

**SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN CHILDHOOD: WHY AND HOW IT SHOULD BE
MEASURED
SOME THOUGHTS FROM BRITAIN**

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1 INTRODUCTION

When the Labour government came to power in Britain in 1997, a major consequence was that poverty was back on the policy agenda for the first time in almost two decades and social exclusion became a major concern of government for the first time. Indeed, one of Prime Minister Tony Blair's first actions was to establish the Social Exclusion Unit within the Cabinet Office, at the heart of government.

Child poverty is a key policy area for the British government, with the commitment to eradicate child poverty by the year 2020 announced in 1999. Since that time, more specific targets to reduce child poverty by one-quarter by 2004 and one-half by 2010 have also been set. But how and where does social exclusion fit in to the government's agenda? And how do children fit into a concept that, in European Union terms at least until recently, has been highly equated with exclusion from the labour market?

1.1 Definitions of Poverty and Social Exclusion

Poverty is defined in the English Oxford Dictionary as 'the condition of having little or no wealth or material possessions'. However, how this 'condition' should best be measured is still debated. The most usual method is to determine the number of individuals/households living below a certain income threshold, most usually below a certain proportion of median household income. Although there are a number of disadvantages with such a measure, it can generally be agreed that a measure of poverty should be capturing a shortfall of resources in relation to needs. For example, the European Union standard definition states 'the poor shall be taken to mean persons, families and groups of persons where resources... are so limited as to exclude them from a minimum acceptable way of life in Member States in which they live' (European Commission, 1984)¹.

¹ One of the main disadvantages of income measures of poverty is that income is not a very good measure – or certainly not a complete measure – of 'resources' for a number of reasons (see Townsend, 1979).

Social exclusion is also defined in the English Oxford Dictionary: ‘exclusion from human society (or from a specific milieu); *spec.* exclusion or isolation from the prevalent social system and its rights and privileges, esp. as a result of poverty or membership of a particular social group’. Nevertheless, the term ‘social exclusion’ remains a contested one, despite frequent use in current British and European policy documents, and, as a result, few attempts have been made to identify and measure its existence (for a discussion of this issue see Buchardt et al., 2002).

Using this definition, measuring social exclusion has to take into account at least two considerations:

1. what are the prevalent social systems?
2. what are the rights and privileges of that social system?

The definition implies that social exclusion might manifest itself in numerous ways within any society and a particular difficulty in the measurement of social exclusion, therefore, lies in this multi-dimensionality. No single measure will be able to capture all that is required. It therefore becomes the task to define *which* aspects of the social system should be measured to *best* quantify social exclusion (just as it is necessary to determine which aspects of resources best identify poverty, for example income, material possessions and/or expenditure). In addition, the use of the term ‘social exclusion’ in policy has implied that it may be associated with poverty. It is therefore sensible, and necessary, to try and test this relationship; if children who experience poverty are the **same** children who experience social exclusion this has different implications for policy than if poverty and social exclusion are experienced by **different** children.

1.2 Structure of the Paper

It is not the intention of this paper to discuss in detail the multiplicity of different definitions of social exclusion or the ways in which social exclusion can be measured (as noted, these can be found elsewhere). Instead this paper has three main aims.

- To explain how childhood social exclusion is being defined and tackled by the British government (Section 2);
- To describe some of the developments in recent research to try and operationalise and

measure childhood social exclusion in Britain (Section 3); and

- To establish the degree of overlap between measures of poverty and social exclusion in childhood. Is it the same children that experience both these phenomena? (Section 4).

To conclude the paper discusses why social exclusion for children should be measured and how using measures of social exclusion in childhood, in conjunction with poverty measures, helps to develop a better understanding of how children's lives are affected by poverty and social exclusion.

2 CHILDHOOD SOCIAL EXCLUSION: PROGRESS BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

2.1 Defining and Measuring Childhood Social Exclusion

As noted above, the term social exclusion is a contested one. However, the British Government has defined it as:

'A short-hand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environment, bad health and family breakdown.'

(Social Exclusion Unit, 2001, p.10)

Micklewright (2002) has criticised this definition, pointing out that these 'linked problems' are 'a description of examples of circumstances that may lead to exclusion', rather than being a definition of social exclusion itself. In terms of thinking about children's exclusion, it is evident that not all these examples relate directly to children. So how are children's experiences of exclusion defined and measured? The Government's annual poverty report *Opportunity for All*, which has been produced since 1999, outlines a number of indicators of poverty and social exclusion for people of working age, older age people and for *children* (Department of Social Security, 1999, 2000; Department for Work and Pensions, 2001, 2002). It reports the progress, or otherwise, on each of these indicators and the policies in place, or being developed, to tackle poverty and social exclusion for these population groups. The indicators for children and young people are shown in Box 2.1.

In general, as with the list of examples given in the government's social exclusion definition, these indicators are not measuring whether or not children are 'excluded'; they are measuring factors that may lead to exclusion either in the present (for example through low parental income or the children's own poor health), or in the future (for example through poor life experiences or qualifications). To give a couple of examples:

1. Children living in workless households are likely to have a low income and therefore may not be able to afford to go on school trips, for example. However, it may be that their school has a good support fund, or grandparents or other relatives are able to pay for the school

trips. Therefore, although the child lives in a low-income household, they are not excluded from this activity.

2. Not achieving Level 4 or above in the Key Stage 2 school tests² could lead children to achieving less well at school in later years and, consequently, limit their future career potential. However, children progress at different rates and some of these children may well secure good qualifications later on in their school life and, therefore, will not be excluded from 'good' careers as adults.

This is not to argue that measuring low income or school achievements is not important, rather it is acknowledging that it is the **potential** to be excluded that is being measured, not exclusion itself. Klasen (1998) has suggested that these two aspects – being excluded and the potential to be excluded - can be seen as approaching social exclusion from 'two levels':

'One attempts to measure its extent directly, and the other focuses on measuring the extent of the bases of social exclusion. Focus on the latter has the advantage that there may be more data readily available and that the links to policy issues may be more direct. Focus on the former has the advantage of measuring outcomes directly without having to rely on presumed (and often untested) linkages between certain bases of social exclusion and the actual resulting exclusion.' (p.9)

The British case is an excellent example of the latter. The indicators in Box 2.1 are the so-called 'bases of exclusion'. First, for the most part, data are readily available for these indicators. Secondly, they are not available in the same survey and therefore many of the linkages are indeed untested. Thirdly, many are a measure of the success, or otherwise, of specific government policies. However, data have recently become available in Britain to 'measure its extent directly' using the Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey of Britain. It is these direct measures of social exclusion for children – in other words measures that incorporate the idea that children are being excluded **from** something – that are discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 of this paper.

² All 11-year olds are tested for their English and Mathematics ability. Level 4 is the National Curriculum level most children are expected to reach at this age. Tests in reading, writing and mathematics are also undertaken at the age of 7 (Key Stage 1), where most children are expected to reach level 2.

Box 2.1 Poverty Indicators for Children and Young People³

1. A reduction in the proportion of children in living in working-age workless households
2. Low income indicators:
 - a) a reduction in the proportion of children living in households with relative low incomes¹¹
 - b) a reduction in the proportion of children living in households with low incomes in an absolute sense ¹¹
 - c) a reduction in the proportion of children living in households with persistent low incomes
3. Teenage pregnancy indicators:
 - a) a reduction in the rate of conceptions for aged under 18; and
 - b) a reduction in the proportion of teenage mothers who are not in education, employment or training
4. An increase in the proportion of 7-year old children in Sure Start areas achieving Level 2 or above in the Key Stage 1 tests
5. An increase in the proportion of 11-year old children achieving Level 4 or above in the Key Stage 2 tests
6. An increase in the proportion of 16-year olds with at least one General Certificate for Secondary Education
7. An increase in the proportion of 19 year olds with at a least a Level 2 qualification or equivalent
8. A reduction in the proportion of truancies and exclusions from school
9. An improvement in the educational attainment of children looked after by local authorities
10. An increase in the proportion of 16-18 year olds in learning
11. A reduction in the gap in mortality for children under one year between manual groups and the population as a whole
12. A reduction in the rate at which children are admitted into hospital as a result of unintentional injury resulting in a hospital stay of longer than three days
13. A reduction in the smoking rates:
 - a) during pregnancy
 - b) among children aged 11-15
14. A reduction in the proportion of children re-registration during the year on the Child Protection Register
15. A reduction in the proportion of children who live in a home that falls below the set standard of decency

³ For more details regarding these indicators please see the latest edition of Opportunity for All (Department of Work and Pensions, 2002). It should be noted that, with the exception of indicators 1 and 2, these indicators are for England or England and Wales only. The devolved governments of Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland publish separate annual reports on social inclusion.

2.2 Tackling Social Exclusion

The British Government has introduced a raft of measures aimed at tackling poverty and social exclusion. This section focuses on just three schemes that are related to increasing children's inclusion through participation in services or activities⁴. These appear to be designed to tackle direct social exclusion as defined in the previous section - providing children with the opportunities to participate in children's society or providing them with the necessary knowledge to be able to do so - rather than (or, perhaps more correctly, as well as) tackling the 'bases' of social exclusion.

Sure Start (see <http://www.surestart.gov.uk/about/WhatIs.cfm?section=2>)

'Sure Start is a cornerstone of the Government's drive to tackle child poverty and social exclusion.'

Sure Start, which commenced in 1999, targets areas with high levels of poverty, providing a programme of co-ordinated health, education and support services for families with children from birth to when they start school. The programme is based at the community level and services should reflect the particular needs of the local community. The aim of the programme is that children involved will be 'ready to flourish when they go to school'. It has been stated that by 2004, one-third of under four year-olds in poverty will be covered by a Sure Start programme.

The Children's Fund (see <http://www.cypu.gov.uk/corporate/childrensfund/index.cfm>)

'The Children's Fund... is a key part of the Government's strategy to tackle disadvantage and inequalities, which derive from child poverty and social exclusion.'

Announced in 2000, the Children's Fund supports Children's Fund local partnerships who provide services to children aged 5-13 to help prevent children from experiencing poverty and social exclusion. Examples of the types of services provided include Literacy Programmes, Mentoring Schemes and Health Awareness. The fund also provides finance for programmes that focus support on parents. So far there are 89 Children's Fund partnerships, covering two-thirds of England (Department for Work and Pensions, 2002).

⁴ It should be noted that these programmes are restricted to England. The devolved governments of Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland have their own schemes and programmes for the prevention of childhood social exclusion.

Connexions Service (see <http://www.connexions.gov.uk>)

The Connexions Service began in 2001 and it was expected that the whole of England would be covered by 2003. The service aims to provide co-ordinated support for all young people aged 13-19. All young people should have access to a Personal Adviser who can provide tailored advice and support about learning, careers, health, relationships and so on. Information and advice on the web is also to be made available, with advisers contactable by telephone, webchat, email or text message. Although focussed on all young people aged 13-19, Connexions is expected to impact particularly on young people who are, or at risk of becoming, socially excluded through, for example, helping young people to find part time jobs, assisting them to identify and claim social security benefits and allowances, and identifying children at risk of homelessness and other facets of poverty (McInroy, 2003).

It is to be anticipated that these three schemes will greatly benefit children experiencing social exclusion. Sure Start is undergoing local and national evaluations, the Children's Fund is to be monitored and evaluated (no details are currently available), whilst the Office for Standards in Education is inspecting the Connexions Service. It is too soon to determine how successful the schemes have been, but a particular concern is that the first two programmes have time-limited funding, raising the question of what will happen when funding ceases? In addition, the indicators currently being used by government will not identify whether these schemes have helped to prevent children being excluded or to reduce social exclusion within childhood.

An important development in the provision of services for children was announced at the time of writing. A new Minister for Children has been appointed, based in the Department for Education and Skills (DfES). This minister will be responsible for all children's services and family policy, formerly under the remit of a number of different government departments. These responsibilities include the three schemes outlined above, as well as other services for children such as: Children's Social Services and the Teenage Pregnancy Unit (both formerly in the Department of Health); family and parenting law (transferred from the Lord Chancellor's Department); and the Family Policy Unit (transferred from Home Office). It is the intention that this integration of children's policy under the direction of the DfES 'will create a single

departmental focus for children, including disadvantaged children, improved co-ordination within children's services (including family and parenting support), and between these services and mainstream schools and education policy' (<http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/Page3912.asp>). Although the decision to locate the initiative in the DfES could be challenged, the bringing together of these different aspects of policy for children under one Departmental roof is to be welcomed. However, responsibility for meeting the child poverty reduction targets remains with the Treasury, thereby continuing the separation of poverty from social exclusion within government.

3 CHILDHOOD SOCIAL EXCLUSION: PROGRESS IN RECENT RESEARCH

3.1 The Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey of Britain

Britain has a number of regular surveys which collect a wealth of information regarding households and individuals within them – their income, their composition, their employment status, their housing type and so on (for example, the Family Resources Survey, Family Expenditure Survey, British Household Panel Survey and the General Household Survey). However, these contain very little information on different aspects of social exclusion within households. Certainly, by 1999, no survey had been undertaken with the aim of operationalising and measuring social exclusion.

The Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey of Britain (PSE) was developed by researchers at the Universities of Bristol, York and Loughborough and supported by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Undertaken in 1999, it was designed with the specific aim of measuring different dimensions of poverty and social exclusion in the lives of adults *and children* in Britain going into the 21st Century (for details regarding the survey, see Gordon et al., 2000).

3.2 Measures of Childhood Social Exclusion

Although the survey had a very wide scope, it could not include all possible dimensions of social exclusion. Therefore, it is not suggested that the social exclusion measures included in the survey are the end of the story; it is more likely that they are just the beginning for empirical research. It is hoped, and anticipated, that the start that this survey has made in terms of thinking about how social exclusion can be operationalised and measured will lead to further developments in this area.

The remainder of this paper focuses on the direct measures of childhood social exclusion available in the PSE – those that measure the things from which children are excluded. The PSE includes three direct measures of social exclusion for children:

- exclusion *from* social activities;

- exclusion *from* children's local services; and
- exclusion *from* school resources.

3.2.1 Exclusion from social activities

Studies exploring the minimum needs of children have shown that mothers consider participation in social activities to be vital for children's development (see, for example, Middleton et al., 1994). Other evidence has pointed to the value children themselves place on being able to participate in activities and clubs (Ridge, 2002). In addition, large proportions of parents (all over 50 per cent) considered the activities analysed here to be essential for children in Britain today, again highlighting the importance that parents place on social participation for their children. Therefore, not being able to participate in one or more of this range of social activities is one possible dimension of social exclusion for children. The seven activities were:

- a hobby or leisure activity;
- celebrations on special occasions;
- swimming at least once a month;
- playgroup at least once a week;
- holiday away from home at least one week a year;
- school trip at least once a term; and
- friends round for tea or a snack fortnightly⁵.

Parents were asked which of the seven activities their child(ren) did, which they did not do because they were not wanted, and which they did not do because they could not be afforded. Exclusion was defined as not taking part in an activity because it could not be afforded.

3.2.2 Exclusion from local services

Local services are, potentially, extremely important agents in ameliorating disadvantage, for both areas and individuals – provisions that were once referred to collectively as the 'social wage'. For example, access to a library, bus services and school meals can be seen as promoting social inclusion by benefiting those who could not otherwise afford books, private transport and a

⁵ Some of these activities are age-specific. Therefore babies and pre-school aged children could not be defined as excluded from a hobby or leisure activity, school trip or friends round for tea or snack. Primary and secondary school-aged children could not be defined as excluded from playgroup.

healthy diet. Large proportions of parents in the PSE agreed that the children's services they were questioned about were essential for their children. Therefore, not having access to such services can be seen as another possible dimension of exclusion for children.

Parents were asked whether their children had access to a range of services specifically for children. The six children's services were:

- nearby and safe play facilities;
- school meals;
- youth clubs;
- after school clubs;
- public transport to school; and
- nurseries, playgroups and mothers and toddler groups.

Parents were also asked about 18 other local services that were relevant for children, although not specifically, or only, for children. These included leisure, health and education services (see Table 4.1).

For each service they were asked whether their child(ren):

- used the service and thought it adequate;
- used the service but thought it inadequate;
- did not use the service because it was not wanted;
- did not use the service because it was unavailable or not suitable; or
- did not use the service because it could not be afforded.

Exclusion has been defined as either of the latter two –i.e. the service was not available (or not suitable) or it could not be afforded.

3.2.3 Exclusion from school resources

The proportion of time that children spend in school means that inclusion during their school life is likely to be vital to their concurrent, and subsequent, inclusion in society⁶. Children

⁶ As with the social activities these were age-related; babies and pre-school aged children could not be defined as excluded on these measures.

experiencing school resource problems will be missing out on provisions from which other children are benefiting, in terms of the educational and social skills that school can provide.

Parents were asked which of seven school resource problems their child(ren)'s school had, in terms of their child having:

- missed classes because of a teacher shortage;
- shared school books in key subjects;
- found difficulty obtaining school books;
- school does not have enough computers;
- large class sizes (more than 30 pupils);
- school buildings are in a bad state of repair; and,
- other problems due to a lack of resources.

The intention of presenting these measures is to demonstrate that, in fairly simple ways, it is possible to operationalise direct measures of social exclusion during childhood within survey methodology. Research in Britain has also begun to explore children's own perceptions of their experiences of social exclusion (see Ridge, 2002). Such efforts will further assist the development of social exclusion measures during childhood.

4 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN CHILDHOOD

Certainly, the measures of exclusion outlined above are important for all children and it is of concern if these aspects of exclusion affect any child. However, perhaps of more importance in policy terms, particularly in Britain where poverty eradication is the target, is whether these experiences affect poor children to a greater extent than children who are not poor. In other words, if the group of children that is in poverty is completely different to the group of children who experience the different dimensions of social exclusion this would suggest a different set of policy responses than if the two groups contained the same children. It is important to re-emphasise that, using the Government indicators, such an exploration is not possible, because the indicators come from different data sources. Therefore it is not known whether and, if so, to what extent, their indicators are measuring the same, or different groups of children. The PSE provides the first real opportunity to investigate the overlap between childhood poverty and the measures of social exclusion that the PSE identifies.

4.1 Definition of Poverty

A new measure of child poverty was developed for the analysis that is described in this chapter. It was developed as part of a project for Save the Children UK (SCUK), which had the remit to investigate severe child poverty in Britain. The emphasis on severe child poverty was chosen because, although there is an abundance of research on child poverty in Britain, SCUK identified a lack of knowledge about children in the severest poverty – what proportion of children were in severe poverty, who they were, and how they were affected in terms of exclusion. In addition, recent evidence has suggested that following the government's reforms some children, particularly the poorest, will have experienced decreases in income (Sutherland, 2001).

In essence, the new definition of child poverty was based on three measures:

- income poverty (household income below 40 per cent of median);
- parent deprivation (parents lack at least two necessary adult items); and
- child deprivation (child lacks at least one necessary child item).

Children were defined as not in poverty if they were not poor on any of these three measures, non-severely poor if they were poor on just one or two of these measures, and severely poor if they were poor on all three measures⁷. The proportions of children in each poverty group were:

Not poor	55 per cent
Non-severely poor	37 per cent
Severely poor	8 per cent

4.2 Overlaps Between Poverty and Social Exclusion

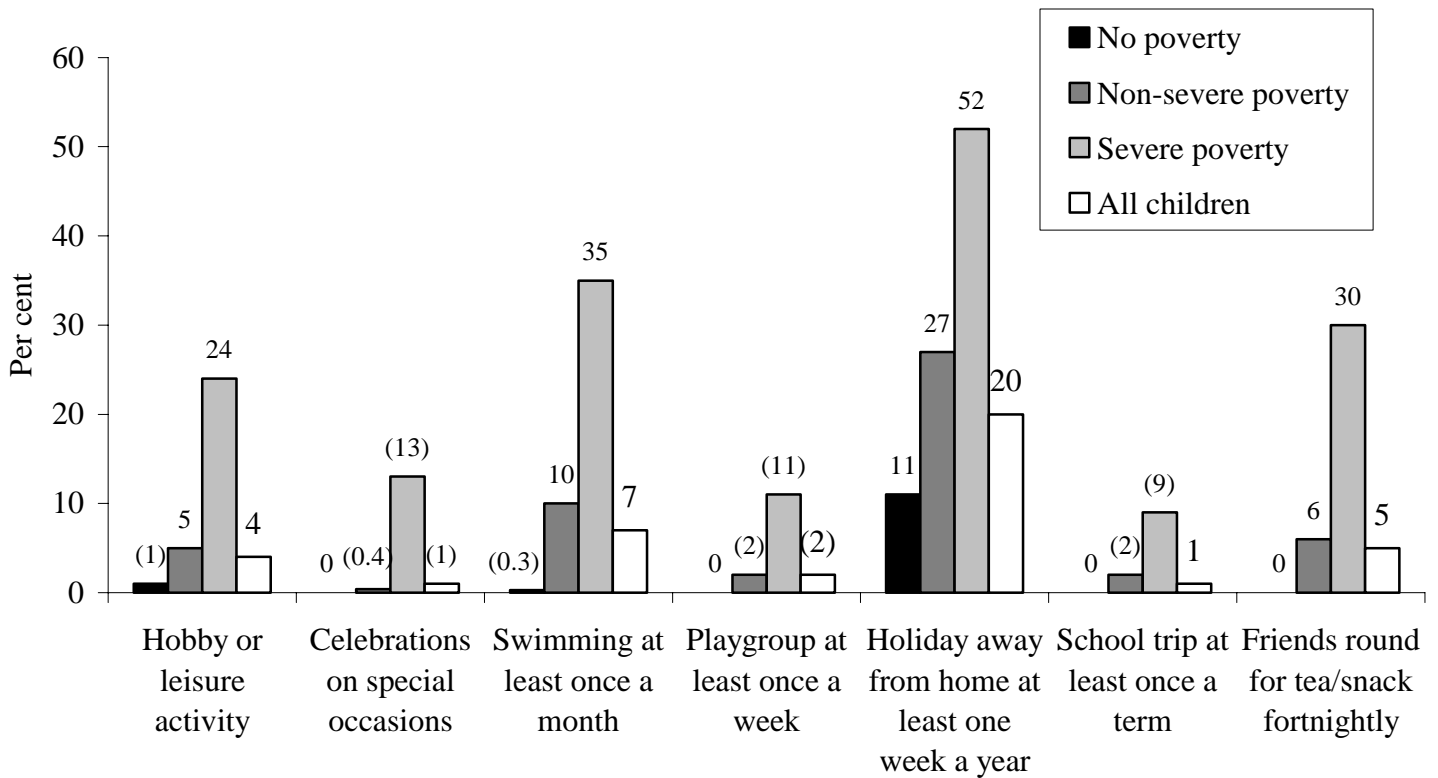
This section of the paper examines the overlap between child poverty, as defined above, and childhood social exclusion using the direct measures included in the PSE. As noted, such an investigation is invaluable for an insight into whether, and how, children's participation in activities and access to services and resources are associated with the experience of poverty.

4.2.1 Social activities

Children in severe poverty were significantly more likely to be excluded from each social activity than children in non-severe poverty (Figure 4.1). For example, they were five times more likely to be excluded from a hobby or leisure activity and from having friends round for tea fortnightly. They were approximately twice as likely to lack a holiday away from home at least one week a year; half of the children in severe poverty went without a holiday. However, children in non-severe poverty also experienced much higher levels of exclusion than non-poor children, among whom exclusion was very rare. With the exception of a holiday (11 per cent), only one per cent or less of non-poor children were excluded from each activity.

⁷ Please refer to Adelman et al., (2003) for more details regarding the establishment of the measure, including how the parental and child deprivation measures were calculated.

Figure 4.1 Social Activities Children Lacked by Poverty Status



Unweighted base = 742-753 children (variation due to missing values)

Brackets (in this figure and in what follows) identifies results based on less than 20 unweighted cases.

4.2.2 Local services

Encouragingly, children in poverty were no more likely to be excluded from the services that might be expected to ameliorate the effects of poverty than were non-poor children (Table 4.1). Hence, access to education facilities (library, playgroup), health (hospital, doctor, optician) and school-based services (school meals, transport to school) was generally high for nearly all children and not conditional upon their families' financial circumstances or upon their location. Yet some concern must arise from the small numbers of children – regardless of poverty status – who were excluded from these particularly important services. It should also be noted that analysis has not yet considered the extent to which these services were believed to be adequate.

However, for a substantial minority of services (10 out of 24) there was a general trend that severely poor children were more likely to be excluded than non-severely poor children, who

were, in turn, more likely to be excluded than non-poor children. Exclusion was particularly high amongst the services specifically for children; services which would allow them arenas to meet and play, namely play facilities, youth clubs and after school clubs.

Table 4.1 Services Children Lacked by Poverty Status

	Cell per cent			
	No poverty	Non-severe poverty	Severe poverty	All children
Library	(1)	(3)	0	(1)
Public sport facilities*	(2)	8	(15)	5
Museum and gallery*	14	24	17	18
Public/Village/community hall*	7	14	19	11
Hospital with accident and emergency	(4)	(2)	(6)	3
Doctor	0	0	0	0
Dentist*	0	(2)	(9)	(1)
Optician	(<0.5)	(2)	(2)	(1)
Post office	0	0	0	0
Places of worship	(1)	(1)	0	(1)
Bus services	(4)	(2)	(4)	3
Train/tube station* ^a	(6)	10	22	9
Petrol stations*	(3)	(3)	(11)	3
Chemists*	0	0	(2)	(<0.5)
Corner shop	(7)	(4)	(6)	6
Medium to large supermarket	(1)	(3)	0	(2)
Banks or building societies*	(1)	(2)	(11)	2
Cinema or theatre*	9	27	24	17
Nearby and safe play facilities*	14	28	41	21
School meals	(5)	7	(6)	6
Youth clubs*	12	18	26	15
After school clubs*	15	17	32	17
Public transport to school	(7)	(5)	(6)	6
Nurseries, playgroups, mother and toddler groups	(4)	(3)	(2)	3

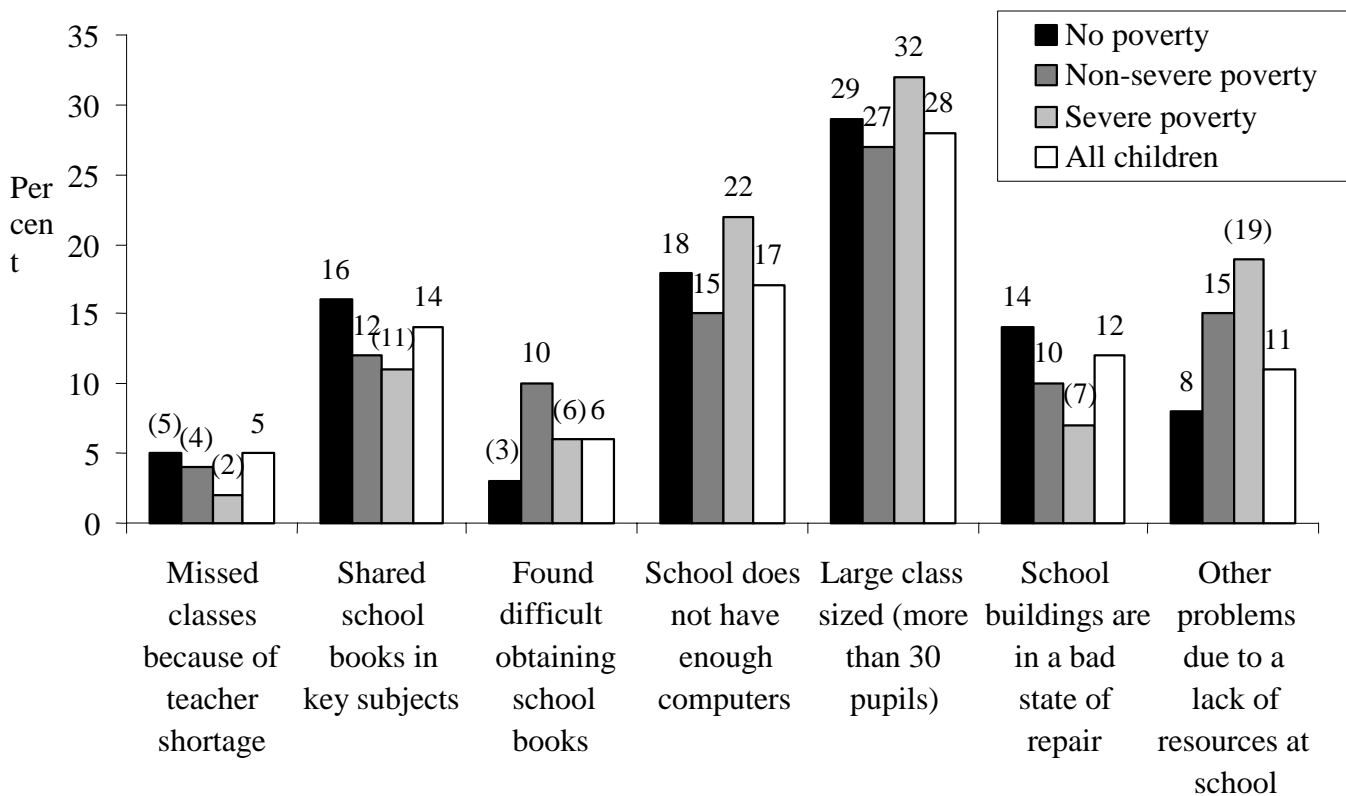
Unweighted base = 757-766 children (variation due to missing values)

Key: * significant difference ($p < 0.05$)

4.2.3 School resource problems

When exploring the relationship between poverty status and school resource problems, severely and non-severely poor children were found to be significantly more likely to experience ‘other resource problems’ (just under one-fifth of severely poor children) (Figure 4.2). Unfortunately, parents were not asked to specify what these problems were. The only other statistically significant difference between children in the different poverty statuses was for a difficulty in obtaining school books, which was most likely to be experienced by children in non-severe poverty. In all other cases, there was no significant difference between school resource problems based on poverty status. On average, children in each poverty status experienced just under one resource problem. This is relatively high and raises concerns about the resources available in British schools. However, it is of some consolation that children in poverty are not further disadvantaged by a lack of resources in school as compared to children not in poverty.

Figure 4.2 School Problems Experienced by Poverty Status



Unweighted base=760 children

5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present British government has acknowledged that child poverty and social exclusion do exist in Britain and are committed to tackling both – a major departure from the approach of the previous government. It has introduced policies and programmes aimed at dealing with the problems of child poverty and social exclusion. Whilst it is too soon to say whether inclusion for children has improved, accepting that there is a problem is a huge step forward.

The government's success in tackling child poverty and social exclusion is to be measured using a number of indicators. However, these indicators can be criticised on a number of levels. Very few are direct measures of exclusion, they are 'bases' of social exclusion. In addition, the links between these indicators and poverty (and other measures of exclusion) have not always been tested. This paper has argued that more meaningful indicators can be developed; ones that directly measure children's exclusion by identifying what it is that children can be excluded from. A start has been made by the PSE, which identified three such aspects - participation in social activities, access to services and availability of school resources. Whilst it is not suggested that these are all-encompassing, they do provide some first steps towards directly measuring children's exclusion. Further progress is needed that takes into account children's own perceptions of exclusion, and ask them directly about their experiences (see Ridge, 2002). The British Household Panel Survey includes a Youth Questionnaire for young people aged 11-14, but as yet includes few direct measures of social exclusion.

The analysis has shown that, using some measures, children in (severe) poverty are experiencing exclusion to a greater degree than children not in poverty. Importantly, it is the **degree** rather than the **form** of social exclusion that is different. For example, it has been shown that the activities and services from which children were most likely to be excluded were generally the same, regardless of the extent of poverty; children in (severe) poverty were simply much more likely to be excluded. This suggests a need for policy to focus on children in severe poverty to ensure that they are not disadvantaged further by also being excluded.

However, on other dimensions of social exclusion children in poverty were no worse off than children not in poverty. For example, the public health and education services in Britain appear to be working well to ensure that resources in schools and access to education and health services are distributed equitably.

The investigation of overlaps between poverty and social exclusion also makes it clear that not all children in poverty are excluded or vice versa. To move forward, it will now be necessary to try to understand **why** some children do not experience exclusion despite being in poverty and why some children not in poverty do experience exclusion. What is it about these children that protects them from, or makes them vulnerable to, exclusion? Having these measures in the same survey is crucial to an understanding of these inter-relationships and will make it easier to tailor policies that can genuinely improve the circumstances of children.

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Chapter 1 social exclusion and why IT matters chapter 2 costs chapter 3 causes chapter 4 a new approach chapter 5 delivery chapter 6 what next? Annexes. Some of the causes were forces that affected most western countries in the last two decades, such as the move to high-skill, high-tech industries; and increasing rates of family breakdown. 10. But Government policies were not as effective at tackling social problems as they could have been. In many cases the structure of Government meant that the joined-up problems of social exclusion did not receive a joined-up response. In particular Chapter 1 social exclusion and why IT matters. The Government has given priority to tackling social exclusion. Social exclusion has become a significant policy theme in most 'developed' countries and in many 'developing' countries as well. England and South Africa are no exceptions. Following a brief review of some perspectives on social exclusion, this paper describes some key policies in England and South Africa designed to combat social exclusion. The notion of social exclusion is examined in the context of addressing childhood poverty. It considers the extent to which these policies conform to a broad or narrow notion of social inclusion. The paper highlights some contradictions, complexities and a This important book should be read by officials and policy makers in national and local government, NGOs, charities and voluntary organisations dealing with poverty and social exclusion. It will also be required reading for academics and students of social policy, sociology, public health, economics and politics. This book is the most authoritative study of poverty and social exclusion in Britain at the start of the 21st century. It reports on the most comprehensive survey of poverty and social exclusion, ever to be undertaken in Britain: The Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey. This enormously rich data set records levels of poverty not just in terms of income and wealth but by including information about the goods and services which the British public say are necessary to avoid poverty. Social exclusion theorists are concerned with the dissolution of social bonds, the incomplete extension of social rights and protections to all groups, and the links between the idea. 2. of exclusion and more conventional understandings of inequality. Properly done, such diffusion should attend closely to the context-dependent definitions and meanings involved with an idea like social exclusion. It certainly does not mean the same thing in every culture (de Haan 1998). Rodgers, Gore, and Figueiredo (1995) is a representative collection applying the concept of social exclusion to developing countries.