on the scale. The below key refers.

1 = Not at all true

2 = Hardly True

3 = Moderately True

4 = Exactly True

Statement 1: I can always manage to solve difficult problems if I try hard enough.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 2: If someone opposes me, I can find the means and ways to get what I want.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 3: It is easy for me to stick to my aims and accomplish my goals.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 4: I am confident that I could deal efficiently with unexpected events.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 5: Thanks to my resourcefulness, I know how to handle unforeseen situations.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 6: I can solve most problems if I invest the necessary effort.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 7: I can remain calm when facing difficulties because I can rely on my coping abilities.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 8: When I am confronted with a problem, I can usually find several solutions.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 9: If I am in trouble, I can usually think of a solution.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 10: I can usually handle whatever comes my way.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Part 2 (Schwarzer et al., 1999):

Carefully read the statements below. Rate how well each statement applies to you by circling the appropriate number on the scale. The below key refers.

1 = Not at all true

2 = Hardly True

3 = Moderately True

4 = Exactly True

Statement 1: I can concentrate on one activity for a long time, if necessary.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 2: If I am distracted from an activity, I don't have any problem coming back to the topic quickly.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 3: If an activity arouses my feelings too much, I can calm myself down so that I can continue with the activity soon.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 4: If an activity requires a problem-oriented attitude, I can control my feelings.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 5: It is difficult for me to suppress thoughts that interfere with what I need to do.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 6: I can control my thoughts from distracting me from the task at hand.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 7: When I worry about something, I cannot concentrate on an activity.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 8: After an interruption, I don't have any problem resuming my concentrated style of working.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 9: I have a whole bunch of thoughts and feelings that interfere with my ability to work in a focused way.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Statement 10: I stay focused on my goal and don't allow anything to distract me from my plan of action.

1	2	3	4
Not at all True	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True

Part 3 (Smith & Betz, 2000):

Carefully read the statements below. Rate how confident you are that you could complete each task by circling the appropriate number on the scale. The key below refers.

1 = No Confidence

2 = Little Confidence

3 = Moderate Confidence

4 = Much Confidence

5 = Complete Confidence

Statement 1: Start a conversation with someone you don't know very well.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 2: Express your opinion to a group of people discussing a subject that is of interest to you.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 3: Work on a school, work, community, or other project with people you don't know very well.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 4: Help to make someone you've recently met feel comfortable with a group of your friends.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 5: Share with a group of people an interesting experience you once had.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 6: Put yourself in a new and different social situation.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 7: Volunteer to help organize an event.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 8: Ask a group of people who are planning to engage in a social activity (e.g., go to a movie) if you can join them.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 9: Get invited to a party that is being given by a prominent or popular individual.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 10: Volunteer to help lead a group or organisation.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 11: Keep up your side of the conversation.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 12: Be involved in group activities.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 13: Find someone to spend a weekend afternoon with.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 14: Express your feelings to another person.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 15: Find someone to go out to lunch with.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 16: Ask someone out on a date.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 17: Go to a party or social function where you probably won't know anyone.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 18: Ask someone for help when you need it.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 19: Make friends with a member of your peer group.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 20: Join a lunch or dinner table where people are already sitting and talking.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 21: Make friends in a group where everyone else knows each other.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 22: Ask someone out after he/she was busy the first time you asked.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 23: Get a date to a dance that your friends are going to.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 24: Call someone you've met and would like to know better.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

Statement 25: Ask a potential friend out for coffee.

1	2	3	4	5
No Confidence	Little Confidence	Moderate Confidence	Much Confidence	Complete Confidence

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS NOW COMPLETE. THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME.

Appendix B – NEET Interview Schedule at Time 1:



Interview Questions (Start)

My name is Richard. I am a researcher from the University of Northampton and at the university we are trying to find out what you think about being involved with this programme. This interview is not any kind of a 'test'. There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers to the questions I will ask you. What we want in your replies to the questions are your honest opinions and feelings about what you think will happen during the programme. Honesty in your replies will be very helpful to us in being able to judge how good you think the programme is and how it might be improved in the future.

This interview forms part of a PhD research degree that I am undertaking at the University of Northampton that aims to assess the impacts that organisations such as [organisation name] have upon the individuals that take part in them. The findings of this thesis will be submitted as part of my PhD research degree and will also be presented to [organisation name] in a report that will enable them to improve their service. It may also be used in a future journal article paper for submission to a peer-reviewed academic journal.

Your opinions are very important to us and to make sure we don't miss anything, I will be recording the interview. If at any time you feel uncomfortable about the interview, please tell me and we can turn off the recorder, take a pause or end the interview as you wish. A full transcript of the interview will be produced by me as part of my research, but it is important for you to be aware that only I will have access to the transcripts and recordings, which will be securely stored on a password protected university computer.

In taking part in this research it is important for you to realise that any answers you give are done so in the strictest confidence and that any quotes used will be anonymous and will not identify you in any way. Nothing you say to me in this interview will be viewed by anyone else including staff from [organisation name]. You are entitled to withdraw from the research project at any time. This interview will be the first of two, with the second interview taking place at the end of this course. In this interview we will be discussing your personal life and family background, as well as your experiences at school and in employment. We will also discuss your perceptions and feelings surrounding issues such as confidence, social skills and motivation. If you are happy to take part in this research and proceed with the interview please print and sign your name below.

Name:

Signature:

Questions:

1. Okay, to start off with can you just tell me a bit about yourself?
2. How and why did you come to take part in this programme?
3. What is your home situation at the moment, with whom, where, etc?
4. Can you tell me a little about your family background?
5. Can you tell me a little about your time at school?
6. What have you done since you left school in terms of training and work?
7. Do you have any career goals in life and if so what are they? If not why not?
8. What do you think about your general employment prospects?
9. What does confidence mean to you and do you think you are a confident person?
10. How do you feel in new social situations?
11. What does motivation mean to you and would you describe yourself as motivated?
12. What does self-belief mean to you?
13. Can you tell me/do you know about what you are going to do on this course?
14. What are your expectations of the course (hope/fears etc.)?
15. Where do you see yourself at the end of your time on this programme?
16. Is there anything else that you want to discuss with me before we end this interview?

Appendix C – NEET Interview Schedule at Time 2:



Interview Questions (End)

My name is Richard. I am a researcher from the University of Northampton and at the university we are trying to find out what you think about being involved with this programme. This interview is not any kind of a 'test'. There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers to the questions I will ask you. What we want in your replies to the questions are your honest opinions and feelings about what you think happened during the programme. Honesty in your replies will be very helpful to us in being able to judge how good you think the programme is and how it might be improved in the future.

This interview forms part of a PhD research degree that I am undertaking at the University of Northampton that aims to assess the impacts that organisations such as [organisation name] have upon the individuals that take part in them. The findings of this thesis will be submitted as part of my PhD research degree and will also be presented to [organisation name] in a report that will enable them to improve their service. It may also be used in a future journal article paper for submission to a peer-reviewed academic journal.

Your opinions are very important to us and to make sure we don't miss anything, I will be recording the interview. If at any time you feel uncomfortable about the interview, please tell me and we can turn off the recorder, take a pause or end the interview as you wish. A full transcript of the interview will be produced by me as part of my research, but it is important for you to be aware that only I will have access to the transcripts and recordings, which will be securely stored on a password protected university computer.

In taking part in this research it is important for you to realise that any answers you give are done so in the strictest confidence and that any quotes used will be anonymous and will not identify you in any way. Nothing you say to me in this interview will be viewed by anyone else including staff at [organisation name]. You are entitled to withdraw from the research project at any time.

This interview is the second one that I have done with you, after the first one that we did at the start of the programme. In this interview we will be discussing your experience of the programme, what you liked and didn't like and how this has impacted upon you personally and on your future career/educational aims. We will also discuss your perceptions and feelings surrounding issues such as confidence, social skills and motivation and how you think this programme has impacted upon them.

If you are happy to take part in this research and proceed with the interview please print and sign your name below.

Name:

Signature:

Questions:

1. Can you tell me about your time on the programme and what you did?
2. How much did you enjoy the programme?
 - a. Why?
3. Was there anything that you did not enjoy?
 - a. Why?
4. How was it different to what you expected?
5. How did the things you were looking forward to measure up to what happened?
6. How did the things you were worried about turn out?
7. Can you say which of the things you thought you would get out of the project actually happened and which didn't?
8. In what ways do you feel different after completing the project?
9. How confident do you feel now?
 - a. Do you feel more or less confident having completed the course?
10. How do you feel in social situations now?
11. How motivated do you feel now?
12. How do you feel about starting a new job, or a training/education course back at college?
13. How has this course affected your future career/educational plans?
14. What do you intend to do now the project is finished?
15. Is there anything else that you want to discuss with me or that you think is important before we end this interview?

Appendix D – WISE Owner/Manager Interview Questions:

Organisational History:

1. Would you tell me a little about the background of the organisation?
 - a. Why was it established?
 - b. What does it do?
2. What are the core aims and values of the organisation?
3. Have these aims changed since the organisation began and if so how?

Organisational Values:

4. What makes your organisation a social enterprise?
5. How do you seek to achieve your aims?
6. How is the organisation structured?
 - a. Why was such a structure chosen?
7. Who are your main stakeholders?
 - a. How do they interact with the organisation?

Funding & Income:

8. What is the business model of the organisation?
 - a. Where do you get your income from?
 - b. What are your main items of expenditure?
 - c. Do you make a surplus and what do you do with it?
9. What is the ratio of income received from the private and public sectors?
10. How do you balance the various demands placed upon the organisation by its commitment to its social, environmental and profit-making aims?
11. How do you approach contract procurement?
12. What do you think your unique selling points are?
13. Do contract commissioners (i.e. local government) support your organisation in the delivery of services for NEETs?
 - a. Do they fund your work?
 - b. Do they support you in applications for funding?
14. Are they supportive of social enterprise as a whole?
 - a. Why or why not?

The Intervention:

15. Can you describe the intervention programme that you run?
 - a. What do you do to help NEETs?
 - b. How does the programme operate?
16. What is the rationale behind the structure of the NEET intervention that you run?
17. How do the values of the organisation affect the intervention programme?
18. Does your intervention programme focus on improving confidence, motivation and self-esteem?
 - a. If so how?
19. Would you ever consider taking anyone off the intervention programme?
 - a. If so for what reasons?

Staff Training & Support:

20. How do you recruit staff and what qualities do you look for in candidates?
21. What training do you offer to staff delivering the intervention?
22. What structures are in place to assist the staff in delivering the intervention?
23. How do you monitor staff performance?

Impact Measurement:

24. How do you currently measure impact and report it?
25. How important is this impact measurement in securing funding and contract renewal?

Contemporary Climate:

26. How has the recession affected the numbers or types of NEETs that your organisation is dealing with?
27. How do you think the proposals put forward by the new government will impact on your organisation?

The Future:

28. What do you see as the future of the organisation and the intervention that you run?

Appendix E – Comparison Group Owner/Manager Interview Questions:

Organisational History:

1. Would you tell me a little about the background of the organisation?
 - a. Why was it established?
 - b. What does it do?
2. What are the core aims and values of the organisation?
3. Have these aims changed since the organisation began?
 - a. If so how?

Organisational Values:

4. Do you incorporate social goals into your organisational aims?
 - a. If so what are they and how do you implement them?
5. How do you seek to achieve your aims?
6. How is the organisation structured?
 - a. Why was such a structure chosen?
7. Who are your main stakeholders?
 - a. How do they interact with the organisation?

Funding & Income:

8. What is the business model of the organisation?
 - a. Where do you get your income from?
 - b. What are your main items of expenditure?
 - c. Do you make a surplus and what do you do with it?
9. What is the ratio of income received from the private and public sectors?
10. How do you balance the various demands placed upon the organisation by its commitment to its social, environmental and profit-making aims?
11. How do you approach contract procurement?
12. What do you think your unique selling points are?
13. Do contract commissioners (i.e. local government) support your organisation in the delivery of services for NEETs?
 - a. Do they fund your work?
 - b. Do they support you in applications for funding?
14. Do you think that social enterprise gets preferential treatment over private enterprise?

The Intervention:

15. Can you describe the intervention programme that you run?
 - a. What do you do to help NEETs?
 - b. How does the programme operate?
16. What is the rationale behind the structure of the NEET intervention that you run?
17. How do the values of the organisation affect the intervention programme?
18. Does your intervention programme focus on improving confidence, motivation and self-esteem?
 - a. If so how?
19. What is the reason behind your decision to adopt a strategy in which a certain number of the NEETs are taken off the intervention programme at 4 weeks?

Staff Training & Support:

20. How do you recruit staff and what qualities do you look for in candidates?
21. What training do you offer to staff delivering the intervention?
22. What structures are in place to assist the staff in delivering the intervention?
23. How do you monitor staff performance?

Impact Measurement:

24. How do you currently measure impact and report it?
25. How important is this impact measurement in securing funding and contract renewal?

Contemporary Climate:

26. How has the recession affected the numbers or types of NEETs that your organisation is dealing with?
27. How do you think the proposals put forward by the new government will impact on your organisation?

The Future:

28. What do you see as the future of the organisation and the intervention that you run?

Appendix F – WISE Staff Focus Group Questions:

Organisational History & Values:

1. What are your views on the nature of this organisation?
2. Are you aware that this organisation is a social enterprise?
 - a. What do you understand by this?
3. What do you see as the core aims and values of the organisation?
4. Have these aims and values changed since you came to the organisation?
5. How does (Organisation) seek to achieve these aims and values?

The Intervention:

6. How does the intervention programme that you run work?
 - a. What do you do to help NEETs?
 - b. How does the programme operate?
7. What is the rationale behind the structure of the NEET intervention that you run?
8. Do the values of the organisation affect the intervention programme?
 - c. If so, how?
9. What does your programme aim to help the participants to do?
 - d. Confidence?
 - e. Motivation?
 - f. Self-Esteem?
10. What changes do you see in the NEETs as they progress through the intervention?
11. What do you think are the positive aspects of this intervention programme?
12. What do you think are the negative aspects of the intervention programme?
13. Would you ever consider taking anyone off the intervention programme?
14. Have you ever taken someone off the intervention?
 - g. If so for what reasons?

Staff Training & Support:

15. What attracted you to come and work at this organisation?
16. How were you recruited?

17. What qualities do you think are required to be a good trainer/mentor here?
18. What training have you received to help you deliver the intervention?
19. What structures are in place to assist you in delivering the intervention?
20. What records do you keep?
21. What measurement of participant progress/achievement do you keep?

Appendix G – CG Staff Focus Group Questions:

Organisational History & Values:

- 22. What are your views on the nature of this organisation?
- 23. What do you see as the core aims and values of the organisation?
- 24. Have these aims and values changed since you came to the organisation?
- 25. How does (Organisation) seek to achieve these aims and values?

The Intervention:

- 26. How does the intervention programme that you run work?
 - h. What do you do to help NEETs?
 - i. How does the programme operate?
- 27. What is the rationale behind the structure of the NEET intervention that you run?
- 28. Do the values of the organisation affect the intervention programme?
 - j. If so, how?
- 29. What does your programme aim to help the participants to do?
 - k. Confidence?
 - l. Motivation?
 - m. Self-Esteem?
- 30. What changes do you see in the NEETs as they progress through the intervention?
- 31. What do you think are the positive aspects of this intervention programme?
- 32. What do you think are the negative aspects of the intervention programme?
- 33. Would you ever consider taking anyone off the intervention programme?
- 34. Have you ever taken someone off the intervention?
 - n. If so for what reasons?

Staff Training & Support:

- 35. What attracted you to come and work at this organisation?
- 36. How were you recruited?
- 37. What qualities do you think are required to be a good trainer/mentor here?
- 38. What training have you received to help you deliver the intervention?

39. What structures are in place to assist you in delivering the intervention?
40. What records do you keep?
41. What measurement of participant progress/achievement do you keep?

Appendix H – CCM Analysis for WISE 1 at Time 1

Units of Analysis for WISE 1 at Time 1:

1. Familial Problems
2. School Experience
3. Negative Employment Experience
4. Domestic Arrangement
5. Further Education
6. Exam Results & Qualifications
7. Boredom
8. Programme Expectations
9. Programme Motivation
10. Aspirations
11. Criminality
12. Drugs & Alcohol
13. Maturity
14. Presentation self-efficacy
15. Problem-Solver
16. Social
17. Motivation
18. Self-Belief
19. Family Breakdown
20. Lack of Interests
21. Confidence
22. Lack of self-efficacy
23. Previous Courses
24. Lack of Father Figure
25. Medical Problems
26. Peer Influence
27. Anger Issues
28. Low Academic self-efficacy
29. Regrets
30. Career Plan
31. Lack of qualifications
32. Prior experience
33. Parental unemployment
34. Persistence
35. Alternative Education
36. Connexions
37. Lack of Parental Support
38. Enterprise
39. Lack of Emotional Control
40. Stubbornness
41. Family Bereavement
42. Job-seeking
43. Role-model

Categorical Rules of Inclusion for Categories 1-12:

Category 1 – The Family:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's home life and living arrangements, which are mainly negative. Problems such as family break-up or bereavement form part of this category, along with absentee fathers/role-models and a lack of familial support.

Category 2 – Educational Experience:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to prior educational experience, whether at school, college or an alternative provider. Exams and qualifications also form part of the category, usually in relation to a lack of success in them.

Category 3 – Employment Experience:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to negative employment experience and the individual's experience of searching for jobs when unemployed.

Category 4 – Prior Experience:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to any other past experiences not related to employment or education. This includes experiences of prior training courses, of support agencies (i.e. Connexions) and of medical problems.

Category 5 – Criminality:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to prior experience of and/or involvement in criminal acts. It also includes experiences relating to drugs and alcohol.

Category 6 – Self:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's perception of themselves. This includes feelings such as confidence, motivation, maturity, self-belief, stubbornness and enterprise.

Category 7 – Boredom:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's lack of interests or of something to do, and the ensuing boredom that this creates.

Category 8 – Emotion:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's inability to maintain emotional control or to control their anger, which often leads to events that they regret.

Category 9 – Social:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's social life and their peer relationships.

Category 10 – Future:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's aspirations and their career plan to achieve these.

Category 11 – Self-Efficacy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by psychological issues interpreted as self-efficacy, such as a lack of confidence in academic situations, presentation situations and a general lack of self-efficacy relating to everyday situations.

Category 12 – The Programme:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's motivations for engaging with the WISE programme and their expectations of what the programme will offer them.

Thematic Rules of Inclusion for Themes A-D:

Theme A – Environmental Influence:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the influences that surround the individual, such as their family, peers or their general home life/social situation. These influences were often negative.

Theme B – Prior Experience:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to prior educational and employment experience, as well as other general past experiences such as ill health and criminality. These prior experiences were often negative.

Theme C – Self:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's self-perception. This involves issues such as confidence, motivation and self-belief, as well as feelings of boredom, efficaciousness and a lack of emotional control.

Theme D – Future:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's aspirations and their career plan to achieve these. These are often vague and unrealistic, with no discernible plan of how they will be achieved. This theme also related to an individual's motivations for engaging with the WISE programme and their expectations of what the programme will offer them.

Appendix I – CCM Analysis for WISE 1 at Time 2

Units of Analysis for WISE 1 at Time 2:

1. Programme output
2. Programme content
3. Job-seeking self-efficacy
4. Achievement
5. Leadership
6. Intrinsic Motivation
7. Self-belief
8. Being treated like an adult
9. Supportive environment
10. Career Plan
11. Small Dreams
12. Programme Evaluation
13. Teamwork
14. Problem with authority
15. Responsibility
16. Social self-efficacy
17. Anger Issues
18. Confidence
19. Mastery Experience
20. Fear of unknown
21. Short-term future
22. Low academic self-efficacy
23. Work experience
24. Trust
25. Enterprise
26. Medical Problem
27. Depression
28. Further Education
29. Maturity
30. Family Breakdown
31. Respect
32. Extrinsic Motivation
33. General self-efficacy
34. Ideology
35. Previous programmes
36. Employability
37. Welfare Benefits

Categorical Rules of Inclusion for Categories 1-12:

Category 1 – Supportive Environment:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the experience at the WISE of being treated like an adult or with respect, of being trusted or given responsibility or relating to the generally supportive environment that the WISE offered.

Category 2 – Negative Self:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's perception that they had issues controlling their anger, of dealing with authority, of facing new situations or of being depressed.

Category 3 – Future:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to short-term futures such as gaining employment, or of 'small dreams' such as getting a car. In the long-term it related to issues of career planning and of taking the steps related to this such as further education. It also related to individuals who saw their future more positively due to feelings of being more employable.

Category 4 – Motivation:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to motivation (either intrinsic or extrinsic). Issues relating to taking pride in one's work or of enjoying other's appreciation of one's work were raised.

Category 5 – Work Experience:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to gaining experience in the work-place (or simulated work place), of working as part of a team or in some cases taking leadership of a team.

Category 6 – Programme Evaluation:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the content of the WISE programme, the individual's assessment of this content or a comparison of the programme to the individual's prior experiences on similar programmes.

Category 7 – Self-efficacy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to mastery experiences enjoyed whilst on the programme, of feelings of general efficaciousness or of improved job-seeking efficacy and/or improved confidence in social situations.

Category 8 – Programme Output:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to *outputs* gained from the programme, such as educational qualifications gained or employment/further education courses secured.

Category 9 – Programme Outcome:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to *outcomes* gained from the programme such as a sense of achievement/accomplishment, a change in the individual's outlook on life/world or feelings of increased maturity.

Category 10 – Family:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to family problems such as familial breakdown, or the need to stay in education or employment in order to secure welfare benefit payments for the family.

Category 11 – Enterprise:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to increased feelings of enterprise and the articulation of a nascent desire to enter into self-employment in the future.

Category 12 – Positive Self:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's positive perceptions of their confidence or self-belief, or of improvements in these constructs from Time 1.

Thematic Rules of Inclusion for Themes A-D:

Theme A – Supportive Environment:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the supportive environment at the WISE and of a change in the levels of support gained from the family. In many cases the WISE and its staff had become a surrogate family for the individual.

Theme B – The Programme:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an assessment of the programme that the WISE had provided to the individual, or of an individual's assessment of the programme (which was generally positive). It also related to the experienced *outputs* in terms of qualifications/employment gained, as well as the *outcomes* such as maturity and a sense of achievement.

Theme C – Self:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's self-perceptions. These were generally positive and included increased motivation, higher self-efficacy and increased confidence and self-belief. However, negative self-perceptions could still be included in this theme.

Theme D – Future:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's future, either in the short-term (getting a job or car) or the long-term (career decisions). It also included issues relating to nascent entrepreneurial intentions.

Appendix J – CCM Analysis for WISE 2 at Time 1

Units of Analysis for WISE 2 at Time 1:

1. Maths & English
2. Vocational Training
3. Inertia
4. Age 16-18
5. Emotions
6. Negative School Experience
7. Enterprise Potential
8. Collaboration
9. Peer Trust
10. Unrealistic Aspirations
11. Abdication of Responsibility
12. Confidence
13. Motivation
14. Realistic Aspirations
15. Transient Employment Experience
16. Perceptions of Course Content
17. Perceived Course Outcomes
18. Limited Horizons
19. Career Decision-making
20. Positive Experience
21. Optimal Experience Theory
22. Optimal Experience Practice
23. Pride
24. Maturity
25. Role-Model
26. Positive School Experience
27. Boredom
28. Long-term Unemployment
29. Creativity
30. Cultural Heritage
31. Pro-active
32. Vague Aspirations
33. Lack of Enterprise Potential
34. Low academic self-efficacy
35. Negative job seeking experience
36. Familial Expulsion
37. Wake-up Call
38. Domestic Arrangements
39. Medical Complaints
40. Peer Support
41. Parental Conflict
42. Low Social Self-efficacy
43. Bereavement
44. Lack of parental support
45. Family Breakdown
46. Explaining Exam Results
47. Parental Burden for NEET
48. High Social Efficacy
49. Parental Support

50. Leadership Qualities
51. GSE
52. Vicarious Experience
53. Musical Experience
54. Ideology
55. Informal Social Support
56. Negative Family Comparison.
57. Respect / Authority
58. Peer Influence
59. Aggression
60. Self-Belief
61. Resilience
62. Higher Education
63. Self-esteem
64. Drug & Alcohol Abuse
65. Moral/Religious Influence
66. Volunteering
67. Catch 22

Categorical Rules of Inclusion for Categories 1-15:

Category 1 – Negative Impact of Family:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's perceived view of a negative home life and living arrangement. Being expelled from the family home, parental conflict and separation, bereavement and parents being a burden to NEET individuals were all included in this category.

Category 2 – Support:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to areas of support in the young person's life, whether this came from parents, peers or moral and religious areas of support were all included.

Category 3 – Peer Fear:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the influence of peers (often negative), issues of trust or the dislike of collaboration/teamwork with peers.

Category 4 – Positive Experience:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to past experiences that were perceived by the NEET to be positive. These experiences ranged from educational (school, college or university) and also to perceptions of what a positive experience was and how previous positive experiences had compared to this perception.

Category 5 – Negative School Experience:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to negative school experiences, particularly in relation to maths and English and past failure/sub-optimal performance in exams.

Category 6 – The Course:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's perceptions of the programme that they were about to engage with and what *outcomes* they hoped to gain from it.

Category 7 – Enterprise Potential:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's perception of their enterprise potential or lack of it, as well as issues around leadership and creativity.

Category 8 – Aspiration:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the realism or vagueness of an individual's aspirations, their perceptions of being caught in a catch 22 situation based around a lack of experience and qualifications. Issue centred upon career decision-making were also included.

Category 9 – General Self-Efficacy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's perceptions of their confidence, motivation, self-belief and self-esteem.

Category 10 – Specific Self-Efficacy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's perceptions of their academic or social self-efficacy.

Category 11 – Employment Experience:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's experience of transient employment, prior vocational courses, the problems of being NEET and aged 16-18, as well as the effects of long-term unemployment and job-seeking experiences.

Category 12 – Emotions:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's emotional state and encompassed feelings of inertia, pride, maturity, boredom and aggression.

Category 13 – Mitigation:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's reasons for their current situation, which were sometimes related to medical issues or drug and/or alcohol abuse.

Category 14 – Perceived Hierarchy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's perceptions of the world that they lived in, in relation to authority and a perceived social order.

Category 15 – Influence of Heritage:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's cultural heritage and how this could limit their horizons.

Thematic Rules of Inclusion for Themes A-D:

Theme A – Environmental Influence:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the influence of family, peers or the general home life/social situation of the individual. These influences were often negative. It was also characterised by issues of support in their lives and a perception that society had a social order that hindered the individual's ability to succeed.

Theme B – Prior Experience:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to prior educational and employment experience, as well as other general past experiences, which were often negative. It also related to past failures and the excuses for such failures as well as how the individual's social background had constrained their past actions.

Theme C – Self:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's self-perception. This involves issues such as confidence, motivation and self-belief, as well as feelings of boredom, inertia, pride and anger. Issues surrounding self-efficacy were also included.

Theme D – Future:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's aspirations (often vague and unrealistic), their nascent entrepreneurial identity and their perceptions and hopes for the programme that they were about to engage with.

Appendix K – CCM Analysis for WISE 2 at Time 2

Units of Analysis for WISE 2 at Time 2:

1. Social
2. Confidence Negative
3. Confidence Positive
4. Supportive Environment
5. Positive Evaluation of Course
6. Course Expectation vs. Reality
7. Social Confidence
8. Course Output
9. Course Outcome
10. Self-Efficacy
11. Mentoring
12. MW Mastery Experiences
13. Self-evaluation
14. Extrinsic Evaluation
15. Intrinsic Evaluation
16. Job-seeking Strategy
17. Effective Communication
18. Aspiration
19. Peer Mentoring
20. Mentor Training
21. Personal Problems with the Course
22. Business Idea
23. Enterprise
24. Widening Horizons
25. Self-evaluation of Change
26. Career Plan
27. Criticisms of Previous Courses
28. Suggested Course Improvements
29. Maturity
30. Collaboration
31. MW Bonding
32. Nascent Entrepreneur
33. Short-term Future
34. Assertiveness
35. Respect
36. Self-analysis
37. Negative Employment Experience
38. Absence of Mentoring
39. Positive Employment Experience
40. Absence
41. MW
42. MW Confidence
43. Course Content
44. Verbal Persuasion
45. Motivation
46. Positive Job-seeking behaviour
47. Teamwork
48. Post-intervention support
49. Emotional Control

- 50. Leadership Qualities
- 51. Immaturity
- 52. Vicarious Experience
- 53. Ideology
- 54. Mastery Experience
- 55. Low Academic Self-Efficacy

Categorical Rules of Inclusion for Categories 1-13:

Category 1 – Self-Efficacy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's experience of verbal persuasion, vicarious experiences, mastery experiences, or feelings of efficaciousness in general or academic situations.

Category 2 – Motivation Week:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's assessment of the motivation building element of the course that they experienced, relating to mastery experiences, bonding and gains in confidence.

Category 3 – Negative Self:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's negative view of themselves both relating to low confidence and immaturity.

Category 4 – Positive Self:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's positive view of themselves relating to increased confidence, social skills, maturity and a widening of perceived horizons. It also related to assertiveness, perceptions of leadership ability and improved emotional control.

Category 5 – Self-Analysis:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's self-analysis, their perceptions of self-change during the course and the importance of external evaluations.

Category 6 – Evaluation of the Course:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's perceptions of the programme that they had engaged with and how the programme had met their expectations. These evaluations were generally positive, although problems with the programme and suggested improvements were also included in this category.

Category 7 – Social Support:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's perception of the supportive environment offered to them by the programme, the benefits of collaboration and teamwork and the support that would be offered to them post-programme.

Category 8 – Prior Experience:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's prior employment experience and the previous intervention programmes that they had engaged with.

Category 9 – Enterprise:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's perceptions of their entrepreneurial ability and specific business ideas that they had.

Category 10 – Job-seeking Strategy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's short-term future plans and their development of positive job-seeking strategies and behaviour.

Category 11 – Mentoring:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's experience of the mentoring on the programme, whether it was delivered by trainers or by peers.

Category 12 – The Course:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's perception of the course content and the *outputs* and *outcomes* that they had gained from it.

Category 13 – The Big Picture:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's perceptions of society, their career plans and aspirations.

Thematic Rules of Inclusion for Themes A-D:

Theme A – Prior Experience:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's prior employment experience and the previous intervention programmes that they had engaged with.

Theme B – The Programme:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's perceptions of the programme that they had engaged with, in relation to the support offered, content, the benefits to the individual and the mentoring that they had received.

Theme C – Self:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's self-perception. This involves issues such as self-efficacy, negative and positive evaluations of the self and analysis by the individual of the inner change that the programme had affected.

Theme D – Future:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's aspirations, their career plan, their job-seeking strategy, as well as short and long-term futures.

Appendix L – CCM Analysis for CG at Time 1

Units of Analysis for CG at Time 1:

1. Educational Experience
2. Work Experience
3. Family Breakdown
4. Support
5. Self-evaluation
6. Social
7. Exam Results
8. Respect
9. Abdication of Responsibility
10. Aspiration
11. Lack of social self-efficacy
12. Lack of Familial Support
13. Maturity
14. Peer Influence
15. GSE
16. Family Bereavement
17. Short attention span
18. High social self-efficacy
19. Confidence
20. Domestic Arrangement
21. Misconceptions
22. Programme Expectation
23. Motivation
24. Unrealistic Aspiration
25. Truanting
26. Criminality
27. Connexions
28. Previous Programmes
29. Presentation self-efficacy
30. Intrinsic Motivation
31. Positive Outlook
32. Proactive
33. Role-Model
34. Self-belief
35. Further Education

Categorical Rules of Inclusion for Categories 1-10:

Category 1 – Prior Experience:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's prior employment, educational and exam experience (that were often negative). It also included their experience of prior intervention programmes, truancy and crime.

Category 2 – The Family:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's domestic living arrangements, perceived lack of family support, as well as issues of family breakdown and bereavement.

Category 3 – Support:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's perceptions of the support offered to them, particularly in relation to Connexions and the support (or lack of) of role-models.

Category 4 – Justification for Inertia:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's misconceptions of the employment/education sector and their abdication of responsibility for their current life situation.

Category 5 – Aspiration:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's aspirations (realistic or unrealistic) as well as individual desires to return to further education.

Category 6 – Self:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's perceptions of themselves, in relation to a desire for respect, their maturity, confidence, self-belief and their future outlook.

Category 7 – Self-Efficacy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's perception of their general self-efficacy, and also more specifically their social skills and fear of presentations/public speaking.

Category 8 – Prior Experience:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's prior employment experience and the previous intervention programmes that they had engaged with.

Category 9 – Social:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's perceptions of their social environment and the influence that their peers have on their own actions.

Category 10 – Programme Expectations:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's expectations of the work-integration programme that they were about to engage with.

Thematic Rules of Inclusion for Themes A-D:

Theme A – Environmental Influence:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's perceptions of their environment, in relation to their home and social life and the level of support that they have access to in their lives.

Theme B – Prior Experience:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's prior employment, educational and exam experience (that were often negative). It also included their experience of prior intervention programmes, truancy and crime.

Theme C – Self:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's self-perception. This involves issues such as self-efficacy, motivation, inertia and the justifications for this. Additionally, this theme included issues related to confidence, respect and maturity.

Theme D – Future:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's short-term future (i.e. expectations for the programme) and long-term future (i.e. aspirations and career plans).

Appendix M – CCM Analysis for CG at Time 2

Units of Analysis for CG at Time 2:

1. Programme Output
2. Confidence
3. Social Self-Efficacy
4. Programme Content
5. Teamwork
6. Employability Outcome
7. Familial Support
8. Being Treated like an Adult
9. Supportive Environment
10. Job-seeking Self-Efficacy
11. Aspiration
12. Intrinsic Motivation
13. GSE
14. Creativity
15. Career Plan
16. Probably next week sometime
17. Programme Evaluation
18. Naivety
19. Low GSE
20. Programme Outcome
21. Mastery Experience
22. Extrinsic Motivation
23. Maturity
24. Class Inhibition
25. Static Motivation
26. Enterprise
27. Role-model
28. Inertia
29. Locus of Control
30. Academic Self-Efficacy
31. Perceived Barriers
32. Extrinsic Evaluation
33. Professional Persona
34. Presentation Self-Efficacy
35. Perfectionist

Categorical Rules of Inclusion for Categories 1-10:

Category 1 – The Course:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's evaluation of the work-integration programme that they had engaged with in relation to its content and suitability.

Category 2 – Confidence:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's confidence and the impact that external evaluation has upon this.

Category 3 – Self-Efficacy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's perceptions of their efficaciousness in general, social, job-seeking, academic and presentation situation. It also included the individual's perceptions of mastery experiences that they engaged with and their locus of control.

Category 4 – Future:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's feelings of increased maturity and the impact that this had upon their aspirations and career plans.

Category 5 – Programme Output:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the *outputs* (i.e. qualifications) that the individual had gained from the programme.

Category 6 – Supportive Environment:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's perceptions of the supportive environment offered by the programme, of being treated like an adult, as well as perceptions of familial support.

Category 7 – Programme Outcome:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's perception of the benefits that they had gained from the programme in relation to reduced naivety, enhanced employability, maturity and team-working skills.

Category 8 – Motivation:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's sources of motivation (internal and external) and also included a motivation to be more of a perfectionist.

Category 9 – Enterprise:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's nascent entrepreneurial identity and feelings of creativity.

Category 10 – Inertia:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to an individual's feelings of inertia, and of their social class acting as a barrier to success.

Thematic Rules of Inclusion for Themes A-D:

Theme A – Supportive Environment:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's perceptions of the supportive environment offered by the programme, of being treated like an adult, as well as perceptions of familial support.

Theme B – The Programme:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's evaluation of the programme content, as well as the *output* and *outcome* benefits gained during their engagement with the programme.

Theme C – Self:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's self-perception. This involves issues such as confidence, self-efficacy, motivation and inertia.

Theme D – Future:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the individual's feelings of maturity and creativity, specifically related to their future entrepreneurial intentions, aspirations and career plans.

Appendix N – CCM Analysis for WISEs (Owners, Manager & Staff)

Units of Analysis for WISEs (Owners, Managers & Staff):

1. Social Mission
2. Sustainability
3. The Triple-bottom Line
4. External Performance Evaluation Pressures
5. Funding Pressures
6. Performance Evaluation
7. Policy Changes
8. Lack of Employer Engagement
9. External Misperceptions
10. Timescale
11. Outcomes
12. Supportive Environment
13. Enjoyment
14. OFSTED
15. Lack/Suitability of Provision
16. Limited Post-16 Signposting
17. Lack of Trust from External Stakeholders
18. EMA
19. Effort & Reward
20. Difficulties of Recruitment
21. Size matters
22. Socially Excluded Recruits
23. Role-models
24. Informal Life Education
25. Open Induction Policy
26. Poor Communication
27. Foundation Learning
28. Respect/Treated like an Adult
29. Working Environment
30. Lack of Employer Fit
31. Positive Effect of Employer Engagement
32. Impact of Recession
33. Family Backgrounds/Values
34. Expelling NEETs from the Programme
35. Fear of the Unknown
36. Onward Signposting
37. Verbal Persuasion
38. Benefit Stacking
39. Critique of For-Profit Providers
40. Sense of Achievement
41. Self-Belief
42. Social Efficacy
43. Widening horizons
44. Small Class Sizes
45. Mastery Experience
46. Confidence
47. Intrinsic Motivation
48. Extrinsic Motivation
49. Inductive Recruitment

50. Stakeholders
51. Organisational Structure
52. Staff Development
53. Centralised Policy-making
54. Trust
55. Flexibility of Provision
56. Organisational Future
57. Voluntary Origins
58. Diversity
59. Barriers to Employment
60. Community
61. Post-programme Support

Categorical Rules of Inclusion for Categories 1-14:

Category 1 – Funding:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the funding pressures that existed for the WISEs in relation to sustainability, balancing the triple-bottom line, competing with larger organisations for state contracts and the concept of ‘benefit stacking’.

Category 2 – Performance Evaluation:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the pressures placed on the WISEs by performance evaluation measures and in particular OFSTED inspections.

Category 3 – Policy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to government policy and specifically the constant policy changes that occur, the centralised nature of the policy process and more specifically the removal of the Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMA).

Category 4 – Problems with Provision:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to problems with provision in relation to the programmes delivered. Issues relating to the suitability of the programmes, the limited timescales, the lack of employer engagement and the lack of post-programme support were all issues that were raised.

Category 5 – External Stakeholders:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to external stakeholders lack of understanding of social enterprise, and the poor communication with and a lack of trust from external stakeholders. However, positives were also included such as issues relating to the benefits of external stakeholders when there is mutual trust.

Category 6 – Supportive Environment:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the supportive environment offered by the WISEs, specifically in relation to the use of role-models, the creation of an enjoyable environment, the small class sizes, the onward signposting of young people and the respect given to NEETs by staff.

Category 7 – The Programme:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the delivery of ‘Foundation Learning’, the provision of a work environment, the benefits of young people having their effort rewarded and also the delivery of informal ‘life education’. Additionally, issues related to expelling NEETs from the programme and the flexibility of provision was also included.

Category 8 – Programme Outcomes:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the *outcome* benefits delivered by the WISEs to NEET individuals. These included self-belief, a sense of achievement, the widening of young people’s horizons, as well as boosts to confidence and motivation.

Category 9 – Social Mission:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the centrality of the social mission at the WISEs and the ideal that this mission is based in the local community. The voluntary origins/support of the organisations was also included.

Category 10 – NEETs:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the characteristics of the NEET cohort and how this has been impacted by the recession. It also included issues related to the heterogeneous nature of the NEET sample and the barriers to employment that NEETs faced.

Category 11 – NEET Recruitment:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the difficulties of recruiting socially excluded NEET individuals, as well as the open induction policy operated by both WISEs.

Category 12 – Self-Efficacy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the development of self-efficacy during the programme through the use of encouragement and task completion. The boosts to social skills/confidence were specifically discussed and included in this category.

Category 13 – Staff:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the inductive staff recruitment policies of both WISEs, as well as an assessment of the training that was provided to staff (both positive and negative).

Category 14 – Organisation:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the structure of the WISEs as well as their prospective futures.

Thematic Rules of Inclusion for Themes A-E:

Theme A – State Contracting:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to delivering state contracts (i.e. Foundation Learning). The issues included specifically related to funding and performance evaluation pressures, problems with the programmes and the effect of policy-change.

Theme B – Stakeholders:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to staff and external stakeholders such as trustees, local authority staff and the Police. It was specifically related to the recruitment and training of staff, as well as issues of trust and understanding with external stakeholders.

Theme C – NEETs:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the characteristics of the NEET cohort, the impact of the recession, as well as NEET recruitment to programmes and the difficulties faced in this area.

Theme D – Organisation:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the structure and future of the WISEs, and also their social missions, the centrality of these missions to the WISEs and their places within the local communities.

Theme E – The Programme:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the programmes delivered, specifically in relation to the content, the *outcomes* produced (i.e. increased self-efficacy) and how these *outcome* benefits were related to the supportive environments offered by the two WISEs.

Appendix O – CCM Analysis for the CG (Owners, Manager & Staff)

Units of Analysis for the CG (Owners, Managers & Staff):

1. Origins of the Organisation
2. Performance Evaluation Pressures
3. OFSTED
4. Mission Statement
5. Knowledge Transfer
6. Organisational Ethos
7. Social Mission
8. Employer Expectations
9. Organisational Structure
10. Inadequacy of Educational System
11. Stakeholder Cooperation
12. Limited Post-16 Signposting
13. State Contracting
14. Apprenticeships
15. Lack of Employer Fit
16. Profits
17. Funding Pressures
18. Lack of Trust from State Funders
19. Bureaucratic Funding
20. Short-Term Contracts
21. Policy Changes
22. Size Matters
23. Social Enterprise Bias
24. Familial Influence
25. Diversity
26. Foundation Learning
27. Staff Performance/Development
28. Personal Responsibility
29. Low Expectations
30. Emotions
31. Staff Recruitment
32. Qualifications, Qualifications, Qualifications
33. Supportive Environment
34. Difficulties in Recruitment
35. EMA
36. NEET Employability
37. Organisational Future
38. NEET Social Exclusion
39. Mentor
40. Soft Outcomes
41. Self-efficacy
42. Lack of Confidence
43. Career Plans
44. Unrealistic Aspirations
45. Today not tomorrow
46. Mastery Experiences
47. Verbal Persuasion
48. Pride
49. Timescale

- 50. NEET Dropout/Exclusion
- 51. Reactive not Proactive
- 52. Induction Policy
- 53. Participant Progression

Categorical Rules of Inclusion for Categories 1-16:

Category 1 – Performance Evaluation:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the pressures placed on the CG by the performance evaluation requirements of state contracts, and also of submitting to OFSTED inspections.

Category 2 – Organisational Ethos:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the CG's organisational origins, its aims and mission and also the social mission that it pursues.

Category 3 – Stakeholder Cooperation:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the benefits of working with external stakeholders and the value of knowledge transfer partnerships to the CG.

Category 4 – Employers:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to employer expectations of young people, the value of apprenticeships and the lack of employer fit of the Foundation Learning programme.

Category 5 – Organisation:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the CG's structure and future, profit-distribution and the often reactive nature of decision-making within the organisation.

Category 6 – Problems with Provision:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the poor preparation that schools offer young people for employment and the lack of assistance that they are given to prepare for life after school. Problems with Foundation Learning in relation to its suitability for employers and the limited timescale it gave to work with young people were also included.

Category 7 – State Contracting:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the lack of trust that the local authority and funding agencies have with providers, the difficulty of competing with larger organisations and the short-term nature of most contracts and the lack of security that this gives providers.

Category 8 – Funding:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the pressures placed on the CG by funders and also the bureaucratic nature of funding contracts.

Category 9 – Policy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to policy changes such as the removal of EMA, as well as a perception that the local authority was biased towards social enterprises.

Category 10 – NEETs:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the negative influence of families on NEETs, the social exclusion that they suffer and also the heterogeneous nature of the NEET cohort. Additionally, the low confidence of most NEETs was also an issue along with the perceived short-term nature of their aspirations.

Category 11 – Staff:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the recruitment of staff, their training and also the evaluation of staff performance.

Category 12 – NEET Employability:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the lack of employability of most NEETs, their unrealistic aspirations and also their low expectations of themselves.

Category 13 – The Programme:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the recruitment of NEETs to the programme, an analysis of Foundation Learning, the exclusion or drop-out of NEETs from the programme and the progression of young people following their completion of the Foundation Learning programme.

Category 14 – Programme Outcomes:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the soft benefits provided by the programme such as increases in personal responsibility and pride, as well as the development of realistic career plans and aspirations.

Category 15 – Supportive Environment:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the supportive environment provided by the CG, and in particular the provision of a mentor to participants and how this helps them to deal with negative emotions.

Category 16 – Self-Efficacy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the development of NEET self-efficacy during the programme and specifically how this is achieved through the use of encouragement and successful task mastery experiences.

Thematic Rules of Inclusion for Themes A-E:

Theme A – State Contracting:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to delivering the Foundation Learning programme. The issues included specifically related to funding and performance evaluation pressures, problems with the programmes and the effect of policy-change.

Theme B – Stakeholders:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to staff and external stakeholders. It was specifically related to the recruitment and training of

staff, as well as issues of cooperation and knowledge transfer with external stakeholders. The problems related to a lack of employer engagement with Foundation Learning programmes also characterised this theme.

Theme C – NEETs:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the heterogeneous nature of NEETs, NEET social exclusion and the negative impact of families, as well as the general lack of employability of most NEETs and their unrealistic aspirations.

Theme D – Organisation:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the structure and future of the CG, as well as the origins of the organisation and its ethos along with the development of a social mission.

Theme E – The Programme:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the Foundation Learning programme delivered, specifically in relation to the content, the *outcomes* produced (specifically higher self-efficacy) and how these *outcome* benefits were related to the supportive environments offered by the CG.

Appendix P – CCM Analysis for Local Authority Staff

Units of Analysis for Local Authority Staff:

1. Connexions Origins
2. Careers Service
3. Stakeholders
4. Funding
5. Statutory Responsibilities
6. Central Government Policy
7. Public Sector Cuts
8. Connexions' Mission
9. Performance Evaluation
10. Not Knowns
11. Implications of Public Sector Cuts
12. Stakeholder Communication
13. Poor Communication
14. Connexions Interviewee Role
15. Young Parents (NEET)
16. Work-based learning Providers
17. Defining NEET Status
18. State Benefits
19. Sustained NEETs
20. Work Programme
21. Further Education
22. Learning Difficulties & Disabilities
23. Apprenticeship Providers
24. Specialist Provision
25. Careers Advice & Referrals
26. Problems with training provision
27. Raising the Participation Age
28. Entry Criteria
29. Private Sector Competition/Collaboration
30. Lack of use of third sector
31. NEET Limited Horizons
32. YPLA
33. Impact of Recession on NEET Population
34. Negative Educational Experience
35. SFA
36. Funding Affecting Provider Behaviour
37. Lack/Suitability of Provision
38. YOT
39. Local Authority Mission
40. Wolf Review
41. Online Support
42. Sub-Regional Group
43. ESF
44. Local NEET Strategy
45. Third Sector Strategy
46. Foundation Learning
47. Impact of Performance Evaluation
48. EMA
49. Apprenticeships

Categorical Rules of Inclusion for Categories 1-10:

Category 1 – Funding:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the structure of state funding for work-integration programmes. This specifically related to issues such as welfare payments, whether funding criteria drove provider behaviour and the agencies involved in funding providers.

Category 2 – Careers Advice & Support:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the development of the Connexions service out of the Careers Service, and its subsequent demise. Additionally, issues relating to general careers advice and guidance were also discussed.

Category 3 – Central Government Policy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the spending cuts being implemented by the new coalition government and the implications of these cuts. It also included new policy initiatives such as the ‘work programme’ and the raising of the educational participation age, the ‘Wolf Report’ and the cutting of EMA.

Category 4 – Performance Evaluation:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the perceived impact of performance evaluation on providers, as well as the statutory responsibility that lies with the local authority to ensure a minimum quality of provision for young people.

Category 5 – NEETs:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the local authority’s perception of the NEET cohort, the problems of defining NEETs, of helping ‘complicated’ NEETs, of dealing with the young people that drop out of the system and ‘young parent’ NEETs. It also includes issues around NEETs negative educational experience, their limited horizons and the impact of the recession on NEET young people.

Category 6 – Education and Training:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the providers of work-based learning, with specific reference to LDD individuals, further education and apprenticeships, as well as Foundation Learning.

Category 7 – Local Authority Policy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the mission of the local authority in areas such as youth offending, NEET support and the use of regional collaborations in the provision of services.

Category 8 – Problems with Provision:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the suitability of Foundation Learning and other NEET provision, particularly in relation to the competition and collaboration that exists between private providers. It also includes issues relating to the selective admission policies of certain providers.

Category 9 – Third Sector Policy:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to central government and local authority third sector policy and the lack of third sector provision in the work-integration area, partly due to a lack of capacity in the third sector.

Category 10 – Stakeholders:

To be included in this category, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the various stakeholders in NEET provision, and the communication between these stakeholders (both positive and negative).

Thematic Rules of Inclusion for Themes A-D:

Theme A – State Contracting:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the monitoring and funding of work-integration programme providers. The issues included specifically related to the need for performance evaluation in order to ensure quality of provision and also of the lagged funding model operated by the YPLA/SFA.

Theme B – Policy:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to central, local and third sector policy. This includes the impacts of spending cuts, new policy directives from Whitehall, as well as local strategies and policy towards utilising the third sector in welfare provision.

Theme C – NEET Provision:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the establishment and removal of the Connexions agency, as well as general careers advice and guidance issues. It also includes issues relating to youth work-integration provision such as Foundation Learning and apprenticeships, as well as the various problems inherent with the current provision offered and the various stakeholders involved in this process. In relation to this last point there was a perception of poor communication between stakeholders but also an acknowledgement of the benefits when communication was good.

Theme D – NEETs:

To be included in this theme, the unit of analysis should be characterised by issues relating to the local authority's perception of the NEET cohort, the problems of defining NEETs, of helping 'complicated' NEETs, of dealing with the young people that drop out of the system and 'young parent' NEETs. It also includes issues around NEETs negative educational experience, their limited horizons and the impact of the recession on NEET young people.