GAINFUL UNEMPLOYMENT:
Using A Dialogical Psychology to intervene in Unemployment

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Abstract of thesis entitled
"Gainful Unemployment: using a dialogical psychology to intervene in unemployment in Central Scotland".

This qualitative inquiry built on a relational and dynamic epistemology, distinguishes between four psychologies of unemployment, *agency-deprivation*, *social perception*, *self-perception* and finally *dialectical.* Within a dialectical psychology of unemployment a dialogical analysis is developed which takes the locus of intervention in unemployment as the interaction between unemployed people, those that work with them and the social knowledge that surrounds the phenomenon. The inquiry uses a longitudinal participatory action approach with two training and guidance centres in Central Scotland, 'Strategic Delivery' and the 'Young Person's Centre' between 1999 and 2001. This involved participant observation on the New Deal and Skillseekers training programmes, meetings and interviews with managers, unemployed clients and front-line staff. 14 young people were followed through their pre-vocational training between January 2000 and April 2000 and follow up interviews were carried out in February and March 2001. The study also involved social consultancy on measuring soft skills at SD and developing a person-centred approach at the YPC, where the YPC became understood as a multi-voiced organization[Bakhtin (1986)].

The inquiry produced actions, recommendations to the organizations and interpretative findings around the use of a dialogical analysis. Three co-created 'actions' on self-assessment measures for unemployed people are described. The study recommends that two key foundational concepts in the area of unemployment 'social inclusion' and 'employability' need to be reconsidered for this cohort of young people where 42.9% remain unemployed at the end of the research.

Finally in making sense of organizational change the study explores the extent to which managers within the YPC were in a dialogue with the socio-political discourse and the movement in meaning of the term 'person-centred'. The study points to the importance of organizations developing an authentic dialogue with their client group. It assesses the role that psychology is playing in the current dominance of a self-perception psychology of unemployment.

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Introduction

This qualitative inquiry introduces a fresh dialogical approach to intervening in the area of unemployment, which stands in contrast to the current psychologies of unemployment. It presents participatory action research carried out with two training and guidance organizations within Moultrie a small town in Central Scotland. The Young Person's Centre [YPC] a public funded centre which works with young people delivering both the New Deal for 18-24 year olds and Skillseekers for 16-18 year olds and Strategic Delivery a private funded centre which delivers and co-ordinates the training providers for New Deal programmes. The fieldwork was carried out in three phases an Access Phase, between August 1999 and November 1999, Phase One, the Action Phase which occurred between December 1999 and July 2000 and Phase Two, the Co-Analysis Phase between January 2001 and April 2001.

The research developed iteratively, between the Action phase, which was the main fieldwork phase and before returning to the YPC during the Co-analysis phase there was a period of analysis, reflection and sense-making which resulted in recommendations to the YPC in an 'Initial findings report'. Further it was at this time when reflecting upon the voices within the field and my own and co-researchers' communicative actions [Habermas (1989): 120], that the dialogical approach was developed. In this respect though the research did not take a Grounded Approach, much of what is discussed in Part One, the four psychologies of unemployment and the dialogical approach developed in a bottom-up way.

The dialogical approach draws from social psychology, work and organizational psychology and sociology. It is concerned with attempting to understand and intervene in the intersubjective experience of being unemployed. Here intersubjective is understood not only as subject-subject relations but also, in the sense of the dialogical self and finally in the sense of the subject as a social actor in a relationship with the social world and the socially shared knowledge which circulates within public spheres. The details of this approach are presented in Chapter Four.

This represents quite a departure from mainstream approaches by psychologists interested or concerned about unemployment and the first two chapters take the reader from the early studies of unemployment to the new dynamic and relational epistemology and ontology that underpins the dialogical approach.

Chapter One, in discussing converging aims, begins a sketch of four psychologies of unemployment, *agency-deprivation* accounts which locate

unemployment in actor-environment relations. *Social perception* accounts which understand unemployment as an event that can be reperceived. *Self-perception* accounts which tend to focus on the character of people that are currently unemployed and finally *dialectical* accounts which understands unemployment within the interaction between self and others and the social knowledge that surrounds such interactions. It considers the distinction between employment and work and discusses how useful the term 'unemployment' is today.

Chapter Two takes the initial sketch of the four psychologies of unemployment and adds in details in particular it highlights the implications these four psychologies of unemployment have for intervention. In particular their locus that is where in the complex series of social relationships that is the modern experience of unemployment have psychologists chosen to intervene? The second half of the chapter concentrates on two special considerations, of particular importance to this study, young people's unemployment and the experience of unemployment within the contemporary economic context of a flexible labour market.

Despite the discussions around intersubjectivity and the extent to which it will draw upon discourses and social representations, this is not a post-modern account of unemployment, rather the experience of unemployment today is understood as a feature of late modernity. Such notions are discussed in this first part of the thesis, but what is important is that discussion of social constructionism are contextualised in the actual reality of the legislative requirements for unemployed people between 1999 and 2001. The socio-political context is taken up in Chapter Three, giving details of the individual work focused gateway and the use of personal advisors both of which form a key feature of modern state interventions into unemployment. The term 'active' welfare state is adopted to discuss the emphasis on the pro-activity of unemployed people and the extent of the state monitoring of this process, that is a feature of current Labour Market Activation Policies [LMAP].

Much of this literature is not concerned with the interaction between unemployed people and others, such as those that work with unemployment, employers and so on, but rather also with the character of unemployed people. This then is a social construction. The dominance of this supply-side orientation is challenged within Chapter Four, which presents the dialogical approach to interventions in unemployment, one of the difficulties with both Habermas's account of communicative action and his use of the concept 'public sphere' is the extent to which he tends toward a consensus approach, in practice however some voices are more powerful than others and some people influence and have more access to the social knowledge that circulate in the public sphere more than others.

The dialogical approach makes use of Bakhtin's dialogism to make sense of this, the strength of the Russian linguist Bakhtin's approach is that text is understood within context, we construct what we are about to say with not only the listener in mind but also imaginary interlocuters. Bakhtin terms this 'addressivity' [Bakhtin (1986): 95] and he understands the many voices that appear in speech as multi-voicedness. This is particularly so when we speak rhetorically and given that any study of unemployment has politics fused to it, making sense of rhetorical speech will form a major part of this study.

The reader is taken into the field in Part Two, where such relations are encountered. The methodological considerations, in particular relationality, are set out in Chapter Five, as well as the use of reflexivity not only in the methodological sense but also in getting co-researchers to reflect upon their assumptions and actions in an attempt at conscientización [Martin-Baró (1994): 40].

One of the difficulties with using a participatory action approach is it often suggest that the methods developed as a result of a dialogue between the researcher and the co-researchers within the field. This research developed within a dialectic between myself, the co-researchers and the academic community and this is set out in Chapter Five. This study is built on an epistemological view that knowledge is co-created rather than found and power is intimately related to knowledge. This is taken up in discussions on relationality, in particular the researcher/co-researcher relationship. The chapter closes with a discussion on the different uses of reflexivity within the research.

This thesis is perhaps unusual in paying particular attention to the access phase the converging aims that occurred within it are discussed in the first chapter, the methods employed are set out in the sixth chapter. It is also returned to in the final part of the thesis, chapter eight when discussing the processes involved in developing trust between researcher, co-researcher and organizations. The methods in this research did on many occasions develop collaboratively and an overview of this process is set out in Chapter Six, where a procedural account of the two main methods, observation and interview is presented. Part Two closes with a detailed account of how conversations and actions within the two organizations were understood as 'data' and how this 'data' was, through periods of reflection and sense-making, understood as the research products which comprise part three.

Part three has an overarching aim in trying to present all the research products in a dialogical way, in particular in a multi-voiced way. It therefore presents different voices from the field including my own voice as a researcher in dialogue with the managers as co-researchers in Chapter Eight as trust is built in the Access Phase. Chapter Eight, in this respect starts with a methodological contribution for those

people interested in qualitative inquiry. The discussion returns to relationality but this time in setting out the practical steps that can be taken to increase the development of 'trustworthiness' in research. This is understood as the first research product of the thesis.

The next chapter of the thesis is concerned with communicative action. It is dominated by the voices of co-researchers and myself engaged in action, intensely discussing the way forward on three aspects of the YPC and SD's service. These were the introduction of anger-management at the YPC, the information flow and measurement of young people's progress at the YPC and finally the measurement of soft skills at SD. Such discussions resulted in actual changes in the service.

All three of these actions point to the extent to which contemporary interventions in the area of unemployment are increasingly focused at the psycho-social level and the thesis has a sub-theme running throughout in considering the role that psychologists are playing in this process. Chapter Ten, profiles the fourteen young people followed in the study and explores the implications of the term 'social inclusion' and 'employability', comparing dialogues between young people, key-workers and managers.

The final chapter, in telling the story of the YPC's transition towards a person-centred approach, draws together the central issues in all of the research products whether findings or actions that are presented in Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten. It understands the YPC as *a multi-voiced organization* and makes use of Bourdieu's notion of 'symbolic capital' to explore the differences in leverage people have in relationship with the notion of a 'person-centred' approach. Tracking the movement of meaning of the term 'person-centred' approach between November 1999 and February 2001 - from person-centred approach to 'PCA'.

There are many difficulties in being the researcher whose voice forms an integral part of the data itself and then in interpreting this data. The final chapter, entitled 'Conclusion and Critical Reflections' explores the distance travelled in the study in terms of it's original aims and offers an account of the limitations and the fresh challenges inherent in using a dialogical approach. It returns to the standpoint of the thesis 'gainful unemployment' and reconsiders the question of whether it is possible in the current climate for unemployed people to be regarded as an active and contributing citizens.

PART ONE

Academic & Socio-Political Context

Young People on a Residential 2000

Chapter One Converging Aims

1.1 Introduction – the co-creation of resistant knowledge

1.2 Developing a conceptual framework and research questions

1.3 Defining terms and narrowing the focus

1.4 Conceptual presentations and negotiation

1.5 The aims of SD and YPC

1.6 Multiple roles within research as practice.

1.7 Converging aims

1.8 Summary

1.1 Introduction- co-creation of resistant knowledge

One of the enduring difficulties over the last seventy years of social and psychological research into unemployment is that the knowledge created has sometimes served to stigmatise the unemployed further. The qualitative inquiry presented in this thesis seeks to avoid this and was developed with the intention that the knowledge created would evolve collaboratively, principally be understood as relational, and further be of use to people when unemployed. The study is intended to co-create resistant knowledge for the unemployed and practical knowledge for the organizations involved within the lifetime of the research. Whilst also taking into consideration the socially shared knowledge that surrounds the area of unemployment- i.e. what people in organizations that work with unemployed people, people who are unemployed and the public more generally 'know' or 'believe' about unemployment and 'the unemployed'.

To this end this study explores, through participatory action research, the conditions, rationalities and culture within which people who are unemployed and people who work in the area of unemployment currently operate. It presents my involvement with two training and guidance organizations the Young Persons Centre (YPC), and Strategic Delivery (SD)[1] that work directly with unemployed people.

This inquiry did not start with research questions but rather with a research orientation or standpoint and this first chapter sets out this orientation, my initial conceptual development, the broad intentions and the research aims. It recounts how,

through conceptual presentation and negotiation, these aims converged with the aims of the two participating organizations and how these were narrowed down to two research questions.

It introduces a typology of 'psychologies of unemployment' to indicate that the vast psychological literature on unemployment spans a number of distinct and often opposing psychologies each with their own rationalities, methodological traditions, epistemological and ontological parameters. Such psychologies of unemployment are informed by medicine, sociology, social anthropology, economics, organizational studies and, particularly after the communicative turn within the social sciences, linguistics, and often cluster around a notion of self-other relations or actor-environment relations, even if these relations are not explicitly examined. Joachim Israel explains that all social scientific research proceeds with stipulations and construction. Within positivist-empiricist studies the theorising or models may appear as descriptive statements but they are better understood as normative statements, the existence of these stipulations and constructions have a regulative function [Israel (1972): 124-5]. That is they determine the questions that are asked when the research is being proposed to potential funders and the knowledge that is subsequently created.

This is certainly so within certain psychologies of unemployment - studies which examine coping when unemployed, the use of cognitive-behaviour therapy with the unemployed, the time-management of the unemployed, may appear to adhere to the disinterested and objective tenets of a positivist-empirical approach but can be understood as partly creating the reality that they present themselves as describing.

Psychologies of unemployment can be usefully understood in terms of the locus of unemployment. The first tradition, termed here *agency-deprivation accounts*, locates unemployment within the macro-economic situation and explains the socio-psychological states of individuals and families in terms of actor-environment relations. Here unemployment exists outside the individual. A classic example is Jahoda, Lazarsfeld & Zeisel's ethnographic study of the Austrian village Marienthal in the mass depression of the 1930's. Such accounts exist along a continuum which at one extreme emphasizes the power of social institutions and at the other emphasizes the individual's agency and the social forces which restrict it.

Whilst this thesis will not tackle these debates, what is critical here is that studies may focus on communities such as the work of Marie Jahoda and 'Workers not wasters' [Wight 1993]. They also may focus on social support networks that surround a family and agency-restriction [Fryer & McGhee 1989; Fryer & Fagan 1993]. All locate

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[1] In order the ensure confidentiality, all the names of the localities, organizations and participants in the study are pseudonyms though every effort has been made to retain the character of the original names.

unemployment as external to the individual's psychology and theoretically are framed in terms of agency and structure.

A second type of psychology of unemployment *social perception accounts*, also locates unemployment as external to the individual regarding it as a critical life event. Here the research interest is in how people have understood this event. This can be understood in terms of how unemployed people interpret or reinterpret the stressor [Ezzy 2000]. Here the focus is on what people understand as their unemployment. Indebted to phenomenology, these accounts explore the subject's understanding of the object of unemployment [Spera, Buhrfiend & Pennebaker 1994].

There is also a psychology of unemployment which locates unemployment within the individual and explains the psychology of unemployment in terms of an individual's *self-perception*. This third type ranges from a focus on an individual's behaviour e.g. understanding people's job search behaviour, time-management or meaningful activity, to exploring the intrapsychic world of the unitary subject using psychometric tests on confidence, self-esteem and self-efficacy, [Eden & Alviram 1993] to cognitive-behaviour therapies which activate and explore the motivations of "the subject"[2] [Proudfoot et al 1997; 1999].

A fourth and final psychology of unemployment is that which locates unemployment neither within the individual's behaviour, personality type or degree of activation, nor in a structural account of the power of social institutions, but rather in a dialectical account. Such *dialectical accounts* attribute a degree of power to social relations and communication, focus on self-other relations and the social knowledge which circulates around the unemployed. Often phenomenological, but always situated in the socio-historical context, these accounts are indebted to sociology and we can usefully take the current reappreciation of the work of Gustav Ichheiser, and it's extension in Goffman's classic account of Stigma, "Stigma: Notes on the management of Spoiled Identity" [Goffman 1963] as a starting point. Whilst, informed by the communicative turn within psychology they should not be understood as confined to discursive post-modernist or social constructionist accounts.

In this final psychology of unemployment, there is room to critically examine not just the unemployed person's experiences in terms of self-other relations but also the people and the organizations who work within unemployment and the extent to which there is social knowledge on 'unemployment', the 'culture of poverty' and 'the dependency of the welfare recipient' which impacts on such people's everyday lived realities dialectically. Such critical appreciation is evident in the work on shame by Bengt Starrin, examinations of discourse around unemployment [Drewery 1998;

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[2] Frequently conceptualised as the experimental subject.

Straehle, Weiss, Wodak, Muntigl & Sedlak 1999] and the use of aesthetic labour in Glasgow [Nickson, Warhurst, Witz & Cullin 1998].

Each psychology of unemployment then has its own stipulations and construction and as Israel explains and contemporary researchers are increasingly aware, such accounts *construct* in two senses [Israel (1972): 192-3]. Firstly they do not reflect a reality they construct an interpretation of it that is, they 'confer meaning' upon the data collected in scientific inquiry and the concepts used to frame the data collection. For example, research in the 1980's tended towards concepts such as the 'work ethic' and 'unemployability' [Kelvin 1980] and in the 1990's and today concepts such 'employability' and 'social inclusion' [Kieselbach et al 2001].

The second sense in which they can construct is that they 'bring about' a reality. Psychologies of unemployment once disseminated into various arenas partly construct social knowledge on unemployment, the experience of being unemployed and inform state interventions. This investigation is built upon and reacts to these psychologies; in particular it locates unemployment in the self-other interaction and the social knowledge on unemployment which informs the unemployed experience. However it sees the locus of unemployment in the interaction of *all* the people who are involved in the unemployed experience, including researchers and workers in the field of unemployment as well as unemployed people themselves.

In order to do this it draws partly from the strand of sociological social psychology, which is associated with the social representations school which originated with Moscovici's adaptation of Durkheim's individual and collective representations. Where, turning to subject-subject relations, social representations refer to what is 'between our heads' the socially shared knowledge which, because it is shared, can be objectified Moscovici explains "these representations become established in behaviour and in relationships, from which they derive an enduring and, so to speak, external existence" [Moscovici (1990): 77]. In this respect the study responds to Fraser's call for "the systematic study of widespread shared attitudes or 'social representations' (...) or ideologies concerning unemployment and the unemployed" [Fraser (1980): 183]. Here Moscovici comments on social representations of unemployment.

> Some think of the unemployed person as lazy, unlucky or as incompetent in looking for work: others consider him (sic) to be a victim of economic downturn, of social injustice and the contradictions of the capitalist regime. The former attribute the cause of unemployment to the individual, to his way of facing the world and the latter to the general situation, to the individual's class affiliation and the way in which the world treats him. Obviously this divergence is due altogether to their respective social representations. One representation gives precedence, under all circumstances, to personal responsibility, individual solutions to problems of society; the other leads to a sharp awareness of social injustice and social responsibility, contemplating collective solutions to individual problems [Moscovici (1981): 207-8]

With these two representations in mind, one of an individual responsibility for one's unemployment and one of a collective responsibility towards the unemployed, the study then takes an interest in the social knowledge that surrounds the participators in the research.

It takes an ontological position that is rooted in phenomenology, in particular Husserl's notion of the lebenswelt or lifeworld where "the lifeworld is the world as it is encountered in everyday life and given in direct and immediate experience, independent of and prior to explanations" [Kvale (1996): 54]. It is concerned then with both the subject's experience of their world and subject-world relations. It understands this subjectivity as being built on self-other relations. The relational self is understood as arising out of intersubjectivity i.e. subject-subject relations, shared knowledge, frames of references and common rationalities.

In understanding this intersubjectivity it is important to build in an appreciation of the extent to which people are also engaged in subject-world relations where our thinking and actions are increasingly to be understood as informed by our relationship with social shared information which exists in the public sphere in the sense of the public domain, the media, electronic communication and so on. Moscovici, in making sense of the way individuals draw and construct from socially shared spaces; talks of the 'thinking society', explaining

> Individuals and groups, far from being passive receptors, think for themselves, produce and ceaselessly communicate their own specific representations and solutions to questions that they set for themselves. In the streets, in the cafes, offices, hospitals, laboratories, etc., people analyse comment, concoct spontaneous, unofficial 'philosophies' which have a decisive impact on their social relations(...). Events, sciences, ideologies simply provide them with 'food for thought'. [Moscovici (2000):30]

People who collaborated within the research are viewed therefore as *situated* and actively constructing, not passively receiving the dominant communications, but "as a debater, engaged in an argument either silently with the self or noisily with others" [Billig 1991: 31]. Therefore the participants, to continue with Billig's rhetorical psychology, are treated as co-researchers who view my research questions on unemployment within the context of the questions that 'they have set for themselves' on 'unemployment',' young people' 'the state' 'government training schemes' and so on.

It is these latter considerations that underpin this thesis it is concerned with debate, rhetoric and argument with relational subjectivities or intersubjectivity.

1.2 Developing a conceptual framework and research questions

Though the psychology of unemployment presented here is housed within the fourth type, its initial conceptual development drew from the agency-deprivation account. It started with an emphasis on unemployed people's agency, their ability to

self-organize into groups, to challenge and resist, "attempting to make sense of, initiate, influence and cope with events in line with personal values, goals and expectations of the future" [Fryer (1995):270]. That is that people, had volition, were future-orientated and able to act upon their environments as individuals or within groups.

In a strategy which is uncharacteristic of intervention-orientated or action research this thesis did not develop by going out into the field and collaboratively developing action objectives or gathering data with the organizations in a grounded way. Rather it started with the development of a conceptual framework within which to understand the psycho-social environment of people when unemployed and a standpoint on unemployment. This was initially framed within the literature on unemployment and health and the original broad research aims were

- To explain why there is a relationship between unemployment and health
- To collaborate with people in the field, in creating interventions to tackle this relationship

There is a wealth of research that has established that there is a relationship between unemployment and health and a causality debate over whether the relationship is due to individual drift or social causation, [Fryer 1998; Murphy & Athanasou 1999]. The broad aim of the research then, was to contribute to a distinct line of inquiry, that is the programme of explaining *why*, in social psychological terms, there was a relationship between unemployment and health.

1.2.1 Gainful unemployment and the management of psycho-social space

The psychologies of unemployment outlined above often proceed with the dominant theories, competing models and concepts of their tradition without constructing concepts that fit the context in which they are actually working and are often best understood as "replication-extension studies" [Anderson, Herriot & Hodgkinson (2001): 397], a comment to which I will return in Chapter Five when discussing the research dialectic. That is not to become dogmatic about psychologies of unemployment or denigrate the private motivations or values of individual unemployment researchers it maybe wiser to distinguish between values and norms [Israel (1972): 181]. But rather to understand that researchers concerned with the norms of their research traditions, and consequent stipulative prerequisites in the area of unemployment research serve to determine and delimit the development of certain accounts of the unemployed experience. To put it another way, if the norm of the research role is to play the part of the disinterested expert who has skills in the objective gathering and measurement of personality traits, for example self-esteem, then more and more research on the self-esteem of the unemployed is carried out,

whilst research, say, on attitudes of employers to government training schemes does not begin. Therefore as more and more evidence accumulates the reality that is brought about is that unemployment is a phenomena related to the character of the unemployed person.

Researchers develop their conceptual frames with certain audiences in mind whether policy-makers, change-agents, other unemployment researchers or other psychologists within their tradition. This study's preoccupation with the idea of knowing as a practical activity, meant that the principal audience was unemployed people and members of the organization that became involved, however it is worth making explicit the inquiry's own academic construction and stipulations.

The term 'Gainful Unemployment' refers to a macro-economic standpoint which is supported by the argument put forward by Alistair Grimes formerly Funding Controller of the Wise Group in Glasgow[3], who explains that even if UK governments were to prioritise the reduction of unemployment there would still be 1.25 million unemployed people, as a feature of economic growth [Grimes (1997): 98]. Unemployment then is understood as an indelible feature of the current macro-economic rationality. However this is a standpoint within a complex debate. In particular the use of the concept 'employability' has challenged the view that unemployment can be viewed as permanent feature of late capitalism and globalisation, such macro-economic debate will be unpicked further is Chapter Three.

In arguing for a gainful unemployment this study took the view that unemployment is better understood as a multi-level phenomenon a feature of late modernity and globalisation. This standpoint was in some sense a reaction to the interventions associated with the third *self-perception* psychologies of unemployment. It served to make clear that the intention of the study, given that it was to be an intervention, was not to help unemployed people back into work, focus on an individual's personalities or improve their job-seeking skills.

A second novel concept 'psycho-social space', was used as an initial conceptual frame, it developed out of the literature that had related unemployment to both physical and mental health problems. However this relationship is not that straightforward where in some instances, in particular creative long term unemployed people (Fryer & Payne 1984) and people who had been allowed time to prepare for being laid-off temporarily (Fryer & McKenna 1987) are able to cope positively with unemployment. Further insecure employment and underemployment had equally been associated with health problems (Dooley & Catalano 1999).

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[3] The Wise Group are responsible for providing vocational training and guidance for the long-term unemployed through innovative development of intermediary labour markets.

In much of the empirical studies on (un)employment and health, participants' health was often a measure of their perception of self-other relations and sense of optimism for the future. Indeed the most used measure of health, the General Health Questionnaire, is a self-report questionnaire, which poses question such as "Have you recently spent much time chatting with people?" or "Have you recently felt on the whole you were doing things well?" where the respondent can choose "not at all, no more than usual, rather more than usual" or "much more than usual" [Bowling (1991):110]. Thus such studies have often relied on people assessing their self-other relations in order to assess health. Psycho-social space can be viewed also as an indicator of self-other relations and developed as an initial framework which could map the intersubjective arenas in order to explain the psycho-social environment of people when unemployed.

The term 'effective scope' was used by Jahoda and Lazarsfeld in a study of young people's school to work transition before their famous immersion into the Austrian village of Marienthal. Paul Lazarsfeld, forty years after Marienthal, explains

> We devoted much attention to the problems of working class youth who at that time started working at the age of fourteen. We tried to show that as a result "proletarian youth" was deprived of the energizing experience of middle class adolescence. Consequently, the working class never developed an effective scope and could therefore be kept in an inferior position. The evidence collected to support this viewpoint proved good preparation for the Marienthal study [Lazarsfeld(1933:1972): xiv]

However the aim was that the framework was to be used in such a way as to transcend the agency-deprivation accounts and the agency-structure and individual-society dualisms that beleaguer much of unemployment and health research. It aimed to refer to the relational self and the socially shared reality in which unemployed people must manage to operate – the social representations circulating around the unemployed which can restrict their effective scope.

Though it takes as it starting point the self, psycho-social space was conceptualised at the beginning of the study as being an inter-subjective arena rather than just individual subjectivity. Psycho-social space while a vague and unfamiliar term worked as a pragmatic or *heuristic* device. The objective was to have a broad conceptual frame and it was intended that the concept would be straightforward enough to use with people in the field. It was operationalised in a straightforward way using Willie More and Andy Howell's space map [see Fig 1.1]. More and Howell as practitioners who had developed the Job Change Project in four centres, adapted Lewin's notion of the lifespace in order to develop support skills for people who worked directly with people who were long-term unemployed.

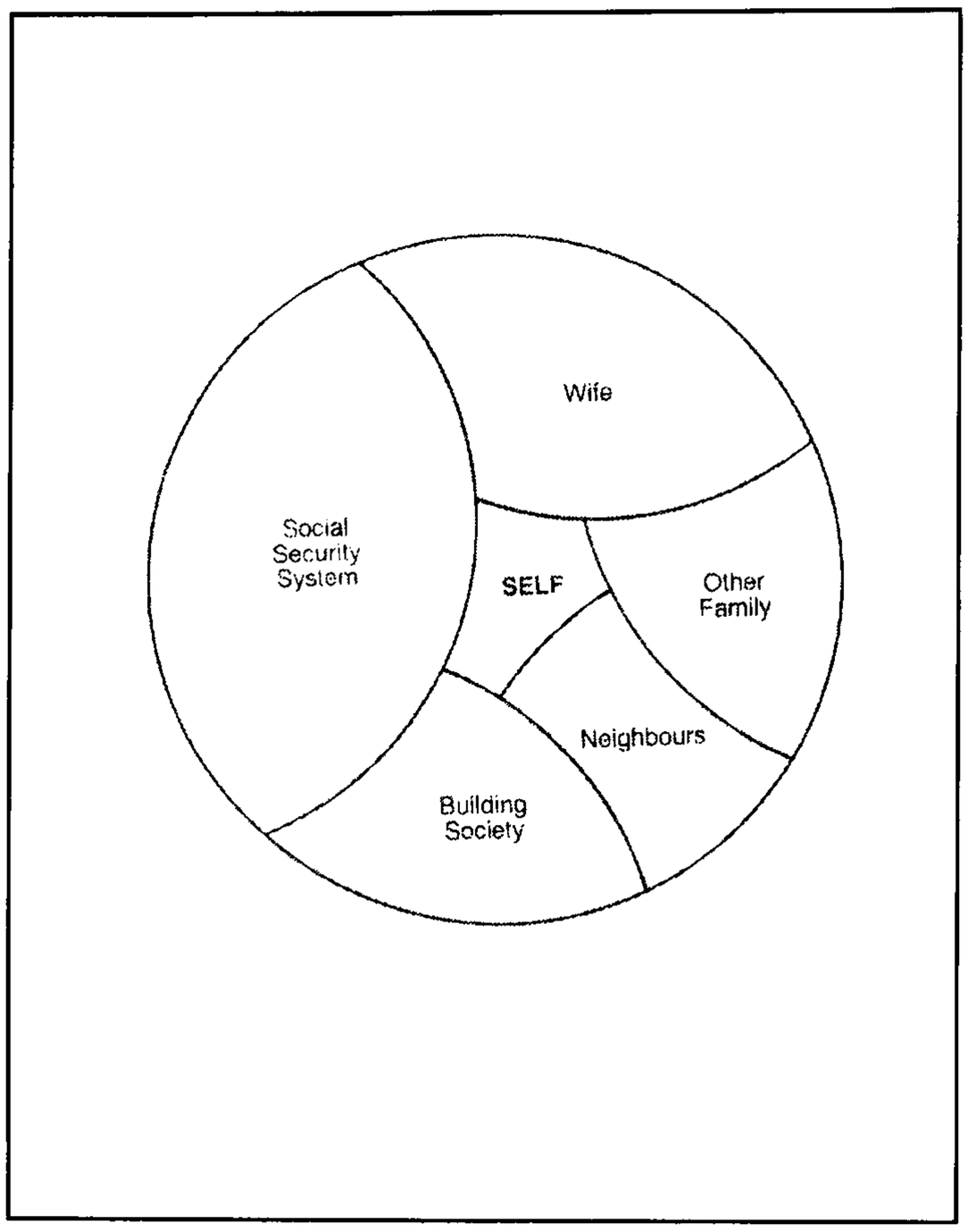

Fig 1.1 Space Map

They explain

> This simple diagnostic and analytical tool (...) aims to help clients identify who is controlling their 'space' or denying them freedom, whether this is felt to be a satisfactory situation, and where the best points of intervention lie if changes are desired [More & Howell (1986): 32]

The unemployed person draws lines into a circle indicating who or what is controlling their space and leaves the part in the middle to indicate the freedom they have left. Figure 1.1 sets out the space map of a long term unemployed man. His wife had been unwell and he is left to do the domestic work as well as the shopping. The neighbours were complaining about the state of the family's garden and man indicated that his teenage children had been upsetting their Grandmother by playing the music too loudly. All these pressures are placed in his space map, though he explained that if he had done the map earlier in the day before an argument it would have been different. The space maps then if done over a period of time are some way of measuring the dynamic nature of being unemployed. These initial conceptual ideas, were formulated into research questions and presented to the Psychology department at Stirling University as follows.

What are the factors that affect psycho-social space when (un)employed?

And given that the study was intended to be collaborative action research, the following question was posed

How can psycho-social space best be managed in the light of these factors?

1.3 Defining terms and narrowing the focus.

It is increasingly difficult to conceptualise 'unemployment' and 'employment' as discrete states. It is more accurate to understand the dialectical nature of unemployment within the wider context of globalisation and the 'flexible labour market' with individuals experiencing periods of unemployment and precarious and marginal employment. Unemployment and employment are then better understood as two ends of a continuum, which includes 'hidden unemployment', 'underemployment' and 'precarious employment'. Offering a very broad definition Jahoda defines unemployment as

> All who have not got a job but would like to have one, or who when they have no job, are dependent on some financial support from whatever source for their livelihood [Jahoda(1982):13]

This definition has the advantage of distinguishing the unemployed from the idle rich and includes those that would like employment but have become disenchanted with the job-search process. Given the gainful unemployment standpoint in terms of the social knowledge on 'the unemployed' the thesis tends to use the potent terms *unemployed* and *unemployment* to refer to participants who were on training placements or without employment for the majority of the lifetime of the fieldwork, here

> Unemployment is not characterised by mere exclusion from an employment social institutional relationship but also inclusion within the social institutional relationship of unemployment [Fryer & Winefield (1998): 14]

Currently when assessing the extent of unemployment in the UK there are a number of definitions that can be used - from the 'claimant count' which refers to all the people who have signed on in the last two weeks, this has the difficulty of confining itself to those who are eligible to receive Job Seeker's Allowance (JSA). Given the extent to which the criteria for this are constantly changing there is the Labour Force Survey's 'standard' definition, which counts all those who have not undertaken any paid work, are available to start work within two weeks and critically are viewed as actively seeking work, the difficulty with both definitions is that they tend to mask large numbers of people.

Further counts include the Broad Labour Force Survey definition, which extends the LFS definition to include those available within two weeks but who have not actively sought work for whatever their reason. A final useful definition, associated with the flexible labour market, which takes into consideration the unemployed who want paid work, those on training schemes and also those who are judged to be underemployed, is the Slack Labour Force definition. There are many on-going debates around how unemployment is measured, as well as how to assess levels of economic

activity in regions and neighbourhoods; a useful discussion list is UNEMPLOYMENT-RESEARCH@JISCMAIL.AC.UK. Using these different definitions the figures at the beginning of the research were for the Claimant count, in July 1999 1,204,000 and the LFS ILO 1,721,000 the Broad LFS was 2,422,000 and finally the Slack Labour force figure was over four million at 4,578,000 in October 1999.

1.3.1 The distinction between 'employment' and 'work'.

A critical conceptual distinction, on which the study rests, is the one between employment and work. Where *work* is understood as 'an activity for a purpose beyond it's own execution' [Fryer & Ullah(1987): editors' introduction], this intentionally broad definition, again by Marie Jahoda, could include motherhood, caring for parents, voluntary work etc. 'Employment' here is understood as a

> Voluntary but institutionally regulated contractual exchange relationship between two parties [Fryer & Ullah(1987): editors' introduction]

Here *work* transcends employment and unemployment. This is an important distinction for the unemployed, as many would view themselves as active and working, as Sir Desmond Pond noted

> There are many employed people who do not work and many unemployed people who work round the clock. Sir Desmond Pond, President of the Royal college of Psychiatrists, cited in [Smith(1987):3]

Such a distinction underpins the gainful unemployment standpoint and the idea of psycho-social space as something which can contract and expand and relates to Ivan Illich's highly critical treatise, *The right to useful unemployment and it's professional enemies*. His comments, below, further illustrate how such conceptualisations can deny important social realities for poorer people.

> Work no longer means the creation of a value perceived by the worker but mainly a job, which is a social relationship (...). Unemployment means sad idleness rather than the freedom to do things that are useful for oneself or one's neighbour. An active woman who runs a house brings up children and takes in those of others is distinguished from a woman who 'works' no matter how useless or damaging the product of this work might be. [Illich (1978):83]

So then within this study, work is understood to be distinct from but include, the social contract of employment. As noted above the second research question aimed to collaborate with those interested, unemployed or practitioner, in creating interventions or innovations that tackled the relationship between unemployment and health. The lofty innovation I had in mind was to tackle the management of psycho-social space when unemployed. The term 'management' can be usefully related to Illich's thesis where he relates industrial growth to the modernization of poverty, he calls for resistance by the unemployed to the dominance of professionals, who, he persuasively

argues, play a hidden role in society by shaping it's needs and keep the unemployed in a state of dependency,

> Work is productive, respectable, worthy of the citizen only when the work process is planned, monitored and controlled by a professional agent (...). In an advanced industrial society it becomes almost impossible to seek, even imagine, unemployment as a condition for autonomous useful work (...). A society that fosters intense dependence on commodities thus turns its unemployed either into its poor or its dependents (...). Any social alternative depends on a *new, rational and cynical competence* of the common man when faced with the professional imputation of needs" [Illich (1978): 84-85 my italics]

A further advantage of the term 'management' is it allowed the study to be multi-level. So it became not just a case of unemployed individuals managing their psycho-social space, in terms of micro-level relations in the sense that Goffman uses it, but groups, organizations, indeed society is involved in the management of the psycho-social space of the unemployed. The study's innovations, created in collaboration, might act as strategies of resistance that could be used when unemployed, to fight against those forces that would encroach and restrict psycho-social space. The innovations might thus offset any concurrent health problems.

The aim then was to find out what these forces were and develop means of managing them. An example of how such a strategy can create a resistant space is Peter North's work on three LETS schemes in the UK. Such a scheme is understood as

> A resistant social movement that has developed an effective micropolitical technology which enables members temporarily but discernably to actualise their changed cultural codes within this resistant space [North (1999):69]

It was important then in order to explore this "rational and cynical competence" to develop the inquiry in such a way that it involved working not only with people who were currently unemployed but also with practitioners in organizations that deal with unemployment and with the people that manage unemployment. Such were the study's ambitions!

1.4 Conceptual presentation and negotiation

One of the first tasks was therefore to present myself and the study's orientation to organizations within the field in such a way as to demonstrate a critical awareness of the horizons within which such research could occur in order to indicate my own stipulations and standpoint. To return to the concept of a 'thinking society' [see page 21], given that I would be working with knowing, debating and constructing people, my presence as an unemployment researcher from a department of Psychology could result in a frame of understanding based on normative assumptions about 'psychologists' and the 'purposes of unemployment research'; in particular the idea that psychologists as unemployment researchers are interested in the psychology of the unemployed

individual, their personality traits, motivation etc or in developing an intervention which helps unemployed people back into employment.

I entered the YPC and SD with a set of initial access meetings with managers, using the space map [Fig 1.1], and some of the key findings of my Master's thesis [Mahendran 1997] which focused on the two social representations of responsibility for unemployment, the individual and collective, described on page 20. My intention was that in each meeting there would be a mutual process where the manager would find the data and concepts interesting and useful and this would promote discussion about ways of researching and understanding unemployment. Manager's response to this approach are analysed in Chapter Eight. Within the access phase the research questions above and the two concepts [see Box 1.2] were presented in a written synopsis, [see Box 1.3 and appendices a & b].

This strategy of presenting social psychological tools such as the space maps, discussing identity, the social knowledge on unemployment, and negotiating and debating the idea of gainful unemployment had two aims. The first was to outline to the organizations, what I thought to be the case in relation to unemployment and health, indicating my position on intervention right from the start, what might be called a values-on-the table approach or a standpoint reflexivity. The second was to present my research agenda in such a way as to engage their interest in actively participating in the research, rather than solely providing me with access to potential participants or rejecting my involvement altogether. I wanted, in short, to start a dialogue with those people that dealt directly with the reality of unemployment in order to affect their practices and I developed my strategies within the access phase with this in mind.

There are different levels of epistemology worth reconsidering here "knowing subjects", as outlined above, that is the people who are about to become involved in the research, are asking their own questions, constructing from the social knowledge on unemployment, developing implicit theories on why people do unemployment research and what are the most useful ways to intervene in the area.

Why psycho-social space?
The idea of psycho-social space is a broad frame to contain concepts such as self, identity, sense of freedom, sense of future-security etc. Factors that would affect psycho-social space would be family, housing, health, local labour market, social security, education, other people's attitudes etc. It is the aim to use the concept psycho-social space to understand people's subjective experience within their everyday context.

Why gainful unemployment?
The idea of gainful unemployment is based on an acceptance that unemployment is an indelible feature of the current macro-economic outlook, and as such, there will always be some people who are unemployed. The research rests on an important distinction between employment and work and is not designed to encourage unemployed people back into employment. It is the objective that the research explores ways of resisting potential mental and physical health problems when unemployed

Box 1.2 Two novel concepts in the synopses given to YPC and SD December 1999 & January 2000.

A further epistemological parameter is set by the fact that the "scientist belongs to the same reality which they study and are influenced by it" [Israel (1972):197] and third to reiterate and earlier point, the extent to which social sciences construct in two senses, conferring meaning upon what they observe and bringing about certain realities.

The conceptual presentation and negotiation anticipated this social knowledge, the normative statements around the motivations of unemployed people, or the health giving or socially inclusive properties of having employment which are implicit in the above psychologies of unemployment and social knowledge on employment and unemployment. The approach taken was to make clear that though the research had a certain perspective in relation to intervention how it was to proceed was open to discussion.

Aims of the research
Over the last twenty years there has been converging evidence demonstrating a relationship between unemployment and mental and physical health problems. Where unemployment causes health problems in terms of social causation and health problems cause unemployment in terms of individual drift.
This research asks the question why does this relationship exist?
In order to answer this question, the research sets out to examine intervening variables that exist between unemployment and health. Whilst poverty and subsequent economic insecurity will always be a consideration the variables that will be examined will be unemployed people's sense of self, identity, sense of stigma, agency, future-security and potential space. I am introducing the concept of psycho-social space to explore this.
The research intends to look at both people who are not adversely affected by their unemployment and people who are in order to shed light on the relationship

Box 1.3 An extract from synopsis given to YPC in December 1999 and SD in January 2000.

However whilst the dialogical account, presented in this thesis, makes use of the space maps as a projective technique to give insight into the lived realities of unemployed people, the use of the concept 'psycho-social space' was not developed further than Phase Two. As such the study developed collaboratively and became a dialogue-based intervention open to new conceptual frames that occurred in discussions with co-researchers. It was in making sense of this process that the dialogical account, within the fourth psychology of unemployment, developed, particularly in the reflection and analysis that occurred after the first phase of fieldwork.

1.5 The aims of SD and YPC.

Whilst the thesis might be more elegant if described as a case study of the Young Person's Centre, I have chosen to integrate the small amount of fieldwork carried out with Strategic Delivery because Strategic Delivery, as a private organization

delivering the New Deal, began to outsource their New Deal Programme for 18 to 24 year olds to the Young Person's Centre. Including the involvement with this second organization gives a clearer picture of the overall changes that were occurring in training and guidance with the unemployed in Central Scotland at the time.

1.5.1 Strategic Delivery

In access meetings and discussions around the unemployment findings of my Master's thesis and concepts such as Gainful Unemployment and Psycho-social space with the manager PH. PH talked about his own thinking and began to express ideas about the sort of research that it was felt would be useful to Strategic Delivery [SD], in particular SD had a number of researchers involved at this time and PH expressed some dissatisfaction with the government evaluations of the New Deal[4] which were currently being carried out. In particular these meetings focused on a need for a cohort of unemployed people to be followed through their programmes.

Further the social psychological discussions between PH and myself, led to an account of what were being called 'soft indicators' that is indicators which related to a person's social and psychological development. PH and I discussed the extent to which evaluations of the success of the New Deal would relate to what were being used as a measured outcome, whether the outcome was completing the training, getting a job, or keeping a job etc. We talked about progress and how *job-ready* long term unemployed people could be regarded and discussions returned again to the measurement of soft indicators. The measurement of soft indicators is understood as the principle aim of SD during this research, though at this stage I as a researcher had made no explicit offer to help with this. There was agreement that my involvement would be mutual and I began a process of acting as resource in bringing academic information and papers, for the managers at SD at each visit.

1.5.2 Young Person's Centre

My initial meetings with Moultrie council were with T'OG and then within the YPC with JM. I met with JM several times and we became involved again in discussing how job-ready young people were when they were going through training programmes such as Skillseekers and New Deal. JM explained after I had introduced the research approach and the two new concepts that they as an organization had had their own conceptual discussions around what was the best conceptual framework to explain the approach that they were taking and the direction that they wanted to move in.

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[4] Both SD and the YPC are described further in Chapter Three which also offers a full account of the Skillseekers and New Deal legislation and the thinking that underpins them.

They had in 1996 used the term 'holistic', staff had explained that the concept could not be operationalised and the transition had not been effective. JM explained that management meetings had increasingly focused on the YPC becoming more 'person-centred'. The difficulty they had was in operationalising it and applying it to their organization. I offered to help them in this process and I began by giving a presentation on what would be involved if the YPC were to take a person-centred approach. In turn the YPC began to collaborate with the research and we began discussions around when I could come into the organizations and what aspects of the training would lend themselves to having a researcher present. The story of the YPC's transition towards a person-centred approach and my involvement as a consultant is one of the key research products of this thesis. For the moment then the stated aim of the YPC during the research was to develop a more person-centred approach.

1.6 Multiple roles within research as practice

> The researched become an active group with an impact on the research process. Therefore in the same way that epistemological reflexivity calls on the researcher to interrogate their own assumptions and their own impact on the research process, so account needs to be taken of the ways in which the researched actively create their own view of that process. [Johnson & Cassell (2001): 140]

This thesis attempts to be epistemologically reflexive in acknowledging from the outset that the social knowledge that is presented was co-created and this section begins to explore more explicitly the processes by which this occurred. The intervention-orientated researcher inevitably ends up taking a number of roles - co-learner, co-analyst - but also as social consultant, practitioner, and traditional data collector. Sofer 1972 in distinguishing a social consultant as social scientist consultant rather than management consultant comments

> He (sic) pays attention to the forms and processes of social interaction and to perceptions and feelings in addition to the content of the interaction and explicates these forms and processes in collaboration with the client organization. (...) It is useful to the social consultant to treat his respondents' conceptualizations of their situations, as Lewin did, as part of their life space (...). Social consultants have also been influenced by Lewin's interest in creating more participative (democratic) social systems. [Sofer(1972):384-5]

To Sofer the social consultant draws from Kurt Lewin's theories on action research and the lifespace in much the way that action scientists do, however to Sofer the social consultant does not get involved, responsibilities are defined as "clarification and interpretation of behaviour, not as advice on executive action"[ibid., :384] Sofer advises against making specific recommendations for change. However there is a problem with this position in that it is difficult to see how the social consultant can be neutral, in this sense whilst maintaining a value orientation towards participative democratic

organizations. To Rajesh Tandon, who like this researcher, takes a dialectical approach, there is no value free position from which the researcher can work. He explains

> First the initiation of inquiry depends upon the acceptance of the researcher's value positions by those who are his relevant clients. (...) It is important to note that verbal statements of value-positions are not enough; behavioural congruence with those values needs to be established with the 'clients' [Tandon (1981): 300].

There is then some debate about how prescriptive one should be within this role of change consultant. Within this study there is a standpoint expressed and recommendations are made. It can therefore be read as an epistemological account of the praxis involved in the co-creation of knowledge within participatory action research [Martín-Baró (1994:37]. In many respects I entered the organization as a 'participant conceptualizer' [Anderson et al (1966):28] conceptualising the interactions and practice I observed, and reflecting these conceptualisations back to the organizations in order to effect change. However there is a tension which will need to be resolved, the conceptual presentation and negotiation occurs only with the managers in each organization, to be trusted by managers in terms of my value-positions and stated stipulations does not necessarily mean that once I enter each organization my approach or presence will be accepted by the staff or the clients. Staff and clients will create their own horizons and make judgements as to my presence. In a great deal of participatory action research literature there is an assumption that the group or 'client' organization has achieved a consensus on the direction they would like to move in and the researcher can join and in some way collaborate and facilitate this process. Such difficulties around praxis and the principles of PAR will be revisited in Chapter Five, the Methodology chapter.

1.7 Converging Aims

The danger then in the above discussion is thinking of the research of consisting of a number of working parties collaborating together on an action objective or intervention, however this is not the case, different members of the organizations had different goals in participating. Rather, it may be better to say that the aims of the YPC and SD and my own initial aims converged through my taking on a number of roles and the co-researchers, managers, key-workers and unemployed clients, willingness to do the same (e.g they took on role of guide, co-learner and sometimes interviewee, or the observed). Though as the thesis tells it's story it will be clear that there was no consensus there was points of mutuality and reciprocity and my research interest and orientation run parallel with the two stated aims the measurement of soft skills and the transition towards a person-centred approach, crossing over and converging at points over the next two years.

1.8 Summary

This first chapter has indicated how the epistemological and ontological parameters of the research developed within the context of the inquiry's original intentions and aims and how these were formalised into initial research questions, it has given a brief sketch of the conceptualisation that took place within the early stages of the inquiry and introduced two novel concepts 'gainful unemployment' and 'psycho-social space' as well as the two organizations that agreed to participate in the research. The Chapter has begun to sketch out four psychologies of unemployment and Chapter Two will discuss the implications of such psychologies for intervention. This first chapter introduces the dialogical approach which will be fully articulated in Chapter Four, in explicating the extent to which the locus of unemployment is in the interaction of unemployed people, with the social knowledge on unemployment and the people that work in the unemployment industry, rather than being a feature of unemployed people, or their environment.

Chapter Two - The academic context.

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Psychological interventions in unemployment

2.3 Young people and unemployment

2.4 Economic context – the flexible labour market

2.5 Summary

2.1 Introduction

In 1999 Gregory Murphy & James Athanasou reviewed sixteen longitudinal studies on the relationship between unemployment and mental health, carried out between 1986 and 1996. Five involved school-leavers or young people. Their meta-analysis posed the question 'does job loss on average, affect the mental health of the unemployed?' [Murphy & Athanasou (1999): 88]. Mental health was chiefly measured using the General Health Questionnaire or the Hopkins Symptom Checklist. They found "good support for the claim that job loss on average has a negative impact on the psychological well-being of the unemployed" [ibid.: 88]. As such the starting point of this present study was then, a clearly recognised, if narrowly defined and decontextualised, relationship between unemployment, in terms of job loss and gain, and health, in terms of GHQ & similar measures.

This chapter is concerned primarily with psychological interventions into unemployment. These tend to intervene in the unemployment and health relationship. It continues with the distinction made between four psychologies of unemployment: agency-deprivation accounts, social perception of the event accounts, self-perception accounts and dialectical accounts, and explores how the thinking and assumptions that underpin each psychology have led to quite different points of intervention in the phenomenon of unemployment.

Further the chapter draws special attention to the phenomenon of young people's unemployment setting out the extent to which such studies should be treated as having come from a distinct research tradition to the unemployment and health tradition. The chapter closes with a discussion of the changing economic context in order to explore the extent to which contemporary interventions into the psychological well-being of unemployed people need to be understood within the wider context of a

flexible labour market, where insecure employment is regarded equally as a source of psychological distress.

2.2 Psychological interventions in unemployment

It is chiefly a matter of how unemployment is conceptualised that determines how psychologists have intervened in the phenomenon, in particular the questions that interventionists choose to ask. As Per-Gunnar Svensson and Bengt Starrin comment, the question becomes not just ' what does unemployment do to people?' but also 'what do people do about unemployment?' [Svensson & Starrin (1989): 14]. However, while we will turn to this study in Chapter Four, it is atypical. Studies generally have concerned themselves with the question what does unemployment do to people?

Agency-deprivation accounts have tended to take as their natural starting point the classic immersion research in Marienthal, where Jahoda and here team lived and worked briefly in the Austrian community whose unemployment they were researching upon, though the study did not develop collaboratively it had a set of principles of immersion into the situation through which the research practice developed. Each researcher had to fit into life within the village, "participating in some activity generally useful" [Jahoda, Lazarsfeld & Zeisel (1933;1972): 5], offering classes and assistance.

Jahoda originally developed a typology of different reactions by families to the condition of the unemployed community: unbroken, resignation, broken-despair and broken-apathetic. But in the 1980's, after further unemployment research, she adopted Freudian concepts much as her colleague the sociologist R.K. Merton, was doing and began to re-frame her psychology of unemployment in terms of manifest and latent functions. Jahoda now offered a categorical analysis, where unemployment caused health problems because employment as a social institution served deeper social-psychological functions imposing on people certain 'categories of experience'. She states,

> The structure of employment in the modern world has (...) remained virtually unaltered in at least two aspects: first it provides the means whereby the vast majority of people earn their livelihood; and second as an unintended by-product of it's very organisation it enforces on those who participate in it certain categories of experience. These are: it imposes a time structure on the waking day; it enlarges the scope of social relations beyond the emotionally highly charged family relations and those in the immediate neighbourhood; by virtue of the division of labour it demonstrates that the purposes and achievements of a collectivity transcend those for which an individual can aim; it assigns social status and clarifies personal identity; it requires regular activity [Jahoda (1982): 83]

Type of account	Locus of Unemployment	Sub-types	Examples of practice	Intervention strategies
Agency-deprivation	External – macro-economic & social conditions.	1.Latent functions 2. Agency 3. Agency-restriction	Jahoda (1933) workers Waters & Moore (2002) Fryer (1984:86) Fryer & McGhee (1989) Fryer & Fagan (1993)	Intervening in the family context and community
Social perception of event	External – life-event	1.Narratives of event 2. Coping	Ezzy (2000) Spera, Buhrfiend & Pennebaker (1994) Patton & Donahue (1998) Winefield (1995)	Reinterpretation of the event of becoming unemployed
Self-perception	Internal - selfhood	1. Behaviour 2.Personality 3. Self 4. Job-search skills	Proudfoot et al (1999) Eden & Aviram (1993) McPolin (1999) Vuori & Vesalainen (1999)	Counselling & Psychological training on self-esteem, self-efficacy & employment motivation
Dialectical	Multi-level interaction, self-other relations & social knowledge.	1. System 2. Self-other 3.discourses, social representations & voices	Cassell, Fitter, Fryer & Smith (1988) Willot & Griffin (1997) Drewery (1998)	Multi-level innovations into social relationship of unemployment

Table 2.1 Psychologies of unemployment and implications for intervention

Based on evidence found interviewing long term unemployed people, often creative, who were able to satisfy these social-psychological latent functions, Fryer & Payne levelled pragmatic, methodological and empirical criticisms at Jahoda's account, in particular they challenged the inherent passivity and determinism of a deprivation hypothesis which described the social institution of employment as *imposing* on people certain categories of experience,

> Proactivity is characterized by a person choosing to initiate, intervene in or reperceive situations in a way which allows the person (agent) to act in valued directions rather than respond passively to imposed change [Fryer & Payne (1984): 273]

David Fryer distinguished between three types of unemployment research (i) social environmental research such as Jahoda's work (ii) social cognition research that emphasize individuals adaptation and ability to deal with stress and (iii) agency research [Fryer 1990]. However the continued dominance of social cognition accounts has made it necessary to distinguish those that allow the subject to think about their experience of being unemployed from those that require that unemployed people think about themselves. Further in Fryer's typology privilege is given to a psychology of unemployment that allows the person to be agentic. This in turn developed into an Agency-restriction account where Fryer argues recently that the agency of unemployed people is frequently restricted by future-insecurity, by information and material poverty and "by the very social relationship which is unemployment" [Fryer (2000): 19]. Given that the focus of both the agency-restriction and deprivation accounts is the dualisms of the actor and their environment or agency-structure, it is argued that they are two sides of the same ontological coin and in this study they have been housed together.

Today it has become common for researchers in unemployment to set out the latent-deprivation theory and then challenge it with the agency-restriction account, for example Creed & Macintryre (2001) describe the "latent deprivation model" and the "agency restriction model" as having "dominated the research and applied efforts in the area of unemployment and mental health" [Creed & Macintyre(2001): 324]. Patton & Donohue who examined coping with the experience of long-term unemployment within the agency-deprivation framework write of coping in terms of "positive cognitions, structuring time, engaging in purposive activity" [Patton & Donohue (1998): 339] and Waters & Moore taking what they view as a phenomenological approach, have recently examined the "role of meaningful leisure activity in reducing latent deprivation and psychological stress in unemployment" [Waters & Moore (2002): 26]. Testing both employed and unemployed Australians with Access to Categories of Experience Scale, Profile of Mood States depressions subscale, Adult Self-Perception Profile and finally a Meaningful Leisure Activities Questionnaire. They found that "social activities were directly related to depressive affect (...) where activity frequency was of less importance than subjective meaning of activities" [ibid.: 28-9]. Nordenmark & Strandh tested the latent-deprivation and agency "models" using a longitudinal data set of 3,500 people within Sweden, reconciled them using Doug Ezzy's status-passage model where Ezzy states "the challenge is to explore the interplay between actively interpreting individuals and social institutions" [Nordenmark & Strandh(1999): 579]. They argue that the differences in mental well-being between unemployed people are due to variances in economic and psychosocial needs [ibid.: 593]. Nordenmark & Strandh's own model has the strength of locating unemployment within the wider economic

context and will be revisited in section 2.4. However Jahoda herself was also aware of this interplay between agency and the constraints of the prevailing social conditions.

> The maintenance of life itself depends on every living organism being active, interpreting the environment and coping with it. The degree to which these basic tendencies can be expressed depends on the nature of the environment which can be encouraging or repressing their manifestations. In complex human societies there are formal and informal institutions(...)the real difference between the deprivation and agency approach lies not in whether human beings are viewed as active or passive –we are all both- but in the role assigned to the power of social institutions [Jahoda (1984): 298]

Around the time of this debate between Fryer and Jahoda, Sheffield University's Social and Applied Psychology Unit (SAPU), in the UK had the largest database on unemployment in the world [Warr 1999]. It is far to say that SAPU has played a critical role in conceptualising the terms of the debate and the nature of interventions within unemployment and health in the late eighties and nineties; the frames of reference they established are still used by unemployment researchers all over the world today. However the original connection between theory and practice proposed by the Marienthal team has been neglected.

This is of real epistemological concern today as psychologies of unemployment which originate from this conceptual framework tend to be of an positivist-empiricist orientation viewing the knowledge that they create as found. Interventions have become prescriptive, where re-creating the conditions of employment has been viewed as beneficial to health. While it is difficult to find actual interventions within this period interventions arising out of the two further psychologies - social perception and self perception can be understood methodologically and epistemologically to have developed from this period.

There are some noteworthy exceptions for example the intervention-orientated psychology set out by Fryer & Feather. A real strength of this approach is that there is a critical awareness that much of the research in the area of unemployment 'intervenes' into the lifeworld of the participants even if it not conceived of as so doing and that its conceptual frames of reference and use of a battery of self-report measures can be transforming or distressing for the respondent, and may lead to interventions which "further empower (...) already powerful interest groups". Fryer & Feather's aim is to "to redress rather than amplify the power differentials by furthering the interests of informants who are normally disadvantaged" [Fryer & Feather (1994): 230].

An example of this kind of involvement is McGhee & Fryer, who "adopted a combination of quantitative, qualitative and action research techniques in triangulation" [McGhee & Fryer (1989): 242] to examine unemployment where the focal point became the processes and role expectations of a family in which the male was unemployed. Fryer & Fagan (1993) also carried out intervention-orientated

research in contrast to the passive processing of participants and pose the question "what is the appropriate focal unit for understanding coping?" they rejected the family level which, whilst being an improvement on the individual level, is still too restrictive and settled instead on the community level [Fryer & Fagan (1993): 114-5]. In conclusion they acknowledged

> Coping with unemployment (...) comes into existence in a process of continuous renegotiation over time involving fundamental issues of power and agency at the intersection of the individual, broader family, social and community settings with powerful social institutional arrangements [Fryer & Fagan (1993): 119]

A multi-level awareness of the phenomenon does not necessarily lead to multi-level interventions, however what is characteristic of such intervention-orientated research is that it proceeds on the basis of exchange. Both McGhee & Fryer and Fryer & Fagan offered assistance with computerised benefit advice on participants entitlements[1] in exchange for the participants responses and assistance in the research. The epistemology which underpins the research still works within the frames created by the Marienthal study and no account is given of dialogue between researchers and participants.

What is important here, though the knowledge is not presented as relational, is unemployment remains understood as an object outside the knowing and agentic subject. The research explores not only the subject's experience of unemployment but a number of different stakeholders partner's and children so the nature of the phenomenon become clearer rather than the dimensions or indeed capabilities of the knowing subject i.e. the person who is experiencing the unemployment.

There is also the ethnographic work of Wight and Bostyn who joined the Scottish village of 'Cauldmoss' and lived there for two and four years respectively, actively participating in village life as they researched gender and the ethics of work. Though it was based on large scale surveys rather than participation, they both developed relationships with people in the village, Wight comments on the process of returning research products to this community explaining that many of the participants were distressed at the picture they had painted of the village suggesting they had talked to "the wrong folk", [Wight (1993): 21]. He suggests that it is better to give participants a short synopsis of the research findings.

The second psychology of unemployment is to be distinguished from those interventions or accounts which focus on coping with the experience of being unemployed, the power of social institutional arrangements or with the system that it places one in that have been discussed above but rather with unemployed people's perception of the event. In *social perception accounts* interventions concentrate on

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[1] The Lisson Grove Welfare Benefits Program

unemployed people's ability to 'reinterpreting the stressor' as a feature of emotionally-focused coping to maintain positive psychological well-being.

Returning to the work of Ezzy he explores the interaction between agency and deprivation in examining the extent to which interviewees systematically under or over-estimate the significance of social forces in the story of how they came to be unemployed. In his status-passage model he explains that much of the psycho-social health of unemployed people is understood in terms of how they understand their unemployment, that is the narratives they create "heroic agency narratives" or "stories of tragic fate" [Ezzy (2000): 121]. Though Ezzy is aware that "narrative identities are not creations of isolated individuals. They require intersubjective support in order to be plausible and sustainable" [ibid.: 131] his heroic and tragic job loss narratives are seen to perform rhetorical devices which help unemployed people to understand the past and look to the future and thus unemployment again becomes a phenomenon, something the subjects can interpret and construct in different ways. However despite this being a recent study Ezzy does not focus on the phenomenon of unemployment itself and how different groups are constructing it but rather his focus is on the subject, in particular the "self as a rhetorical project" [ibid.: 130].

In a fascinating study Spera, Buhrfiend & Pennebaker tested the three hypotheses that "unemployed people who disclose their deeply felt experience of job loss in writing will show less stress than unemployed professionals who do not so", secondly "show increased motivation in obtaining employment" and thirdly "show greater success in achieving reemployment" [Spera, Buhrfiend & Pennebaker (1994): 723-4]. They did not find support for their first hypothesis but found support for the other two. In terms of intervention they comment that "coupled with the traditional services of an outplacement centre, self-disclosive writing can facilitate the job search process". Here the intervention occurred within the outplacement centre's Writing in Transition project that 'subjects' had been referred to by the firms that had made them redundant and where Spera herself was working. Though clearly a psychological intervention, the locus of unemployment remains external a phenomenon that the subject can 'know' differently through expressive writing. This the paper argues, can have a healing effect.

It is this notion of psychological well-being which has led *self-perception accounts* to intervene in the individual psychologies of unemployed people and to focus on selfhood and intra-psychic states, particularly confidence, self-efficacy and self-esteem. Here interventions go further than those above. The locus of unemployment shifts to within the unitary subject, subject-phenomenon relations are removed. They are also more radical in setting up psychological training and behaviour modification. Participants do not develop cognitions and perceptions of the critical life event of their

unemployment rather they are requested to delve deep into themselves to find the cause and potential solution to their unemployment.

A psychometric intervention which is rapidly becoming a citation classic is Eden & Aviram's two-and-a-half week workshop into general self-efficacy (GSE) where they found that training designed to boost GSE and speed reemployment was moderated by initial GSE. 10 people with low GSE who attended the GSE training workshop were reemployed compared to 6 people with low GSE who did not receive the training. Whereas for people with an initial high GSE 10 people who received the training were reemployed by the end of the study compared to 14 who did not receive the training. Curiously Eden & Aviram then develop "a behavioural plasticity" account [Eden & Aviram (1993): 358] to explain the greater plasticity of individuals with an initial low GSE.

The paper states that 88 people registered for the project, 81 people participated in the pre- test GSE measures, with 32 in the experimental group completing the training and 34 in the control group completing the follow-up GSE carried out two months later. Therefore in terms of attrition rate 15 people dropped out, 5 are described as having found jobs [ibid.: 354], 10 people are described as having left the country or lost interest or could not be located. At the end of the study 38 people were employed[2] 28 people are still unemployed. Whilst Eden & Aviram's use of ANOVA's[3] gave a significant relationship in terms of the moderating role of low GSE, job search behaviour and speed of reemployment and this is the focus of their paper. There is no exploration of the impact of such as psychologically invasive intervention on the 10 people that dropped out and the 28 people who remained, at the end of the study, unemployed.

Both Eden and his doctoral student Aviram where based in the Faculty of Management, Tel Aviv University, and responding to Kelvin & Jarrett's[4] pessimism about what psychologists can actually do for the unemployed they conclude their paper with a discussion around what applied psychologists can do for the unemployed. They state

> The experimenters did not find a job for anyone, rather they set an SFP[5] process in motion (...) Helping people to regain their GSE is help of the noblest kind and is ultimately the most effective, because it truly helps people to help themselves (...) Few workers have psychologists, but every employee has a manager. Therefore managers are the professionals best positioned to boost workers' GSE efficiently (...) Mounting experimental evidence shows that devising interventions to arm practitioners for building GSE in various spheres of motivated endeavor (sic) is within our professional competency " [Eden & Aviram (1993): 359-360].

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[2] 20 from the experimental training group and 18 from the control no training group.
[3] Analysis of Variance
[4] Kelvin, P., & Jarrett, J.E. (1985) Unemployment its social psychological effects. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[5] Self-fulfilling prophecy.

The Upper Springfield Urban Initiative project in Belfast, cite Eden & Aviram in their intervention, where pre-participants on a youth training programme and ex-participants on the same programme were tested on a 49-item Multifactorial Achievement-Motivation Scale (MAM) and the Career-Decision Making Self-efficacy Scale (CDMSE). Ex-participants were predicted to score higher than pre-participants on the CDMSE and MAM and whilst this occurred with the CDMSE and parts of the MAM, such studies, which use self-report questionnaires, warrant a closer look.

A question on the CDMSE scale asks young people to indicate on a scale of 1 to 9 "how confident are you that you can define the type of lifestyle you want to live". The MAM asks whether the respondent agrees with the statements "basically I am a lazy person" and "I like to be busy all the time". [McPolin 1999]. In a similar vein Finnish researchers Vuori & Vesalainen assessed the merits of a guidance course compared to vocational training and subsidized employment and also found that the guidance course, which had measured participants self-efficacy, led to higher re-employment whereas vocational training and subsidized employment did not have any effect on re-employment in non–subsidized employment. [Vuori & Vesalainen (1999): 537].

To go further into this psychology of unemployment and it's implication for the locus for intervention, clinical psychological interventionists such as Proudfoot's doctoral study have used cognitive-behaviour therapy, where Proudfoot also citing Eden & Aviram, uses an "occupational training programme based on the principles of CBT[6] (...) to help people identify and modify their attributional style" [Proudfoot, Guest, Carson, Dunn & Gray (1997): 97]. Proudfoot, though stating clearly that the long-term unemployed people she works with are a "non-psychiatric group", explains that her study shows the "value of psychological intervention in reducing the negative psychological effects of unemployment" [Proudfoot, Gray, Carson, Guest & Dunn (1999): 40] as she explains

> nearly 3 times as many CBT as control participants found full-time employment. Not only does this represent substantial psychological and financial benefits for the individual's concerned, there are potential societal benefits aswell reduced health service usage (...) decreased welfare costs and increased tax revenues. [Proudfoot, Gray, Carson, Guest & Dunn (1999): 42]

Proudfoot et al's study, which has many of the methodological and ethical difficulties of Eden & Aviram's, does not provide evidence of decreased welfare costs, simply assumes this along with the assumptions she makes around the type of employment her long-term unemployed people actually took. Much of the rationality that underpins this is in improving individual's job-seeking skills and motivation. It was these points that were taken up by McKenna, Mahendran & Fryer (2000) when they argued that the "flaws in such individually focused thinking is it masks the need to effect social change and in

doing so it plays a part in preventing changes to the systemic and structural stressors that maintain such high rates of distress for the unemployed".

The difficulties with interventions that use psychological training are firstly that the locus of unemployment becomes the self-concept, secondly that the methodology relies so heavily on self-report measures where there are problems of social desirability and social comparison in assessing self-other relations. The approach often goes further than just using a psychological intervention on a socially caused problem. More pernicious is that it goes as far as to claim to provide a social solution and offers a cost-benefit analysis in terms of the money saved for society.

Finally *dialectical accounts* intervene by providing a critical commentary on the social contracts of employment and unemployment, building in the social knowledge on unemployment that circulates around the actors involved. Dialectical accounts can be understood as those which are able to appreciate the contradictory nature of social reality, and how this creates contradictions within human responses and actions that are viewed as situated within the concrete socio-historical situation. Such accounts emphasize tensions and are often critical of accounts that emphasize consensus, harmony or universal tendencies. Further such accounts show a critical awareness of continuous change and development and tend to reject psychological measures of personality traits and behaviours based on a static and fundamentalist epistemology, rather their methodology is dynamic and knowledge is understood as intrinsically related to action [Kvale (1996): 55-6].

To turn to interventions within this final psychology of unemployment, what characterises them is they tend to intervene not into the social conditions or the individual's experience of selfhood but into the interactions of these contradictory forces. There are two interventions that can be usefully placed here. Cassell, Fitter, Fryer & Smith (1988) present an evaluation of the SPRITE[7] project which provided non-employed people with access to IT in three local community centres. Their action research study involved a multi-level evaluation of the processes, people, organizations, products of the SPRITE project, and the wider implications of the introduction of IT to further community developments [Cassell, Fitter, Fryer & Smith (1988): 94]. A further aim was to provide accessible research products for the people involved in the research. What sets this intervention apart from those outlined in social-perception and self-perception interventions is the extent to which the centres as "differing autonomous collectives" [ibid.: 92] are engaged in the research and the knowledge is understood as co-created. It is dialectical in as much as it understands knowledge to be a practical activity and the locus of unemployment to be the interaction of the people at the centres

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[6] Cognitive-Behaviour Therapy
[7] Sheffield People's Resource for Information Technology.

whether employed or unemployed, organizations, communities and the council. Further examples of good practice indicative of how a dialectical psychology of unemployment has been used are set out in Chapter Four which introduces a particular type of dialectical approach the dialogical approach, which emphasizes the dialogue that occurs between these groups and the researcher. It is worth considering here one final intervention, which helps clarify the parameters of the approach.

In Caton Ticino, Switzerland, Villaret & Gianinazzi are also attempting a multi-level intervention where the strategies are to "train and raise awareness on the psycho-social issues for those who "deal" with the unemployed, awake public opinion to the reality of the labour crisis (diminish stigmatisation and raise solidarity towards the unemployed)" [Villaret & Gianinazzi(1999): 26]. At the micro-level, the strategies include "Empowerment in the form of life skills, information on services, promote networking and preventing short-term consequences in order to promote well-being, improve chances of re-employment, reduce family damages and prevent long term consequences" [ibid.: 26]. One of the actions in relation to public awareness that they developed was to create a photography competition entitled "Living without a job from my point of view", 180 photographs were exhibited in a bus driving around the Canton. They explain

> Preventing bad health does not necessarily mean to act in the health sector: Even though the alarm rings in this sector, the way of reducing the consequences on health starts in the labour market and the social sector. The fundamental discussion about the labour crisis and its consequences may be hidden when we only focus on "unemployment" and health issues. The question is far more extensive and concerns many aspects of the workplace (job insecurity, mobbing, stress/distress) and on the general way of conceiving the value of work in life [Villaret & Gianinazzi(1999): 28].

2.3 Young people and unemployment

Young people are disproportionately affected by unemployment, where on average over 30% of the unemployed are under 25[8]. Further they are disproportionately affected by uncertainty in the modern labour market, where in the UK, 13% of people under 25 are on fixed term contracts compared to 7% of all workers (Eurostat 1997). Much of the literature on unemployment and young people has been keen to focus on the differences between young people's and adult's experience of unemployment. O'Brien (1986) for example, argues that there are two distinct differences (a) the economic impact of unemployment is likely to be greater for adults because of their financial responsibilities and (b) the two groups differ in terms of prior work experience. The responses of adults are likely to be determined by their past work experience and the response of young people are likely to be based on their recent educational experiences. His work is cited by Murphy & Athansou (1999) who, despite

[8] Full figures for the research period are set in Chapter Three.

five of their sixteen studies involving young people, stopped short of maintaining the distinction but rather generalised their findings across all ages. Michael P Jackson argues however that the suggestion that young people are in some way buffeted by financial support from their families is misplaced, as often there is more than one member of the family in unemployment [Jackson (1985): 7]. It may then make more sense to relate young people's unemployment to childhood poverty but as we shall see much of the literature concerns itself chiefly with characteristics of young people themselves, rather than their circumstances or the inequalities they face.

The literature on young people's unemployment can be usefully understood as coming from three different parallel traditions or academic contexts. These can be outlined as follows. Firstly, an examination within the agency-deprivation accounts as has been discussed above. Whilst the research is often inter-disciplinary, it has often been framed within the same terms of reference as other SAPU-style studies i.e. moderating and protective factors. Factors which arise out of Jahoda's distinction between manifest and latent functions of work, for example Jackson et al's 1993 study on employment-commitment as a moderating factor in the relationship between unemployment and health, as well as the Australian longitudinal studies such as O'Brien's aforementioned study and the Winefield 1993 large cohort study [Winefield, Tiggerman, Winefield & Goldney 1993; Winefield 1995]. Recent studies in this tradition have often emphasized the flexible labour market rather than the distinction between unemployment and employment; they have the advantage of understanding health issues in the wider context of a dynamic employment status, where young people move back and forth between periods of unemployment and precarious employment on the peripheries of the labour market.

Secondly there has been a lengthy social science tradition, chiefly sociological, of researching the transition from school to work, which can be characterised by the landmark classic 'Learning to Labour' by Paul Willis [1977] and is often embedded in a broader sociology of youth, such studies which focus on the nature of youth transitions, are more inclined to emphasize the 'structural' inequalities certain groups of young people face e.g. schooling and the needs of industry [Finn 1982]; the social condition of the young [Willis 1985]; and European transitions from unemployment to work [Russell & O'Connell 2001]. Such studies often have an acute awareness of the intervention powers of certain state apparatuses, and are increasingly, embedded in the concepts 'social inclusion' and 'individualisation' [Pavis, Hubbard & Platt 2001].

Finally there is the self-perception psychology of youth unemployment, it is characterised by framing the research within psycho-social accounts of adolescent identity and development. Such a tradition views adolescent unemployment as potentially affecting 'healthy psycho-social development' [Winefield (1997): 237] and is

chiefly concerned with the psychological costs, principally in terms of identity and independence, but also increasingly in terms of self-esteem, self-efficacy, self-harm. This tradition uses the term 'adolescence' with all its connotations where other researchers prefer the term 'youth' or latterly 'young people'. Such ambiguities are further compounded by the breadth of age groups who participate in such research from early-school-leavers, aged fifteen up to young adults aged thirty[9], where indicated I will include the age range of participants in the study

If we draw together these three traditions the key issues of young people's unemployment are as follows,

1. As a result of their unemployment young people are seen as vulnerable to certain psychological costs in terms of identity- and self-esteem, which could have long-term effects in terms of their development.
2. School-leavers are sometimes perceived as being inadequately socialised for the world of work, due to perceived inadequacies of schooling and early socialisation.
3. There is a greater moral panic over young people's unemployment compared to more mature adults, as they are seen as vulnerable to political agitators and their inactivity is seen as a danger to the social fabric.
4. Social and economic transition within Europe has resulted in an extension of the youth phase, which serves to compound the above issues.

2.3.1 The societal consequences of youth unemployment

In the eighties the young and unemployed were seen as a social time bomb, Mungham (1982) has argued that such 'moral panic' arises when 'youth' is seen as a metaphor for social change, the term 'youth' comes to encapsulate people's fears over society and the maintenance of the social fabric, with 'jobless teenagers' seen to be turning to 'vice and crime' and vulnerable to mobilisation by social agitators such as the fascistic organizations like the British National Party or socialist groups such as the Socialist workers party, etc. In Mungham's analysis he explains that what is interesting is the assumption that underlies these fears, that the young and unemployed today would not stoically accept the privations that the young and unemployed endured in the 1930's rather than apathy and resignation, there would be social tensions and revolt. Writing in 1982, Mungham explains that such panics were in some ways ill conceived and that the young and unemployed remained passive and quiescent. The mid-eighties however did see rioting by young people in many urban environments in the UK, St Paul's in Bristol, Tottenham & Brixton in London etc, and summer rioting is

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[9] Studies that include people up to aged thirty tend to understand their work within the idea of the extension of the youth phase.

still not uncommon, perhaps Mungham then had underestimated the voice of young displaced people. The situation is perhaps further compounded by an extension of the youth phase.

> The virtual collapse of the youth labour market, the introduction of youth training schemes, the diminution of welfare support to young adults and the growth of mass and further education have all served to extend the youth phase. [Johnston, MacDonald, Mason, Ridley, & Webster (2000): 4].

This is further characterised by fragmentation, where whilst young people continue to be affected by structural inequalities, they may not *perceive* this to be the case, as their paths become more individualised, they see the future in terms of a variety of choices. Young people's experience then is no longer characterised by the collective transitions talked about by Paul Willis in the seventies but rather in terms of complex individual routes [Smithson & Lewis 2000].

2.3.2 The transition from school to work

Clearly the transition from school to work has not only become more protracted but also more diverse. Furlong & Cartmel [1997; 2001] have argued that young people do not *perceive* the structural inequalities that constrain them. Such social perceptions may not be a characteristic of the young, but a feature of most people's consciousness in late modernity. Today nearly thirty years after the first Manpower Services Commission youth training scheme, it is harder to talk of youth unemployment as all young people are required to undertake training in order to receive benefits. Training schemes may also have a role to play in the fragmented nature of transition with more and more training schemes involved in individually work-focused socialisation. Evans & Furlong [1997] have explored the metaphors used to describe transitions, metaphors such as 'pathways' or 'navigations'. Those familiar with youth training schemes will recognize these terms. We will explore in detail the socio-political thinking that underlies such schemes in the next chapter. However the existence of such metaphors illustrates the extent to which today's transition from school to work is characterised by an absence of collective transitions.

Coles (1995) explains that there is more to young people's transition than their integration into the labour market. He identifies three dimensions; the aforementioned school to work transition, the domestic transition and the housing transition. These three are interdependent. The domestic transition takes young people from the family of origin to the new family that they have created and the housing transition takes young people from the houses of their childhood, with parents or guardians, to living very often independently. The advantage of this account is awareness that unemployment is not discrete but continuous with other issues in the young person's life. This awareness will be essential to an understanding of the 14 young people at YPC

who are followed in this study. A further advantage of this approach is the realisation that whilst there is an extension of the youth phase, for some young people this lengthy insecure phase could be characterised by, homelessness, housing issues, teenage parenting, and an overall lack of parental or social support.

Willis in 1977 had shown that the young men that he followed from school onto the workshop floor were capable of a subversive ability to penetrate or see through the social structures for what they really were. Later in 1984 he argued that young people are being thrust into a new social condition of suspended animation between school and work [Willis (1984): 218]. At the Manchester Metropolitan University's Work-Life research centre, a recent European study of 18 to 30 year olds seems to confirm this, where they describe the young employed and unemployed adults they spoke to as living in an 'extended present' [Lewis, Smithson, Brannen, Dores Guerreiro, Kugelberg, Nilson & O' Conner (2000): 55]. Such work socialisation reacting to the needs of industry is often surprisingly gender–differentiated. Another recent large scale European survey, YUSEDER[10], of the young by Thomas Kieselbach et al 2001, comments 'due to the expectation that men fulfil the role of the breadwinner, young men seem to be under more pressure than women' [Kieselbach, Beelmann, Stitzel & Traiser (2001): 32]. However in their study females faced greater problems than males in terms of the labour market, [see also in Russell & O'Connell (2001): 3].

Whilst Kieselbach et al express concern over the re-traditionalisation of gender roles, Smithson & Lewis offer a more sophisticated detailed analysis of what might be occurring in participant's talk. They explain that young men and women are converging in their expectations about future employment and that often because of the flexible insecure labour market a future of settling down, home-owning and family life is 'on hold' for both sexes. [Lewis, Smithson, Brannen, Dores Guerreiro, Kugelberg, Nilson & O' Conner (2000): 56]. They argue that there is emerging a new work-life psychological contract, where young people want to combine working in the realities of the insecure labour market with flexible hours to lead full lives outside of work, [Smithson & Lewis 2000]. Whilst the old work ethic may have been replaced with a 'balanced life' approach to employment, such young people have an acute awareness of the importance of being able to market themselves. Young people then have an expectation of equality, however when they discuss work-family they express frustration about what might happen over childcare in practice. Smithson explains such views in terms of ideological dilemmas

> An ideology of gender equality, in relationships, in the home and in the workplace, was taken for granted by many of the participants. However, ideologies of individual choice and fairness were preferred as explanations of current and future choices concerning

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[10] Youth Unemployment and Social Exclusion: Objective Dimensions, Subjective Experiences and Innovative Institutional Responses in Six European Countries. (YUSEDER)

career, paid work and family work priorities, decision-making between couples and preference in childcare, which in practice led participants towards non-equal roles concerning paid work and family responsibilities, with women expecting to be primarily responsible for childcare and men anticipating a 'breadwinner' role. [Smithson (1999): 43].

The difficulty then with modern individualisation and the tensions and contradictions it creates, - the 'ideology of personal choice' with expectations of equality in the work place and tolerance of inequality in the home – is that it can lead as Smithson contends to 'a private patriarchy' [ibid.: 56].

In Thomas Kieselbach et al's European study 300 young people aged 20 to 24, from Belgium, Germany, Spain, Greece, Italy & Sweden were interviewed. The study emphasized that the biggest protective factor for young men and women in transition were social and financial support. These were more prevalent in southern European countries where the role of the family is greater and youth unemployment much higher. They found that the majority of their sample were involved in the submerged economy of irregular casual work - as high as 80% in some southern European countries. This large-scale study provides a useful link to next tradition of research, that which looks at young people's employment status and health.

2.3.3 Youth (un)employment and health

The YUSEDER study focus on the relationship between unemployment and health, the whole account is framed in terms of the concept social inclusion, where exclusion from the labour market can lead to deteriorating health. Those at risk of increasing exclusion in long-term unemployment are associated with low qualifications, precarious financial situation, hardly any social or institutional support. In keeping with self-perception psychologies of unemployment the study points to certain protective personality factors that lower risk of social exclusion, such as self-efficacy and active behaviour in the labour market, motivation and good communication skills, [Kieselbach (2001): 22].

Peter Creed has recently looked at social loneliness his surprising finding is that young people in employment are often more lonely scoring most highly on the social loneliness scale, than young people who were "unemployed but with regular access to work" [Creed (2001): 75]

In keeping with much of the discussion on adults the studies on young people have emphasized the supply-side of the labour market, in particular the characteristics and vulnerabilities of the young. There has been very little literature on employers' attitudes to employing young people, where for example, employers have laid off young people for trivial cultural reasons - accent, dress, dialect, or demeanour etc. Perhaps unsurprisingly it is sociological accounts, which have looked at the wider context of

youth unemployment. Turning to the demand-side, Russell and O' Connell demonstrate that even when micro-factors are held constant the biggest factor in the level of unemployment is the different level of aggregate demand in each European country pointing to a need for interventionists to consider the demand side of unemployment [Russell & O'Connell (2001)].

2.4 Economic context – the flexible labour market

The meta-narrative of intervention into unemployment research is also a narrative of the changing nature of employment, the end of the 40-40 job for life security and the return to flexibility where Hakim 1987 estimates that one third of the UK workforce could be regarded as flexible (cited by SCELI). Brendan Burchell in discussing "the narrow focus of psychological literature on unemployment rather than the more general phenomena that occur when there is a fall in the demand in labour" [Burchell (1992): 33] illustrated in the social perception and self-perception accounts above. He related this to the training psychologists receive which focuses on understanding cognitive and intra-psychic processes rather than a training of how to explore people in their social environments, the high visibility of unemployment compared to other forms of disadvantage and the gap between micro and macro levels of analysis. Calling for a social psychology of the labour market if we are to fully understand unemployment, he stated

> The labour market is one of the most complex socially constructed phenomena that psychologists have to deal with. It is influenced by numerous institutions (e.g. employers, government legislation, trade unions, pressure groups, the education system, the family system, etc). [ibid.: 34]

There are a number of recent studies which have attempted to take up this challenge of understanding the relationship between the economy and the individual, based on large scale surveys carried out in four locations in England and two in Scotland. In 1986 & 1987 the Social Change and Economic Life Initiative (SCELI) involved the systematic tracking of respondents in and out of what was now being regarded as a flexible labour market. Evidence from SCELI argued that employment was associated with the same sorts of psychological distress as unemployment. Where the key terms was 'insecurity' [Burchell (1994): 350-1]. The career of the unemployment and health relationship as a social problem had progressed to the extent that research increasingly looked also at the distress commonly associated with low-paid insecure employment. For example Fineman had shown that long after redundancy white collar workers who had been re-employed continued to be very anxious about job-insecurity (Fineman (1987): 280-281] Fineman had also found that people found unemployment less stressful than insecure employment [ibid.: 273] ; Dooley & Catalano 1999)

Whilst SCELI researchers adopted some of the same frames of references as SAPU had, such as the GHQ, psychological well-being, active and passive use of time, and sociability. They were also concerned with beliefs in collectivist values and political activism amongst the unemployed, the existence of unemployment and employment as positions on a continuum was built-in to their design.

The changing economic context has forced a new conceptualisation where contemporary researchers now have to think in terms of dialectical poles rather than logical and static opposites. Movement between the core and the periphery of the labour market characterised people's working lives. However where structural inequalities remain and some people are consistently to be found under-employed and at the margins of an increasingly open fluid and casualised labour market. This recently finds expression in the labour market insecurity research initiative the Job insecurity and work intensification survey [JIWIS] where 340 structured interviews and 26 in-depth interviews were carried out with men and women at senior management, line management and employee level. The survey concluded that job insecurity is higher now than at any point since the post war years. Professional workers going from the most secure group in 1986 to the most insecure in 1997[11].

The findings highlight trust and 'a sense of security' within organizations as a problem. 44% expressed the view that management couldn't be trusted and only 26% viewed management and staff as on the same side. People were not always referring to losing their job, but to losing valued job features such as status within an organization and opportunity for promotion. [most acute where hierarchies were flattened or employment structures were delayered]. Using the GHQ-12 the survey found that mental well-being continues to deteriorate the longer an employee remains in a state of insecurity. An important finding is the extent to which employees reported that their work had not only become more insecure but it had also intensified. 60% said their speed of work had increased and 39% said the number of hours had increased. The report emphasizes low life satisfaction, generalised anxiety, exhaustion and depression.

The JIWIS findings are important to keep in mind so that a full appreciation of the experience of unemployment of the participants within this research can be set in the context of wider job insecurity where the management and staff at SD and the YPC are understood as experiencing job insecurity, which affects their practice and relationship with the unemployed. However this popular view of a new 'age of insecurity' where jobs have been replaced by projects and careers by portfolios, has been challenged recently by a study that shows that despite media references to 'job insecurity' in the G7 countries rising three-fold between 1982 and 1997 [OECD 1997

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[11] The findings from which are briefly summarised at http://www.cbr.cam.ac.uk/jiwis/findings.htm see also Burchill et al 1999

cited by Doogan (2001): 421] the rate of long-term employment (RLTE)[12] rose from 28.6% of total employment in 1992 to 33% in 1999 in the UK [ibid.: 423]. The increase in RLTE of 1.7 million exceeds the increase in total employment of 1.6 million in this period. This increase occurs for male RLTE, from 34.6% in 1992 to 36.7% in 1999, but most markedly for female RLTE from 21.2% to 28.5% in 1999. Doogan offers a complete analysis of the factors affecting this rise, age, part-time work and the sectors in the economy where it is occurring manufacturing rather surprisingly despite it's overall decline, being one, he explains that there is a 'manufactured uncertainty' [ibid.: 436] which is better understood in relation to people's attitudes towards globalisation and the extent of the 'blind force' of the market than an actual individualised 'job-insecurity'. He challenges meta-narratives which talk of "destandardisation, individualisation, and the virtual collapse of labour market structures" suggesting that social or economic insecurity is better explored through an examination of "the role of politics and ideology" [ibid.: 439] where a manufactured insecurity serves to

> Lower the rate of non-accelerating inflation rate of unemployment [NAIRU[13]] (...) to discipline a workforce (...) alter the atmosphere in which wage negotiations take place, (...)and dampening the public expectations of what the state should provide in the way of social protection" [ibid.: 439].

Doogan's thesis provides further support for the need for dialectical accounts of unemployment which are able to analyse the use of social knowledge and public perceptions in this way.

An excellent illustration of work within the current economic context is the recent work of Swedish sociologists Nordenmark & Strandh (1999) discussed above within the context of agency-deprivation accounts. Their research confirms the predictive powers of a model they had developed "for understanding the differentiated mental consequences of unemployment"[Nordenmark & Strandh (1999): 577]. The model explains the difference in mental health amongst the unemployed as well as individual changes in mental well-being during unemployment and on re-entering the labour market in terms of the economic need for employment and the psychosocial need for employment. Nordenmark & Strandh's model tackles gender-differentials particularly well and they are able to consider the broader context of a consumption driven life, however there is the familiar weakness that the concept 'mental well-being' remains relatively underconceptualised and is measured using the GHQ. Strandh [2000] emphasizes agency-restriction in particular future-insecurity, finding that different exit routes from unemployment, were associated with differing levels of mental well-being. When exit routes were to permanent employment, temporary employment and self-employment, differing levels of positive mental well-being were a

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[12] Defined as people who have been in their job for ten years or more.
[13] The current use of concept of NAIRU will be fully explored in Chapter Three.

function of the different contractual situation. Education, as an exit route, led to positive well-being *only* if it was University education not if it was training or high school level studies. Continued receipt of welfare caused differences in mental health, where if it was to receive maternity/paternity benefit mental well-being improved, however those that took early retirement did not see a significant change. These differences in mental well-being are explained by Strandh in terms of economic situation and "control of life course" [Strandh (2000): 477].

2.5 Summary

The chapter has been chiefly concerned with the extent to which the conceptualisations of the phenomenon of unemployment by psychologists and the questions they have chose to ask has had clear implications on the interventions that have developed. This chapter, which spans the seventy years of chiefly social and organizational inquiry into the psychology of unemployment, has attempted to bring our understanding into the modern context, which is characterised by individualisation. This is not confined to the academic context but is a widespread belief which Smithson calls an "ideology of personal choice". In the examination of youth unemployment what were understood as collective trajectories are now understood in terms of personal navigation. Individualisation is also a feature of the economic context, where individuals must increasingly learn to manage and present their skills in the flexible labour market. In Chapter Three this focus is explicated further in the Welfare to Work legislation that has developed as a part of state interventions into unemployment.

Chapter Three - Socio-political Context.

3.1 Introduction

3.2 The New Deal and the 'Active' Welfare State

3.3 Managing the image of the Welfare Recipient

3.4 Local Context – the Tarbert Region

3.5 Summary

3.1 Introduction

It is now high time to balance out some of the scientific lines of inquiry and conceptual development on unemployment with the current socio-political realities of being unemployed in Britain. This involves an examination of the new *'active' welfare state*, which has emerged over the last ten years, the 'Welfare to Work' legislation, the rise of the concept 'employability' in relation to full employment and to begin an investigation into the shared social knowledge on welfare recipients that exists in the public sphere. The second half of the chapter narrows the focus to the particular features of the socio-political context within Scotland between 1998 and 2001, it's unemployment in relation to the rest of Europe, the publication of the Beattie Report and how Scottish young people compare to others in Europe. It also offers a portrayal of the Tarbert Area, it's local labour market, giving a fuller account of SD and the YPC in terms of their particular approach to Skill-seekers and New Deal programmes.

3.2 The New Deal and the 'Active' welfare state

This study focuses on three training and guidance programmes the Skillseekers programme for 16-18 year olds, which ran from the early 1990's to 2001, the New Deal for 18 to 24 year olds and finally the New Deal for the Long-term Unemployed, introduced in April 1998 and July 1998 respectively and both still running these three programmes form part of a wider Welfare to Work approach, which though the term is not generally used by the UK government to describe it's activation policies or job-seekers contracts, can be related to the 'workfare' programmes which are currently running across Europe and also in America and Australia. Lødomel & Trickey have defined workfare as "programmes or schemes that require people to work in return for social assistance benefits" [Lødomel & Trickey (2000): 6] and this emphasis on the welfare recipient's level of activity, both in terms of their attempts to find employment

and the surveillance of this process has led to this era being called that of the 'active' welfare state.

3.2.1 A short history of the welfare state

In order to understand the rationality that underpins the 'active' welfare state today, it is worth attempting to historicize briefly the current Welfare-to-Work legislation by considering the shifting terms of the debate from Beveridge's report in 1942 and the beginnings of the welfare state to Employment Zones and 'job account' interventions such as tattoo removal and new suits for interviews. Cousins & Michel, discussing the long history of welfarism explain, that we can regard the welfare state as having gone through three phases, the poor laws of the 18th and 19th century, social insurance dominated by Beveridge's convictions on universal benefits and the active labour market policies of today, they argue that what characterises this new phase of welfarism is benefits are de-regulated to encourage flexibility in developing skills and seeking work so as to adapt to the changing demands of the flexible labour market [Cousins & Michel (2000): 8]

Rodney Lowe gives a more detailed account of the second phase, which he calls *the classic welfare state* between 1945 and 1976, in order to explain the contemporary focus on the individual welfare recipient's activity levels. During the classic phase there was a commitment to full employment, economic policy and social policy were combined and the underlying ideology was one of comprehensiveness - Beveridge's fifth principle - this is commonly known as *universality* this was based on an ideology of equal right's to social security. An example of this was new availability of free health care for women, which before had been limited to men in paid employment. During this time poverty dropped from 31% in 1936 to 2.8% in 1951, as measured by Rowntree and though definitions changed with the rediscovery of poverty, in the form of relative poverty, in the 1960s it rarely exceed 5% during this period [Lowe (1994): 42].

However in the mid 1970's political mistakes and managerial errors led to a cynicism about this approach and the increased use of selectivity. In particular the public had begun to see the classic approach as sapping individual initiative and many commentators were talking of a 'culture of dependency', a term that is taken up further below. This led to the welfare state of today - proactive and characterised by social differentiation. There are two features of such social differentiation that are worth drawing attention to ,individualisation, and the new emphasis on local solutions.

Ann Oakley explains that the individualisation that is occurring within the contemporary welfare state has been helped by the shift from the old 'politics of liberation' associated with the class inequality basis of the classic welfare state, with its emphasis was on the 'sameness' of people caught in the same social structural traps, to

the new 'politics of identity'; typified by the black's, women's, gay movements and in some parts of the UK the rise in Celtic roots culture where "there was a new desire to celebrate diversity and difference" [Oakley(1994): 7-8]. Individualisation, as discussed in Chapter Two is largely a feature of late modernity, with its emphasis on identity, the flexible labour market and the decline in collective transitions.

This emphasis on the individual's own trajectory runs parallel with a further differentiation that emphasizes local solutions. As Haughton explained the labour government faced with persistent structural unemployment, particularly in the north of England and Scotland, in the 1980's and 1990's drew inspiration from projects in Glasgow, such as Glasgow Works and the Wise Group where Intermediate Labour Markets (ILM's) had been created involving unemployed people in socially-useful projects in the community and the tertiary sector. Flexible welfare was therefore also characterised by localised solutions to the unemployment problem by creating space for local experimentation in what were termed Prototype Employment Zones, where local partnerships which were unrestricted in size and style could critically bid for external funding particularly from the European Social Fund [Haughton, Jones, Peck, Tickell & While (2000): 673-5]. This then is an important development organizations that work with the unemployed are changing in how they see themselves and they extent to which they can develop independently of central government legislation.

3.2.2 The New Deal & Skill-seekers in the UK

The Welfare to Work (WtW) legislation in the UK, introduced in 1997, has five strands:- (i) Transition to Work, where there would be a £100 job grant and benefits would 'run-on' into work (ii) Making work Pay, which introduced the Minimum Wage, Working Families Tax Credit and Child Tax Credit (iii) Services to support parental employment, including a national child-care strategy (iv) Area based policy measures, including New Deal for Communities and Employment Zones and (v) New Deal Schemes, here six groups were targeted, young people, long-term unemployed, lone parents, partners to unemployed, disabled people and older workers. [Millar (2000): 9]. The New Deal was the first of the WtW polices to be implemented.

In his Pre-Budget speech in 1999, The UK Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown stated

> This government has not only delivered the New Deal, but delivered new jobs – 700, 000 more since 1997 (...) our reforms have cut youth and long-term unemployment by half. A return to full employment was once a dream. It is now a possibility (...) and as we extend opportunities to those out of work we will extend the responsibility to take up the work on offer. The informal economy or hidden economy is now draining billions of pounds in fraudulent benefit claims and unpaid taxes (...) new requirements specifically for those suspected of being in the hidden economy – to sign for benefit not every fortnight, but every single day" [Brown (1999)]

Whilst the current government has claimed key successes in reducing unemployment, the intense activity inherent in the New Deal was inherited from their predecessors 1996 Job Seeker's Act. This could be regarded as an exemplar of welfare policies in the 1980's and 1990's when the hegemonic discourse had moved from 'rights' and 'entitlements' associated with the classic era of the welfare state, to 'obligations' and 'responsibilities' in line with the selective modern era of the UK welfare state, the unemployed were now defined as 'jobseekers' with a tightening of benefit eligibility and 'signings' introduced a new element of conditionality, they were accompanied with interviews, so that claimants, new and old, could demonstrate they were actively seeking work.

In 1996/7 the Employment Service [ES] carried out 3.3 million new claim interviews, nearly 3.3 million restart interviews and just under 1.2 million advisory interviews. As a result of such intervention 147,000 people were placed directly into jobs, a further 440, 000 people came off the claimant register and went into training & employment programmes, 65,000 transferred to another benefit and finally 162,000 'signed off' as a result of the interviews [Finn (1999): 8[1]]. The change in governmnet in 1997 has resulted in a continuation of these activation policies set within the New Deal programmes.

<u>Skillseekers for 16-18 year olds</u>

Arrangements for 16 and 17 year olds pre-date the New Deal and have not been significantly changed after the Youth Training Schemes of the late 1980's. School leavers are required to continue to undertake training in the form of Skillseekers in order to receive social assistance. More critically the failure to include school leavers suggests that the New Deal was not really a coherent strategy to tackle youth unemployment within the context of the transition from school to work.

Skillseekers is preceded by a 13-week intensive job-focused gateway and this is followed by training within a work placement under Skillseekers or the Modern Apprenticeship Scheme, which forms part of it. Here the young people can gain National Vocational Qualifications [in Scotland these are known as SVQ's] mostly Level II or III. The Gateway period offers one-to-one guidance and pre-vocational training sessions around 5 SQA[2] core skills, IT problem-solving, communication, numeracy & literacy and finally Working with Others. Young people also create a personal development plan, which indicates their barriers and training needs and by the fifth week are usually placed on work-placements for part of the week.

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[1] These figures are also available from the DfEE 1998 Departmental report: The Government's Expenditure Plans 1998-1999. HMSO, Cm3910 London.
[2] Scottish Qualifications Authority

The Skillseekers[3] also has funding to provide special training needs to people who face additional barriers in the form of problems with literacy and numeracy, low qualifications or social, emotional or behavioural problems, this is estimated at less than 5%. There is also a duty on employers to allow paid time off to employees to train up to a Level II qualification.

Evaluations of Skillseekers in Scotland in 1998 highlighted problems with "young people who tend to be uncertain about the job or training they want, have lower level of attainment (...) more likely to have special training needs and have more than one Skillseekers job or placement"[4]. In the same Scottish Office report young people felt they had not received "sufficient or appropriate initial guidance and support during their training". A connection is made in this report between inadequate initial guidance and a low value attached to work-based training.

<u>New Deal for 18-24 year olds</u>

The New Deal was set up with £5 billion worth of windfall tax. £2.6 billion was to be targeted at the young unemployed, young people were given four options all intended to last for a minimum of six months:-

- *Subsidized work* – involving wage for the job plus entitlement to in-work benefits.
- *Self-employment* - guidance and training from enterprise companies and an allowance payable over four months earning.
- *Full-time Education/Training* - here clients receive their JSA and can take any course "which would result in immediate employment".
- *Environment Task Force/Voluntary Sector*, - clients that are not considered to be job-ready.

It was made clear that there was to be no fifth option, "four options will be on offer (...) rights and responsibilities must go hand in hand, without a fifth option of a life on full benefit"[5]. These options are also preceded by an intensive 13-week gateway period. During this period personal advisors, either at the Employment Service or at the New Deal provider, spend time with claimants finding out their individual needs. Much of the evidence presented in this study will focus in detail on what occurs during this period. Though the Gateway period initially was not compulsory the four options after the Gateway period are compulsory.

The first option unlike previous government training schemes involves participants being paid the rate for the job where "jobs must involve young people

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[3] This programme for the 'special needs' group aged between 16-18 is now known as Get Ready for Work.

[4] Opportunities and Choices – A consultation Paper on Post-School Provision fro 16-18 year olds. The Scottish Office 1998.

working for at least 24 hours each week. (...) Employers will have to provide the young person with one day training per week, or it's equivalent". The level of subsidy for full-time employment (30 hours or more) is "employers will receive £60 a week payable for the first 26 weeks" for part-time employment of between 24-29 hours, £40 a week for 26 weeks "An additional £750 will be paid for training costs unless the Employment Service or another appropriate organization, organises and pays for training on the employers behalf" [6]. In the last two options participants are paid their JSA benefit plus £15.00 a week and are eligible to claim a £400 grant paid in weekly instalments. Both the Environmental Task Force and Voluntary Sector booklet state after the question "What will I get out of it?"

> Having skills or experience isn't always enough to get a job – you often need both. A good work record and a reference from an employer help to. Work with the Environment Task Force/Voluntary Sector will help fill in any gaps in what you can offer an employer[7].

New Deal for 25+

The New Deal for the Long-term unemployed [LTU][8] comes under the 25+ programme. Once unemployed people have claimed JSA for over six months they receive a letter inviting them to come to a Gateway. At this session they are then given work and training options by an Adult Guidance Assessor and undergo the 13-week intensive gateway programme followed by the same four options as the 18-24 New Deal. In terms of the subsidised employment option for "Full-time employment (30 hours or more) the employer will receive £75 a week payable for the first 26 weeks. Part-time employment of between 16 and 29 hours – the employers will receive £50 a week for the first 26 weeks"[9] An additional £15.38 a week is paid when participants are on work experience whilst on Gateway Explorer[10].

3.2.3 Activation policies in Europe

Whilst the advent of such activation and social contract policies for the unemployed has been traced to Sweden which has a long tradition in activation [Lødomel & Trickey (2000): 13] the advent of the New Deal and other Welfare to Work policies can be set within the wider context of the activations policies that have been occurring right across Europe under OECD directives since 1992.

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[5] New Labour Party Pre-Election Manifesto 1997.
[6] New Deal Information on Employer Subsidies. NDLeaflet 23.
[7] *Work with the Environment Task Force & Work with the Voluntary Sector*. ND Booklets 29 and 30 respectively.
[8] Unemployed for over 12 months.
[9] *New Deal Information on Employer Subsidies* ND Leaflet No23.
[10] *New Deal 25+ Information Sheet*. Strategic Delivery January 2000. This is sent to all unemployed people over 25 in the Tarbert Area after six months receiving benefit.

	Total Expenditure on ALPM as % of GDP 1999 (OECD 2000)	Unemployment Rate in 1995	1999	LTU Rate as a % of total unemployment	Activism Rate[11]
Denmark	1.77	7.3	5.2	20.5	0.34
France	1.33	11.7	11.3	40.3	0.12
Germany	1.30	8.2	8.7	51.7	0.15
The Netherlands	1.80	6.9	3.3	43.5	0.55
Norway	0.82	5.0	3.3	6.8	0.25
United Kingdom	0.37	8.7	6.1	29.8	0.06
United States	0.17	5.6	4.2	6.8	0.04

Table 3.1 Comparing European and American rates of unemployment, activation and expenditure[12].

Beyond it's initial expenditure and the high public profile of the launch of the New Deal the UK is currently spending the lowest percentage of its GDP on ALPM[13] [see table 3.1] with the exception of the US. It's rate of LTU whilst not as high as elsewhere in Europe is considerably higher than that in the US.

Turning to the groups that are of chief concern to this research the young unemployed and the LTU, approximately a third of the unemployed are young people under 25 and this proportion is increasing and around 30% of the unemployed are LTU months [See Table 3.2], this proportion is in decline. The overall unemployment rate is dropped steadily between 1998-2001. Comparing tables 3.1 and 3.2 there are slight discrepancies in the LTU rates and this can be related to the discussion in Chapter One, page 26 , around how official definitions of the unemployment rate arise.

	1998	1999	2000	2001
Total Unemployed	6.1	6.0	5.5	4.8
- Males	6.8	6.7	6.1	5.3
- Females	5.3	5.1	4.8	4.2
Youth Unemployment[14]	30.7	30.9	32.9	32.8
- Males	30.2	30.6	31.9	33.1
- Females	31.5	31.5	33.0	32.2
Long-term Unemployment[15]	32.7	29.6	28.0	n/a

Table 3.2 Percentage Unemployed in the UK, for the first quarter of each year, using the LFS figure.

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[11] Activsim Rate calculated using OECD (2000) Expenditure on ALPM divided by standard rate of unemployment.
[12] Adapted from Lødomel & Trickey (2000).
[13] Active Labour Market Policies
[14] Percentage of overall unemployed that are under 25. OECD 2002.
[15] Percentage of overall unemployed that have been unemployed for over 12 months. Eurostat 2002.

3.2.4 Evaluations of Active Labour Market Policies

In evaluating ALMP and the implementation of the New Deal I have chosen to focus on two key aspects of it employability and the individual-work focused gateway. Employability, job-readiness and the use of personal advisors in this process are key to this thesis, which will be returned to again and again, and it is therefore worth spending some time exploring how such terms are being conceptualised.

Employability

In 1997 in Amsterdam, member states of the European Union added employment as a 'title' to the European union treaty. In 1998 a European Employment Strategy was developed with four key pillars. Improving employability, developing entrepreneurship, encouraging adaptability and strengthening equal opportunities. It is from this point that the notion of employability emerges as a key concept that underpins the supply-side orthodoxy of training programmes.

According to Hillage & Pollard employability can be understood as

> The capacity to move self-sufficiently within the labour market to realise potential through sustainable employment. For the individual, employability depends on the knowledge, skills and attitude they possess, the way they use those assets and present them to employers and the context (e.g. personal circumstances and labour market environment) within which they work [Hillage & Pollard (1998):1]

However whilst Hillage & Pollard were careful to explain that it remains a contentious term. Focusing on 16 to 18 year olds entering Skillseekers training schemes in Scotland, 'employability' then becomes "the ability to learn and acquire new skills"[16], where employability is connected with lifelong learning. The concept here is that young people must be ready throughout their working lives, to learn the new skills that are required by employers.

According to Finn, training schemes, since the days of the original Manpower Service Commission schemes undertook the work socialisation that had not occurred in schools. Young people were often regarded by industry to leave school under-motivated and over-aspirated employability meant 'good workers' [Finn (1982): 45].

Today this work socialisation is not about the right attitude for employers but a flexible attitude to the labour market, one's ability to be independent within it, to maintain one's transferable skills and competencies, to manage one's own portfolio and self-presentation and to fully exploit one's access to social networks in an on-going lifetime process. This can be related to needs of the flexible labour market and the perception of work consisting increasingly of short–life contracts and projects, discussed between pages 51 and 53. The individual, where in terms of the concept

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[16] Opportunities and Choices – A consultation Paper on Post-School Provision fro 16-18 year olds. The Scottish Office 1998.

'employability' the school-leaver is not understood differently to the long-term unemployed, moves from the needs of one employer to another. Rather than as according to the view associated with the classic era of the welfare state, of undergoing a process of socialisation whereby all unemployed people develop the same set of skills needed for industry.

I would argue that employability may be better conceptualised as a multi-level concept, it is also connected to self-other relations as it is a question of convincing the employer that one has the right attitude and skills, employability becomes something that exists within the interaction between employers and employees. Further it has taken on an increasing macro-level importance in particular it has been noted that Gordon Brown increasingly refers to full employability rather than full employment, whereby employability here is understood as employment opportunities for all [Finn (1999): 3]. The argument is that full employment, if we return to Gordon Brown's pre-budget speech, is a real possibility. This challenges the gainful unemployment standpoint which argued in Chapter One, that unemployment was an indelible feature of the current macro-economic rationality, based on the classic view that there would always be unemployment because unemployment has traditionally been used to set inflation in what is known as the Non-Accelerating Inflation Rate of Unemployment [NAIRU].

Employment could not be something that could be gifted to the country by the government but has always rested on a dialogue between government, industry and today increasingly, international corporations. This has been known since the social reformers of John Stuart Mill, Keynes and Beveridge where unemployment was seen as an unfortunate by-product of capitalism and therefore must be the subject of the legislator's care.

However the new orthodoxy which is promoted by Gordon Brown and Treasury Advisors Richard Layard and Steve Nickell is that NAIRU is no longer related to inflation, rather unemployment has a natural rate which can be reduced by employability, that is "raising the aggregate employability of those on the margin of the labour market will alleviate wage inflation, thereby allowing the economy to function at higher levels of employment" [Haughton, Jones, Peck, Tickell & While (2000): 671].

Boeri, Layard & Nickell state

> In the very short-run there is of course a limit to the number of jobs, which is set by aggregate demand. But aggregate demand in Europe is rising and will continue to do so until it hits its long-run upper limit. This limit is set not by demand but by the effective supply of employable labour [Boeri, Layard & Nickell (2000)]

This is a radical position and has been challenged by economists, [see Haughton for a fuller discussion]. According to Finn's analysis 'the jury is still out' on the extent to

which activation has lowered the natural rate of unemployment in OECD countries [Finn(1999): 2]

However, whilst it remains an open question whether employability itself can lead to full employment irrespective of regional variations in the aggregate demand for labour, in terms of social perception it is crucial as the socially shared knowledge that surrounds the unemployed and exists in the public sphere; unemployment, rather than a 'normal' and regrettable feature of late capitalism is a 'deviance' on the part of the individual. This is compounded by the extent to which employability discourse is often carefully coupled with discussions of benefit fraud which serve to focus increasing attention on the character of the welfare recipient.

Peck challenges this supply-side orthodoxy, explaining that the New Deal stands to be most ineffective in the areas where it is most needed, the problem is that

> the four options are very unlikely to yield parity of effectiveness in terms of improvements in employability and job-prospects (...) employers' views of the 'employability' of individuals within the New Deal client group will consequently permeate the programme itself [Peck(1999): 361].

The danger is that this streaming on the basis of 'employability' will echo what occurred in the youth training schemes of the 1980s "many of which have mirrored and reproduced, rather than tackled, racialised and gendered recruitment patterns characteristic of the wider labour market" [ibid.: 362].

There is then little discussion of the demand-side and the extent to which employers have a responsibility to their employees, in the employability discourse. To return to the point that the concept of employability is better understood if it includes self-other - in particular, employer-employee relations there is evidence that 'employability' might be related to a wider social picture around consumerism and the more competitive features of capitalism.

In post-industrial employment in Glasgow, where much of the economic growth[17] is in the service sector, there is increasing use of what is termed 'aesthetic labour' which is defined as "an overt appreciation of workers' physical appearance and embodied competencies and skills" [Nickson, Warhurst, Witz & Cullen (1998): 2]. In this new phenomenon employee training is concerned with producing a 'style' of service encounter. This is not confined to 'stylish' shops and hotels but also banks and call-centre services, the latter being one of the fastest growing sectors in the Scottish economy. Nickson, Warhurst, Witz & Cullen's on-going research involved carrying out focus groups and interviews with employers across these sectors, looking at employer-employee relations, employee-employee relations and finally employee-customer relations, and they found that class, gender, ethnicity and age were all features of

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[17] This regeneration after de-industrialization is sometimes called the 'New Glasgow'

aesthetic labour, but that it went deeper than physical appearance, though 'a smart appearance' was emphasized in job adverts, voice, in particular call-centre employers had talked of 'a smile in the voice', personality, accent and 'corporealness' were also factors that have become more important than technical skills. [Nickson, Warhurst, Witz & Cullen (1998)].

Employability then is operationalised within the New Deal at the micro-level of an individual's attitude, skills and self-sufficiency or the macro-level of aggregate employability being the main route to full employment. It could be better understood as an interaction between individuals, whether potential employees, employers or practitioners, working within unemployment; engaged in self-other relations which are in a dialectical relations with the social knowledge that exists around them. Social knowledge on 'young people' or 'the long-term unemployed' or 'the sort of person a customer would like to be served by'.

The individual work-focused gateway

When in April 1998, the labour government set up Prototype Employment Zones (PEZ's) which underpin the local partnerships that deliver the New Deal one of the critical changes is the power that was given to the client. The idea was that the client, together with a personal advisor, could select the training option according to their needs, avoiding the impersonal mass processing of previous training programmes. The new Gateway Explorer then aimed to be a client-centred social security system tailored to local circumstances [Haughton, Jones, Peck, Tickell & While (2000): 674]. Reports have been positive about this process, Millar found that the clients in her study of the New Deal for Lone parents, were most enthusiastic about their contacts with Personal Advisors explaining that the "case-worker role is central to the whole new Deal concept" [Millar (2000): 5]. This is supported by accounts in the newsletter Broadcast in Scotland where clients at Motherwell College and Dundee College have spoken positively about their individual treatment by advisors and the full-time education option[18]. In a large-scale survey of young people commissioned by the Scottish Executive, "personal advisor interviews and job search assistance were generally seen as the most helpful elements of the New Deal" [Lakey & Knight (2001): 3].

There is however a thin line between a supportive and empowering client-centred approach and case-management. Lawrence Mead has emphasized the idea of case-management to enforce the 'help & hassle' approach associated with American workfare, by ensuring tight supervision and personal advisor-client agreements [Mead

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[18] Broadcast Issue 45 March 1999,

(1997): 34-36]. Evidence from Haughton et al suggests that the individual-work focus, given the compulsory nature of the New Deal, has, over the four years since it began changed in emphasis. Despite the media emphasis on tattoo removal and 'new suits for interviews' features of the Employment Zones once they became Fully Fledged Employment Zones in April 2000, there was a radical break "participation would become mandatory and personal advisors would have the ultimate power to compel clients to accept their personal development plans" [Haughton, Jones, Peck, Tickell & While (2000): 676].

In the UK both clients and advisors were frustrated by Welfare to Work policies just prior to the New Deal where front-line workers were critical of "high caseloads and the target culture they worked in" and there was a high turnover of staff. For clients "while some had benefited from the assistance others had found it irrelevant at best, unnecessarily threatening at worst" both clients and staff emphasize a need for impartial advice [Finn, Blackmore & Nimmo (1998): 11-13].

This trend has continued in the New Deal's first few years, Sharon Wright in her ethnographic study of a central Scotland job-centre, demonstrates how policy is inevitably interpreted and recreated by front-line staff, who are squeezed between the New Deal's managerialist orientation, in terms of best-value, national and local performance targets and it's client-centred emphasis, in terms of a face-to-face assessment of individual barriers to employment and vocational aspirations. In the end, at street-level, staff often cut down time spent with clients to much less than that stipulated by New Deal policy and focus on performance goals, including fitting the 'right' people to the 'right' job centre vacancies, equally face-to-face opportunities are taken up with computer and paperwork duties. [Wright 2000].

This case-management can go further, as Evans has shown New Deal providers, minded of their targets could begin to use psychological profiling of clients as has occurred in the US. Evans talks of helping conundrums in the US where intense one-to-one guidance fosters the dependency that workfare schemes are seen to exist to challenge [Evans (2000): 17-19]. He also warns that blanket use of the term 'rights and responsibilities' serves to shadow the heterogeneous capabilities of the claimant reservoir then the reality of the rhetoric 'work for those that can and security for those that can't is insecurity for both" [ibid.: 30]. Finn also challenges the extent to which the WtW policies suggest that everyone must be in employment for their benefits. [Finn (1999)]

The extent to which the current socio-political response to unemployment is dominated by the use of personal advisors is not confined to the New Deal or even unemployment it is being used in 'tracking' and 'mapping' of young people and the services available to them. The major recent development in this respect is

Connexions[19], announced in 2000, which aimed to 'Bridge the Gap'. Recognizing that current provision for school-leavers is fragmented and uncoordinated, Connexions aims to provide a 'ladder out of social exclusion'. The new strategy involves the use of a network of personal advisors [PA] who will be based in a variety of locations, schools, careers centres and community settings.

Johnston et al explain that from their study in Willowdene, a high unemployment area in Teesside which has become an Employment Zone, such personal advisors will have to be able to "work across service boundaries (...) where there will be extremes of intensive support work and the provision of basic information to young people", the PA will need to be sensitive to the types of major life events that they find e.g. bereavement, imprisonment of father, family break-up. They warn of scepticism and suspicions from disenchanted and 'at risk' young people and recommend the use of outreach workers and the detached youth work approach, where the more the PA is seen as independent the more likely they are to be successful in building trust but this will create tensions if the PA is tied by the formal demands of the Connexions agency [Johnston, MacDonald, Mason, Ridley & Webster (2000): 32-4].

Percy-Smith & Weil taking a dialectical approach, have a full appreciation of the tensions and contradictions that underpin the personal advisor role, reporting on the first phase of their collaborative study with young unemployed people on the New Deal they attempt to understand the "dilemmas, paradoxes and disjunctions at different levels in the system using the notion of "tension and possibility spaces" they explore the encounter space between young person and personal advisor, making the useful distinction between "the expert professional - who uses specialised knowledge to direct individuals from a situation of deficiency to one of competence and the 'interpretive professional – one who works with the young adult to better understanding their situation and reaching decisions for action which are rooted in the individual's lifeworld" [Percy-Smith & Weil (2000): 13]

A further consideration in an approach that uses personal advisors to make one-to-one, often compulsory agreement with unemployed people, Finn, Blackmore & Nimmo warn, is that this emphasis on compulsion can alienate potential employers [Finn, Blackmore & Nimmo (1998): 17], the attitude of employers naturally are a key component to the success of Welfare to Work programmes, within Skillseekers the Scottish Office highlighted the problem of only 10% of employers being involved in training programmes[20].

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[19] For 13 to 19 year olds within England and Wales only.
[20] Opportunities and Choices – A consultation Paper on Post-School Provision fro 16-18 year olds. The Scottish Office 1998.

The emphasis then, drawn out by evaluations, is that the use of personal advisors to work with clients on their employability, and perceived barriers to employment creates some tensions. Though it may be presented as a positive process in some evaluations, reliant often on questionnaires, this intense one-to-one activity does not challenge the inherent problems with the overall supply-side orientation of activation policies. It is perhaps worth exploring further this focus on the character of the welfare recipient.

3.3 Managing the image of the welfare recipient.

> In a way the situation of the man who is in danger of drowning in the invisible ocean of unemployment is more desperate than the situation of a man who is drowning in a real ocean [Ichheiser (1949): 49].
>
> Sanctions are vital and will act as a cultural teaching agent which will indicate how people should behave and what their responsibilities are [Field (1997): 62].

There is a striking contrast between these two quotes, fifty years apart, when the Austrian sociologist Gustav Ichheiser wrote this, his analysis of the objective and subjective social conditions of success and failure led him to conclude that the drowning man would be helped whereas the unemployed man's social invisibility means he wouldn't. Both he and his fellow Austrian and colleague Marie Jahoda had described themselves as engaging in 'the social psychology of the invisible' when attempting to understand the social psychology of unemployment. However to be visible, indeed to have the spotlight shone on you is not necessarily advantageous, the unemployed people referred to by Frank Field are conceptualised very differently, the focus is on their values and character and there is a moral dimension to the position he takes.

3.3.1 Dependency & Social Inclusion

Lødomel & Trickey in attempting to explain the new emphasis on activism, explore the two keys justifications identified to explain the causes of worklessness a lack of 'social inclusion' and 'dependency'. The former emphasizes structural causes of worklessness industrial restructuring and a skills mismatch, this rationality emphasizes the loss of opportunities to work, whereas dependency discourse emphasize individual and cultural factors and is favoured by the more conservative outlook particularly in the USA where Charles Murray has been outspoken about the moral nature of the unemployed [Lødomel & Trickey(2000): 15-16]. This can be related to Lawrence Mead, mentioned earlier, who unlike Murray does not reject the very existence of welfare, he argues that much of the worklessness of the poor is not related to structural inequalities "my judgement is that about a third of the work problem among the seriously poor

might be attributable to limits to opportunity in all forms" [Mead (1997): 11] but rather to an underclass a culture of poverty "a greater number are simply defeatist about work or unable to organize their personal lives to hold jobs consistently" [ibid.: 12]. We must be careful not to confuse the development of American workfare with that which is occurring in the UK, but there is no doubt that this sort of dependency discourse is occurring here as well, though at a more moderate level [Trickey (2000): 256]. Here we return to a locus of unemployment in a person's self-perception, in particular their self-efficacy.

Bane & Ellword cited by Lødomel & Trickey, explain there are three models in dependency discourse, (i) the *rational model* of dependency based on the idea that humans are rational utility maximizers and that therefore dependency relates to the generosity of benefits, where it is more profitable to stay on benefits and irrational to reject benefits in favour of work (ii) the *psycho-social (or expectancy)* model of dependency which regards welfare recipients as having lost the confidence needed to move into work and (iii) the *cultural* model of dependency suggest that people do not want to move from welfare into work because they have acquired "the values and behaviours and lifestyles that are different from those of working people and which are congruent with passive benefit receipt" [Lødomel & Trickey (2000): 19]. Psychologists, in particular those that emphasize self-perception, then must take some responsibility for the development of this model of unemployment. Whether one chooses to explain unemployment in terms of dependency or social exclusion the policy response is the same 'insertion' that is measures to encourage participation, particularly economic participation.

Whilst social inclusion is often understood as participation to Levitas it is a contested concept, and she has analysed it as having three distinct meanings, the *moral underclass discourse*, [MUD] that we have been discussing above, to be contrasted with the *redistributionist discourse* [RED] discourse situated in critical social policy and points to structural inequalities and the privileges and power of the rich and the *social integration discourse* [SID], where integration is often understood as noted, as labour market attachment [Levitas (1998): 2-3]. The term social inclusion, which originated in France has Durkheimian overtones; in particular it is used in SID and MUD discourses to suggest that there is an included majority who are homogenous and where there exists a consensus and an excluded minority who in some way are outside this consensual moral order. Levitas relates this to communitarianism and the Christian socialist views within the New Labour party which in their Welfare to Work legislation and its supply-side orientation she argues has abandoned RED in favour of a combination of SID and MUD [Levitas (1998): 99-107].

Integration is part of solidarity, part of the reciprocal agreement between individuals in their communities [Levitas (1998): 99-107], such participation then is related to social cohesion it performs moral, social as well as economic functions, in this order unemployment becomes perceived of as a threat [ibid.: 118-123], the supposed resistance to the consensus of a minority is often termed the 'culture of poverty'

3.3.2 The culture of poverty

'The new workless class', 'culture of retreatism', 'culture of dependency', 'culture of poverty' 'poverty of expectations' 'passive entitlement' such terms serve to illustrate the extent to which, in this contemporary phase of the welfare state, the poor are now characterised as passive and under-socialised, in the UK there is less talk today of a underclass rather welfare commentators prefer the term culture of poverty. Devised by Lewis

> The culture of poverty is both an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalist society. It represents an effort to cope with feelings of hopelessness and despair that develop from the realisation of the improbability of achieving success in terms of the values and goals of a larger society [Lewis (1969):188].

Martin-Baró, comments on the social perception that there exists a group of people who are marginalized and have therefore created their own set of values different to those people in employment, "the culture of poverty arises as a mechanism for adaptation to the conditions of marginalization, once in place it seems harder to eliminate than poverty itself, for it is passed on through the family" [Martin-Baró (1994): 209] Adding that the implicit assumption in such theorising and "subtle psychologizing" is that

> Once the 'culture of poverty' is in place, it will remain the cause of fatalism of the population, independently of whether social conditions change or remain the same. Fatalism is regarded as sinking it's roots more into the psychological functioning of persons than the functioning of economic, political and social structures" [ibid.: 210].

Martin-Baró did not deny the existence of a culture of poverty amongst marginalized populations in Latin America, rather he challenged the view of its "functional autonomy" and whether it was "the values of a closed subculture" or simple the result of everyday demonstrations of how impossible it is to strive to change one's situation. He questioned whether such a culture would remain after "large-scale social changes which attacked the systemic roots of poverty" as it did in Cuba [ibid.: 210].

As we are preparing for a dialectical account it is worth considering the thinking behind the high profile of benefit fraud in the public sphere in terms of unemployment. It has been demonstrated that benefit expenditure is comparatively low in the UK

compared to other European countries [see table 3.1]. Despite an increase in the number of people claiming benefits over the last twenty years the evidence is that expenditure is in decline 11.2% of GDP in 1998/9 compared to 12.7% in 1993/4, the public perception however is one of it spiralling out of control [Walker & Howard (2000): 34]. This profile and consequent criminalization of benefit fraudsters performs the function of focusing the attention consistently on the 'character' of welfare recipients. Walker and Howard who researched the extent to which in the UK, we can talk of the 'Making of a Welfare class' found that the 80% of the public believed that there were large number of people falsely claiming benefit [ibid.: 42].

It is well worth more research in this area. Willams, Hill & Davies found that public support for welfare was higher before 1994 and it has steadily declined, it is also higher the further north one goes in the UK. Generally the public still felt it was not as bad a crime as drink driving and many were still aware that more benefit goes unclaimed than is defrauded. They also pointed to the inefficiency in the social security system as at least a great a problem as fraud [Williams, Hill & Davies (1999): 3]. Whilst the figure of £465 million is given by Lord Grabiner[21], [Howard & Walker (2000): 100] there is no clear way of assessing the extent of benefit fraud and therefore the management of perceptions on this area are crucial. The high profile of benefit fraud helps to provide public support for the invasive levels of monitoring and surveillance inherent in Skillseekers and the New Deal.

Howard & Walker conclude in answer to their question that there is no actual evidence of the making of a welfare class in the UK, or evidence of cultural or psychosocial dependency or a culture of poverty, as the degree of cohesion amongst the poor, the collective solidarity that such a culture would take does not exist. [Walker & Howard (2000): 305-6].

There is a broader question about the managing of the image of the welfare recipient. Though most commentators above prefer the term discourses, it may be worth investigating the social representations of welfarism and the welfare recipient and how people in the thinking society come to make sense of their poor. Are representations focused on welfare recipients as passive and dependent, unable to find work because they don't have the self-believe or cunning and manipulative, defrauding the system? On the other side what representations exist on the inequities that have created this poverty? These beliefs are central to a dialogical account of unemployment, as they impact not only unemployed people but also on people who work with them affecting their practice, as this thesis will demonstrate.

Bullock, Fraser Wyche & Williams, in their study demonstrate that media representations of the poor in the US, portray the middle classes as the norm and frame

the welfare recipient in terms of their personal experience rather than the wider trends and structural explanations. They found evidence that "welfare recipients are amongst one of the most hated and stereotyped groups in contemporary society" when asked. Welfare recipients were the only one of 17 groups, including feminists, rich people, blacks, Asians and migrant workers, that respondents in a startling study described themselves as both 'disliking' and 'disrespecting' [Bullock, Fraser Wyche & Williams (2001): 234].

Though it may be more comforting to regard this as a feature of US society rather than contemporary European societies, there is a warning here about the dangers in attaching so much stigma to the welfare recipient in order to legitimise the compulsory features of New Deal and Skillseekers. Returning to the aforementioned Willowdene study, [see page 67] the majority of the sample had been involved in drug-use and 40% had criminal convictions however many of the same young people did not want to sign on, because of the stigma attached to being seen as a welfare recipient [Johnston, MacDonald, Mason, Ridley & Webster (2000): 26].

3.4 The Local context - The Tarbert Region

3.4.1 Changes in the Socio-political context in Scotland between 1998 and 2001.

In many ways much of what has been described in terms of activation and compulsion applies to Scotland also, however commentators and evaluators of the New Deal have emphasized that accounts of the New Deal's successes for example Gordon Brown's speech do not take into consideration regional differences. More young people in Scotland than those over 25, have been targeted by the New Deal for 18-24, 95,033 between April 1998 and June 2002, of which 44,342 have gained jobs just under 47%[22].

Turning to the New Deal for people aged over 25, of the 55,158 unemployed people who have gone through some stage of the programme, 12,334, just over 22% - have got jobs[23]. It would seem that for the vast majority the New Deal does not end in employment. Of the 7,900 participants on the New Deal 25+ programmes in Scotland in May 2000, 81% were involved in the Advisory Process; 9% were on Training for Work, i.e. the four options and 7% were in subsidised employment. Therefore for the majority of people who were going through the New Deal it is chiefly a process of advice and counselling, where 52% of all leavers from this process return to claiming JSA[24].

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[21] Lord Grabiner was placed in charge of an inquiry into benefit fraud by the government in 1999.
[22] Were sustainable employment would be defined as employment for over 13 weeks.
[23] http/www.Scotland.gov.uk. Accessed 11th November 2002.
[24] New Deal for Unemployed People in Scotland: Statisitics to end May 2000. Scottish Executive http://www. scotland.gov.uk/stats/bulletin/00012-00.asp. Accessed 21/08/00.

The introduction of Connexions in England and Wales in 2000 was paralleled in Scotland by the introduction of Careers Scotland, which at local level is housed within the Local Enterprise Agencies. These developments arise out of the implementation of the Beattie report, begun in 1998 and reported in 2000. It was concerned with 'implementing inclusiveness and realising potential' and aimed to

> To review the range of needs among young people who require additional support to make the transition to post-school education and training or employment; the assessment of needs; the quality and effectiveness of current provision in improving skills and employability; and to make recommendations to improve coherence, continuity and progression[25].

The report emphasized 'open, fair and accurate assessment procedures'; these were to be focused on the young person and 'not designed to accommodate the organizational structures or administrative practices of an institution'. The report also emphasized youth ownership.

To consider the aggregate demand for labour in terms of regional difference the projected growth in employment between 1999 and 2005 for Scotland is 16,000, for the South East of England it is 271,000 and in the North West of England 83,000, Scotland has the lowest figure for the UK[26]. Such a negative projection for Scotland is further compounded by comparative European research. Furlong & Cartmel's recent longitudinal study of young people in Denmark, Finland, Iceland Norway, Scotland and Sweden found that young people in Scotland both male and female had the longest continuous periods of unemployment and highest unemployment amongst family. Though the study is reliant on this self-report method and there are naturally concerns around the context in which young people responded. The study presents some interesting details e.g. Scotland had the highest number of graduates at 12% after Denmark at 16%. Norway had 10%, Sweden 7% and both Iceland and Finland had 2%. Furlong and Cartmel explain these differences in terms of their sample of 8,654 people, the differences in degree length and educational system. In Table 3.3 the average destination over the five years, where postal questionnaires were filled out every six months, is for the majority of Scottish respondents from unemployment to unemployment, again the highest of the six countries. Further, once unemployed, the percentage moving into education, is very low compared to other countries and this phenomenon warrants more research.

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[25] http://www.scotland.gov.uk/library2/doc04/brsu-02.htm, this website summarises the Beattie report published in 2000.Last accessed 30th August 2001

[26] Future Skills and Qualification needs. www.uuy.org.uk/projects/wb/w125/html/skill_needs.htr. Accessed on 24/07/01.

Unemployment to:	Denmark	Finland	Iceland	Norway	Scotland	Sweden
Unemployment	36	47	40	50	72	37
Employment	40	21	40	20	19	26
Training	5	7	3	8	5	15
Education	12	15	12	11	3	12
Other	8	10	5	10	1	9
Total	101	100	100	99	100	99

Table 3.3 Destinations six months after initial period of unemployment, averages over 10 six monthly periods. (%)[27]

To contextualise the situation for Scottish young people further, in most countries young unemployed people were found to be receiving an income of between 44 and 49% of the income of an employed person of the same age. However in Iceland it is 76% and in Scotland it is 33%. The Scottish sample were lowest overall on the economic hardship scale and highest in all life dissatisfaction measures but despite this showed only a slightly lower sociability and no difference on the work-commitment scale. There is also an interesting gender-difference where in most countries males were more likely to gain reemployment than females except Scotland where females have the advantage [Furlong & Cartmel (2001): 10-21]

3.4.2 Focus on Tarbet Region - Moultrie & Sommerville

The Tarbert Region, which consists of Moultrie, and the neighbouring council areas of Kilchatten and Sommerville, is characterised by small towns of less than 100,000 people within beautiful countryside. It is popular with tourists and hill-walkers and employment is often seasonal. Both Moultrie and Sommerville still have active Miners Welfare clubs and the region was known also for its woollen mills. 13.7% of the population are between 16-24. Less than 1% are of African or Asian descent. The Tarbert region as a whole has slightly lower unemployment than the national average the percentage of people described as "unemployed and seeking work" at the start of the study was 4% the national average was 6% in 1999.

The majority of unemployed people that participated in the research came from high unemployment, low-wage communities within Moultrie and Sommerville. Both Moultrie and Sommerville are characterised by urban and rural areas. In Moultrie 26% of the labour force live in rural areas, levels of unemployment in such areas are slightly lower at 2.7% in 1998, then they are in Moultrie as a whole where the figures is 4.9%[28]. For Moultrie and Tarbert unemployment rates are in line with the general trend of lowering unemployment. 18% of the working population are aged between 18-25 of

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[27] Adapted from Furlong & Cartmel 2001.
[28] Moultrie Council 1998.

which 30.1% are unemployed[29], which corresponds to the overall UK figure of 30.9% given in Table 3.1.

In the Moultrie 16-25 Young People's Lives Survey (1997)[30] 7% of the 293 respondents were married, 10% were cohabitating, 83% were single. 11% had children. 65% were in employment, 51% were in part-time work, 18% were unemployed and 15% were on training. Unemployed respondents were more likely to have children - 7% of the full-time workers had children, 15% of part-time workers 23% of the unemployed respondents had children. Within the same survey, people were asked to select up to three reasons why they could not get a job 63% selected 'no suitable jobs' 40% selected 'too inexperienced' and 21% selected both 'inappropriate skills' and 'too far to travel'[31]

3.4.3 Strategic Delivery

Strategic Delivery serves the Tarbert locality. It is a private company, which was set up in 1997 solely to deliver the New Deal. It is part of a local strategic private-public partnership working with a number of other organizations in the locality as partners or training providers. It is based in Moultrie and occupies part of large industrial building half an hours walk away from the town centre. There is a small reception area and several large meeting rooms on the first level, with a separate kitchen for unemployed clients to make hot drinks and smoke. Clients in the 25+ New Deal programmes meet at this site, however clients on the 18-24 year olds programme meet in the town centre. On the second level there are several offices for managers, marketing & other administration.

SD were involved in redesigning their programmes at the point that I worked with them and Figure 3.4 gives the stages in the SD Gateway original programme. Fig 3.5 gives the first page of the Individual Action Plan SD was using, this becomes the subject of much debate in Chapter Nine. Figure 3.6 and on page 77 illustrates how the Gateway was designed to fit in with New Deal options and anticipated exit routes.

3.4.4 The Young Person's Centre

It is with the Young Person's Centre that I became most involved and the greatest degree of collaboration occurred. The YPC, which has an arms length relationship with the local government, is also in Moultrie itself though serving young people from both Moultrie and Sommerville, aged between 16-24. It has a team of eight service and line managers and then approximately 27 staff consisting of administrators, tutors and key-

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[29] *Bridging the Divide* Moultrie Council Report on the transition from School to Work (1999)
[30] This survey commissioned by Moultrie Youth Services, included 42 respondents from Sommerville & Kilchatten.
[31] Base = 52 unemployed respondents

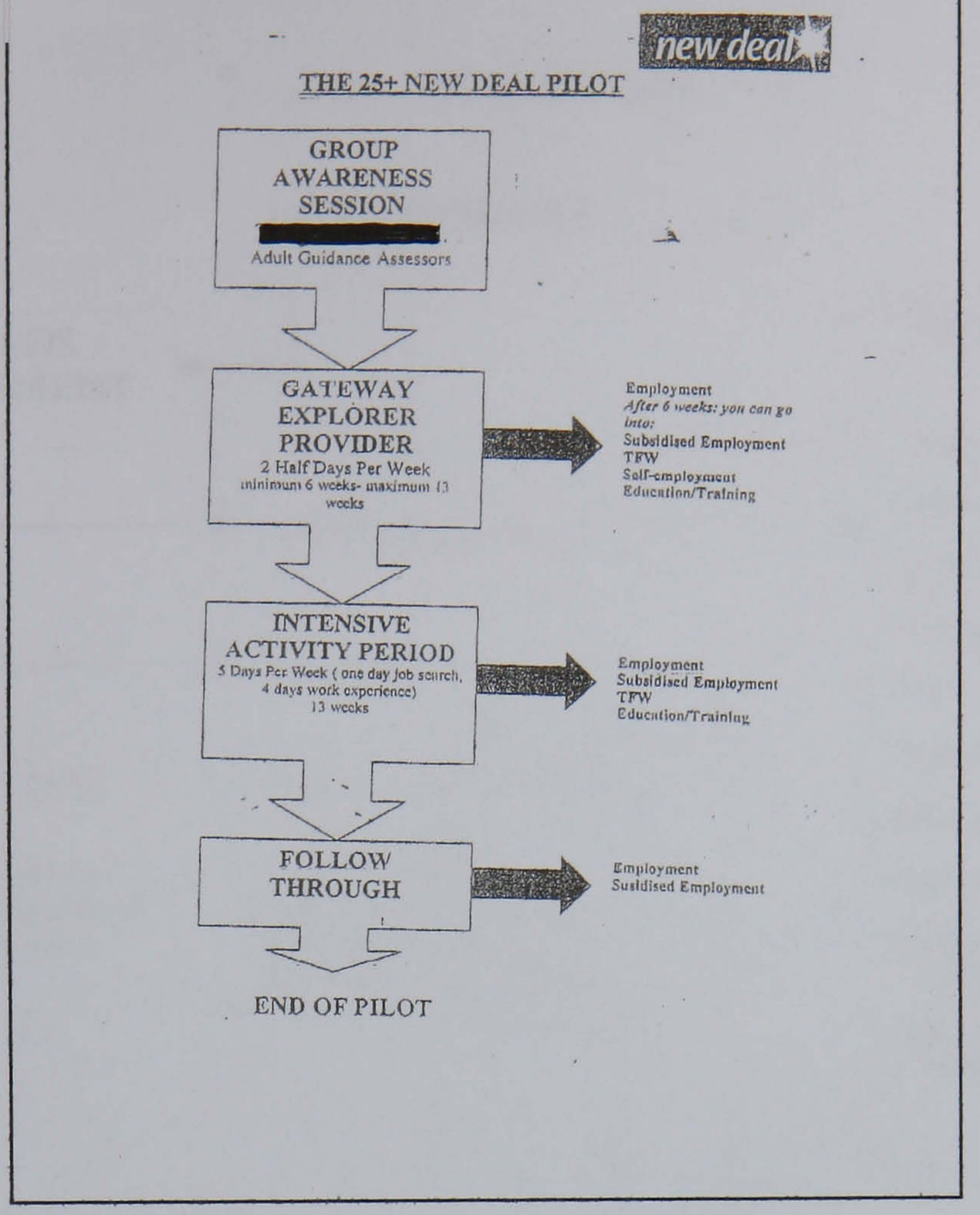

Fig 3.4 Gateway Stages – Strategic Delivery

new deal

A

New Deal 25+ Pilot
Individual Action Plan
Gateway Explorer Summary

Supported Jobsearch Help	☐	**Individual Careers Guidance**	☐
Basic Skills	☐	**Key Skills Training**	☐
Help for Special Groups	☐	**Training Needs Assessment**	☐
Other (please supply details)	☐		

Section 10 - Core Transferable Skills and Basic Skills *(see Image 2 for Section 10)*

Category	Entry Level 1-5 (Starting GE. Level evaluated by GEP by end of second week)	Target Level 1-5 (Level anticipated to be reached on exit from GE)	Final Level 1-5 (Level on completing GE From TC13F)
Personal Effectiveness:			
Presentation Skills			
Working with Others			
Verbal Communication			
Listening Skills			
Attendance			
Organisation Skills			
Time Keeping			
IT Skills			
Job Seeking Skills:			
CV			
Interviews			
Application Forms			
Locating Vacancies			
Other Indicators:			
Numeracy			
Literacy			
Self-Esteem			
Confidence			
Attitude			

Progress

Details of any special assistance required to obtain Employment

Further Recommendations

Client

Guidance Advisor GE (Signature)

Date

Date

Page 3 of 3

Fig 3.5 Individual Action Plan

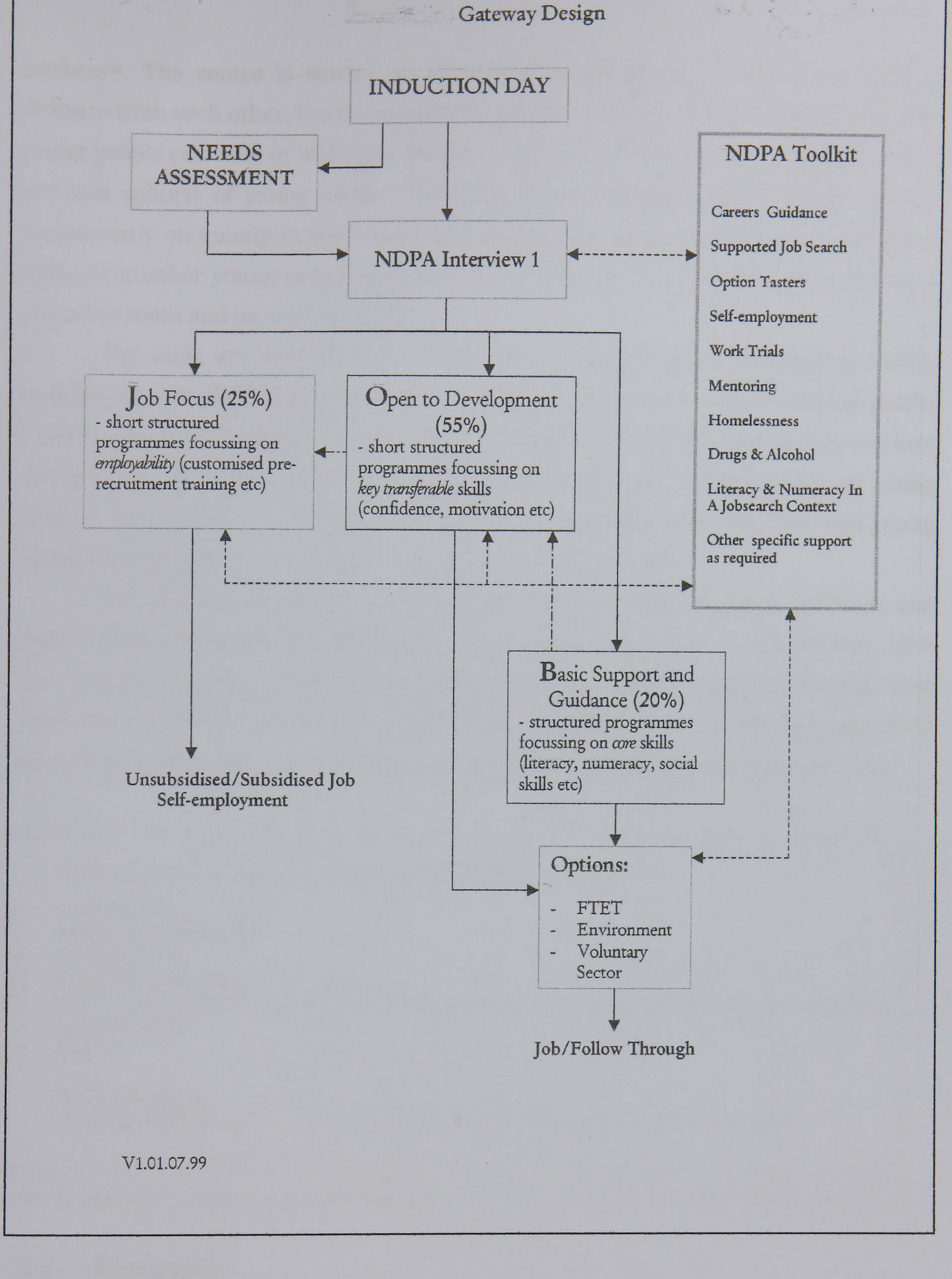

Fig 3.6 Gateway Design – Strategic Delivery

workers[32]. The centre is spread across several buildings all of which are walking distance from each other, the Crossroads building is at street-level and designed so that young people can walk in with their enquires. It has the atmosphere of a youth centre, previous cohorts of young people chose the colour scheme, and BBC Radio One is permanently on quietly in the background. It tends to be quiet in the mornings when staff out-number young people and busy in the afternoon. It has two main rooms, a reception room and an activity room.

The walls are covered with posters encouraging safe sex, promoting health, warning against alcohol and drug-abuse, offering mentoring, and advertising youth-related national & local events. The other two buildings tend to house the key-workers and are also used for core-skills sessions and inductions with large groups of young people. At the time of the research the YPC was working with just over 100 young people but has in the past worked with up to 350 young people.

The YPC is involved in a range of activates around training & guidance and youth involvement, between 1998 and 2001, they were involved in Skillseekers, New Deal for 18 to 24 years olds, Modern Apprenticeships and Vocational Training, they were also involved in offering grants to young people, and the Youth Congress, their aims and objectives as understood by their management team are set out in Box 3.4.

The Young People's Centre has defined its key objectives or concerns as

- Employability
- Responsible Citizenship
- Active learning
- Stable accommodation
- Personal and social development (emotional & personal growth, coping, identity self-presentation, social skills etc)
- Health

Its broader aim is
'To assist young people to move from dependence, to independence to interdependence'

Box 3.7 The aims and objectives of YPC taken from their management meeting minutes December 1999.

3.5 Summary

This third chapter discusses the current UK socio-political context in which the study occurred and the local area in which the research was carried out, drawing attention to the major changes in legislation and overall perceptions of welfare that have occurred over the last ten years. where the principle of universalism has been replaced by increased selectivity and social differentiation and reform is concentrated

[32] The term *key-workers* is used to describe the job done by front-line support & guidance staff.

increasingly on the character and attributes of the welfare recipient. This finds expression in the use of personal advisors within the Gateway stage of training programmes and the extent to which the concept employability is focused on supply-side skills development. The chapter explores the extent to which the view of a culture of poverty can be said to exist in the UK and argues that there is increasing evidence that whether it is a veridical is less important than managing social shared perceptions of it.

Chapter Four – Towards a dialogical approach

4.1 Introduction
4.2 The role of the psychologist in dialectical accounts
4.3 The private and public spheres
4.4 From dialectical accounts to dialogical accounts
4.5 The dialogical self
4.6 Summary

4.1 Introduction

Turning finally to a new orientation, one that requires a shift in thinking, away from reductionist psychologies of unemployment that promote the view of the isolated self-interested individual, detached and rationalistic concerned with their self-efficacy or gaining control over the event of their unemployment, to a psychology that views people as knowing subjects, albeit restricted by their socio-economic context, but socially connected, embedded in a historical and socio-cultural context and interacting on the basis of common meanings and shared values. Such a psychology privileges communication and connections between people where there is scope for people to use different discursive practices, adopt different subject positions in reaction to the discourses on unemployment and social representations of the welfare recipient.

These then are the features of the dialectical approach, the fourth and relatively new psychology of unemployment that focuses on the troubling contradictions that other psychologies of unemployment have fought shy of tackling. Such a psychology requires the "birth of the reader" [Parker (1997): 294], as an active participant in the text, that is to say that texts on unemployment, in the form of legislation, research publications, organizational literature, newspaper articles and so on can be understood as containing more than their face value meanings if the reader is willing to analyse them and understand the discourses and discursive practices that underpin them.

Such an approach pays careful attention to the role played by psychologists and how their own discursive practices in descriptions of unemployment can legitimise, ratify, compound, challenge and subvert dominant discourses and oppressive social relations. This fourth psychology provides a much-needed counter to the supply-side

orientation that has dominated the discussion so far within the academic and socio-political contexts.

The chapter also includes accounts of organizational discourse on unemployment to make sense of how organizations make use of the social knowledge on welfare recipients, the culture of poverty and socio-political context that have been outlined.

It may already be evident that dialectical psychologies of unemployment often use a post-structuralist discourse analytic approach and often drawing from Foucault's ideas on discourse and Derrida's deconstructionism, however the approach that was taken in this study can be understood as *dialogical*, which whilst being a dialectical psychology of unemployment has certain distinct features from discursive psychological accounts. The chapter explores the features of a dialogical account, which whilst dominated by an awareness of communication and our cultural embeddings, indebted to Mikhail Bakhtin, also allows the self to be something more than a discursive project.

In this respect the chapter also further develops the concept of the dialogical self as an inter-subjective site in which selfhood is managed. It outlines a distinct approach which stands in stark contrast to many of the positivist interventions that have been encountered so far, whether they be by the state, social scientist or clinician and equally is careful to avoid the pitfalls of postmodernism and the extent to which it can slip into a facile relativism where everything is a matter of interpretation and people are merely the site through which language flows operating according to its own logic. It was developed in many respects out of frustration with such interventions and the extent to which psychologists whether through the norms of their tradition or their own values and beliefs had colluded with interventions concerned only with the character of the unemployed individual. In reviewing eighteen international interventions into unemployment and health I assessed whether or not they recognized the personal agency of unemployed people in shaping their own future. Without falling into the trap of locating unemployment itself at the level of individual responsibility and "whether or not the voice of the unemployed people and communities came through in the contribution, especially whether collaborative interventions were mentioned" [Mahendran (2000): 168]. It is to studies such as Villaret and Gianinazzi's study [see page 45] that are able to capture this voice that we now turn.

4.2 The role of the psychologist in dialectical accounts.

Returning to an earlier discussion in Chapter One, on the role of the psychologist to Ignacio Martin-Baró, the liberation psychologist who wrote around the oppressed and unemployed in El Salvador and the impressions of 'the lazy latino' the

role of psychologists was unambiguous it was *concientización*, that is the awakening of critical consciousness, a dialectical process involving the "decoding of their world, (...) this crumbles the consciousness that mythifies that situation as natural and opens up the horizon to new possibilities for action" [Martin-Baró (1994): 40]. In Martin- Baró's dialectical account of Paulo Friere's concept

> Concientización does not consist of a simple change of opinion about reality, a change in individual subjectivity that leaves the objective situation intact; concientización supposes that the persons change in the process of changing their relations with the surrounding environment and above all with other people [Martin-Baró (1994):40-41]

A dialectical intervention therefore is not about the dualisms inherent in interventions that seek to change the individual or are about changing social conditions "what has to change is the relationship between the person and his or her world" [ibid.: 218]. This world is understood as self-other relations and the social knowledge that surrounds these relations that is subject-world relations, concientización involves the recovery of memories, such as declining discourses around the collective responsibility for unemployment and the scrutinizing of texts for hidden meanings.

What is interesting about Martin-Baro's message is that he sees psychologists as working with ordinary and disadvantaged people. His writing itself is for these people, and this is an important feature of his approach. However to write of concientización in Europe is less straightforward, psychologists adopting a dialectical approach often have academic, policy-maker or practitioners in mind as their readers. It is an important question *with whom is the psychologist in a dialogue with, when they research and when they write.* Reflexivity is a feature of a dialogical approach and this will be taken up in the next Chapter.

4.3 The private and public spheres

Dialectical accounts locate unemployment in the interaction and communication between unemployed people, those who work with unemployment, and the social knowledge, which exists on unemployment. Such a psychology of unemployment has predominantly understood such social knowledge in terms of discourses, rather than social representations, where discourses can be understood as a system of knowledge in terms of shared meanings, frames of references and values. The dialectic is in the relationship between the internal and the external forces; we will tackle the internal that is people's subjectivities and the inter-subjective nature of the life-world, when further clarifying the dialogical self. In making sense of the external world the first tension that dialectical accounts explore is that between the private and public spheres. The private sphere refers to the domestic sphere, where one is away from the world "out there". Private and unmonitored, this is to be contrasted with the public sphere.

The term 'public sphere' is conceptualised differently by different traditions. To some it refers to social spaces, the café the pub, the world outside the home. Willott & Griffin explain that unemployment is disempowering to working class men because of hegemonic forms of masculinity. Using in-vivo themes in unemployed men's talk in discussion groups, they identified two main discourses; a discourse related to domestic provision and a discourse related to public consumption. Men talked of the importance of being "able to pay your way in the public sphere"[Willot & Griffin(1997): 117]. Women were constructed by men as mainly consumers, rather than workers, who pressurized men and pushed them out of the private sphere [ibid.: 121] and the men saw themselves as unable to be the breadwinner. In response to the introduction of the Job Seekers legislation, which occurred during the research, men felt themselves under surveillance in the private sphere as well. Coupland's analysis of unemployed men's talk also found similar discourses. Men talked of themselves as part of the "middle-gap" a group not catered for in the government WtW policies, and constructed themselves as different to those unemployed people who have children or use their unemployment benefit to go to the pub, and to young unemployed people who see their benefit as an entitlement. She argues that interviewees work and re-work their stories in a way that maintains agency and control, placing themselves within a moral order and as different to other unemployed people, in one case the respondent talks of being an "ex-BR man" and comments "because of privatisation measures" [Coupland (1998): 8-9]. This understanding of one's situation when unemployed in terms of the wider picture is also evident in Drewery's account of "Sonya" a middle-aged unemployed New Zealander who's partner "Dave" was also unemployed, Drewery in exploring the power relations between the public and private sphere argues that "the macro-practices of the state encroach on the micro-practices of the household" [Drewery (1998): 101].

Sonya was taking up responsible subject positions she was active with her family, the community voluntary projects and running a house. However she was repositioned as idle within a discourse on the dependency of the welfare recipient. Drewery explains that "the life options of all persons whether adult or child are produced and constrained by the discourses within which their lives are cast" [ibid.: 103]. This is the power of dominant discourses which prevail to such an extent that other ways of speaking, counter-discourses are not heard.

The dominant discourses around unemployment in New Zealand built on the same economic rationalism as the UK, discussed in Chapter Three, emphasize paid employment as the central feature of civic participation. Sonya's agentic continuous struggle for meaningful subjectivity asks is it possible for a person to resist this dominant view - to take up a responsible subject position without engaging in paid

work and still be viewed as a citizen. That is, is it permissible to have a gainful unemployment?

To Berger, Berger, Kellner (1973) this dissolution of the private sphere is a feature of modernity and is not confined to the unemployed. They talk of the plurality that exist in both the private sphere and the public sphere, the private sphere in terms of a private 'home centre' is no longer possible, children bring home their own worlds, the growth of the mass media, has resulted in normative definitions of reality invented in cities diffusing throughout society so within rural households there is an urban consciousness. Though this may broaden the mind it has resulted, they contend, in the Homeless Mind, where the private sphere is no longer a haven. Whilst it is difficult to imagine a time when the private space of people was not colonized in some respects by the outside world, it is important to hold on to the extent to which unemployed people in all the above accounts regard the private sphere as a space under which they continue to feel the surveillance of the state welfare system and the oppressive nature of it's discourses.

In such accounts the public sphere is viewed as the state, social space and all that is 'out there'. In setting out a dialogical account working with Habermas's use of the term I wish to argue that the public sphere is something more than the social spaces out there but rather it refers to the spheres where people are able to debate the socio-political issues of the day. Jürgen Habermas rescued the notion of a public sphere from Eighteenth century European bourgeois idealism, for his project of radical democracy based on "procedural rationality" within the modern social-welfare states that now characterise Europe [Habermas (1992): 476]. To Habermas the public sphere was the space in which the reading and discussing public could debate issues such as what to do about youth unemployment. The public sphere is understood then as intersubjective arenas, mediated through communication, focused often on matters of public or state interest. It is important not to regard the public sphere as no more than the social space, where the social space is distributed and differentiated and agents have "relative positions" in relation to the space [Bourdieu (1991): 229-230] Bourdieu developed his understanding of these relative positions using the concept 'symbolic capital' a concept to which this study will return in Part Three. Rather the democratic ideal of the public sphere is that it is the arenas where we are able to engage as free and equal citizens in debate.

In response to the criticism that he had failed fully to appreciate that the distributed nature of access to the public sphere and the agenda-setting role of the media in shaping this space Habermas revised his position suggesting "the modern public sphere comprises several arenas, in which through printed materials dealing with matters of culture, information and entertainment, a conflict of opinion is fought

out more or less discursively" [Habermas (1992): 430]. What is central to Habermas's concept is the notion of "procedural rationality" that is as citizens we use it to debate the way forward on issues of political or public interest [Habermas (1992): 476].

Jovchelovitch a major exponent of the social representations approach, emphasizes the pluralistic and fluid nature of the public sphere by distinguishing between the traditional public sphere where the inequalities in status structure mean that some people's worldviews are displayed and others silenced, and the detraditionalized public sphere, where fluidity and multiplicity in knowledge constitute the dominant way of life. In explaining the relationship between social representations and this sphere she explains it is

> A form of social knowledge that comes into being in a social arena characterised by mobility and even more importantly the diversity of social groups, a high degree of reflexivity propitiated by the multiple encounters of different traditions, the massive and widespread circulation of information through the development of the mass media [...] and last but not least the liberal principles of equal access to and full visibility. [Jovchelovitch (2001): 171]

To Jovchelovitch it is these social arenas which characterises the modern public sphere and it is in this sense that it is used in this study. Therefore unemployed people and those who work with them are able to draw from debates in the public sphere just as the academic or policy maker does. Here the construction of the self is related to wider social knowledge and I would argue that the knowing subject is in a dialogue with information that exists within public spheres that the "ex-BR man" in Coupland's account relies on the ongoing debate on the privatisation of British Railways to construct an account of his current position.

4.4 From dialectical accounts to dialogical accounts

This thesis uses a dialogical approach to make sense of the current experience of unemployment, where dialogue is conceptualised at four levels; (i) the dialogue between self and other (ii) the dialogue between the subject as social agent and the public sphere that has been outlined above (iii) the dialogical self and finally (iv) the dialogism of words-in-use. Such an approach rests, in part on, Bakhtin's dialogism.

Bakhtin[1] understood our dialogue in terms of speech genres defined as "the specific nature of the sphere of communication" [Bakhtin (1986): 60]. He distinguishes between *primary* (simple) speech genres characterised as mostly oral dialogue, face-to-face everyday conversation and *secondary* (complex) speech genres characterised as having stable, thematic, compositional and stylistic features, such as literary genres,

[1] Though the thesis tends to refer to Bakhtin alone, Bakhtin developed much of his thinking with two close colleagues P. N. Medvedev & V.N. Vološinov together they are known as the Bakhtin Circle.

business correspondence, political or social commentary, and indeed, scientific writing [Bakhtin (1986): 61-64].

> An utterance is a link in the chain of speech communication, and it cannot be broken off from the proceeding links that determine it both from within and from without, giving rise within it to unmediated responsive reactions and dialogical reverberations [Bakhtin (1986): 94]

In understanding the utterance within the chain of communication, Bakhtin was also aware that an utterance is not only understood in terms of what has gone before but anticipates subsequent links in the chain, it considers possible responsive reactions. He explains, "From the very beginning the speaker expects a response from them, an active responsive understanding. The entire utterance is constructed as it were, in anticipation of encountering this response" [Bakhtin (1986): 94]. Thus for Bakhtin speech is to be understood as occurring between two *active* participants where "orientation towards a listener is an orientation towards a specific conceptual horizon towards the specific world of the listener" [Bakhtin 1981: 282]. He terms this orientation '*addressivity*' stating

> This addressee can be an immediate participant-interlocuter in an everyday dialogue, a differentiated collective in some particular area of cultural communication, a more or less differentiated public, ethnic group, contemporaries, like-minded people, opponents or enemies, a subordinate, a superior (...) it can also be an indefinite unconcretized other. [Bakhtin (1986): 95]

It is the differing conception of the addressee that defines each speech genre, such as, the comments young people write on their application forms at YPC, the literature produced by the YPC for young people, staff or potential funding bodies. The addressee as an active respondent then, as noted, constructs their understanding and the art of dialogism is to anticipate accurately the addressee. Bakhtin's dialogism did not confine itself to internal and external dialogue between interlocuters but also to the dialogue evident in the discourses that have been discussed. Such as everyday speech, media, cultural communication, electronic communication, and so on, within each of these discourses there are speech genres, built on self-other relations, or self-addressee relations.

What characterises a dialogical approach is that the researcher who enters into the field and engages in dialogue is naturally part of these self-other relations and the communication within fieldwork is best understood in terms of addressivity. The scientist goes from a primary speech genre, face-to-face conversations in the field, to a secondary speech genre, presenting those conversations as scientific writing for both the public and academic audiences. Co-researchers, only too aware of this, make judgements on what to say and not to say in front of the researcher.

In order to make transparent this process which occurs in most social research, a dialogical approach involves presenting both sides of the dialogue, that is the voice of both the researcher and the co-researchers and attempts to show the double-voiced nature of conversation, that is the way an utterance anticipates the next link in the chain of communication, attempting to connect with the addressee's horizons of significance. Multi-voicedness – the drawing from other voices whether fictional or non-fictional when speaking and the dialogism of words in use, that is that words themselves are inhabited by voices they evoke certain connotations, or people, as shall be demonstrated below.

A dialogical approach is distinctive from a dialectical approach then in four key respects whilst seemingly theoretical, the concept of addressivity extends to method in acknowledging the extent to which knowledge is co-created and secondly a dialogical approach attempts to present multi-voicedness, when presenting dialogue from real-world as scientific writing. Thirdly it understand this as a dialogical epistemology - on-going, dynamic and changing, words change meaning over time as the context changes, relationship change over time, it therefore requires a longitudinal diachronic approach and finally returning to Friere and Martin-Baró and their dialogical approach it understands that research is mutual and provides benefits for the researcher as well as the individual or organization, the *concientización* is reciprocal. So far the discussion has been around the researcher/co-researcher relationship and the methodological implications of this will be taken further in the next chapter. Double-voicedness and multi-voicedness, that is the polyphony of voices that are heard when we are in dialogue are to be understood as features of self-other relations and are present in all our dyadic [one-to-one] encounters.

4.4.1 Dialogism and Self-other relations

Addressivity and our anticipation of the other when we speak occurs in everyday encounters that make up daily life. These are often dyadic, for the unemployed person, they may involve interaction with a family member, a New Deal personal advisor, a worker from the caring sector. These encounters can be understood in terms of expression and impression, consider the differing impressions formed if someone explains at a party they are a policeman, or a musician, from then on their expression is understood with such impressions in mind, impressions according to Ichheiser are based on pseudo traits, which may be attached to that occupational group. For the unemployed they are seen to possess "sham traits". He argued we have tendency in understanding success and failure to overestimate the personality in explaining behaviour and underestimate important situational factors what he called the S Factor, that is the 'objective criteria for success' including privilege, a favourable start,

economic prosperity, social connections and a good education [Ichheiser (1949): 31]. A phenomenon known today in social psychology as the Fundamental Attribution Error.

It was this distinction between expression and impression that informed Goffman's now famous dramaturgical analysis, both theorists using mental health and unemployment as their subject matter. Starrin, Rantakeisu & Hagquist's finances-shame model can be understood in this micro-sociological tradition of self-other relations, tackling both the financial and moral dimension to being unemployed, in the sense of the impression others form of the unemployed. In discussing the case of "Maria" they explain, "what makes Maria's situation worse is other's views of unemployment" Maria interviewed in 1996 in Sweden comments

> There are practically no opportunities for those who want to work, but it seems the politicians think that (...) there's work for those who want to work (...) I'd like to go and spit straight in their faces. It's demeaning but it's not just the politicians who've got this view it is also ordinary people" Starrin, Rantakeisu & Hagquist (1997): 49]

Maria's expression is framed within the sham traits of 'laziness' and 'parasite' that people attach to her as an unemployed woman and a welfare recipient. Starrin highlights the word 'embarrassment' as having both financial - I am embarrassed in having no money and shame, 'you are an embarrassment' - connotations, thus to have no money is a shameful state and in explaining the shaming process where one's positive sense of self is painfully challenged, they cite evidence of people expressing irritation at another's unemployment. Starrin et al suggest shaming and also more critically a divided society, where two thirds have security and one third does not, is the cause of unemployed people's health problems. They point to a lack of social solidarity towards the latter this "disruption of social bonds" and found daily headaches, stomach aches, and sleeping disorders, in groups that dealt with more financial hardship and more shame-causing experiences. They explained these reactions as a result of emotional activation and suppression in reaction to fear and shame [Starrin, Rantakeisu, Forsberg & Kalander-Blomqvist (2000): 41-2].

Interpersonal relations become important to a dialogical approach rather than the locus of intervention being measures to increase a person' self-esteem as we saw in self-perception psychologies of unemployment. A dialogical psychology of unemployment sets out to understand the nature of the interaction between self and other and the extent to which these interactions draw on the social shared knowledge, whether discourses or social representations that exist on the welfare recipient within public spheres or indeed in the case of a key-worker or manager involved in delivering a government initiative, the social shared knowledge on such schemes and the impressions of the sorts of people that implement them. Starrin et al's framework has been extended with the concept of Sense of Coherence (SOC) which utilises as a self-report questionnaire to measures the extent to which a person sees their life as having

meaning, comprehensibility and manageability. They found that "SOC co-varies with a lack of resources of material or relational nature" [Starrin, Jönsson & Rantakeisu (2001): 114] but confessed to being unclear about this relationship between finance-shame and SOC, calling for more qualitative research into this area. Though this is not a dialogical account of unemployment, in the sense that is being developed here, the strength of Starrin et al's account is the way that they are able to reintroduce the material realities of being unemployed which it is easy to neglect if the discussion becomes to focussed on dialogue. "Maria's" comment demonstrates the influence of the exterior world on the interior world, not only on thinking but on actions.

4.5 The dialogical self

The interior world, in the sense of the self and one's subjectivities can be usefully understood as a dialogical self resting on the notion of the self as relational. Mead in his classic account conceptualizes the relational self in terms of the *I* and the *me* where "the *I* reacts to the self which arises through the taking of the attitude of others. Through taking those attitudes we introduce the *me* and we react to it as an *I*"; the *me* is thus "the organized set of attitudes of others" [Mead (1934): 174-5, my italics]. In Mead's account of the genesis of the self it develops from gesture-mediated interaction to symbolically-mediated interaction and finally, in relation to the generalised other that is the norms of society, symbolically-mediated interaction becomes normatively-regulated interaction. Habermas departs from Mead at this point arguing that Mead does not really explain how we go from exerting an influence on each other to actually understanding each other. In Habermas's analysis to view interaction as exclusively normatively-regulated is to "ignore the path that leads to propositionally differentiated communication" [Habermas (1989): 23]. Habermas's understanding of intersubjectivity, i.e. subject-subjects relations, rests, in part, on an analysis of this differentiation. He argues instead for what he terms communicative action that is defined by the contexts of relevance. The strength of this theory is that it understands that "communicative utterances are embedded in social relations (...) they rely on co-operative processes" [Habermas (1989): 120] When we communicate we move within the lifeworld, we cannot step out of it, and there are three worlds at play, the objective world, that is the world that is consensually recognised, the normative world, the world intersubjectively recognised and finally the subjective world that is the private world which has only privileged access. Communicative action occurs within what Habermas terms "contexts of relevance" which are "horizons of meaning which shift with the theme that is thrown into relief by themes articulated through goals and plans of action" [ibid.: 128].

However the notion of communicative action concentrates heavily on the processes involved in reaching agreement and consensus on ways in which to proceed and though this will be used to explain the role of trust in organizations in Chapter Eight, it is to the dialogical self that I wish to turn to counter the extent to which Mead and to a lesser extent Habermas sees us as being normatively defined. Hubert Hermans also extends Mead's account of the *I* and the *me*, using Bakhtin's dialogism,

> The dialogical self is based on the assumption that there are many *I*-positions that can be occupied by the same person. The *I*-position, moreover, can agree, disagree, understand, misunderstand, oppose, contradict, question, challenge or even ridicule the *I* in another position [Hermans (2001): 249].

He distinguishes between internal and external positions. The internal position might be I as healthy worker, I as social scientist, and the external *I*-position is drawn from one's environment e.g. my colleague, my partner, etc. Thus within the dialogical self, I am able to engage in an internal dialogue with these imaginary interlocutors, the internal I-position of the social psychologist is able to debate with the external I-position of the partner[2] as well as the internal I-position of the healthy worker "forming a mixture of co-operative and competitive relationships" [Hermans (2001): 254].

Naturally the self cannot attend to inner dialogue at all times, and some voices are more dominant in some contexts than others. This predisposition to be engaged in internal dialogues is nevertheless an ontological capacity of the mind and the dialogical analysis presented in Part Three will attempt to explore the *I*-positions of co-researchers.

This framework then challenges the twin pillars of neo-positivism and post-modernism, both of which serve to de-centre the self. The self remains centred in two further respects, firstly an awareness of the metaphysical self with it's ability to transcend all the dichotomies and cultural constructions that surround it, black/white, male/female, young/old, gay/straight, in the form of certain "non-linguistic, no-minded" states of consciousness e.g. in yoga and meditation. "The I is always capable of making an object of the me and transcending it. Thus we are always capable of transcending ourselves in our roles" [Porpora (1997): 246] and secondly our agency, the ability to self-organize into groups, to challenge and resist.

4.5.1 The collective level – dialogism of words-in-use

A final consideration is the use of language within organizations, the social political concepts set out in Chapter Three 'welfare dependence', 'social inclusion',

'employability' all have dialogism in their use. Where there has been a movement of meaning over time as Chapter Ten's account of the transition towards the person-centred approach will demonstrate. Straehle, Weiss, Wodak, Muntigl & Sedlak offer in some ways an analysis of the dialogism of the word 'struggle' in use in the context of organizational discourse on unemployment within the European Union, focusing on presidential speeches and presidential conclusions of the European Council between 1994 and 1997.

Their fascinating analysis found that there was one metaphor that served as the overarching metaphor and that was 'struggle' they explain that struggle is understood in four different ways: *struggle with* where unemployment is an abstract or an object, here it is understood as something which involves goals, it can be improved, *struggle against* where unemployment becomes an agentic force, this dimension of the struggle takes on a more mentalistic image a problem, which must be taken on, a third dimension is the *struggle against* in a more physical image, that is a fight which involves the use of 'tools' and finally a *struggle for*, to attain or strive towards, where the struggle is for full employment. Here the EU discourse becomes consensual we are all citizens together struggling for employment.

What is important here to Straehe et al is that within these dimensions there is no debate, for example as to whether unemployment is a problem. Further such a metaphor has implications for actions. The view of unemployment as an object leads to a preoccupation with figures with the discourse focused on the *number* of unemployed. The idea of it as a problem emphasizes that Europe "must find a way out" [ibid.: 83]. In the fight against unemployment the tools that are used are surveillance, and monitoring. Their concluding discussion argues that the EU's emphasis on struggle in all it's dimensions, is to seem active when in fact the approach being taken is better interpreted as passive. Throughout, implicitly, there is another discourse on the market which is presented as in some way self-regulating and a sphere in which the EU must not intervene. Thus the market is seen as

> An active participant in the struggle. Where the market is promoting and generating growth, competition and employment, the market is the real doer not the state or the political organizations involved [Straehle, Weiss, Wodak, Muntigl & Sedlak (1999): 92].

Thus a dialogical approach, emphasises the importance of uncovering hidden meaning within the discourses. In Straehle et al's account the focus is on the synchronic aspects of language however, in this study there is an attempt to understand the movement of meaning of language used within the social relationships that constitute unemployment

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[2] In Herman's account the self does not "take the attitude of the other" in the Meadian sense of internalising the other in the self, rather it takes the position of the other, in a dialogical debate in the sense of being able take their perspective. Though they may have misperceived the other's perspective.

in a diachronic sense, that is to map the historical development of the YPC's use of the concept the person-centred approach.

4.6 Summary

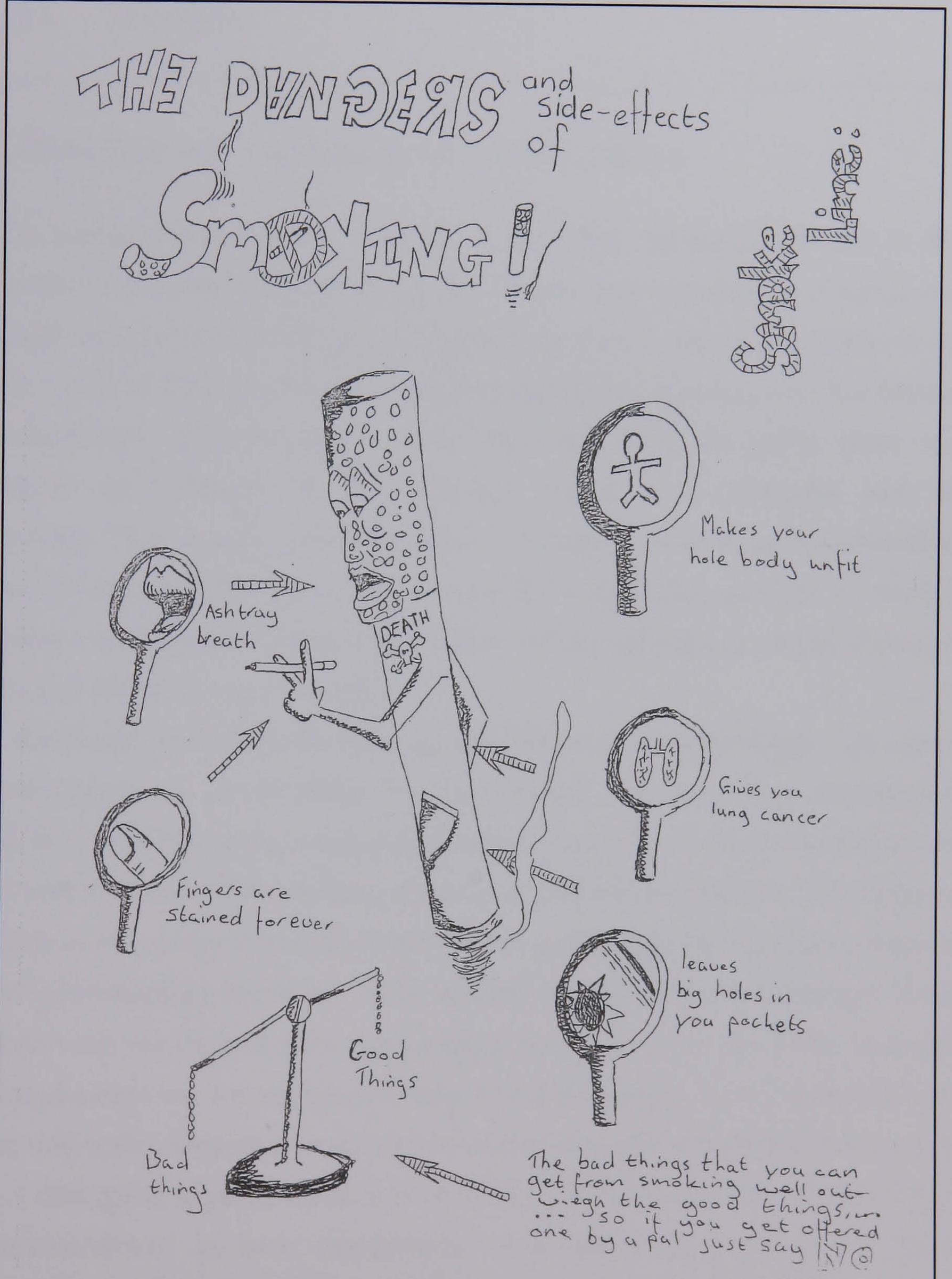
How organizations and their members choose words is of particular importance to this study and what they come to mean in certain contexts. The principal concern for this chapter has been assembling the ingredients for creating a dialogical psychology to unemployment, this has required a birth of the reader in engaging with texts and an awareness of the constraints and considerations that underpin the way people engage in communicative action and dialogue. The chapter in distinguishing between the often abstract consciousness within dialectical thinking, which can tend towards the monological has explained that a dialogical approach is concerned with concrete dialogue within situated interpersonal encounters [Markova (2000): 427]. It has concentrated on the importance of self-other relations to a dialogical approach using the notion of the dialogical self and it has explored the importance of movement in meaning of language.

This first part of the thesis travels a long distance from self-efficacy in interventions, which idealize the strengths of employment, to the tensions and possibilities of what it means to be unemployed or a worker in the unemployment industry. Posing the question - is it possible for unemployment to be a legitimate subjects position, from which to engage in self-other relations, viewed both as unemployed and as respectable citizen?

In many ways, a dynamic and relational epistemology such as this involves a treatment of theory and method together, the methodology has begun in discussing addressivity and the researcher/co-researcher relationship. This relationality underpins Part Two, which explores the rationale behind the method used in the study and how the conversations and events in the field were understood as 'data'.

PART TWO

Research strategies



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Chapter Five - Methodology.

5.1 Introduction - a dialogical methodology

5.2 Rigour versus relevance- the research dialectic

5.3 Participatory Action Research [PAR]

5.4 Becoming a research practitioner

5.5 Between flatlands and skyscrapers – one-step up reflexivity

5.6 Summary

5.1 Introduction – a dialogical methodology

A dialogical approach is built on a relational epistemology and in discussing roles involved in research as practice, the debate over whether as a social consultant one should become involved in the change process and in placing primacy on the role of dialogue, much of the discussion in Part One has begun in some ways the delineation of the methodology. The concern of Part One has been to move from static and monological interventions to interventions based on a dynamic and dialogical epistemology. This inquiry aimed from it's conception to develop collaboratively. The question for this chapter, then, is what are the issues that need to be considered in developing a dialogical methodology? What are the influences on the direction of the research and the methods chosen?

Henwood and Pidgeon distinguish between *epistemology*, "as assumptions about the bases or possibilities for knowledge", *methodology* understood as "a theoretical analysis defining a research problem and how research should proceed" and *method* which refers to the research strategy or techniques [Henwood & Pidgeon 1994): 228]. Critical of unitary accounts of qualitative psychology they go on to explain that in terms of epistemology there are three strands of qualitative psychology: 'empiricism' associated with displays of data representing the realities in the field, 'contextualism', which emphasizes the intersubjective negotiated meanings; and 'constructivism' which is concerned with interpretative discourse and conversation analysis [ibid.: 229].

A dialogical approach, which is faithful to Bakhtin, must combine contextualism and constructivism in both interpreting text and understanding the relationship between text and context. Such a methodology if it is to explore dialogue at the four levels outlined in Chapter Four, requires immersion into situations where there is naturally occurring talk, related to action and further requires a longitudinal approach

for the dynamic and contradictory nature of social relationships to emerge and the movement of meaning of words-in-use to be demonstrated.

However as already explained the development of the dialogical approach, in terms of four levels of dialogue, did not precede the methodology rather the dialogical approach arose in a bottom-up way out of the methodology, between the two fieldwork phases. Many of the considerations discussed here relate to the aims as understood in Chapter One, that is that the research would develop collaboratively and the knowledge co-created would be of use to both the organizations and be resistant knowledge useful to future cohorts of unemployed people. Initially the study was understood and presented to both organizations as Participatory Action Research [PAR] and this chapter offers a brief introduction to the thinking that underpins this approach.

One of the enduring difficulties with PAR and intervention-orientated research, however, is their tendency to focus solely on the relationship between researchers and co-researchers or participants who work together towards the action objective. Further given the emancipatory knowledge interests that drive such inquiry, the co-researchers are often the people who are directly affected by the social problem, as is seen in Martin-Baró's dialectical account of concientización on pages 81-82. This present intervention represents a departure from PAR, in two respects. Firstly it develops a research strategy involving a dialectic consisting of the researcher, researched upon (in this case co-researchers) and the audience [Miller (1997): 4-5]. The study developed with different audiences in mind at different times; future groups of unemployed people, the various members of the training and guidance organizations and finally the academic community and the first part of the chapter discusses some of the issues raised in this dialectical research process. Secondly, the intervention presented here involved working not only with unemployed people, but also with key-workers and managers in guidance and training organizations, and a key principle of the research practice, involved treating the relationship with all co-researchers as equally valid. An appreciative approach was used irrespective of whether they were people who were unemployed and directly affected by the social problem or the people who delivered government training schemes or managed their delivery.

In discussing aspects of *relationality* the second half of the chapter explores some of the issues, such as reflexivity and trustworthiness, which impact on the researcher co-researcher relationship. It tells the story of how, through methodological reflexivity, I, as a research-practitioner, engaged in a continual interaction of action and reflection thus transformed, began to understand the research process in terms of a dialogical process.

5.2 Rigour versus relevance – the research dialectic

Understanding the decision-making around the direction the research should take in terms of a research dialectic, is a way of acknowledging that the methodology developed out of on going attempts to resolve the tensions of contradictory forces in particular lay co-researchers, such as unemployed people, practitioners in the field pulling in the direction of relevance and academic communities pulling in the direction of scientific rigour. As discussed in Chapter One many of the difficulties with existing psychologies of unemployment are because they consisted often of replication-extension studies proceeding uncritically with the concepts, techniques and methods of their traditions.

Methodological Rigour

Low *High*

Quadrant 1: **'Popularist Science'**	Quadrant 2: **'Pragmatic Science**	*High* Practical Relevance
Quadrant 3: **'Puerile Science'**	Quadrant 4: **'Pedantic Science'**	*Low*

Fig 5.1 Fourfold Typology of Research – adapted from Anderson, Herriot & Hodgkinson (2001).

This, in many ways, is a sensible strategy if one's work is to be instantly understood by academic audiences of fellow scientists and replication to test reliability is after all a central tenet of a positivist-empiricist model of science, and the route to scientific recognition. Reliability along with generalisability and validity are what Kvale calls the "scientific trinity of Psychology" [Kvale (1996): 230]. However to IWO[1] psychologists, Anderson, Herriot & Hodgkinson (2001) such tensions occur when one is a practitioner working with client organizations or a researcher within a university, they argue that within IWO psychology these two wings are being pulled further apart as psychologists make sense of their stakeholders, they distinguish between organizational clients, which pull in the direction of relevance, [see Fig 5.1] and can lead to a *popularist science* lacking in rigour and often not subject to peer-review.

For researchers based in universities, powerful stakeholder academics pulling in the direction of rigour, can at worst lead to a *pedantic science*, low in practical relevance, where the questions are derived from existing published studies and "the sole criterion of its worth being the evaluation of a small minority of other researchers who specialise in this narrow field of inquiry" [ibid.: 395]. Where there is little practical relevance and the methodology lacks rigour a form of *puerile science* occurs.

[1] Industrial, Work and Organizational psychology.

Anderson, Herriot & Hodgkinson state that, though little of this sort of science is published in IWO psychology journals plenty is sent to the editors. It seems self-evident that a form of *pragmatic science*, high in relevance and rigour, is what researcher and practitioners should aspire. Citing evidence from content analysis of research published in organizational psychology journals, they voice the concern that what is occurring is a drift away from such pragmatic science.

Sackett & Larson (1990)[2]' content analysed whether research questions were derived from (i) theory (ii) real-world problems (iii) existing studies or 'replication-extension studies'. They found that 13% were theory-driven, 3% addressed real world problems and 84% were replication-extension studies, with ever more methodologically refined and analytically sophisticated research resulting in a drift towards pedantic science. Given that most psychological research in unemployment is published in such IWO psychology journals this is of concern. Anderson, Herriot & Hodgkinson comment, pointing to the increase in specialised journals for partisan groups.

> Pedantic Science rapidly becomes Puerile Science when academics engage in self-indulgent mental jousting over questions of dubious epistemological or pragmatic value, even over the longer term [ibid.: 399]

One of the consequences of this divide is that practitioners increasingly find the academic process irrelevant to their and their stakeholders' needs whilst academics, uncoupled from real-world practitioners, become more and more pedantic or puerile.

In this intervention a research dialectic is introduced in an attempt to resolve this tension. My role was one of both researcher and practitioner. I had identified myself as working within the PAR paradigm and so was concerned with praxis, discussed further below. A difficulty with PAR is that it is often carried out by teams or within large research programmes and whilst there are naturally deadlines to these inquires they are not usually carried out, as this study was, within the constraints of postgraduate research within a UK university psychology department, the methodology therefore developed having to withstand the pressures of powerful academics within the department whose concern principally was with scientific rigour and the pace that the 'data' was being collected. The training within the department was naturally enough focused on mainstream psychology and the requirements of the positivist-empiricist scientific community as the main community of validation, presentations at academic conferences, scientific publications and above all early collection and analysis of data.

There were very few epistemological or methodological discussions around practitioner issues, the validity of engaging in the sorts of replication-extension

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[2] Sackett, P.R. & Larson, J. R. (1990) Research strategies and tactics in industrial and organizational psychology. In M.D. Dunnette, & L. M. Hough (eds), *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology* (2nd edit, Vol 1). Palo Alto CA: Consulting Psychologists Press. Cited by Anderson et al.

research described above, or the notion of dissemination in different ways to different audiences.

However I was fully aware of the marginal nature of this sort of approach within Psychology when I had developed the research proposal. Principally the research products, when initially thinking about methodology, were intended to be disseminated to those who were unemployed, and this led to a strategic interest in the system that people who were unemployed would go through as a result in the changes in legislation towards activation policies. Rather than interviewing unemployed people about their experience of the system of unemployment, I was interested in observing and participating in the naturally occurring training and guidance process, developing relationships with co-researchers in a way which would give an insight into the actual experiences of unemployed people going through the New Deal and Skill-seekers programmes set out in Chapter Three. Guided by the principals of PAR, set out below, the methodology was developed to create research products that would be of use to the organizations within the lifetime of the research.

However it would be disingenuous to suggest that I was not influenced by the academic community or interested in academic audiences, the tension was diffused by reframing both the notion of relevance and rigour. The notion of scientific rigour that I used was the one debated within the small international community of other qualitative psychologists, social researchers and/or unemployment researchers, within face-to-face discussions, conferences, internet discussion groups and so on. Practical relevance also became more complex in asking relevant for whom? The research involved different co-researchers and what is seen as relevant for one group may not be relevant to another. Further there was the critical concern that knowledge once in the public domain could be used by different interest groups in different ways; this was a particular concern and the use of the term gainful unemployment was an attempt to anchor the knowledge to a standpoint. Also in terms of relevance, the analysis & dissemination of the knowledge aimed to be developed in such a way that it would be grounded in the actual socio-political context.

However it was unemployed people and the people in the organizations who became the principle stakeholders or audience with whom I was in a dialogue, whether internal or external, and it was this dialogical approach that was used to make sense of the different forms of relevance, and the distal and proximal influences that would underpin the interactions in the field. At the time of thinking over these methodological issues the most popular method used by social representations researchers, who are very often qualitative and cognizant with post-Kuhnian discussions around models of science, was focus or discussion groups. This was because they were viewed as one of the best ways of accessing the socially shared knowledge on a given topic or issue.

However given the principal audience, I was keen to use a naturalistic almost ethnographic approach - to become involved in the organizations and take the opportunities and suggestions around data collection as they arose. The choice of method was left open and evolved, in part, through collaboration on specific issues and suggestions of co-researchers. If there were to be focus groups then they would have to be naturally occurring within a pre-existing group. In practice I observed and participated in many such live-action group discussions as set in Chapter Six.

5.3 Participatory action research [PAR]

Today, participatory action research is best understood as 'a family of action research approaches' [Reason & Bradbury (2001): xxiii], used by a variety of disciplines, education, sociology, social anthropology, social-, community- and work psychology and organizational studies, with a variety of concerns, pedagogy and praxis, organizational change, rural productivity, challenging the status quo, liberation, dialogical raising of critical consciousness, (concientización), and a "participatory worldview" [Reason & Bradbury (2001):1]. Naturally there are some difference in these approaches in terms of how they understand action, the extent to which they are participatory and beliefs around dissemination and the purposes of doing research. Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury offer the following working definition

> a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human processes, grounded in a participatory world view which we believe is emerging at this historical moment Reason & Bradbury (2001): 1.

My introduction as a teenager to this approach was William Foote Whyte's inspiring study of a Boston street gang, in 'Cornerville'. Whyte immersed himself into his fieldwork between 1936 and 1940 living in 'Cornerville' using participatory observation. He published his thesis when at the University of Chicago in 1943 [Whyte (1994): xi]. Writing recently Whyte distinguishes between 'participatory research' [PR] built on sustained social contact of this sort and participatory action research, explaining that whilst, PR with an organization or community, may involve collaboration, he himself had jointly wrote articles with practitioners and involved 'Cornerville' community members in the gathering and interpretation of data - it does not have clear action objectives. He contrasts PR with the practical outcomes that occurred doing PAR with Mondragón the worker co-operative complex in Spain, where they developed new organizational strategies, and the increase in productivity that occurred in the American Xerox Cooperation. [Whyte (1994): 20]. To Whyte PAR is characterised by the involvement of people from the organization or community from initial design to final presentation of results and discussion of their action implications.

One of the difficulties with PAR is that it does not immediately suggest any particular method or technique. Whyte has explained that his fieldwork has been built on participatory observation and interviews, whereas others, particularly within organizational psychology have carried out field experimental work that generates quantitative data, which is used, in turn, for modelling [see Aygyris & Schön (1991) for an account of action science]. To the more critical users of PAR this is a creative opportunity to engage in a real reconsideration about what constitutes data and different ways of dissemination or diffusion; videos, films photo voice, role-play, songs and dance are all seen as sources of data and means of diffusion. What characterises this sort of science is a real appreciation of what sort of knowledge is being created and whose interest it is serving. PAR understands theory and practice to be connected and the term praxis is one that privileges relevance. However to return to the research dialectic set out above, if research-practice, develops in a dialogue only with co-researchers in the field, then the emphasis within praxis will tend towards action over theory. This concern, that praxis needs to be combined with other considerations or qualities, is one that contemporary PAR researchers are increasingly aware of. To Fals-Borda these are (i) scholarship (ii) self-possession in the researcher's relationship with the organization or community (iii) circumspection - an ability to take all things into consideration and finally (iv) human attitude in discussing the philosophical development of PAR he explains

> Consequently we found little use for scholarly arrogance and learned instead to develop an empathetic attitude towards Others (sic), which we called *vivencia* meaning life experience (Husserl's Erfahrung). With the careful human touch of *vivencia* and it's need for symmetry in social relation (...) another support from *vivencia*, different from praxis, is also necessary because it is not enough just to be an activist. Thus to the Marxist-Hegelian concept of praxis Aristotle's '*phronesis*' is to be added, that is wise judgement and prudence for the achievement of the good life. [Fals-Borda (2001): 31-32].

Thus praxis needs to be understood as 'creating social change while developing a useable theory of knowledge from our practice' [Bravette Gordon (2001): 317] and is the key to doing participatory (action) research. However, whilst mutuality and power-sharing are central to the intervention presented. The sense in which this study is an intervention needs to be clarified. The study did not involve collaboratively designing an innovation which was introduced into the service and then evaluated after an agreed period of time rather it involved engaging with co-researchers in developing the services at both organizations. Where collaboration was involved in the fieldwork phases but it did not maintain the PAR ideals around complete collaboration on all stages or the consensus and symmetry set out by PAR exponents above.

5.4 Becoming a research practitioner

There are then three considerations that underpin a dialogical methodology (i) the development of a research dialectic that attempts to synthesis the antinomies of academic and real-world audiences, using an approach built on praxis, aspiring towards a pragmatic science both rigorous and relevant (ii) reflexivity the highs and lows of which will form the discussion in the last section and (iii) relationality.

Discussions around the relationship between the researcher and the researched have a long history in Psychology from 'experimenter effects' to discussion on 'reactivity' in the research situation. However in using the term relationality here, as a research-practitioner, the concern is not with the presence of the researcher as a source of bias to be minimised, rather a more ethical concern with the equity of relationship and an epistemological consideration around power and knowledge and the truthfulness of what is created in this sort of inquiry. It is through a consideration of relationality and reflexivity, according to Hall & Callery, that the rigour and relevance in grounded research develops, where relationality "addresses the power and trust relationships between participants and researchers" [Hall & Callery (2001): 258]. Such considerations today are not confined to grounded researchers and to offer a post-hoc systematisation, four aspects of relationality to be discussed in turn, can be said to underpin the research practice with co-researchers (i) symmetry & mutuality (ii) consensus (iii) addressivity and (iv) trustworthiness.

5.4.1 Symmetries and asymmetries in relationality

Rowan and Reason's collection of papers on New Paradigm research published in 1981, emphasized the importance of working with participants rather than upon them and this marked a new direction in qualitative research, Max Eldon, for example, emphasized the co-learning aspect talking of "not being in charge of change" and the colleague-to-colleague relationship [Eldon (1981): 262-4]. Twenty years ago this was a landmark publication, a challenge to the orthodoxy, it suggested a new direction in power-relations that went on to influence a generation of qualitative researchers. However it was not long before it was challenged, Wetherell, in discussing the development of dialogues with participants, questions the use of the term co-researchers.

> Co-researchers suggest a fantasy of an ideal or utopian communicative scenario where mutuality is perfect, where there is no appropriation of the other person, and where power relations are calibrated to insignificance. The notion of positioning the objects of research as co-researchers also obscures the point that we get to write the articles, we get to right the books, and we (usually) get the royalties from such books not our co-researchers [Wetherell(1994): 306-7].

Wetherell is right to highlight the asymmetries in the researcher/co-researcher relationship. Within a dialogical methodology, this challenge to a relational

epistemology is further confounded by other asymmetries which present fresh challenges for those of us who prefer to continue in the direction of this utopia or ideal than turn back towards researching upon participants, as 'objects of research' who have no say in the development of the research. For example to aspire toward mutuality leads in interview situations to reciprocal self-disclosure; to remain silent when the other is disclosing is to begin to change the power-relations in the dialogue. It follows that when presenting the dialogue it is essential that both sides of the dialogue are presented; however for the co-researcher their identity is protected whereas for the researcher it is not.

In this dialogical approach, co-researchers are generally treated as colleagues this does not mean their comments are accepted uncritically, rather they are challenged and tensions arise just as they would with a colleague. It is interesting to note, that to say that a co-researcher was viewed as a colleague was seen once to reduce the power-differential when there are of course power-differentials between colleagues! To return to Wetherell's challenge, the co-researcher and myself did not get the same things out of the collaboration but we both got something out of the collaboration and it is here that there is mutuality, it is I who is writing the published articles and presenting at conferences; but my co-researchers also produced products during this research and in both the organizations practice developed. The difficulty however in arguing for mutuality, is that it regards all members of the organizations, as co-researchers, as having the same concerns and goals.

5.4.2 Relationality and consensus

This second consideration points to the aforementioned difficulty with PAR; that its exponents often assume that there is consensus amongst the group of co-researchers, not only in the action objectives but in each member of the group having the same status. The research methodology involved three groups of co-researchers unemployed people, key-workers and managers. There has been some initial discussion of how in agreeing to my involvement with managers I ran the risk of alienating unemployed clients and key-workers [see page 33]. The problem then in relationality is that different forms of relationality form with different co-researchers. Chataway, an English-Canadian, is one of the few people to have written openly on the constraints on mutual inquiry. In her study with the Kahnawake Mohawk community in Montreal she found division over issues of government, and frustration with processes of collective decision-making within the community, between traditionalists who supported the long-house system and those who preferred the "foreign" system of an elected band council. Some members, as she puts it, may need further material changes before mutually challenging dialogues can be achieved [Chataway (1997): 759].

Others exerted pressure on her to exclude the views of members of what they considered a "radical group". Chataway openly admits that ultimately the research was hers rather than community-owned.

Though my practice was to develop different sorts of relationships depending on who they were with, for example managers were most likely to be challenged, I sometimes played a catalytic role in giving presentations and at other times played a rather 'teacherly' role in relations with young unemployed people. In another sense everyone was treated the same in that all were treated appreciatively. Working with people who experience the oppressive features of unemployment legislation were not privileged over working with people who have to carry out their duties within such legislation. This allowed me, partly, to get at how people are actually implementing policies and to allow them to have different *I*-positions and to hear their externalisation of these positions undefended and partly because one key principle of the practice was that nobody should be disadvantaged by the research process even those co-researchers who by virtue of their position in the organizations had more power.

Chataway as a non-native was struggling with the historical power imbalances which remained embedded in the research, her very presence was offensive to some. Ethnicity within this research was also another asymmetry with myself being a British-Sri-Lankan who had moved to Scotland in 1998, and all but two of the co-researchers being Scottish, however this asymmetry is perhaps less important when compared to the asymmetry created by my perceive status when I was addressed as a psychologist. Addressivity refers to our orientation towards a listener, where different conceptualisations of the addressee define different speech genres [See pages 86]. This aspect of dialogue hampers ideals around relationality. In order to further clarify the thinking that underpins a dialogical methodology I propose to explore addressivity in relation to one particular speech genre - the interview.

5.4.3 Addressivity and the interview

There are two methods involved in this research set out in the next chapter, observation and interview, the research was in may respects ethnographic involving immersing myself in the culture of the organizations, being involved in their everyday activities, learning from people, and becoming concerned with meaning of actions and events. I was a student of the culture of the YPC and SD and my interest in the social interaction and communication had led me towards field observation and participating in the activities of the organizations, particularly the YPC.

However there were certain situations where the request to meet with myself or my request to meet the co-researcher was organized as an interview. This wasn't an ethnographic interview in the sense that the informant becomes the expert and the

researcher becomes interested in the subjective meaning that she or he might attach their role, position or culture, though often there was an element of this learning from the co-researchers experience. The interviews were not descriptive nor where they entirely designed to pose questions which explored subjective meanings. Rather the interviews were often set up with the purpose of engaging in negotiation around the actions that had occurred and an opportunity to engage in reflection, negotiation and discussion around some intended development in the service. The difficulty in terms of addressivity is that this could equally have been said of action meetings which weren't interviews. There was however something particular around the recorded face-to-face dyadic encounter.

I arranged to conduct interviews partly out of a concern that the knowledge produced in the study would be independently auditable but also so that I would be free to engage in an actual conversation without having my head down making notes. Despite the ideal of colleagues in symmetrical free flowing discussion, negotiating the meaning of features of unemployment the interview represents a particular communication genre, with it's own addressivity, there is an intersubjective exchange of views but equally there is a sense that the interviewer has power over the situation, she is in charge - will move the conversation on to a new area has responsibilities towards the interviewee, even as co-researcher, and will decide when the interview is at a close. In both phases of fieldwork the interviews often proceeded as fast-paced exchange of views where I spoke as much as the other as Chataway puts it

> Withholding of information such as one's own opinion does not just allow space for the other to speak, it can also be an act of power that forces the other to carry the burden of speaking or acting if any relationship is to be maintained" [Chataway (1997): 758].

In the position of the interviewer, I played a number of role I was a participant conceptualiser offering my understanding around the concepts that were used within the organizations, I engaged in lengthy argumentation and also I spoke from a standpoint using the concept 'psycho-social space' and 'gainful unemployment' to introduce my own ideals around the experience of being unemployed this in turn allowed the interviewee to do the same. The interview in this sense becomes a transformative space it creates a heightened sense of conscious awareness and it is interesting the way the interviewee once the initial inhibitions subsided often engaged in lengthy monologues with little face-to-face interaction envisioning the future of their organization or telling me the stories of their unemployment. Equally the nature of this heightened relationality meant, towards the end of the interview I initiated topics of conversation which were looser more informal and relaxed turning away from intense discussions and reflections around unemployment. It is in this method in particular that the relations between myself and co-researcher were less symmetrical, that I was

addressed as a consultant and expert psychologist, on one occasion when I was in an unrecorded meeting with a manager PE, another manager GB, steeping into the room, asked "Kesi could I make an appointment with you? Shall we meet here or should I come to the University?" Co-researchers were often keen to travel to the University, they took the interview space, as an almost therapeutic space. An opportunity to explore their own subjective meanings attached to the topic under discussion, reflect upon the service they were involved in and other times engaged in an intersubjective negotiation of meaning.

5.4.4 Trustworthiness and relationality

This feature of the methodology would suggest, that relationality within the co-creation of knowledge is intimately tied up with trustworthiness. The role of trustworthiness and mutuality has been the subject of some further analysis and reflection in this research and it is therefore presented in Part Three, Chapter Eight as a methodological research product. The chapter involves a discussion around the dialogical nature of understanding, in terms of how in researcher/co-researcher relationships we arrive at shared understanding which serves to shed some light on the actions and findings within the study.

5.5 Between flatlands and skyscrapers – one step reflexivity

Knowledge then is understood as a matter of interdefinition or mutual genesis, integral to this epistemology is reflexivity. When discussing the reflexivity within the study it is worth proceeding carefully as reflexivity comes to mean different things according to context and level of abstraction, it may be better distinguish between forms of methodological reflexivity, a bending back of the tools of scientific inquiry onto the scientist herself, standpoint reflexivity, systemic reflexivity – reflexive modernization and finally the critical reflexivity relied upon within emancipatory research that is concientización.

Tackling the later first, in a critical approach reflexivity is used to bring about social change. As Seedat, Duncan & Lazarus put it "participatory researchers harness reflexivity and use it as an instrument of change" [Seedat, Duncan & Lazarus (2001): 163] here reflexivity has an impact in the way that people come to a self-understanding in the research process which has implications for the actions that they are then likely to take. Whilst committed to developing the self-understanding of the organizations and their members in a way that did not exist prior to the intervention, it is important to make clear, that the changes in critical awareness were mutual. I was also engaged in learning where co-researcher were experts in the day-to-day experience of vocational

guidance and training and being unemployed. They were also very often expert debators.

As discussed above, though it was I that often suggested the use of the interview, it was very often the co-researcher who suggested that we meet. This can be related to a systemic reflexivity, most commonly associated with Ulrich Beck and Giddens's account of reflexive modernization, where reflexivity becomes an organizing principle in late modernity [Lynch (2000): 28] though I do not want to get side-tracked in to discussion of risk-benefit and cost-benefit analysis by governments and large corporations. There is a sense in which both the YPC and SD were keen to engage me as a researcher to facilitate reflection on their practices as services that relied on public money and therefore were publicly accountable, they emphasized reflexive practice. The methodology then encouraged reflexivity within co-researchers and equally there is now a more pervasive emphasis on reflexivity within such organizations.

Turning to methodological reflexivity, the role that the researcher is playing within the research, not only in terms of framing and positioning the findings and the conditions under which they are produced, but also the impact the study has on the researchers sense of self and how this in turn is feeding back into the research process.

Lynch in his analysis of the loose term methodological reflexivity, distinguishes between different forms, *philosophical self-reflection*, where the researcher explores their beliefs and assumptions to be discussed below, *methodological self-consciousness*, here the researcher explores the reactivity that occurs in research, this has been treated under the heading relationality, but in subject-object research it can be used to explore the biases that are brought into research, assumptions, values and so on and it is often a source of discussion in qualitative studies, particularly since the advent of Grounded theory. Lynch distinguishes this process from *methodological self-criticism*, this ranges from 'confessional ethnography' through textual criticism to the process of attempting to challenge or falsify the research findings in an attempt to enhance the status or rigour of the knowledge, most commonly associated with positivist-empiricist models of science. Thus self-criticism seems to be a common feature within most models of science. However within a dialogical methodology given the mutual genesis it becomes more a process of being alert to whose interests the knowledge being created is serving and also allowing ones' interpretations and readings to be co-analysed not only be co-researchers but also by other readers. That is as Pels suggests "I can still further the reflexive complexity of my accounts by tracing their circularity and taking responsibility for it; but at some point, critical others must step in

to take over the reflexive burden and cross their different explanations with mine" [Pels (2000): 17][3]

Whilst it is essential that the reflexivity within the research is explored to move beyond the preoccupation of representational accuracy that leads to endless "positivistic flatlands" [ibid.: 4] of dispassionate inquiry into subjects *as objects,* a suggestion of straightforward naturalism, or a correspondence notions of truth. Equally within qualitative research in recent years, there is a need to avoid building skyscrapers of reflexivity, layer over layer of interpretation, narcissistic self-exploration building ever upwards, the impact the researcher has on the research, and particularly the impact the research has on them. The management of projections within the intimacy of the interview, feelings, emotions, defences, the autobiographical connections and identifications with co-researchers and so on. The danger here is that the researcher can begin to speak over the co-researchers.

In developing a dialogical methodology I took Pels advice and opted for a one-step up reflexivity, that is to

> Add only one level or dimension of self-reference, not more, in order to display the narrative's hermeneutic point of departure and point of return" [ibid.: 3].

The research is presented in a way that ties the story back to the narrator, in developing the methodology in the second phase of reflection I sought to present the study as multi-voiced and this will hopefully be apparent in Part Three. There is however a clear point of departure from which I proceeded and that may be best understood in terms of a standpoint reflexivity, around the concept 'Gainful Unemployment'. The idea of a gainful unemployment, that unemployment is an indelible feature of the current macro-economic rationality and that the distress it causes is socially constructed. Therefore if light can be shed on these processes of construction, they can be deconstructed and society may be able to understand the role played by the unemployed in different less stigmatised terms. More immediately there could be the creation of resistant knowledge around these processes. This leads in this study to a positional epistemology as co-researchers come to make sense of my perspective and reflect on their own.

5.6 Summary

The dialogical methodology presented here is then understood to have arisen out of the process of being engaged in experiential co-learning and also withdrawing for periods of reflection and sense-making. It has in many ways led to a positional

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[3] In Lynch's account he offers a fourth form of methodological reflexivity *methodological self-congratulation* referring to the within the sociology of science where engaging in reflexivity, peer-reviews, professional associations, specialised journals leads to a 'self-exemplification' which makes the discipline 'scientific', that is a means by which science comes to know itself [Lynch (2000): 30].

epistemology, which develops through argumentation and negotiations rather than the asking of questions within the traditional interview, the research products arise out of debate. Though essentially PAR, this chapter has discussed two caveats that is the assumption that co-researchers can work together as colleagues and also that members of the organization are in consensus. It is argued that it may be more illuminating to think in terms of colleagues negotiating and debating from different perspectives and the features of these negotiations have been explored through two key methodological considerations relationality and finally reflexivity.

Chapter Six - Methods.

6.1 Introduction

6.2 An overview of the fieldwork

6.3 Co- researchers

6.4 Access phase method

6.5 Phase one method

6.6 Rationale for phase two

6.7 Phase two method

6.8 Summary

6.1 Introduction

There is a danger in overstructuring an account of the research methods and phases, suggesting that the design and techniques used were all carefully considered in advance, when in reality what occurred was a great deal of active listening, quick thinking, activism and opportunism. However to systematise there were two family of methods used in this research *observation*, involving different levels of participation from sitting slightly apart at meetings, head down, rapidly writing what was said between a member of staff and a client, to towelling down the hair of one of the young people who had spontaneously jumped into the loch to rescue a tyre. The second method, the *interview*, ranged from access meetings where ideas were exchanged and converging aims developed [See Chapter One], to action meetings with specific action objectives, to a recorded exchange of views which was preceded by literature, an issue or an agenda.

The study involved three phases within the field which can usefully be understood as an access phase, an action phase and a co-analysis phase and two phases of analysis and reflection, the first to make sense of the 'data' for the organizations and the second to develop analysis with academic audiences in mind. The chapter begins with an overview of all these phases of the research within each organization. Following on from the discussion around the term co-researcher the chapter details the co-researchers that became involved in the research. The second half of the chapter takes each of the three fieldwork phases in turn and gives full procedural details of how each method was employed.

6.2 An overview of the fieldwork

In order to understand the dynamic, complex and contradictory nature of social relationships within unemployment the study was longitudinal and involved researching with both organizations in parallel for the first two phases, the Access Phase, August – November 1999 and Phase One, January 2000 - April 2000. By the final Phase, the co-analysis phase I was no longer working with SD. The Access Phase consisted solely of meetings with management and I met with unemployed people and key-workers[1] within both organizations in January 2000 and began working with them intensely for four months.

6.2.1 Strategic Delivery

The flow chart 6.1 shows the development of PAR with Strategic Delivery. I was given the name and telephone number of the overall manager by TO'G at Moultrie council and after initial meetings with the service manager PH, I investigated their delivery of the Gateway stage of the New Deal. This consisted of observation of what were called General Awareness Sessions [GAS sessions] and observing the one-to-one sessions between clients and key workers. I first met with the key-workers at SD known as Adult Guidance Assessors before the January GAS session and I then met with them during the two sessions I observed both of which were for the 25+ New Deal. I sat in on the two GAS session as well as six one-to-one sessions between the long term unemployed client and the adult guidance assessor, each entire GAS session lasted around three and a half hours, 9.30 until 1pm starting with a group meeting and followed by one-to-one meetings, these individual sessions tend to last around 20 minutes per client.

The YPC was the training provider, who delivered the 18-24 year old New Deal Gateway on behalf of SD, though by January 2000, I had established a relationship with the YPC, I negotiated access with the manager for 18-24 New Deal over the phone, not at a face-to-face meeting. He was much less willing for me to sit in on the one-to-one sessions between the advisors and the clients but this decision was made by individual key-workers. I attended one YPC GAS session and one subsequent one-to-one meeting, between a client and key-worker.

NE the manager in charge of the 25+ programme, became very interested in my research, and we worked together in three meetings on the measurement of soft skills, two of these meetings were recorded interview sessions and the co-generative dialogue between myself and NE is the subject of Action C described in Chapter Eight.

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[1] The term 'key-workers' is used to describe all front-line guidance and support staff. The term 'client' is used to describe the unemployed people who used the services of SD and the YPC.

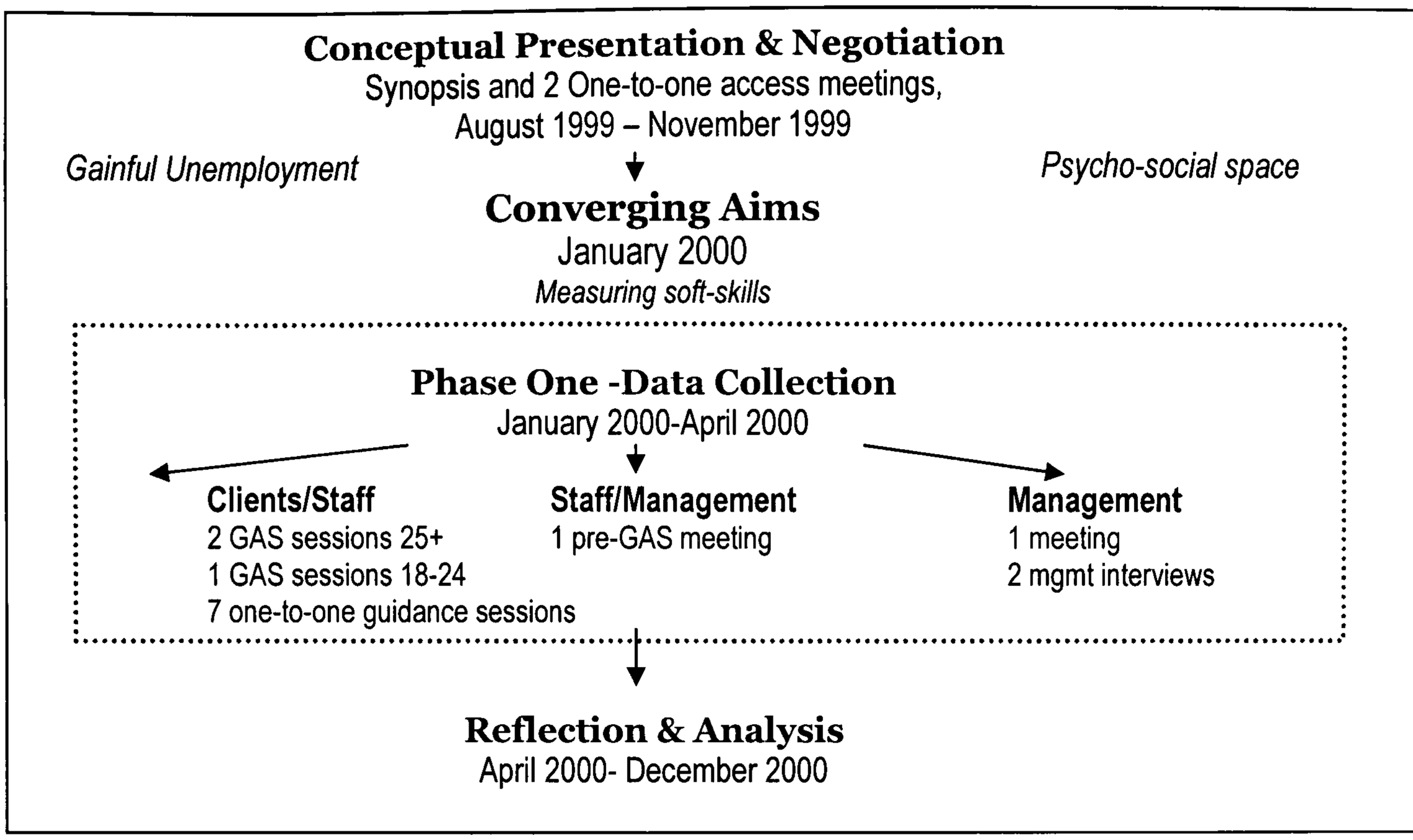

Figure 6.1 Participatory Action Research with Strategic Delivery

6.2.2 The Young Person's Centre

Research with the YPC involved following a cohort of young people from January 2000 until April 2000 and then meeting with them again between January and March 2001. This involvement with the YPC, as noted, ran parallel with my involvement with SD from August 1999 until April 2000. The organizations were about 4 miles apart in Moultrie and I would often travel to both organizations in one day. I began meeting with management at YPC in August 1999 and continued until April 2000[2].

Figure 6.2 indicates the key stages involved in using each method organized according to the co-researchers that were involved. The term meeting is used to describe all meetings that occurred between myself, management, staff and clients when I was chiefly observing. It is also used to describe one to one discussion meetings involving myself and one other co-researcher. The term interview is only used in the case of one-to-one recorded exchanges of views that were preceded by an agenda or written action objective. These distinctions will be fully discussed in Section 6.5.3

[2] Three interview was carried out in June & July 2000.

Conceptual Presentation & Negotiation
Synopsis, Presentations & One-to-one meetings,
August 1999 – November 1999

Gainful Unemployment *Psycho-social space*

Converging Aims
November 1999
Developing a Person-centred approach

Phase One -Data Collection
December 1999-July 2000

Young People/Staff
20 meetings [observation]
1 yp interview /space maps
3-day residential

Staff/Management
8 action meetings
3 staff interviews

Management
3 action meetings
3 mgmt interviews

Reflection & Analysis
August 2000- December 2000
Initial Dissemination

Reporting Back findings to YPC
January/February 2000
Presentation & 14-page report (with recommendations)

Phase Two - Data Collection & Co-analysis
January 2001-April 2001

Young People
6 Interviews
Correspondence
7 Space Maps

Management
1 Discussion group

Analysis, Reflection & Re-interpretation
April 2001 – August 2001.

Dissemination (diffusion)
September 2001 onwards

Papers & conferences

Final Reports to YPC

Abstraction & theoretical conceptualisation

Thesis

Fig 6.2 Participatory action research with the YPC

The stages of method development in each organization run almost parallel, in terms of access, action and reflection. My involvement with the YPC however was much deeper and there was more informal involvement in the form of visits, going to lunch and attending work socials. In particular participating fully on the three-day residential, observing very closely the support and guidance sessions between clients and key-workers and conducted recorded interviews where a key-worker, young person or manager engaged in deep reflection with myself resulted in a much more detailed and involved relationship with the YPC over the length of their Skillseekers and New Deal programmes. I did not visit any unemployed client in any workplace or training setting, at any point during the research. Further research with SD centred only on the Gateway stage and did not go as far as to shadow clients through the option they chose.

The research as a whole then can be understood to involve three phases of fieldwork and two phases of reflection with findings and analysis being reflected back to the organization from April 2000 onwards and actively used in organisational change.

6.3 Co-researchers

Chapter Five explored the extent to which people who participate in PAR can be described as co-researcher or co-leaners and concluded that whilst this might be viewed as an ideal, it was essential that the term remained to indicate the desire to reduce the power-differentials involved in engaging in research and the direction in which methodology should develop. Both figures 6.1 and 6.2 indicate that the fieldwork was organized after it had been completed, according to who was involved in the interaction, key workers, manager or client. This section offers further details of the co-constructors within each of these groups.

6.3.1 Managers

The managers within the research as co-constructors in many respects played the biggest role in influencing the direction of the research, it was the managers in both organizations who received the synopses [Appendices A and B] and to whom discussions around the research questions and two novel concepts were mostly directed. In total I met and worked with 11 managers over the course of the fieldwork. There were three managers at SD and a team of eight at the YPC. Because of the turn over of management staff at the YPC during the fieldwork phases thirteen managers appear in the NUD*IST data archive which was built to manage the data and is fully described in the next chapter. Of which eleven took part in recorded sessions at some point, with four managers, JM, GB, PE and at SD, NE engaging in one-to-one recorded

interviews. When presenting the person-centred approach in December 1999 and the Phase One Findings in February 2001, managers in the team tended to become actively engaged in discussions. Management were nearly always professionally qualified, many were engaged in obtaining further professional qualifications during the research and methodological discussions occurred in the early stages on following cohorts of clients, the value of shadowing and the extent to which observation could ever be non-participatory.

6.3.2 Key-workers

The term key-workers is used as a generic term to refer to all staff involved in vocational training and support of unemployed clients, whether the staff took the role of core skills tutor, support and guidance worker, administrator or adult guidance assessor. It is with this group I socialised with the most and tended to connect with them as fellow professionals whose work with clients was similar in some ways to my work with young people as a lecturer[3]. At SD, three key-workers became involved in the research to the extent that we often exchanged ideas before and after GAS sessions, they all allowed me to observe their sessions however one key-worker had some difficulties with me observing one to one sessions, explaining that they were confidential. He asked the clients in each case if they minded and they said no, however he continued to remain resistant to the idea. In the end he conceded but often passed information to clients on paper rather than saying it out loud as I sat and made notes on their exchange, after which he said to me " I have my own views but I am not going to express them here". Concerned that he was forming an inaccurate impression of my reasons for doing unemployment research after the GAS session I showed him my synopsis and he asked me several times how I had got the funding to do postgraduate research and was very interested in the idea of doing postgraduate research.

At the YPC, I met and talked to nearly all the staff involved in the organizations as well as careers workers and secondary support staff who were in attendance at exit-interviews and case meetings. There are 19 key-workers who appear in the NUD*IST archive and critically it was a key-worker, EMcA, who suggested that if I really wanted to get to know the young people and how the YPC worked I should attend the three-day residential. Key-workers came from a variety of backgrounds many had been involved in vocational training for over twenty years and the newer appointees often came from

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[3] Before moving to Scotland in 1998, I had been a lecturer for seven years in London teaching Psychology and running a small FE sector Psychology department. I continued to lecture university students throughout the research and in 2001

either a caring sector background or community education. In total at SD and the YPC 22 key-workers are referred to on the NUD*IST archive.

6.3.3 Unemployed people

Though in some sense an unsatisfactory term, the term 'unemployed clients' is often used to refer to unemployed people within the research when I met with them, in the context of their being clients or users of the services of the YPC and SD. AT SD I met a total of seven long term unemployed [LTU] clients and eight 18-24 year old clients of which most would also be regarded as LTU. All clients were male and critically I met with each client only once in their GAS session, In April 2000 I sent letters out to the two GAS groups of 25+ LTU clients with pre-paid envelopes in order that they might be involved in the research further, and though they had expressed enthusiasm at the time of the GAS session I did not receive any replies.

At YPC I tended to meet young people from a variety of intakes, a new intake of around 10 to 15 young people started every five weeks. In terms of PAR, I actively engaged, in the form of observation and interviews, with 16 clients of which two dropped out, one after the pre-induction interview and one just before the residential. The 14 young people that remained in the group referred to as the 'January intake' consisted of seven males and seven females. In January 2000, they ranged in age from 15 to 24, with most young people being referred to the YPC from the Careers Service, they are profiled in Section 9.2 in Part Three. The young people tended to take an active interest in the research, however as co-constructors they did not tend to initiate the use of a method within the research with one exception SM who asked to meet me and we agreed to carry out an interview within Phase One. In total 32 unemployed clients are referred to on the NUD*IST archive[4].

In terms of participation and collaboration, though different people played different roles, from allowing their sessions to be observed to collaborating with myself on an action objective 13 managers, 21 key workers and 31 unemployed clients kindly agreed to take some part in the fieldwork for this research, that is 65 people within the three fieldwork phases.

6.4 Access Phase Methods

Within the Access Phase, both organizations asked the question 'what sort of sample size did you have in mind?' and seemed to be using a neo-positivist researcher

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[4] However this is a little misleading as in the case of one person they are being referred to by another young person but forming part of the February intake, they did not take part in the research.

role as a frame of reference to understand my involvement. For this reason I spelt out as much as I could in both synopses and presentations.

	Organizations			
Access Processes	**Council**	**YPC**	**SD**	**Total**
No of One-to-one meetings	2	3	2	7
No of Group meetings	0	1	0	1
No of Presentations	0	1	0	1
Synopsis of Research	1	1	1	3
No of Emails/Letters	2	6	6	14
Total Access Field Hours[5]	2	7	2.5	11.5

Table 6.3 Access Negotiation Processes March to December 1999.

In other sections working with SD and the YPC are set out separately however in this section I have chosen to put my involvement with Moultrie Council, SD and the YPC together as it is a clearer reflection of the nature of the Access negotiation which consisted principally of one to one meetings with a manager and myself, moving from one organization to another, without a clear idea of the extent of the involvement either organization would agree to. In fact during this time I engaged in meetings with four organizations in the Tarbert Area, I also approached the employment service organization which delivered the New Deal for Musicians in the area, though they declined to be involved explaining that they had a number of government evaluations that were occurring and a local advice centre [LAC] in Moultrie, where I gave a presentation.

The LAC were very keen to become involved, however it was funded by a number of charities and entered into a serious funding crisis during the Access negotiation phase. Each meeting involved note taking at the time and was fully written up within 48 hours. I entered all meetings with materials and resources from my Master's research and the conceptual development that I had carried out which is presented in Chapter One. It is in the Access Phase that the social consultancy began, with the YPC on 9th December I presented on what would be involved in the person-centred approach and had what could be called consultancy meetings with managers at the YPC around their transition. At SD my meetings and interviews with NE on the measurement of soft skills did not occur until Phase One.

6.5 Phase one methods

In the Access Phase all the initial contact, detailed above, was initiated by myself with the exception of the presentation on the person-centred approach which was JM, the manager at the YPC's, suggestion. However within Phases one and two a member of SD or the YPC, often initiated the use of the methods and I have indicated this in each case.

6.5.1 Observation (Participatory)

No	Type	Initiation	Total hrs	Date
27	one-to-one	KM	16 hours	Dec-Apr 00
3	group [GAS]	KM	16 hours	Jan-Mar 00
1	class session	KM	2 hours	Feb 00
1	staff dev obs	YPC/KM	2.5 hrs	18th Feb 00
3	staff meeting	KM	9 hours	Jan-Apr 00
4	staff meeting	YPC	9 hours	Feb – Apr 00

Box 6.4 Method summary - Observation

I spent some time explain my research interests, using the appropriate synopsis and gave co-researchers a copy of their ethical rights [see appendix C] and then sat in on meetings and was mostly quiet unless I was called upon to participate. I entered both the YPC and SD with the aim of following the January groups through their New Deal or Skillseekers programmes. I had intended simply to unobtrusively sit in on all the meetings for the over 25 group at SD, the 18-24 group at SD/YPC and the 16-24 group at the YPC. Within a few weeks I realised that this was not logistically possible. The three groups had full 35 hour weeks each and in the end as noted in Section 6.2.1. I sat in on only one session with three of the SD groups and focused my energies on following the 14 young people more thoroughly at the YPC. It was through observation that I introduced myself to the staff of both organizations as you can see from the table above I initiated most of the observations at the beginning of Phase One, however almost within a month members of the YPC were inviting me to sit-in on sessions.

When engaging in such observation I would arrive at the organization and generally make myself useful then when the session began I would sit slightly apart from the group or two people and make very fast hand written notes. I did this in an open fashion and would leave my A5 blue notebooks open so that the co-researchers could read and see what I had written. On one occasion a young person PJ arguing

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[5]Face-to-face contact hours only.

with a key-worker over what he had said twenty minutes earlier used the note-book to confirm his point. These field-notes contained details of conversations, actions, seating positions and observations around the session or meeting that was being observed, I noted the start time and finish time given that they were hand-written they were typed up within 48 hours, I found that the longer I left them, as I has been writing so fast during the actual fieldwork, the more incoherent and like hieroglyphics they became.

6.5.2 The residential

No	Type	Initiation	Total hrs	Date
-	Residential	YPC	12 hours	19th Jan 2000
-	Residential	YPC	17.5 hours	20th Jan 2000
-	Residential	YPC	8.5 hours	21st Jan 2000

Box 6.5 Method summary – participant observation on the residential

I have chosen to write about the residential in it's own section because over these three days I carried out 41 hours of fieldwork above I have only put down situations where I was observing however as there were many incidents during the night there were additional hours, the Thursday and Friday involved 7.30am starts and on the Thursday we did not get to sleep until the early hours of the morning. In fact it could be easier simply to indicate when I wasn't working over these three days.

The systemization of the fieldwork involved in this chapter can serve to mask the emotionally and sensory intense nature of this first Induction week which involved five days of intense participant observation fieldwork, the induction followed by the residential. And it was through spending three days with 14 young people and 4 staff that we go to know each other to the extent that the young people were often as likely to approach me as a key-worker if they were having difficulties. In a pre-residential staff meeting MA a key-worker who was to be the leader over the three-days said, "You know I am going to call upon you Kesi" as he realised the extent to which they were understaffed. This caused some debate with EMcA arguing that my role was to observe them as much as observe the young people and we debated whether in practice it was going to be possible for me to remain non-participatory.

In the event it was an occasion where I was really involved in research practice I was unable to stand apart from what was going on and in no time at all was called upon to actively participate in all aspects of the residential from helping young people, talking to them, assessing them, sitting in on the staff meetings, making numerous

judgement calls, dealing with flashpoints when young people got into confrontations with the centre staff.

At some points I reflected as to whether I was being regarded as a key-worker of sorts, however I often stood around with the young people and on the second night I was invited by some of the young people "for a wee fly smoke" though slightly complimented at this shift in my status, I declined. At no point during this time was I alone, I was struck at the extent to which I was struggling with the boot camp atmosphere, in particular both the YPC and the centre staff shouted at the young people. I was also struggling with an inability to maintain the role of a researcher in the sense of making notes, it was impossible to make notes when participating in tasks, I was only able to make them when the young people were doing paper-based activities in the huts. Further I had ideological struggles with the extent to which activities fell along sex-role stereotypical lines, the females clients criticised and disadvantaged by male dominated physical activities and the way the females, prompted by a female key-worker, cleaned up after the males after meals and at the end of the three days. It was common for many of the young people especially the females to not be able to eat at dinner times, and I found that I myself was also struggling with eating due to the tension at meal times. Discussing this with a female key-worker she explained "eating phobias were very common with this client group"

I had very short hair at the time of this part of the fieldwork and returning to addressivity I was often addressed by centre staff at the beginning as another young person. The residential consisted of a series of accessed activities, including building rafts, abseiling, night orienteering and so on. These were combined with problem solving and team building activities. The young people were assessed on a matrix and after each activity had to fill in evaluation sheets indicating what they had learnt. Despite being given a list of things to bring, many of the young people were not equipped for the outdoors and explained that they had not been to such a centre. One young person 'PJ' asked how much it was all costing explaining that he felt spoilt.

6.5.6 Interviews & Action Meetings

No	Type	Initiation	Total hrs	Date
3	taped interview	KM	3 hours	Jan-Apr '00
6	action meeting	KM	9 hours	Jan-Apr '00
6	taped interview	YPC	7.5 hours	Jan-Julv '00
1	action meeting	YPC	1.5 hours	Apr '00
1	taped interview	SD	1.5 hours	Apr '00

Box 6.6 Method summary - interviews & action meetings

The term 'meeting' is used in the overview to refer to 14 encounters, 7 are placed here and 7 in Section 6.5.1 under observation. Here the 7 refer to what can be called discussion or action meetings - where there is an action objective or an agenda. In the earlier section the meetings referred to staff meetings, for example the pre-vocational development meetings or a pre-residential meeting where staff and management were meeting naturally and I happened to attend and become involved. In action meetings these meetings were set up and I played more of a consultancy role, they are similar in many respects to interviews though they were not recorded.

The use of the interview method came later in the research. The reader may well note that many of the interviews were initiated by the YPC and on one occasion SD, this is more a reflection of the stage of the study than the method. By now I had gained sufficient trust to be able to take along my tape recorder to these action meetings. The co-researcher rarely asked to meet and be interviewed rather they suggested we meet to discuss the action objective in question and I asked if I could tape it and arrived with, or sent over email, some sort of agenda [see appendix D for notice given to co-researcher participating in recorded interviews and appendix E for an example of an agenda].

When arriving after a brief discussion I would set up the tape-recorder and 360° external microphone usually making a joke to cover any awkwardness and give the co-researcher the agenda, if it had not been sent before over email saying that they were really discussion points and the co-researcher should feel free to add to or deviate away from the points. The points tended to summarise the last meeting and pose questions that related to the action objective. I began recording once the conversation began to flow and tended to stop recording after an hour or 90 minutes and carrying on talking for a while so that the person could continue in a relaxed way, as always some of the most interesting points were made after the recorder was switched off. This same procedure was used for action meetings the only difference was that I made hand-written notes.

I maintained a sense of responsibility to the co-researcher who becomes vulnerable within this space, especially with unemployed clients where there was a high degree of self-disclosure. The longest session, described in Chapter Nine [Action B] lasted three hours, though generally we allocated two hours for all stages of the session, however often it was me that initiated the end as the co-researcher, particularly managers, seemed keen to continue talking. These interviews whilst recorded depart considerably from the traditional interview, we are both involved in discussion and often we are using a number of materials, whiteboards, agendas, notes, literature and organizational documents moving quickly from one to another. The recorded meetings were transcribed more slowly sometimes months after the recording, for each

transcription document a recording and a transcription date are given for auditing purposes.

6.5.4 Document Analysis

No	Type	Initiation	Duration	Date
8	SD lit	KM	-	Jan-Apr '00
24	YPC lit	KM	-	Aug'99-Jun'00

Box 6.7 Method summary - Document analysis

One of the first steps in phase one was to collect all the paper work that would be given to the clients and analyse it. The nature and extent to which this was analysed is described in Chapter Seven. However in using the title document analysis this not used to mean the sort of analysis that teases out discourse or social representations. Rather the analysis was concerned with making sense of the organization in order to carry out Phase One, thus it was done very quickly and not with an academic audience in mind. I was particularly interested in the terms that they were using and in gaining an overall understanding of the two organizations. The study pays particular attention to the use of self-assessment measures by both organizations an example of which is shown in Chapter Three on page 76. Further the documents were examined to see the extent to which they suited the purposes of the YPC in it's transition towards a person-centred approach. This was done by approaching the forms from the point of the view of the clients and considering the extent to which they could fill them and the assumptions that underpinned the creation of the forms in the sense of the speech genres and addressivity described on page 86. The analysis and discussion are the subject of actions B and C, in Chapter Eight.

6.5.5 Informal visits

No	Type	Initiation	Duration	Date
4	visits	KM	8.5 hours	Jan-Jul '00
4	visits	YPC	4 hours	Jan-Jul '00

Box 6.8 Method summary - Informal visits

There is a danger in not recounting the informal visits made to the YPC and SD and not properly assessing their role. I tended to visit the YPC once a week during the active fieldwork phase and accept invitations to socials, I tended to ring up in advance usually one of the four key workers I had worked with on the residential, I never turned up unexpectedly. Once at the Crossroads site, I would sit and take part in discussions and activities with the staff and clients. Visits such as these allowed me to follow the progress of the January intake. When I went in and visited the YPC, after I returned to the office I made field notes straightaway this was important as unlike the other methods described I did not make any notes during the visits. An example of a visit to the YPC is used in the next chapter.

6.5.6 Correspondence

No	Type	Initiation	Duration	Date
5	letters	KM	-	Dec-Jun '00
3	phone calls	20% YPC	1hr 20mins	Dec-Jun '00
56	email	KM	-	Dec-Aug '00
10	email	YPC	-	Dec-Aug '00
10	email	SD	-	Jan-Apr '00

Box 6.9 Method summary - Correspondence

Correspondence can be seen as merely administrative however within this study it became very important serving many roles. Phone calls allowed me to stay in contact with the progress of the January intake and email was the main means of on going access negotiations arranging meetings and interviews with management, who were often away from the SD and the YPC buildings and able to respond to email at their convenience. The email is also used to further discuss action objectives around self-assessment and the measurement of soft skills with NE.

6.5.7 First-person research/practice

No	Type	Initiation	Duration	Date
1	Journal	KM	-	1999- 2001
x	Reflection	KM	3 months	April 2000
x	Reflection	KM	-	April 2001

Box 6.10 Method summary – Reflective techniques

Participating in research which involves, self-harm, violence, miscarriages, stress and depression etc all take their toll. Some P(A)R exponents argue that this sort of research is a life view however it is also true that this depends on one's circumstances during the research, for example my annual earnings never went above £9,000 during the fieldwork years which meant that my wages whilst higher than unemployed clients were lower than key-workers or managers. The notion of first-person research has various meanings, it can refer to using one's own lifestory or experiences as the subject of research as Bravette-Gordon does in her work on bi-cultural competence and it can also be an attempt to recount the extent to which the researcher put themselves into the research process. The section is introduced here to describe the measures I used to explore methodological reflexivity.

In particular there are three measures, the research journal which began on 26th March 1999 and continued until 27th April 2001, with an average of an entry a week, mostly around field work dilemmas and discussions on the perspective of the research. The journal was useful in enabling me to think or work through issues that arouse either out of the academic environment, departmental politics or controversial occurrences and ideological dilemmas in the field. I also engaged in two main periods of reflection the first from April 2000 until August 2000, I pulled away from both organizations, though I found myself going into the YPC and carrying out some interviews. It was this first period of reflection that created the rationale for Phase two. The second period of reflection lead to the development of a dialogical approach and marked the turning away from co-researchers in the field and towards potential academic audiences, as has been discussed in the section entitled 'The research dialectic'. I therefore tried to balance periods of experience with periods of reflection

6.6 Rationale for phase two

Once I had substantially pulled away from the organizations in the late summer of 2000, it was then in organizing the data that I became aware that my own dialogical self[6] contained a number of unanticipated voices from the field. My research experience was such that I was expecting to carry on internal dialogues and take up *I*-positions with members of the two organizations, but I was not prepared for the extent to which such dialogues were most often with management. My analysis of the data seemed dominated by the voices of managers and even when I was interpreting and make sense of the data on the unemployed clients it seemed to be for the purposes of feeding this back to the organizations. This presented a difficulty given the stated aim of providing knowledge that would be of use to unemployed people, it suggested that

[6] Though at this time I had not yet discovered Bakhtin's dialogism or Herman's *I*-positions which would eventually be used to make sense of this.

the role of social consultant was dominating the research. Phase two was designed then to provide members of the YPC with the opportunity to co-analyse the findings from Phase One, this idea was discussed at the beginning of each interview and placed in the ethics notice [see appendix D]. The phase concentrated on catching up with the January intake and allow them to make sense of the information I had gathered so far. By this stage I was fully aware that I had enough data to complete the thesis. The second phase working only with the YPC also extended the longitudinal dimension to the research.

Renegotiating access for phase two

In December 2000 I met again with GB to explain that I would like to feed back my findings from Phase One and carry out some additional data collection, in particular I would like to catch up with the January 2000 intake, much of the atmosphere at the YPC when I returned was celebratory as the YPC had been successful in it's ESF C-Navigators bid and GB gave me a copy of it[7].

6.7 Phase Two Methods

6.7.1 Reporting back and co-analysis with the YPC's management team

No	Type	Initiation	Duration	Date
2	one-to-one mt	KM	2 hours	Jan-Feb '01
1	report	KM	14-pages	2nd Feb '01
1	presentation	KM	1.5 hours	2nd Feb '01
1	co-analysis grp	KM	1.5 hours	2nd Feb '01
1	co-analysis grp	YPC	1.5 hours	15th Feb '01

Box 6.11 Methods summary – reporting back & co-analysis

On 1st February 2001 I returned to the YPC in a management team meeting and presented my findings from Phase One. By now several actions had occurred which are detailed in Chapter Eight. So Phase Two should be understood within this context. I gave each manager a 14-page report [see appendix Q] and gave a 1.5 hour presentation using OHP transparencies. After the presentation a further 1.5 hours was spent discussing my findings. I made rough field notes on this. At the end the plenary session, the two senior managers decided that it would be useful to have a further meeting on the findings in a fortnight and invited me to attend. I accepted the invitation and asked if I might record the session. This struck me as an opportunity for co-analysis of my

findings, the extent to which this occurred will be discussed in Chapter Seven. I sent emails to the management team to make sure that they accepted my recording of the session and informed them of their ethical rights in terms of having their comments removed.

On 15th February a second meeting took place this lasted for two hours and involved all senior management, as well as the line-management team and myself. I was keen that I should disseminate my findings to staff as well however the management team did not seem keen that the staff would receive the report as it was. I was invited to the staff development weekend in April, however the actual invitation never materialised. The management team asked if I would write a report for internal and external use, however I suggested that this would be better after Phase Two was completed. It seemed important to have a longer period of reflection before I engaged in report writing and as noted by now I was concerned at the extent of my own orientation towards a management perspective. As I write I have not produced this report though the actions and recommendations were taken up in particular when the success of the C-Navigators bid resulted in the YPC overhauling their entire service. When carrying out the analysis I intended presenting the findings at some stage to the key-workers as a whole and though one-to-one conversations occurred there was no formal presentation to the staff.

6.7.2 Renegotiating access with young people

No	Type	Initiation	Duration	Date
1	Meeting	KM	1 hrs	Feb 2001
6	Letters	KM	-	Feb 2001
3	Letters	Young people		Feb-Apr 2001
6	Interviews	KM	9 hours	Feb-Mar 2001

Box 6.12 Method summary – Meetings, Interviews & Co-analysis

I first had a meeting with JL who gave me addresses and details for all of the 14 young people in the January 2000 intake, I phoned each of the young people. Letters were then sent out to all the young people, in situations were there wasn't a phone number, I asked one of the key-workers at the YPC if I could have the photographs that were taken during the January 2000 residential and I scanned these onto my C-Drive at home and then scanned them onto the top of each letter [See appendix F].

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[7] The C-Navigators Project is an important feature of the YPC's transition towards a person-centred

6.7.3 Interviews with young people

Three interviews were carried out at the University, two at the young person's home, and one at the Civic building. Interestingly when discussing where we should meet many of the young people suggested the Crossroads building at the YPC, which suggest the context in which they understood their involvement with me. I arrived at each interview with a sheet, which had the interview questions on, and a further sheet where I had summarised what the NUD*IST text search out had produced. [See appendix G for a example copy of an interview schedule] The interview was usually an hour long and people were paid £6 for their involvement plus any travel expenses. This was the only time people were paid during the research. I started each interview usually catching up with the person and then started recording and went into the questions, following the same procedures set out on page 119 Phase One, though given there were no action objectives these meetings felt more like traditional interviews. They are all initiated for the purposes of the research and tend to concentrate on the individual subjectivities of the young people who often used the space as an opportunity to tell me their stories often spending time discussing their childhoods before arriving at the YPC.

6.7.4 Space maps

No	Type	Initiation	Duration	Date
1	Space Maps	KM	-	Jun 2000
4	Space maps	SM	-	Jul-Sept 2000
6	Space Maps	KM		Feb-Mar 2001
1	Space Map	WC	-	Feb 2001

Box 6.13 Method summary – Space maps.

I carried out the first space map in the interview with SM in Phase one. I then carried out further space maps with all the young people in Phase two using the last twenty minutes of the interview time, having switched off the tape-recorder. Each time we did one I first started one myself so they got the idea and also so that I engaged in some element of self-disclosure before the young people did. The idea of the space map was that it provided me with some unmediated account of the psycho-social space of the unemployed people, at this time I was still committed to this concept. Each space map

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approach and the full story of it's success is set out in Chapter Ten.

was carried out after the interview and I explained that it was an idea I was just trying out, it usually took the person less than ten minutes to produce I gave them an A4 sheet which had their name at the top, the date and a circle. One young person stopped relatively quickly saying she had nothing to put in it and another did it saying "I don't know what I am doing here". Generally the young people tended to interpret the task in a creative way, two young people used it as a way of maintaining correspondence with me sending me space maps in pre-paid envelopes that I had given to all young people at the end of the interviews.

6.8 Summary

Method type	Total	Total hours
Observation (Participant)	39 Separate observations	90 hours
Interviews	16 Taped interviews	22 hours
One-to-one Meetings	13 Meetings	14.5 hours
Presentations to YPC	2 Presentations	5 hours
Co-analysis Discussion Grp	1 Discussion group	2 hours
Space Maps	12 Space maps	-
Visits	8 Visits to YPC	12.5 hours
	Total Fieldwork Hrs = 146	

Box 6.14 Overall Methods Summary

To indicate the time-commitment of the research Box 6.12 offers an at-a-glance summary of the fieldwork carried out in Phases One and Two this amounts to approximately 146 hours fieldwork, but naturally is an underestimation as it does not include all the time before and after session, especially in the case of sensitive interviews, meetings and observations where I made a point of arriving at least 30 minutes before the fieldwork started and often spent the same time informally chatting afterwards. Further it does not include the hours spent in the Access Phase an additional 11.5 hours. The total active fieldwork hours for the study then would be 156.5 hours. This chapter has set out the procedural strategies and what methods were involved with each organization and in each stage, the participants and the organizations have been understood as co-constructors of the research and the often the use of a method was initiated by myself or a member from the organizations and developed collaboratively.

Chapter Seven - Stages of Analysis.

7.1 Introduction

7.2 Finding the significance in conversations and events

7.3 From the data-archive to levels of analysis

7.4 Initial types of analysis – Phase One

7.5 Attempts at Co-analysis

7.6 Thematic Analysis – Beyond Phase Two

7.7 Parameters of the research- withdrawing from the field

7.8 Summary

7.1 Introduction

In an interview in 1962, Francis Bacon explained in detail, to David Sylvester how he paints;

> FB: You know in my case all painting – and the older I get, the more it becomes so – is accident. So I forsee it in my mind, I forsee it and yet I hardly ever carry it out as I forsee it. It transforms itself by the actual paint (...) perhaps once could say it is not an accident, because it becomes a selective process which part of this accident one chooses to preserve. One is attempting, of course to keep the vitality of the accident and yet to preserve the continuity.
>
> DS: What is it above all that happens to the paint? Is it the kind of ambiguities it produces?
>
> FB: And the suggestions. When I was trying in despair the other day to paint the head of a specific person, I used a very big brush and a great deal of paint and put in on very freely, and I simply didn't know in the end what I was doing, and suddenly this thing just clicked and became exactly like this image I was trying to record. But not of any conscious will, nor was it anything to do with illustrational painting. What has never been analysed is why this particular way of painting is more poignant than illustration. I suppose because it has a life of it's own. It lives on it's own, like the image one is trying to trap; it lives on its own, and therefore transfers the essence of the image more poignantly. So the artist may be able to open up or rather, should I say unlock the valves of feeling and therefore return the onlooker to life more violently. [Sylvester (1975): 17]

Somehow a picture of a head emerges and the painter makes the decision when to stop painting. Increasingly we as viewers are able to 'read' and make sense of abstract art and conceptual installations and this chapter attempts to tackle what I view as a comparable process, to make sense of fast moving events, observations, actions

and conversations as 'data', and from this sense-making, to develop a system of analysis which leads to the creation of the research products which form the remainder of this thesis. The researcher is then an interpreter who attempts to "unlock the valves of feeling" and to return the reader to the life experienced in the field. There are two processes involved here (i) taking the three phases of fieldwork and turning this first of all in to 'data', then (ii) using this 'data' as a medium (Bacon's oilpaint) to create the analysis. The researcher has a number of roles, the painter, interpreter and viewer of the finished product.

When creating paintings from photographs as Bacon did, there is space for interpretation and when viewing works of art there is space also where we are able to project our ideas, thoughts and emotions onto what we see. However with qualitative analysis it is this very process of subjective projection, in firstly the transformation and interpretation of the phenomena as 'data' and secondly the 'reading' of this data when carrying out analysis that the researcher fears, often anticipating the now classic criticisms.

Such as the view that the researcher presents only verbatim quotes that support their arguments, that they have observed only the events or selected only the data, which fits with their pre-conceived ideas or commitment to theories, or have tended to keep the most dramatic events in mind. These criticisms stems from fears over the move away from an objective distance towards subjective interpretation, which at the extreme can end up with the position that anyone, can 'read' anything in the 'data'. Whilst this study does not argue for such facile or chaotic relativism it has attempted throughout to argue that the social knowledge created is relational and exists somewhere between the subjectivities of the researcher and co-researchers. Such criticisms are doubled within a study such as this, which starts with strong conceptual frames presented to organizations and develops as participatory action research.

Further like the artist, the events I was involved in are not created by myself alone, just as Bacon has a relationship with the person in the photograph, and chooses that photograph over others. I gathered data within the context of real situated relationships.

However the study presented here goes somewhat further than many other qualitative research accounts of analysis, an indeed goes further than my analogy, in the extent to which I was involved as a research-practitioner in the social interactions at SD and the YPC involved in processes of development, events and actions. I am therefore also a subject in the photograph[1] and my analysis at whatever level involves to some extent the ability to paint a picture of myself. Further both photography and painting render the lived reality of the subject static and fixed, it is only the

interpretation of the viewer, which is able to change over time and in different contexts. However this study develops with a dynamic epistemology and one of the methodological aims of the study was to try and reveal this in the analysis, in the form of the movement of meaning of concepts at SD and the YPC. There is a third and final point at which it is worth drawing a distinction from my analogy above and that is the role of the co-researchers, they are naturally in the photographs but they have also partly determined the painting that emerged. It may be better then to think of the products as collages or murals with many co-authors that have developed dialogically.

It is for this reason that halfway through the thesis before the research products in the form of actions, recommendations and thematic findings of the study are presented, this chapter makes transparent the relational and interpretative processes involved in going

(i) From events, conversations and observations to "data" and

(ii) Interpreting and processing this "data" into research products.

This chapter then makes transparent the processes involved in analysing qualitative data, first tackling the issues involved around the subjectivity and interpretation of fast-moving conversations and events. This discussion is followed by setting how the data-archive was used to create the different levels of analysis on the data, that occurred during the study, from the relatively straightforward process of feeding back observations to organizations, to the complexities of attempts at co-analysis with the co-researchers and the reflexivity involved in developing thematic analysis. The chapter further explores some of the issues contemporary researchers now face when working within new epistemologies that are built on the belief in the co-creation of social knowledge. One of the most demanding aspects of doing PAR is withdrawing from the field and drawing parameters round the thesis, and the chapter ends on the issues raised by this process.

7.2 Finding the significance in conversations and events.

Many of the classic criticisms indicated above stem from the fact that frequently in qualitative inquiry, because of the sheer volume of archived data, not all of the data is being treated within the analysis. This then is a key perceived difference between quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis, the former is often credited with an impartial or objective statistical treatment of the whole data set. Despite the extent to which interpretation and decision-making must necessarily occur here also and the

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[1] This occurred literally as I was photographed at YPC and also on the residential.

common practice of continually analysing variables until significant differences are found. A study such as this is not characterised by discrete variables and before exploring the processes of condensing, and analysing data, set out here is the decision-making involved in going from the events, observations and recordings within the two organizations to 'data'.

In the two phases of fieldwork that I carried out in between 1999 and 2001, I often found myself participating in events and conversations that did not seem to relate to my aims or either organizations' aims. Often, as Bacon confesses above, " I simply didn't know in the end what I was doing", given the high level of immersion into the everyday life of the organizations, particularly at the YPC, my strategy whilst doing the fieldwork, as set out in Chapter Six, was to keep full field notes of everything that was going on. I wrote narrative accounts of all visits, kept up the reflexive journal and asked for copies of all drawings, photographs, application forms and the literature that the clients at SD and the YPC were asked to fill in or use.

By the end of Phase One in the Analysis and Reflection phase, I became interested in the idea of what would constitute a text-unit of analysis. Most computer software packages, for analysing qualitative data, including NUD*IST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data: Indexing Searching Theorising) described below, work with some sort of text-unit, as the unit of analysis. However the everyday life of both organizations did not always fall into such units, take this example, taken from a visit to YPC.

Visit to YPC 7th April 2000.

Week 12 of the 13-week programme.

2.30pm. to 5.00pm. written up from memory on 8th April 00

SM's story

Went in to see EmcA [key-worker] and catch up with January intake, as soon as I arrived SM asked HL if it would be Ok if I took her to use the toilet in the civic building[2].

As soon as we left YPC she said to me '*I am staying in Moultrie', so we can stay in touch'*, I put my arm around her and gave her a squeeze, she then said she needed to get her housing sorted out. She spent ages in the toilet, the when we came down stair she said she had done the housing form two times already and had made mistakes. So I said we could do it together if she liked. She got a form from the woman on the desk and I said '*shall we do it together?*'; the woman said good-humouredly '*this is your third form eh?'*. Together they began to fill in the form, the form was difficult because it simply wasn't designed for someone leaving a children's home. (ie questions such as, '*how many rooms are there in your current place*?) I walked away for a moment to look at

the 'Job Vacancies' board and instantly SM called me over to help her with a detail, it was clear she wanted me beside her for moral support. She frequently looked around to check I was there. Afterwards I said '*well done*' and reminded her to get the letter of confirmation from the School[3]. She is there until May 2nd and then she has to leave, I think in the first instance she will end up in a B & B. Her situation raises a good few questions. On Wednesday I will really push for her to kept on 26 week course. I think she needs the bridge and this is more important than what vocational course she ends up on. I think a few of them really need the YPC as a bridge, some sort of social support and structure in their lives, as they are going through so much upheaval and transition. When we came back to the YPC she and EMcA went off to the doctors after he had told her off jokingly for going of with '*his girlfriend*' he explained to me that the he had to go to the doctors and he added that he was really frightened by the doctors and was getting anxious, he said he wouldn't be long, I hung around to wait for him to return.

When he returned EMcA was very worked up and gulped down a glass of water, he said he had been pacing the floor when SM was in with the doctors. DL (key- worker) and I said *like an expectant father*, SM was looking very down, she gave me her mobile phone number and asked me for my number. I gave her my work number and said anytime between 12pm and 8pm, she said '*what happens after 8?*' I said '*I drink heavily*' I also gave her five reply-paid envelopes for the University department and said '*if you feel like writing things down then do and send them to me*'[4]. I think she really needs to feel like she has contacts to get through this period she has coming up. I asked her what she had planned for the weekend she said nothing and said she was staying in, she was hunched over and I said '*are you low at the moment?*' and she said '*just this week*'. EMcA said '*why don't you get HL to fix you a coffee*, she said she didn't like coffee, I said *you like juice eh*' she said *no* I said *you like blackcurrant* and she looked up surprised,(she had requested blackcurrant on the residential) she came over and sat beside me and then pulled out some Cross-stitch work that she had been doing, she seemed to have several kits and was keen to give EMcA a present of a cat-toy she had, she seemed to have brightened up. She however didn't seem like she was wanting to go anywhere. I said '*EMcA can I ask you loads of questions, they are all really boring*'. We went to sit in the alcove and SM left. EMcA explained that earlier in the day she had shown him an open gash on her arm, she has always had self-harm scares on her arms from the time that I have known her, however this seemed to be a lot deeper. They had arranged to go to the doctor later that day, he seemed very upset by what he had seen and we talked about her future, I jokingly said '*you should get an honorary social work qualification*'.

Box 7.1. An informal visit to YPC - Developing a text-unit of analysis.

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[2] The young people can't use the toilet in the Crossroad's building because of where it is situated, so they have to go across to the Civic building with a member of staff who has a passkey.
[3] Children's home
[4] On the three-day residential SM had written a number of letters to support workers when issues arose.

Box 7.1 illustrates the difficulty in framing up day to day occurrences into text-units of analysis. It is presented here as text, I have only presented here a set of incidences which relate to one young person story, the original document contains two young people's stories, the second of which is on PJ, and is recounted by EmcA. Further I had originally gone into YPC that day to see EmcA to ask him a few questions around those young people that were about to come to the end of their 13-week programme but this conversation is not recounted at all in the document as events take over.

It is to move from this visit as talk-in-interaction, which presents the analytical challenge, consider the following significant features of the account above, (i) the way SM ask me to take her to the toilet, (ii) the interaction involved in us both filling in her housing form, (iii) the details of the housing form itself (iii) the way SM sits beside me, (iv) her doing her cross-stitch, (v) EMcA's trip to the doctors with SM, (vi) EMcA's fear of doctor's, (vii) SM's visiting the doctor's over her self-harm, (viii) EMcA's job-description, why is he taking her to the doctors? (ix) My avoiding giving SM my home phone number though she has given me her mobile number. (x) My using humour to set boundaries in the research situation (xi) my job description (xii) JL's observation of all of what occurs between us (xiii) trust between me and SM, EmcA and so on. In the process of how the field-notes are written analytical distinctions are imposed.

Between January and April 2000, when chatting informally to the young people we, the key-workers, young people and myself, often pulled out the photos from the residential and laughed about the events of those three days, running jokes that we created during the residential were temporarily resumed and this formed the background to observed sessions.

At SD, in one of the GAS sessions a long-term unemployed client pulled out his file from the last time he had been through a government training scheme and began to go through it saying "how about this, are we going to this again" disparagingly to the Adult Guidance Assessor. All these incidences, which enrich the research process, cannot easily be reduced to text-units of analysis within the research because they do not convert easily into transcript.

In developing my analysis I aimed then to work with these lived realties and not confine myself to only what had could be converted to data in the form of written text. However King explain that one of the problems for researcher is in becoming overwhelmed with the "huge volume of rich data" [King (1994): 34] and in order to focus in on the converging aims set out in Chapter One and to make sense of the worlds around me, I began to organize the field notes, recordings, documents and drawings into a data-archive. Narratives accounts as illustrated above, from informal visits and

my reflexive journal were all converted to the computer font Courier 12[5], and entered into the data archive I was building within NUD*IST, along with all the other documents of inter-views and observations. The latter were presented mostly as transcript in the sense that the initials of the speaker are given followed by their utterance. This leads then to a consideration of the transformation that is involved in the process of transcribing.

7.2.1 Transcription

Paul ten Have argues that whilst very time-consuming, it is much better for researchers to carry out their own transcription he argues "a researcher is forced to attend to details of the interaction that would escape the ordinary listener, transcription works as a major 'noticing device'" [ten Have (1999): 78].

It is now possible to miss out the transcription process, using a digital recording of the voices and new software such as CoolEdit. However this does not really remove the concerns over reducing oral speech and social interactions into text-units but moves it on to the next stage. During the fieldwork I had used an analogue tape-recorder, a Sony Professional WM- D6C to carry out all recordings and transcribed all of these myself using a Sony BI-85 transcriber, with my own headphones, the machine had a foot pedal, which allowed the tape to be moved back and forward easily.

An hour-long recording took me on average five hours to transcribe and in situations where I planned to carry out co-analysis the transcription was often even longer. When transcribing, I kept a word document open to note down any analytical thoughts that came to mind, it was in the transcription process that the beginnings of the analysis emerged. One of the difficulties when transcribing is in moving from the broken speech and 'ermms and ahhs' of ordinary conversation to the conventions of written language in terms of orthography, grammar, syntax etc. There is a danger when working with co-researchers who draw from different cultures, perspective and frames of reference in assuming a common language.

The vast majority of the co-researchers were from the Central Belt of Scotland, whereas I had moved to Scotland from London in 1998. This led to some difficulties in interpretation, for example in one observation session, I was talking to a young person JB about his prospective work placement, I put in my notes his question "will I have to wear clogs?" and wondered at the extent to which young people were removed from the realities of the flexible labour market. This was in the first month of working with YPC, it was later when I was looking at the text again when it was now in the data-archive on NUD*IST that I realised that it was more likely he had said "will I have to wear gloves?" as he was about to take a work placement as a kitchen porter.

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[5] Nudist Version 4 can only read courier 12.

The use of Scots by people in the research is easily lost if it reduced to a so-called common language. However some of the difficulties and my misinterpretations of the meaning or choice of word of others go further than a difference in language. It is, also in part, a reflection of the speed of naturally occurring conversation and the extent to which one is "switched on" when doing qualitative fieldwork in real organizational settings and the sensory overload that frequently occurs when working without recording devices and trying to note-down all that is going on.

In Kvale's research with Danish teachers he explains that he had felt " that a verbatim transcription of the interviews was the most loyal and objective transcription" [Kvale(1996):173] however when showing a chapter draft to one teacher who had participated in the study, the teacher took exception to this and Kvale respectfully changed the verbatim quotes to fit in within the conventions of written Danish as the teacher had requested. This then is another consideration the presentation of verbatim quotes using language as spoken could serve inadvertently to further stigmatise participants and co-researchers and one of the key considerations of this research, stated in the synopsis that both SD and YPC received, was that no person would be disempowered by research process.

To Lapadat and Lindsay "As text, transcripts are positionings" [Lapadat & Lindsay(1999):75], in their cross-disciplinary conceptual review of transcription in qualitative research they argue that the process of transcription itself is theory-laden, it is both interpretative and constructive, advising

> Acknowledging transcription as representational avoids the mistake of taking the written record as the event and opens the transcription process for examination of it's trustworthiness as an interpretative act [Lapadat & Lindsay(1999):81]

7.2.2 Conventions of marking conversation for analysis

ten Have explains that the transcriber is making numerous quick decisions on how to translate the recording into a transcription. There are many conventions - signs for emphasis, pauses, intonation etc, It is possible to use an advanced system of conventions in an attempt to create the ebbs and flows of a natural conversation

1	Maude:	I say well it's funny: Missi:z uh: Schmidt ih you'd
2		think she'd help< ·hhh Well (.) Missiz Schmidt was the
3		one she: (0.2) assumed responsibility for the three
4		specials.
5		(0.6)
6	Bea:	Oh *... °°M-hm, °°=

Box 7.2 Conventions in conversation analysis

For example in Box 7.2, where two women speak on the telephone, the emphasis, time taken in seconds pausing, overlaps, rising and falling of speech, and so on are all included in the transcription. Discourse and conversation analysts are developing such systems so that extra-linguistic and non-verbal features of text can also be analysed often with a view to advancing theories on language and conversation itself. Whilst this study is influence by the 'communicative turn' in Psychology, I have not become concerned with language itself and data is analysed in terms of content rather than processes or structural aspects. I have used therefore a minimal system the conventions of these are set out in Box 7.3

It is worth then considering the decision-making involved in this transformation to transcripts. Kvale (1996) exclaims

> the transcript is a bastard, it is a hybrid between an oral discourse unfolding over time, face to face, in a lived situation – where what is said is addressed to a specific listener present – and a written text created for a general distant public [Kvale (1996): 182]

Kvale's book is concerned with the InterView only, however given this research involved a battery of methods and situations were often I am not the listener being

=	has been used to mean the second utterance "latches" on to the previous utterance, often speaking at the same time.
...	to denote a pause,
(...)	to denote a section of the talk that has been edited out.
duetting	where both people use the same word at the same time.

Box 7.3 conventions used on the transcripts.

addressed but an onlooker. There are then real difficulties with analysing the 'data' once it has been reduced to transcribed as written text.

It is better to see this as a trade-off, whilst transcribing loses something from the original conversation or event. This transformation in the representation of the data, can lead to a detailed and considered exploration of it. Transcripts lend themselves to a form of immersion also and it was through looking at the transcripts that the notion of speakers being in a dialogue with a number of different voices emerged.

7.2.3 The strengths and weaknesses of computer-aided analysis

All transcribed material and other notes were imported into NUD*IST and saved as a project. There are now a wide variety of Computer-aided analysis packages

for non-numerical data or more accurately text. I tried two Nvivo and NUD*IST, whilst the Nvivo packages seemed to have a more useful interface NUD*IST is much more widespread and was licensed to the University where some training was available.

I used QSR NUD*IST version 4, which was replaced by version 5 during the study Version 4 became known as NUD*IST classic, QSR has just launched NUD*IST 6[6]. NUD*IST served the chief purpose of managing the data. With NUD*IST classic each time the return key is pressed it regards the new line as a new text unit. Further it can read headings if the analyst uses asterisks before and after the word e.g. *resijan* was the heading for the January residential transcription document. I used the common practice of putting the initials of the speaker before the comment they had made, so it is easy to see who is talking. However I did not use the practice of putting everything said by the researcher in capitals or using NUD*IST to create nodes which would then be placed within an index tree [Richards (1998): 17]. Documents and literature from YPC and SD, drawings, cartoons and the space maps created by young people at YPC were not put into the data-archive even though NUD*IST has the 'external document' facility to do this

Examples of the way I did use NUD*IST were as follows.

1. To search through all transcribed material for something that I remembered someone had said.
2. To pull up all situations where a person spoke or was spoken about. This facility was used to present data back to the young people who took part in Phase Two.
3. To find all the instances where a subject or keyword was used e.g., "person-centred" so as to analyse the movement in meaning of the term
4. To confirm hunches, for example it occurred to me that no young person in the research had actually described themselves as a 'young person' and yet I and the staff at YPC were using this term. To be sure this was the case NUD*IST was used and within two minutes was able to scan through the entire data-archive and confirm that this was the case.
5. The 'Jump to Source' function was used to in situations where I remembered a comment but could not remember the context, or what had been said before or after.

I therefore principally used the 'index text search' and 'browsing' function of NUD*IST, and found it very helpful in being able to hold all my files from the research in such way

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[6] Details of this can be accessed at QUAL-SOFTWARE@JISCMAIL.AC.UK or http://www.qsrinternational.com/

as to be able to access them very easily. I developed my skills on NUD*IST in a dialogue with other researchers on the email discussion list QUAL-SOFTWARE@JISCMAIL.AC.UK[7]

DM Quite often appeared to be the leader of both SK and to a lesser extent DD. She was very out-spoken and seemed to develop strong relationships with both males and females. She was particularly keen on soap operas and wants to go into childcare. She was very familiar with me talking about her love life and asking me questions about mine. She often asked if I had make-up she could borrow. There was some tension between her and WC, who believed she was bullying the younger girls, she certainly did have the ability to be menacing. Her and WC already knew each other and they had had bad relations over the issue of bullying in school.

...

[Resijan.txt : 125 - 125]
31. SK gets 'sent home'

++
++++++++++++++++++++++++++
+++ ON-LINE DOCUMENT: civicPE18400
* No Header

++
++++++++++++++++++
[civicPE18400 : 37 - 37]
We talk about SK (1/00) and I clarify that ' Welcome Vista' is a
NCH (national children's home) he talks about how she went for an interview for a post in relation to her business and administration and didn't get the post on account of having a love bite. She also got on the wrong side of the lecturer on her first day at college. She regarded the lecturer as 'a blonde bimbo' and indicated this by making a typical (SK) noise, which PE imitated perfectly. The lecturer took exception to this. She is now in a sort of half-way house then she will go onto independent living and they can stay 18 months in chalets LSA(?) Housing.

Box 7.4 An extract from a NUD*IST word search carried out in February 2001

Box 7.4 gives a segment of an actual 'index text search' carried out on the young person 'SK'[8] this was done in advance of the follow-up interview with SK during Phase Two, it illustrates both the strengths and weaknesses of the programme. In total 42 text-units over 11 documents, were pulled out by NUD*IST as containing the key word 'SK' the box shows three of these text-units, the first in fact refers principally to another young person 'DM', and has been selected by NUD*IST because it contains a reference to SK. The second refers to a significant event that is the fact that SK was sent home

[7] This is co-ordinated by Lynn Richards who is the director of Research Services, Qualitative Solutions & Research (QSR). For more details see http://www.qsrinternational.com/
[8] Originally all the young people were entered into the data using a first name only, however in the interests of equal parity with managers and staff, these were reduced to initials in the second phase of analysis.

on the second day of the residential. This one sentence hides a whole story the details of which are not in the 'resijan' document. The third, taken from the transcription document 'civicPE18400' which refers to the meeting between PE and myself at the Civic building on the 18th April 2000, gives PE's account of SK's response to her college placement, her attendance at a recent job interview and where she is currently staying. Because a new text-unit is created every time the return key is pressed text-units in the research become a turn taken in a dialogue, a statement or a paragraph from field-notes, this reflects in part an inconsistency between the styles and formats of documents entered into the data-archive, in particular between transcription documents, where the text-unit is more likely to be a turn taken by an interlocuter and field-note documents written from memory, where the text-unit is more likely to be a paragraph.

NUD*IST then, helped in enabling me to systematically handle the data. However a feature of such software is in distancing oneself from the lived realties of the people involved. 'SK' is one of the young people who I met in January 2000 followed for the whole of Phase One and met again in Phase Two, the data that is archived on her, can only be understood in context and as, has been argued throughout is relational, it then becomes a question of being able to use NUD*IST to codify data with these two caveats in mind. Whilst I used NUD*IST to manage the large data-archive, I did not confine myself to it's constraints and often worked with my memory of the actual incidents and events and the voices of the people in mind.

I began to regard the data as "text" from the latin 'texere' meaning to 'weave' that is, as material woven from different speakers or writers with different viewpoints and perspectives, in the sense of many voices. I resisted the pressures to take the large data-archive stored in NUD*IST and chunk the data into codes according to the subject under discussion. Rather I wanted to develop analytical procedures which respected the fact the knowledge co-created had been created dialogically.

7.3 From the data archive to levels of analysis.

There have been a number of attempts to shed light on the development of processes of analysis, Nigel King adapting the work of Miller & Crabtree[9], distinguishes between four types of analysis. The *quasi-statistical* where the data is converted to instances and numerical measures rather like content analysis these then can be analysed using inferential statistics. *Template*, where the researchers develop a code-book and return again and again to the data to revise and refine their codes. *Editing*, where the researcher reduces the transcriptions down to "meaningful segments, cutting

[9] Miller, W.L. & Crabtree, B. F. (1992) *Doing Qualitative Research*. Newbury Park CA: Sage.

and pasting and rearranging" to reveal the "interpretative truth" and finally *immersion/crystallisation*, here the researchers

> immerse themselves in the research subject over a prolonged period of time, and produce an account of their findings through analytical reflection and intuitive crystallization of meaning [King (1994): 26-27].

King uses Moustakas' heuristic research method as an example of the latter. Moustakas explains that heuristic process

> is a way of being informed, a way of knowing. Whatever presents itself in the consciousness of the investigator as perception, sense, intuition or knowledge represents an invitation for further elucidation (...) In such a process not only is knowledge extended but the self of the researcher is illuminated [Moustakas (1990): 10-11].

Moustakas drawing on the work of Carl Rogers, Abraham Maslow and Michael Polanyi, places great emphasis on the self, he writes of self-dialogue, the investigator's internal frame of reference and tacit knowledge in the research process. Whilst I read this short book during the Phase Two analysis the difficulty with Moustakas' approach is that much is placed on the self-disclosure and self-analysis of the investigator and the intense relationship between the researcher and their participants in attempting to tell the participant's story. Moustakas' own frame of reference seems to be around being able to tell the participants or co-researcher's stories using a narrative analysis, rather than to make-sense of events involving a number of actors within in organizations. The danger here is that the reflexivity involved in analysis can lead to an account of the researcher's story and the researcher answering her or his own questions rather than what arises out of co-created fieldwork. Moustakas is aware of the self-growth aspect of the approach he advocates, commenting

> it demands the total presence, honesty, maturity, and integrity of a researcher who not only strongly desires to know and is willing to understand but is willing to commit endless hours of sustained immersion and focused concentration on one central question, to risk opening wounds and passionate concerns, and to undergo the personal transformation that exists as a possibility in every heuristic journey [Moustakas(1990): 14]

The strength of Moustakas' account of analysis, is that it gets right to the heart of the 'insights late at night', aspects of qualitative analysis and there is authenticity in his accounts of the emotional and autobiographical factors that affect the process of analysing and indeed approaching research this way. He builds into his stages the extent to which when time is taken away from intense analysis of the data, what he calls the *incubation* stage, insights begin to occur and the way that art, literature music etc, inspire and illuminate the data, etc inform analysis. Kvale (1996) in contrast challenges the view that we are able in some way to get to the *true* meaning of the text, he distinguishes between four different philosophical orientations which underpin qualitative research, post-modern, hermeneutic, phenomenological and dialectical, arguing that within each of these researchers, when analysing, must make explicitly

their own frames from which they interpret. Moving from the data to research products is best understood here, not only as analysis but as interpretation where " an interpreter's presuppositions enter into the questions he or she poses to the text" [Kvale (1996): 211].

Kvale distinguishes between five approaches to establishing meaning within qualitative analysis *condensation*, here the transcript is abridged, *categorization*, where the data is placed in to categories either + / – categories 1-5 type scales, or labelled boxes. In this style of analysis the data is often presented in tables and this is the sort of approach that underpins the typologies that frequently appear in social and work psychology. *Narrative*, where the data is organized along temporal and structural lines, here the data is viewed as stories with "plots" and "characters" presented often in the vernacular of the story-teller, *interpretation* here the researcher attempts to go beyond the meanings given by the speakers in the data and looks in depth for any latent meanings, this interpretation may bring in what Strauss & Corbin call "theoretical sensitivities" [Strauss & Corbin(1998): 82] and can be related to King's crystallization/immersion category. Often the result is the text being expanded rather than reduced. Finally there is a more *ad-hoc* approach, here an eclectic approach is used to bring out different sorts of meaning in the data, using figures, flow-charts and textual analysis. [Kvale (1996): 191-193].

Within my own research I found myself using a mixture of the types presented above. I began first by imposing distinctions upon the data and later developed different levels of analysis to answer particular questions that related to the converging aims but also to some of the striking aspects of the study. I began by reduced the data at YPC into interactions and organizing these within the structure of YPC's non-vocational 26-week programme. I isolated and condensed data that related to what I regarded as 'actions' and once I had time to reflect upon the data and had completed all the fieldwork from April 2001 onwards began to develop deeper interpretative analysis, which expanded the data with my conceptual interests in mind.

Strauss and Corbin offer a number of grounded techniques for 'opening-up' the data, they suggest asking questions of the data, analysing words, sentences and phrases, the flip-flop technique where the logic of the data is reversed i.e. what if the opposite were true? Comparing phenomena, and finally what they refer to as "waving red-flags", here the analysts must be careful to question the assumptions within the data and one's own assumptions, that is to not take anything stated in the data for granted. [Strauss & Corbin (1998): 77-93]. Whilst I did not take a grounded approach to the analysis but rather kept the two concepts psychio-social space and gainful unemployment in mind, I was partly informed by these techniques when searching and

browsing the data archive. The remainder of this chapter will set out the different forms of analysis and how they emerged.

7.4 Initial types of analysis – Phase One

7.4.1 Coding, categorizing and condensing data

Whilst I did not develop coding frames or a system of analysis that was applied to the whole data archive I did impose certain categories or distinctions on the data very early on. For example one of the first ways that I understood the data was by organizing it according to who the interaction was between, staff/young person, staff/manager, young person/manager, manager/myself etc. In this respect the main way the data was stratified at both SD and YPC was in seeing the people involved as three groups 'clients', 'adult guidance assessors' and 'managers' at SD and 'young people', 'staff' and 'managers' at YPC. Whilst this is a logical way to understand the interactions, if for instance, I had organized the data archive into people who lived within the Moultrie and Sommerville and people who lived outside of these two areas, or males and females in the research, it would have cut across the above distinction and perhaps some interesting insights might have emerged. It is also apparent if you look again at Box 5.1, that I have tended to make my notes on each young person separately using a narrative style, this distinction was partly as a result of the way YPC members of staff would refer to the young people and the 'case' approach which is common in such organizations.

As a research- practitioner during Phase one I carried out analysis of the data in order to feedback my findings to the organizations, during the active fieldwork phases. The data gathered from the two organizations can be usefully be organized as follows firstly, simple observations, which were fed-back into, the organizations' processes, such as time taken in guidance & support session etc. number of young people using a facility, the absence of a facility etc. There was very little analysis in terms of interpretation rather the observations were categorized in terms of the stages of the training programmes. A second sort of analysis relates to the three 'actions' presented in Chapter Six here a co-researcher and myself had arranged to meet to discuss and develop changes in relation to a specific issue. Prior to the 'action inter-views' I carried out analysis, which related to the action objective, around self-assessment, soft skills, the person-centred approach and anger-management. In this analysis I drew chiefly from my observational data now categorized under the organization's programme headings and drew upon the data in each category with the literature in mind, in particular literature on employability, soft-skills and the person-centred approach as presented in Part One of this study.

Thirdly, only in relation to the YPC, there were evaluative recommendations that were made which were more in relation to the organization as a whole and what I thought were features of the service that could be usefully reorganized, such as their relationship with employers, trainee placements etc, this analysis was presented at the beginning of Phase two. Finally also presented at the beginning of Phase two, there were more conceptual issues and frames of reference these were presented to the YPC's management team and placed in the report given to the YPC [see appendix Q], in order to get the YPC to reflect about the service they were providing, the discourses and social representations they were informing their practice. This last type of analysis forms the first stages of the development of the dialogical analysis.

7.5 Attempts at Co-analysis

In the second phase of the research, I attempted to tackle the extent to which my initial analysis had involved an analysis of my own involvement and engage co-researchers in some co-analysis of the findings. When indicating that I would be very happy if co-researchers were interested in co-analysing the data two of the co-researchers PE the line-manager and a young person SM said they would be interested but in both cases by the time I was ready to engage in this process, i.e. at the beginning of Phase Two the people had moved away from Moultrie.

Within Phase two I made further attempts to carry out some co-analysis with co-researchers at YPC, this was done in two ways when returning the phase one data to the management team, we sat as a group and discussed my findings in that session and in a separate recorded session. However it is difficult to say whether this can really be regarded as co-analysis, managers in these sessions did not challenge my meanings or interpretations but rather given the data was presented as a presentation and report, regarded the knowledge as 'expert knowledge' which was evaluating the service at the YPC, two of the managers explained that they valued the opportunity to reflect upon the service and their roles within it. However this was not co-analysis in the sense that Jane Sharpe uses it, where both the researchers and the young people explored the data and created codes using NUD*IST. [Sharpe 2001]

There was a second attempt at co-analysis with the young people. When I interviewed each young person I took with me notes from *index text searches* for each young person and showed them what I had written on them, however again this was a relatively unsuccessful process, in many ways the young people as co-researchers should have had these in advance, if they were to be able to make comments on them. Young people again tended to regard them as 'expert' or 'professional reports' one young person PJ commented 'yes I have seen quite a few of these reports, what with social worker etc'. Beyond this comment there wasn't any real direct references to the

print outs by the young people, rather we tended to pick up from where had left in our last meetings with each other and the young people tended to discuss their stories and talk of the others in the January intake.

It is important then to pave the way for co-analysis preparing co-researchers in advance and explaining the rationale behind it.

7.6 Thematic analysis – Beyond phase two

In weighing up the strengths and weaknesses of the code-book template Julie Maskrey and he had developed, King states

> It can also result in the dangers of over-descriptiveness and 'losing' individual participants voices in the analysis of aggregated themes, (...) a fundamental tension (...) is between the need to be open to the data and the need to impose some shape and structure on the analytical process. Too much openness and the product is likely to be chaotic and incoherent; too much structure and the researcher can be left with all the drawbacks of quantitative research but none of it's advantages [King (1998): 133]

The types of analysis set out below developed out of four methodological considerations.

(i) A desire to go beyond the constraints of the text-unit of analysis approach of NUD*IST

(ii) A desire to understand text within context.

(iii) The epistemological commitment of viewing the knowledge as relational and created dialogically.

(iv) Given the longitudinal nature of the research the aim to develop an analytical technique built on a dynamic epistemology, ie to show how we the common meanings we create are constantly changing.

(v) A need to put my own involvement into the analysis in a way that had not occurred in the Phase One analysis or in any of the attempts at co-analysis.

I began this sort of thematic analysis from the end of April 2001 onwards when I was away from the field and beginning to think about dissemination, conferences and publications. The analysis was less pragmatic and developed much more with an academic audience in mind. As the Phase Two analysis went deeper, it focused on sub-sets of data from the data-archive. In each section I have indicated the sub-set used.

7.6.1 Presenting and analysing action

In the three actions around self-assessment, which are described in Chapter Nine whilst I used a *categorical* analysis when involved in the action objectives, the subsequent analysis which is presented within the thesis involved a *condensation* of the recorded action inter-views. In condensing I reduced the interview only removing

repetitions or information which was too identifying, every time a new subject was discussed, I presented the information, if a co-creator was particularly eloquent I have presented the entire rejoinder, even if this results in dense pieces of text. In all three of these actions, conversations was very fast, and I am attempting to give a flavour of the way co-creators talked on issues that often they felt very strongly about. In this section I have not attempted a full thematic or dialogical analysis but only précis the meetings in order to present the flow of action around the meeting. The transcript presented illustrates all the subjects which are under discussion and each time we change subject, a précising piece of dialogue has been included. In this respect the order of discussion is reflected however when a subject is discussed at length for example in Action B, DDG and I debate the residential for half an hour, as this is not related to the action on self-assessment this discussion is edited out, further my lengthy stylistic comments on how she might improve her report to YPC have been reduced considerably. My aim in Chapter Nine is to present an account which serves to explore how actions actually occur in organizations.

7.6.2 Process analysis – the development of trust

The analysis presented in Chapter Eight, resulted out a question that I asked myself and colleagues had begun to ask me, which was '*how did you manage to get so far with the organizations?*' I wanted to understand why the organizations had worked with me in the way that they did, in particular why had they trusted me. In order to answer this question I analysed only the Access Phase data-set. I had in mind other qualitative researchers when I developed the analysis and searched through the data sub-set isolating the communicative acts (Habermas 1987) in all of the access meetings. I used the work of Seligman (1997) to label these communicative acts and developed my understanding of what had occurred using the literature on intervention-orientated research.

7.6.3 Dialogical analysis – understanding the person-centred transition.

In many ways as stated the dialogical analysis began in Phase One it appears in a basic form in the Phase One report given to YPC. It was developed from my observation that YPC worked at a fast and intense pace and often in the interactions I had been involved in, people seemed to be talking past each other and misunderstandings occurred frequently. Language was an important issue at the YPC and in one of the staff development meetings the staff had been told by the management team that from now on they were to call the young people "clients", this was very unpopular, staff during Phase One, seemed to talk a great deal about insecurity and role-ambiguity. Misunderstandings based on impression and

expression, the symbolic power of language and the use of speech genres were features of my time at the YPC, which led to the development of a system of analysis that could illuminate the way communicative rationalities were occurring at YPC.

The initial analysis I carried out was simply to use NUD*IST to see what terms were used for both the 'young people' and the 'staff'. I called this frames of references and used these as a discussion point in the Phase two co-analysis with management. I then looked at the Phase One data and analysed who or what the staff, managers and young people were in a dialogue with, in the sense of what was it that each group seemed to talk about most, this analysis is presented in Chapter Ten.

However it is unsurprising that each group spoke on different issues and using different speech genres, after all young people, staff and managers had different concerns but I still hadn't developed an analysis which could be used to shed light on the way the data had repeated incidences of people taking different positions with different people and often talking past someone or to someone based not on what they were saying but rather based on some sort of social perception. I began to view the YPC as a multi-voiced organization.

This dialogical analysis, as set out in Chapter Four, involved four features, the idea of a dialogical self, where people were able to adopt a number of *I*-positions, here the different voices that existed within co-researchers and my dialogue were isolated. Further, the view that the self as social agent, develops in relation to other and we anticipate the other when we speak, in terms of addressivity was also isolated in the data. The Bakhtinian notion of the internal dialogism of words-in-use enabled me to view what was being said in terms of the socio-political context. Where the self as a social agent which exists in interactions with social representations within the public sphere. And it was this that I had begun exploring with the YPC in Phase Two, I then made connections between the data-set from all three phases at the YPC and the social representations that existed within the public sphere, particularly around the character of the welfare recipient.

The fourth and final feature of this analysis involved searching through the data archive charting the movement of meaning and categorizing the connotations which surrounded the term 'person-centred approach'. Given that the analysis developed within the context of utterances at the YPC it is illustrated and further developed in Chapter Eleven which sets out YPC's transition.

7.7 Parameters of the Research - withdrawing from the field

One of the most challenging aspects of doing the study was withdrawing from the field. Young people continued to remain in touch, staff carried on emailing and inviting me to lunch and management encouraged me to continue to attend meetings

with certain managers giving me the names of high status people who could help me. There were offers of organizing big events that would, help me to disseminate my work which would lead to further action.

7.7.1 Exiting from the YPC and SD

Within SD my withdrawal was more straightforward as the key staff members that I had worked with all left the organization, though NE offered to introduce me to the incoming manager and new AGA's I declined the offer explaining that I was about to begin the first phase of the analysis. Further, my follow-up letters to the long term unemployed clients that I had met in the two GAS sessions did not receive a single response by April 2000 and I switched my attention to working fully with the YPC.

At YPC I remain in informal contact and still meet up with some staff members and managers, I have also maintained contact with some of the young people mostly though letter writing. I am regarded to have fulfilled my obligations to the YPC, however I still have to create a formal report which includes sets out the research products in a way that is relevant to their current needs.

7.7.2 Maintaining acceptable limits

> Intervention research intentionally can create strong bonds between research and informants. Whilst this can be a source of support to the informant, the relationship is from the researcher's perspective, at least in part and at least initially a research technique. Acceptable limits to the nature of the relationship must be negotiated with the informants and the nature of the actual relationship continuously monitored for acceptability. [Fryer & Feather (1994):244-5]

During Phase Two I attempted to get in touch with all of the 14 young people from the January 2000 intake, I interviewed 6, wrote to a seventh and continue to maintain contact with an eighth, however there were four young people who I never managed to gain contact with and two who I spoke to but never turned up to the interview, I was fully aware of their phone numbers, had spoken to their parents and could speak to them again if I wanted but I decided that there was line between inviting people to continue to participate in research and harassing them with, this was particularly so with the clients as I was initiating contact and therefore could not really suggest it was collaborative. I had been given their details by the organizations, though all of them had given their consent to this after the social inclusion finding, which is set out in Chapter Ten, I was concerned at the extent to which my involvement with them may be seen to compound this process. After I had carried out the six interviews I found there was a great deal of repetition in what was being said, by now I felt I had too much data and was reaching saturation point. Young people however do continue to make contact and SM is still keen to co-analyse her involvement in the interview. I have sent her the

transcript but unfortunately she had moved on before it arrived. One of the most difficult withdrawals was towards the end of Action B, here DDG and I began to discuss the use of Q-Methodology as a way of bringing forward the voices of young people within the organization and allowing them to express their needs and views in their own terms. By this time I was preparing to withdraw from the YPC, and whilst I returned to my office and carried out literature searches on the use of Q-Methodology I did not pursue this possible development at YPC

7.7.3 Disregarding data

The data from the GAS sessions at SD and the 18-24 New Deal Gateway were data that did not to make it beyond the first phase of analysis and reflection as this marked the point when the study concentrated solely on the YPC. Therefore whilst it informs the broad discussion it has been used only in relation to Action C in Chapter Nine.

7.8 Summary

There are then two key stages in developing the analysis for this study, moving from conversation and events to 'data' and then condensing, categorising and interpreting this data as research products. Where the interpretation occurs within a dialogue with particular academic audiences. The chapter has anticipated some of the common criticism that are levelled at qualitative research and has made transparent the processes involved. It sets out how the NUD*IST data-archive was used to develop deeper and deeper levels of analysis and explores the extent to which analysis involves being able to keep in mind the realities and take advantage of the representational transformation that occurs when conversations and events become transcript.

PART THREE

The Findings

Francis Bacon "Head" 1962

Chapter Eight Trustworthiness in Access Negotiation

8.1 Introduction –returning to relationality

8.2 Trust and the researcher/co-researcher relationship

8.3 Dimensions involved in creating trustworthiness

8.4 The extent of trust within the YPC and SD

8.5 Trust, action and communicative rationality

8.6 Summary

8.1 Introduction – returning to relationality

The basis on which we enter into relationships in the field, determines the knowledge created there and this chapter is concerned with shedding light on the process of establishing trust within research. It returns to the discussion around relationality, which began in the Methodology chapter, and the ideal of reducing the asymmetries that frequently exist between researcher and participants. In developing strategies for moving towards this ideal, the study maintained the PAR position of treating co-researchers as colleagues with two caveats; that asymmetries and power-differentials also occur with colleagues and relations established with one co-researcher cannot be assumed to have been established with another. That is a consensus amongst co-researchers, cannot be assumed, rather there are more likely to be power differentials.

This chapter addresses the researcher/co-researcher relationship and these two caveats and uses trustworthiness as the key to unlock these issues. Trustworthiness is then an integral feature of relationality the more trust that can be established in the field the closer the study gets to an understanding of the phenomenon of unemployment. Johnson when discussing the 'horrors of scientific research' explains "it is through trust that we narrow the gap between the object of study and our examination of it" [Johnson (1999): 186]. However when qualitative researchers discuss trustworthiness as a criterion for judging research they concentrate on the notion of credibility and dependability, in relation to potential academic audiences.

They tend not to elaborate on their concerns over researcher probity, explaining how this trust can be achieved and what type of trust is actually occurring.

This chapter then makes a methodological contribution in setting out an interpretation and analysis, albeit at some reflexive distance, of the actual processes involved in establishing trust in the Access Phase of the research. It is presented first here and has not yet been returned to the organizations for co-analysis. It starts by exploring the different bases on which trust can occur when understood as a multidimensional concept, with different types of trust produced in different contexts. This analysis is confined to the Access Phase data sub-set - the processes of access negotiation [see Box 6.3 Access Methods p.115]. The principle question is why managers, as co-researchers, in the two organizations were prepared to trust me to the extent that they did? I will not attempt to explore the role of trust in all my social interactions in the field though it will hopefully cast a light onto these. In particular in paying close attention to the processes involved in *creating* trust this discussion aims to prepare the reader for communicative rationalities, that is the process of developing shared understanding and points of agreement [Ranson & Stewart (1998): 248] that underpin the three preventative actions, set out in the next chapter, that occurred in the research.

The current chapter serves another important function in describing the process of access negotiation which occurs before data collection begins. Although often neglected in research accounts, it is through this process that the foundations of all collaboration and subsequent co-creation of knowledge are laid.

8.2 Trust and the researcher/co-researcher relationship

One of the striking aspects of the research was the degree to which my ideas were taken seriously. As it was intervention research I was aiming to collaborate in change, but I was not prepared for the extent to which organizations gave me open access and were prepared to debate and negotiate with me over ideas. When organizations allow research-practitioners access to their paperwork, their management, staff and clients, to witness their procedures and so on, they are engaging in risk and uncertainty. Since, as Seligman puts, it the 'Acts, character or intentions of others cannot be confirmed' [Seligman(1997): 21]. Aneil Mishra reviewing trust literature developed a useful definition;

> Trust is one party's willingness to be vulnerable to another party based on the belief that the latter party is (a) competent, (b) open, (c) concerned, and (d) reliable. [Mishra (1996): 265]

Both the YPC and SD were prepared to open themselves to scrutiny and make themselves vulnerable during a process of transition. Such transition is a normal

feature of organizations delivering government programmes in an environment of competitive tendering. Though trusting a researcher made them insecure and vulnerable, there were goals that underpinned this trust, and it is worth unpacking the rationalities involved.

According to Edmondson & Moingeon (1999) not only is trust a prerequisite to intervention-orientated research, intervention-orientated research can 'give rise to a climate of trust' [Edmondson & Moingeon (1999)]. They discuss the role of trust in the methods of two leading interventionists, Chris Argyris and Michel Crozier, who intervene in organizations in transition to promote organizational learning. Edmondson & Moingeon distinguish between 'trust in competence' and 'trust in intentions'; Argyris and Crozier are quite different in the way they develop the researcher/co-researcher relationship. These differences will be examined in reflecting on the communicative actions that developed with each organization. In Chapter Five the researcher/co-researcher relationship was understood in terms of co-learners engaged in mutual inquiry or as colleagues, but it is worth going further into this relationship to see the nature of the colleague-colleague relationship or co-learner relationship. Barber offers a helpful distinction between different types of trust; *task-focused trust* that is trust as a function of "a technically competent role performance" *fiduciary trust,* where the trust is based on notions of obligation and responsibility and that "partners in interactions will carry out their duties" and finally *relational trust* here the basis become more concerned with respectful interpersonal relationships [Barber (1983): 9]. Trusting a research psychologist is not the same as trusting a doctor or lawyer, there are no clear contracts or fiduciary obligations. There are, however, certain normative expectations requiring an element of task-focused trust, and it is possible for the researcher to engage in technical competence role performance, as indicated below, but what is central to the account developed here is an understanding of relational trust.

8.3 Dimensions involved in creating trustworthiness

Table 8.1 [see page 153] contains an analysis, of the processes that occurred during the Access Phase; the communicative acts of the researcher have been placed on one side, the communicative acts of the managers as co-researchers on the other. Trustworthiness during this phase was established only with managers who were in a position to give access to the organization, but this did not arise solely out of dyadic encounters, between myself and managers. There was also a presentation on the person-centred approach - 'a technically competent role performance' to the YPC[1] and

[1] Full details of this presentation are set out in Chapter Ten.

attendance as an observer at a naturally-occurring meeting where the entire YPC management team were present. Within the access phase there were already a number of roles developing.

To understand this it is useful to consider the idea of 'normative role-expectations' which can be taken as the first dimension of trustworthiness, that is in entering into a relationship both parties have goals and expectations of the other, this found expression in both organizations mentioning that they had worked with researchers before. In the case of SD, the service manager PH explained the problem was that there were so many researchers already evaluating the pilots SD were delivering but as he put it "the thing is I really want to support this research".

I had an interest in co-creating resistant knowledge which would be of use to both the organizations and future unemployed people and rather than let managers work with any implicit theories about "the normative role of the researcher" I emphasized the concept of 'psycho-social space' and the 'Gainful Unemployment' standpoint and that the intervention would not be around helping unemployed people back to work; further that I was an independent researcher not interested in evaluating the organization. Whilst in some of the meetings this facilitated open discussion. In other discussions, despite my emphasis on Participatory Action Research and my desire for collaboration, a normative understanding of the role of a researcher or it may be better to say conceptions of a model of normal science were often encountered. This is illustrated in a comment taken from the reflexive journal.

> Yesterday I had a big meeting with T'OG at Moultrie council it was a very constructive meeting and we covered a lot of ground in just under an hour. I made a point of presenting some of my GU data so as to promote an exchange of ideas. Also to give him an idea of where I was coming from I used the Willie More space Map yet again and it facilitated some discussion, as did 'Darren's' remarks. I would like to get involved in the New Deal for Musicians and should push on this. T'OG asked how many people would I need for my research and in truth I didn't know how to answer what I wanted to say is that the number doesn't really matter. In fact I said "*a small group would do say a half dozen, the key thing is that it should really be a group that meets naturally and has some connection with each other. A group that will continue to meet after I have left the situation, perhaps they all live in the same area or all use the same service*". Reflexive Journal Entry 2nd June 1999.

At this stage before the synopsis was written the methods were open to negotiation and my plan was that they would develop with various co-researchers in the two organizations. I also, as noted, demonstrated my competence in presenting to the YPC on what was needed for them to develop a person-centred approach. In doing this, I made use of the YPC's literature and it's own aims and objectives within the

presentation, selecting useful applied case studies which were similar to what, through discussions, I had come to understand as the YPC's collectively agreed goal - to meet the needs of young people. Argyris has noted that organizations are more likely to trust an interventionist if they feel they can appreciate the organization's unique attributes and concerns, [Edmonson & Moingeon (1999)].

Presenting my standpoint and conceptual ideas in one-to-one meetings led to discussions and negotiations around these ideas, we both engaged in debate and *negotiation* which can be seen as a further dimension of trust. Co-researchers were seen as debaters, able to adopt different positions and construct arguments. Managers in both organizations thus developed rationalities that worked towards some sort of shared understanding. To return to Habermas, such conversations exist within the lifeworld, as well as an objective dimension, they have a subjective one for example the thoughts and ideas that enter and leave one's mind, the internal negotiations, the different *I*-positions that we consider before we speak and also an intersubjective, or normatively agreed, dimension; the points at which we are able to arrive at a shared understanding. It is through communicative actions that different horizons of meaning shift and change as the conversation develops. That it is not to say that co-researchers agreed with my psycho-social conceptualisation of the everyday life of an unemployed person or with my macro-economic arguments rather that these concepts were debated and the discussion was on a conceptual level. TO'G, when reading my concept 'Gainful Unemployment' challenged it with research they had commissioned which found that most young people wanted a job, [see Table 8.2 which supplements Table 8.1 in setting out further details of certain key trust themes].

During our discussion 'reading' that is inferring, my standpoint as challenging the validity of government training schemes, he stated "if I had to say yes or no to training schemes I'd say yes". If relational trust is developing it should be possible for researcher and co-researcher as colleagues to debate in this way, though Habermas tends to emphasize consensus, it is possible for the research to proceed with differences of opinion.

Turning to a further dimension of trust, a feature of all meetings and discussions, particularly one-to-one encounters was the fast-paced discussion about training programmes, government legislation, the actions of certain ministers and local MSP's, and the national and local labour market. It was essential that I maintained my end of the conversation and was up to speed on the debates that surrounded this area. This fits within the third dimension *competence*. I had in some respects demonstrated

Communicative acts - Managers	Trust Dimensions	Communicative acts - Researcher
Political self-disclosure.	Non-reciprocal self-disclosure	No Political self-disclosure
Personal self-disclosure (biographical & frustrations)	Reciprocal self -disclosure	Personal self-disclosure (biographical only)
Knowledge of labour market (national & local)	Competence	Knowledge of labour market (national & local)
Meetings at researcher's site	Co-operation	Meetings at organizations' site
Indicating research needs	Collaboration	Inviting organization's to express research needs
Used to presence of researchers in organization	Normative role-expectations	Independent researcher not evaluating organization Giving presentation
Provide researcher with existing research literature & organization's aims	Mutuality	Provide organization with existing research literature and research ideas
Challenging researcher's synopsis & research	Negotiation	Debating synopsis & literature content Debating organizations aims
Widening researcher participation	Co-operation, good-will and future-orientation	Accepting invitations
Providing introductions and general access for fieldwork	Reciprocity	Creation of knowledge that will be of immediate value to clients and organization

Table 8.1 Communicative acts involved in developing dimensions of trust

Organizations / Trust Acts	Moultrie Council	Strategic Delivery	Young Person's Centre
Personal self-disclosure (vunerability)	none	"So you went to ____ Uni, I went to _____university"[2]	Criticism of other managers in YPC
Organizational research needs	"Need work done on employers attitudes to young people"	"We need someone to follow a cohort through our programmes"	1. "We need longitudinal research" 2. "A chance to do some shadowing" 3. "Find out what young people think of programmes" 4. "Find out what happens when they leave here"
Organization's research history.	Naming another researcher	Naming another researcher & psychologist	Naming another researcher
Widening researcher role	Invited to attend forums	Invited to Tarbert Forum	Invited to partnership meetings
Dialogue with UK government discourse.	"If I had to say yes or no to training schemes I'd say yes"	1. 'Three strikes and you're out' 2. "It's about rights and responsibilities" 3. "They used to be a policeman then they became a friend..."	1. "Still an element of the 'on your bike' approach" 2. "The difficulty is that there are people here who are very comfortable and stuck in their ways ...pushing people through training programmes"
Exchange of respective literature	Gave researcher Lifestyles Survey Received GU 1997 data[3].	Received GU 1997 Data.	Received GU 1997 data
Dialogue with received research literature	"What Duncan[4] needs is the New Deal for Musicians"		"Allowing young people the space to make decisions for themselves"
Challenge research synopsis.	"Our research suggests young people want a job".	Talk of job-readiness	Talk of job-readiness
Socio-political disclosures	None	1. Criticism of ES 2. " as soon as they have to go on the New Deal 50% sign off" 3. "the grey economy" 4. we want the building not to look to New Deal-ish. 5. We avoided using government buildings	1. Criticisms of Health Board 2. And in disclosures on client group from data
Referring to the other organizations.	References to YPC & SD	References to YPC & Council	References to Council & SD

Table 8.2 Trust analysis of co-researchers communicative acts.

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[2] Speech marks indicate a verbatim quote.
[3] All organizations were given the key findings of my Master's research entitled 'Gainful Unemployment; the everyday life of those currently unemployed' Mahendran (1997).
[4] 'Duncan' was one of the 'GU' Mahendran (1997) sample.

my competence in giving a presentation, however it is worth returning to Edmonson & Moingeon's distinction between 'trust in intentions' and 'trust in competence'. One of the key differences between Argyris and Crozier is that Argyris takes a highly prescriptive approach in the 'theory of action' which he developed with Schön, the aim of this approach is to get members of organizations to reflect upon their thinking and theories-in-use, and to move from single-looped thinking to double-looped thinking, which involves questioning the governing conditions. Their action science requires a high level of commitment by the organization to move from Model I theories in use, where behaviour is characterized by defensiveness, self-fulfilling prophecies and escalating error, to Model II theories-in-use, where members work with actual observed behaviour, or what was written in the letter, email etc.

This requires profound attentiveness and Argyris explains that in building trust he himself must be seen to be to be using a Model II approach, that is he must always be attentive and "maintain a learning orientation" [Edmonson & Moingeon (1999)].

Crozier, as organizational sociologist also interested in organizational learning, takes a different philosophical approach He argues that whilst members of organizations are constrained there is always what he calls a "margin of freedom" which is a source of insecurity for other colleagues, allowing colleagues power over each other. In his approach he simply listens in the first stage, offering a descriptive snapshot of the organization's action system with no interpretation. He emphasizes an empathic listening attitude, he is not listening for evidence of a particular type of thinking, rather leaving the direction of organizational learning relatively open. In Edmonson & Moingeon analysis it is easier to trust Crozier as long as members of the organization trust his intentions. Because of the high degree of commitment Argyris's action science requires, organizations must trust both his competence and his intentions, they must also trust each other in this process of change. Both interventionists emphasize "not taking sides", in particular not to being seen to have only the senior managers interests in mind.

In this research access is granted in a top-down way, which has consequences for power-differentials between co-researchers in organizations, which will be tackled in Section 8.4.2. Within this study it was necessary for managers to trust my intentions in order to allow access; though it may not have been so necessary to trust my competence, I was sufficiently unsure of my position that I placed a high degree of importance on demonstrating it. In order to encourage a high degree of collaboration, I encouraged organizations to express their research needs so that these could be integrated into the research [see table 8.2].

The assumption of the future existence of relations is a key feature of trust and the widening of the researcher role and participation, is an indication that trust is developing. I was invited by the Council, the YPC and SD to sit on forums and invitations were extended to presentations that managers were attending, which they felt I might be interested in; this suggests a *future-orientation*. Other dimensions which went beyond the access phase and will be described in much more detail in the next chapter are *mutuality* and *co-operation*. We met at each other sites, managers seemed prepared to travel the distance to the University, and began to give me organizational literature and previous research as I did the same. The extent of the negotiation and co-operation is shown by the development of the synopses at the end of the access phase, [see appendices A and B for a copy of the synopsis]. In which a sketch of methods was included, as both JM and PH had argued that they would need this if they were going to be able to convince the staff to collaborate in the study.

I am arguing here then for a relational-basis to trust, which emphasizes reciprocity and mutuality, but what of the fiduciary trust in the professional role of the psychologist or the scientist? In this respect I stated in person and in the synopsis that I was from the department of Psychology, University of Stirling and indicated that I was an independent researcher. I was always clear in presenting myself as a social psychologist - even if I had to spend the next half an hour undoing whatever impression they had formed and TO'G commented "I think that on something as big as this it's good that the university and us are working together". JM at the YPC however expressed uncertainty about partnership working. He explained that they had worked with the health service and that hadn't worked at all. It is here we can see that where there is trust there is always also distrust as an alternative pragmatic. In this respect there is also a professional basis to the trust relationship that co-researchers assumes that I was being regulated by peers within the profession and abiding by a code of conduct, this was confirmed in stating the key features of the BPS Ethical Guidelines within the synopsis; in particular the right to 'confidentiality', to withdrew at any point, or to have one's data removed after the research was completed. These guidelines were repeated at all stages in the research, though this Chapter focuses on the development of trust within the access phase, access is a matter of constant negotiation.

8.3.1 The strategic use of Self-disclosure

As well as working to gain trust within a political research process, the researcher has to make decisions about how much they are going to trust the co-researchers. I resisted some ideas put forward by both organisations, for example the incorporating of focus groups into the programmes. Because I thought this context would impact on the discussions clients would engage in. Reciprocal self-disclosure is a

further dimension to building up trust, research-practitioner must use a certain amount of distrust when speaking. I was happy to reveal aspects about my personal biography but I proceeded very carefully when managers engaged in political disclosures. One comment which PH at SD made in both meetings despite being four months apart is worth mentioning.

> PH: 40% sign off, when they get hot-spotted by the Employment Service and are asked to attend the Gateway...perhaps they had been signing on and working. [20th July 1999].

> PH: 50% sign off (...), where do they go? Is it because they are working in the grey economy, perhaps they are young and can live off their parents. [9th November 1999].

It was difficult to remain silent at this remark and I found myself gently offering a possible explanation, PH felt sure that the statistic was evidence of the extent of benefit fraud, whilst I suggested that people might lean heavily on their families and friends until they were able to sign on again. Again it is worth returning to the importance of negotiation in the gaining of trust of organizations, it requires a little distrust on the part of the researcher. The balancing act is in not colluding with the belief-systems inherent in managements' socio-political disclosures whilst still keeping up a level of reciprocity in order to gain trust and encourage a degree of collaboration. By demonstrating mutuality I was careful to make clear the values of the research and offer something in exchange each time I met with an organization - data from my Master's research, a useful internet resource, journal or conference paper. There was in this mutuality, as distinct from reciprocity, an acceptance and respect for each others specialisms. The resources were often in response to key issues of interest to the co-researcher and showed an appreciation of the sort of work the co-researcher was involved in, their professional intentions and competencies. This is essential if an atmosphere of trust is to be created.

8.4 The extent of trust within the YPC and SD

PH's remarks illustrate an interesting aspect of trustworthiness in the Access Phase, which relates to the second caveat to a PAR approach; gaining trust with one co-researcher does not mean that trust has been established with another. Further, given the power-differentials, having established a dialogue with management in both organizations, which after all were involved in delivering government training schemes, I may well have created barriers to developing trust with staff and unemployed clients. The question of the extent to which managers trusted clients is not straightforward one.

8.4.1 Trust and Unemployed clients

It will become clear particularly in the next chapter that the clients, the unemployed, were not always seen as trustworthy, by managers and staff within both organizations, however there was, paradoxically, a desire by managers to gain their client's trust. PH disclosed comments on not using government buildings, stating "we decided to hold the first GAS[5] in the leisure centre" and later he commented on making sure the SD building entrance "didn't look too New Deal-ish". Such contradictions are at the heart of the modernization of poverty where private organizations, such as SD, rely on the unemployed as customers or clients to use and accept the legitimacy of their service. This is not confined to SD also the YPC wanted young unemployed people to trust them, much of the management rationality and desire for change towards a person-centred approach was based on the belief that clients were young adults who were being treated as children by staff.

8.4.2 Trust between management and the staff

Organizations as large as the YPC and SD rely on trust and co-operation in order to function; there are no written rule books or even clear job descriptions and any attempt to 'work-to-rule', as with many modern organizations would lead them to grind to a halt. Both organizations where open in their structure, in the sense that they were influenced by developments occurring in neighbouring organizations and such organizations are often characterised by lateral alliances and social relationships. As noted, one likely reason that both organizations engaged in the development of a trust relationship with me was that they were in transition. This is not peculiar to either organization but is a feature of the socio-political climate at the time. When organizations involved in unemployment had to change in order to deliver a new approach which, as set out in Chapter Three, section 3.2.5, emphasized one-to-one guidance and the use of personal advisors. In the access phase both PH at SD and JM at the YPC discuss the changing role of the staff within this transition.

> PH: They used to be a policeman then they became a friend playing a new role and now they are being asked to be more persuasive, to direct and negotiate with the person. *Discussing the individual work-focused Gateway*. [9th November 1999].

> JM: The difficulty is that there are people here who are very comfortable and stuck in their ways and really feel it is about pushing people through training schemes and that young people have to fit with the objectives, targets and requirements of the organization and that is what we want to challenge. *Discussing the need to change towards the person-centred approach*. [12th November 1999].

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[5] General Awareness Session see page 75 for further details

When I entered the YPC there was an atmosphere of distrust between the staff and management; this was less apparent at SD. Managers at the YPC were quick to comment on the failure of staff to accept the transition. This tension was heightened by the fact that management at the YPC, during the access phase, often saw staff development as the key to implementing change rather than re-designing the structures and processes of the organization itself. JM in a candid moment of frustration commented "it takes 10 years to get staff to turn over" naturally this mismatch between the management rationalities and staff perceptions had led to an atmosphere of distrust and what Kramer refers to as "paranoid cognitions". Such as self-consciousness, a feeling of being under intense evaluative scrutiny, an insecurity about status and finally a heightened sense of accountability [Kramer (1996): 224].

It is tempting to understand this at the level of employee rationality, where employees make calculations about the trustworthiness of managers engaged in changing the service, but such an atmosphere of enhanced vigilance, intense rumination and 'justified mistrust' [ibid.:225] must equally be understood within the context of the flexible labour market and the consequent job insecurity that was discussed in Chapter Two. When I entered the YPC and SD this atmosphere between staff and management was readily apparent, and one of my own steps as a researcher was to make clear that I was not engaged in an evaluation of either organisation [see table 8.1 above]. I also used the aforementioned ethics/consent sheets [see appendix C & D] to indicate clearly my status as an independent researcher and how I could be contacted. Although this chapter cannot as go as far as to tackle whether the staff trusted me, the insecurity of key-workers at the YPC was an important feature of the YPC's transition towards a person-centred approach and will be revisited in Chapters Ten and Eleven.

8.5 Trust, action and communicative rationality

It is important in understanding the findings of this thesis to remember the extent to which the discussions that occurred between myself and co-researchers, and such co-researchers with each other, were around matters of public interest that is social problems which are currently debated within the public sphere, such as 'social inclusion', 'employability' and the problem of unemployment. It is for this reason that Habermas's thinking is so useful. To return to Habermas's emphasis on consensus, in developing his theory of communicative action, using the concept of the lifeworld,

> the transcendental site where speakers and hearers meet, where they can reciprocally raise claims that there utterances fit the world (objective social or subjective) and where they can criticise and confirm those validity claims, settle their disagreements and arrive at agreements [Habermas (1989): 126]

Habermas believed strongly in the processes of argumentation, the intersubjective nature of agreement and communication and it's implications for action. That we seek

as citizens to arrive at a shared understanding about the best way forward on matters of public interest. The remainder of this thesis will illustrate these processes to which Habermas refers and the various dimensions of trust. In particular in the next chapter communicative rationalities, based on mutuality and reciprocity, as have been discussed above become the basis on which action proceeds; we debate and listen and attempt to arrive at a shared understanding within the ever shifting connotative horizon of meaning.

Mutual trust is a necessary feature of communicative rationality, challenging the view that rationalities are individualistic, instrumental and calculative and that much of our thinking is a matter of mental accounting. I would argue that it is better to talk of the dialogic character of understanding, that is, as Ranson & Stewart put it "through genuine conversation the participants are led beyond their initial positions, to take account of others and move towards a richer, more comprehensive view, a 'fusions of horizons' (...) conversation lies at the heart of learning".

In envisioning the role of citizenship in the public domain Ranson & Stewart talk of "a community of shared understanding" [ibid.: 250] We can understand the dialogues that are to be the remainder of this study as such communicative rationalities, proceeding through four stages, openness, dialogue, shared understanding and finally judgement which grows out of this understanding. Where the actions taken develop niether from an illusion of objective procedure nor an arbitrary subjectivism, but through a process of intersubjective reasoning, we have reason through dialogue.

8.6 Summary

Gaining trust within research becomes a matter not just of trust in the research-practitioner's competence but also one of trust in their intentions. I set out to achieve a relational based trust and did not simply rely on task-focused or fiduciary trust; trust was built through a series of communicative acts, involving exchanging resources and a preparedness to debate ideas, concepts and possible methods. The chapter then develops a more detailed analysis of what it means when arguing that the researcher/co-researcher relationship involves mutual learning and treating each other as colleagues. This proceeds on the basis of relational trust but whilst there are moments of intersubjective agreement and shared understanding there is a danger in overstating the role of consensus. Rather it is better to argue that both trust and distrust are used as alternative pragmatics by both parties. In both organizations the managers required further explication of method before the first phase of research could begin. The chapter leaves open the question of whether gaining trust with managers in this first phase impacts on the same negotiations with staff and unemployed clients.

Chapter Nine - Phase One Actions.

9.1 Introduction

9.2 Action from dialogical understanding

9.3 Action A - co-created by PE/KM - Introducing anger-management

9.4 Action B - co-created by DDG/KM - Assessing information flow

9.5 Action C – co-created by NE/KM/DF - Measuring soft indicators

9.6 Debating psychologies of unemployment

9.7 Summary

9.1 Introduction

> A wider and more integrated approach to the social condition of youth unemployment could attempt a strategic intervention which attempts, not only to mitigate the worst effects of change within a given framework, but also to manage a process of change through adaptation of the institutions of the local state which are under local control and in a way which maximises the autonomies and powers of those that are unduly affected by change [Paul Willis (1985): 219].

This chapter focuses on the change that occurred within SD and the YPC during the active fieldwork phases. It presents three "actions", the first around the YPC's use of anger-management, the second around the YPC's attempts to assess the way information is gathered from the young people and flows through their organization and the third around SD's measurement of the soft-skills of its long-term unemployed clients. What characterizes all the findings presented in this chapter is that they were co-created in the field and involved presenting back data to the organizations within the lifetime of the research so that they could be of practical use to them. The chapter does not tackle data gathered in Phase Two at the YPC or data-gathered at SD which was not fed directly back to either organization, this will be treated in the remaining chapters of the thesis.

What characterises the three actions set out below is that they proceeded on the basis of recorded interviews and correspondence and can therefore be evidenced and independently assessed. Another common characteristic is that they tended to develop out of the particular interest or remit of one of the co-researchers; I have therefore presented them as co-created by the co-researcher and myself. My intention here is to present the action so that the distinct voice of the co-researcher is apparent and not filtered through the voice of the researcher.

This chapter thus delves a little deeper and gets closer to features of a dialogical approach as both sides of the communication are presented, with an emphasis on the uninterrupted flow of discussion as both partner debate the way forward on the three action objectives. The aim here is to demonstrate the movement of meaning and the dynamic epistemology that underpins this approach and the life at SD and the YPC, different media, emails, face-to-face conversations, whiteboards and literature are used as we move together towards a shared understanding.

9.2 Action from dialogical understanding

This study did not create collaboratively an intervention, which ran for a period of time and was then evaluated, rather a number of changes occurred during the fieldwork which because they involved the explicit attempt to move towards an action objective are called 'actions'. In all three cases the actions are understood within the context of organizational learning and the extent to which both the YPC and SD were attempting to change their service in reaction to influences outwith the organization, that is the socio-political climate around individualised training and guidance.

In the YPC this took the expression of a desire to move towards a person centred approach and at SD to begin systematically to measure soft skills. There were many conversations between myself and co-researchers as colleagues which caused us to reflect on our practice and debate the services being provided, however these three accounts have been isolated because they resulted in real changes to the service. It is also interesting to see how each party moves to makes sense of what the other is saying and how the communicative rationalities - openness, dialogue shared understanding and finally judgement are used in making the necessary progress towards the action objective. These actions then begin to demonstrate the features of the dialogical approach, the relationship between the social actors as an agent with the public sphere, the I-positions of the dialogical self, the importance of self-other relations and dialogism of words-in-use, where words take on different connotations according to the other speakers and present and the context in which they talk. Take, for example, the concept of 'anger-management'; what did this mean to PE? and what does it come to mean in the context of our discussion? This was the subject of the first action.

9.3 Action A – co-created by PE/KM - Introducing Anger-Management at YPC

I first met PE when he was the line-manager at the YPC in charge of the pre-vocational programme and the delivery of the 18-24 New Deal Gateway[1]. At this time I was regularly attending the YPC as I was following the 14 young people through their pre-vocational programmes[2]. He was therefore the line-manager responsible for most of the staff I had direct contact with. I had observed him working with the young people on health & safety during the January 2000 induction. So we were quite used to meeting each other at one of the YPC sites.

My initial observations of the first month of the pre-vocational programmes had given me cause for concern in relation to the content of the programmes, particularly the Leisure & Tourism course. I had been told that the programme was in the process of being developed and I asked to attend a staff pre-vocational development meeting on 7th March 2000. I had by this stage presented to the YPC in relation to their move towards a person-centred approach, so this was not seen as an unusual request. At this meeting PE explained the development idea to those present - five key workers, two of which were advisors, three core skills tutors and myself - was to move away from fixed timetable programmes towards short courses which would be three to four weeks long. Courses would be around interview skills and activity interests such as swimming, guitar lessons. There was, in this meeting, some discussion on a short course on 'self-development'. Evidence needed for funders such as Tarbert Enterprise [TE], the Local Enterprise Authority and Core-skills accreditation for the SQA would be gathered from short courses.

One of the central aims was that young people would not be waiting around unoccupied as it was then felt, they were currently doing; each would have an individually tailored programme. In the meeting staff discussed how this could logistically be developed and there was some concern about how tutors and key-workers might evidence progress in terms of measured outcomes. PE explained that he was operationalising the new programme stages and he would send it to us by email before the next meeting, on 28th March. The new programme was projected to begin by the '8/00 intake' (i.e. September/October 2000[3]).

I was unable to attend the 28th March meeting but was sent the minutes shortly afterwards by post and on 11th April a copy of PE's draft document entitled "Development of Pre-vocational programme" arrived on my email; and a hard copy in

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[1] YPC had become one of SD's providers of the New Deal 18-24 Gateway.
[2] Details of the nature of the pre-vocational programmes and vocational programmes were set out in Chapter Three and a profile of the young people is given in Chapter Ten.
[3] Because of the five weekly intake 8/00 would be September/October rather than in the eighth month of the year.

the post. This document contained a more formalised account of the objectives of the development as follows;

> Objectives - revised programme structure more capable of meeting the individual client needs which in time will reduce the number of early leavers, reduce the amount of unproductive time and therefore also reduce the risks of problems arising. *Taken from the document "Development of Pre Vocational Programme". 11th April 2000.*

The development document focused on funding, staff costs and a 'methodology' timetable that set out the development in week-by-week steps from February 2000 until September 2000. The key steps were for each of the six members of the pre-vocational staff team to develop their sessions; this was to be done by June. Beside each session initials indicated which staff member would take the session [see Fig 9.1]. My attention was immediately drawn to the sessions entitled 'anger-management /behaviour'; these four sessions were to be taken by PE himself. On the hard copy a handwritten comment saying "PE to see SH" had been added next to these sessions.

The issue of anger-management had already been mentioned by PE at the YPC. There had been an incident when a young person had threatened another with a knife; this was talked about at several of my visits. The police had been called, as had all the available male members of staff, including PE who was the most senior member of staff present. Discussions on staff safety had continued for several weeks after, including at the meeting in March I had attended. I was also familiar with SH. She was new to YPC and had been introduced to me by a key-worker ,DDG, as "also a psychologist". On an earlier visit I had heard her discussing with PE a young person who could not get up in the morning and she had made the comment "this is a case of positive and negative reinforcement", which had made me conscious of her influence on the development of the pre-vocational programme and differences in my psychology of unemployment and her own.

PE actively encouraged me to attend development meetings and had said that he would value my input on the development of the programme. As the issues related both to my research interests and the YPC transition, I arranged to meet with him after I had received these documents we met on 18th April.

This meeting was preceded by an agenda containing the following four questions on it[4].

1. 'Are the Leisure & Tourism group also included under the heading pre-vocational?
2. What is the purpose/aims of the new pre-voc?
3. What are the key changes?
4. How will the client focus groups be carried out?

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[4] These questions are discussed further in Chapter Ten and this section is only concerned with the action around the issue of anger-management.

Client focus groups to evaluate the existing programme and aid development of the new one had been mentioned in March, I had seen this as a valuable way to encourage greater user-perspective. So far in my fieldwork there had been no evidence of user-perspective evaluation and I saw this as a possible opportunity to be involved as an action researcher in these focus groups.

Summary of pre vocational development meeting
28th March 2000

Format for programme

Week 1	Induction		
Week 2-5	8 sessions per week		
	Job orientation	8 sessions	DDG
	CV	2 sessions	JL
	Interview Skills	2 sessions	GH
	IT	4 sessions	EMcA
	Support & Guidance	4 sessions	PE
	Anger-management/ Behaviour	4 sessions	PE
	Confidence building/ Know your skills	4 sessions	DR
	D of E	4 sessions	EMcC
Week 6	Holiday		
Week 7-13	3 day placement		
	28 sessions core skills		

Fig 9.1 Minutes document entitled "Summary of pre-vocational development meeting - 28th March 2000".

I gave PE a copy of these questions and, as I did in all meetings, invited him to introduce issues that he thought were relevant. The meeting ran for one and a half hours in a small office at the YPC. PE explained that what was being delivered hadn't really changed but it was *how* it was being delivered that was changing. He was keen to get away from certain 'skill start' i.e. SQA[5] core-skills norms such as 'communication', 'world of work' etc and move towards short courses. Later we began to discuss the support and guidance sessions, which young people at the YPC were to have once a week. PE commented

> PE: I would like to see actions being identified where both the client and the key worker could check on the progress.

[5] The Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) is responsible for accrediting and setting core skills in Vocational training. In 1999 this was updated and all trainees were expected to achieve the five core skills, Numeracy, Communication, Working with Others, Information Technology and Problem Solving. These could be taught as dedicated Core Skills Units or embedded into pre-vocational and vocational programmes, where 'no further assessment or collection of evidence' would be necessary. *Questions and Answers on the implementation of the new National Qualifications - A Support Guide for Staff in Centres*, Scottish Qualifications Authority, September 1999.

KM: From my observations they seem random, unstructured and vary in nature and length, because of this it seems some youngsters have to wait until the person beforehand has finished ...this leads to young people waiting around.

PE: Yes and this is when problems of disruption occur [18th April 2000].

I then referred to the minutes and the mention of anger-management. PE explained that "some of the young people have a problem with this", he had thought of bringing in SH as she knew a bit about it". I asked if it was really "a question of anger-management or stress-management?" to which PE explained he felt it was anger-management. He began to think out loud about bringing in a team from outside and how much this might cost. At the next meeting of the pre-vocational team on 20th June PE started the two-hour meeting with the issue of 'anger-management'. I again challenged the use of the term 'anger-management'; PE explained that this would be taken by SH who had "a few books on it and had it had related to her previous work".

Kesini Mahendran {PG}[6]
From: PE
Sent: Tuesday, June 27, 2000 4:25 PM
To: Kesini Mahendran {PG}
Subject: Re:Notes of meeting

Kesi

Not a problem. Do you want to suggest possible dates, and do we want to be away from here to avoid possible interruptions.
'I've got some info on "working relationships" which might be more appropriate than managing aggression. Keen to hear your views on it.
Here from you soon
PE

Fig 9.2 Email from PE to KM Setting up an interview

I was aware that SH had worked at a hospital with people with learning difficulties and we had met briefly and discussed different schools of Psychology. She had explained that it had been a component of her Master's course and she had concentrated on mental health in her own research. Given my stated standpoint, I was now concerned that such psychological behavioural techniques might be used on the young people. I stayed behind after the meeting and again expressed my reservations PE explained that the aims was to "develop behaviour appropriate to work", he reminded me a conversation at the 18th April meeting, where we had discussed how young people needed to 'learn the game', PE said that maybe we could meet up and discuss the development of the programme. We decided to sort it out over email [see Fig9.2].

[6] All emails presented in Chapter Nine are anonymised and the presented exactly as they appeared on my Microsoft Outlook. Therefore the last message appears first and the email string reads respectively.

Kesini Mahendran {PG}
From: Kesini Mahendran {PG}
Sent: 04 July 2000 4:06 PM
To: 'PE'
Subject: Thursday

Hi PE

I haven't received the 'working relationships' literature you mentioned yet but here are a few discussion points for Thursday's session

- pre-vocational development and tutor/staff adjustment
- 13-26 weeks, extending the programme
- advocating for young people with particular needs
- understanding the working world.
- working relationships & anger-managements

Feel free to add to this list or seek clarification.
I will be in the YPC tomorrow at 2.00 to meet DDG so I might catch up with you then
bye for now
Kesi.

Fig 9.3 Setting up the discussion points for the interview

In the intervening emails PE sent the literature and on 4th July I sent him an email indicating some discussion points for 6th July when we met for a lengthy recorded meeting at the University. Fig 9.3 indicates a number of points within this interview. Most of these are dealt with in later chapters this section is only concerned with the last one. We were able to have a fuller discussion around the rationale behind introducing anger-management onto the programme and I was able to read the literature PE had supplied me with on 'working relationships', which involved a series of role-play activities for young people.

Here we begin the last discussion point - the introduction of anger-management.

KM: It's more like the working relationships you have with colleagues. You know when you have meetings and you say 'I know I was supposed to bring that but I haven't had a chance to but it will be ready for the next meeting' so you are on that kind of level with colleagues naturally, but with young people it doesn't seem to go on so much and if they feel that they are entering into a working relationship with. Do you know what I mean?

PE: Yes and I think that you are right.

KM: Everybody regresses when they feel like that they are being shouted at and you have got young people in the YPC that are behaving younger than they actually are because of the set up.

PE: Yerr and we are probably just reinforcing it by then, how we then deal with them. You know as they regress we shout, they regress more it's a vicious circle in that sense.

KM: It's often the way, (...) what do you think would be helpful for you?

PE: No, it was really about trying to identify exactly what I do want to do with these sessions [*the anger-management sessions*] you know and what are they about.

KM: I would be interested in knowing where it started. In knowing where that anger-management came from.

PE: It is probably from me not being really clear about what I was trying to...I mean a lot of them have got issues about ... I mean in some cases you know how they respond and responding inappropriately and becoming aggressive (...). Originally it was about trying to get through to them that that kind of reaction isn't going to achieve the goal. It's like you could argue in some cases it's like how I deal with my six year old son you know, 'you doing this is not going to change it' you know 'change the way you come to me and we can work round it' or whatever' but 'If I said no and you scream and shout and kick and thump isn't going to make me suddenly go OK let's say yes' and I think that a lot of the young people that we deal with have, still have that problem you know, that because we have said no to something or because it doesn't fit with ... They are not prepared to listen to an argument they think that if they shout loud enough and react badly enough they will get us to change our mind.

KM: I think they think they might be able to wear you down (laughs)

PE: Yerr they might be (laughs) but I think there were issues like that that I felt that we needed to explore and but I suppose I have moved more towards about you know expectations in the workplace, how to behave in the work place how would they respond if things aren't going well and if they are not happy with things. It's not about telling the manager to piss off, it's about. And I accept that often things will be wrong in the workplace that they need to be able to speak up about it.

Kesi: Yerr but it is how

PE: But it is how to do it, an appropriate way to do it. It's using resources or skills that can get to (____unclear) help? Whether that's simply being able to pick up the phone and phone your key-worker is maybe the simplest way of getting them out of a problem. You have got a difficulty that is what your key-worker is there for. But it is about maybe giving them the skills to try and negotiate or

KM: So you don't (..hesitates), there are then a number of points then I think. So you wouldn't say it was to do with how you would like them to behave when on site it is more about how you would like them to behave when they are in a working environment.

PE: I think it is about teaching them the rules of the game. This is what is expected of you, you know and whether you agree with it or not you have to accept for many employers they have got the power to dismiss you if they see fit you know.

KM: But then=

PE: =We are not saying that you accept everything that happens to you. But what we are saying is that if there are things this is how you deal with it, this is how you react, this is how you can take things forward, but on a day to day basis sometimes these are the kinds of things that are seen as appropriate within the work place and not appropriate.

KM: So if that is the case would you not feel that it might be useful to build it in to job-orientation? [6th July 2000].

After the meeting I sent PE and email thanking him for coming into the university and in reply PE sent me the email in Fig 9.4

Kesini Mahendran {PG}
From: PE
Sent: July 27, 2000 10:46 PM
To: Kesini Mahendran {PG}
Subject: Re:thanks

Kesi
I found the interview useful, hope the recording is ok
The working relationship material could be returned to DDG, since we have adopted your suggestion to include it in the job orientation course.
See you soon
PE

Fig 9.4 Email from PE to KM – Re:thanks

The introduction of anger-management was dropped and sessions were introduced on working relationships. At the time of writing both PE and SH have moved into different jobs. PE understood this action to have proceeded on my recommendation but the interview extracted above, indicates the extent to which the meeting gave PE the opportunity and space to reflect and re-frame his original thinking. He arrives at what is underpinning the desire for anger-management sessions to be introduced to the pre-vocational programme, he is concerned with young people learning how to behave appropriately in the work place.

A feature of this first action is that two different psychologies of unemployment are competing my own; a dialogical approach, and SH's which I suggest is a self-perception psychology of unemployment. My role is one partly of concientización; I aim to raise PE's critical consciousness in debating this issue, this involves challenging the other psychology of unemployment. The latter is not solely SH's position; all our utterances must be understood as situated within the socio-political context of an individualised approach to unemployment described in Chapter Three. As such the critical consciousness-raising becomes a process of bringing into awareness the implicit psychologies of unemployment which exist in organizations such as the YPC. PE as a manager is able to reflect on these different positions from a member of his staff and a research-practitioner acting in some respects as a social consultant, and decide between them. Equally I am a co-learner and PE raises my consciousness regarding the culture of the YPC. On this occasion the introduction of an individual level psychological intervention is prevented by setting the problem within the context of "working relationships" or "playing the game" in the working world.

9.4 Action B - co-created by DDG/KM - Assessing Information flow

The second action relates to YPC's objective to assess how information was collected from its young people and how it flowed through the organization. This was part of a broader concern over partnership-working; the YPC wanted to assess the extent to which information collected from young people was information that had already been collected by other agencies, e.g. career service, secondary school support or another training centre. This project had been seconded to a key-worker, DDG, who had been encouraged by PE to meet with me. DDG and I had first met on 16th February 2000 when she was carrying out the New Deal 18-24 Gateway Induction, I had attended as an observer.

There were four action meetings with DDG, all at the YPC; an initial meeting on 26th April 2000, to establish what the issues were, then three subsequent recorded interviews, the first on 1st June for two hours where I discussed my findings and she presented her initial ideas, after which she sent me a copy of her draft report then on 28th June a three hour afternoon session of which 90 minutes was recorded where we discussed her report and finally on 5th July for half an hour. We met at my request to discuss a self-assessment measure she had designed.

In April, in the first meeting we discussed what was needed. Here DDG explains the situation

> DDG: at the moment there are a number of systems (...) would like for there to be one system that is person-centred. It is about identifying the needs of the trainees. We talk

about the need to record progress (...) I have had a meeting with careers and they have set up a working group

KM: I can comment that there is a lot of paper gathering at the moment especially in the first week and then it stops with the exception of the assessment matrixes. Is there an evaluation form?

DDG: no, though it goes on in some of the programmes (...) what we need is agreed action points [26th April 2000].

In this meeting then, we established that the YPC wanted (i) one integrated person-centred system to be used by all staff (ii) to develop a system that identified the needs of 'trainees'; and (iii) a system that allowed the YPC to measure progress with young people. DDG echoed PE's view in saying that what the YPC needed was "agreed action points". They wanted both the young person and their key-worker to have meetings where they agreed what would be achieved by the next meeting, whether it was that the young person would do something, e.g. attend an interview, or address a personal issue or the key-worker would do something e.g. make a phone call, gather information on a particular vocational area.

In preparation for the second meeting I organized my analysis of the Phase One Data, in particular the observation of the January 2000 intake into 30 bullet points which started from the moment the young person walked into YPC at the pre-induction interviews in December, and continued through the January induction to the end of their 13 or 26 week programme. These were organized under the following headings; pre-induction interview, letter, paper-filling session, 2-day induction, 3-day residential, feedback session, programme delivery, support & guidance

Discussion points for meeting between DDG and KM
June 1st 2000 The Civic Building
Young Person Centre

Meeting in relation to assessment of information flow, needs-assessment of young people etc.

comments from first meeting Thursday 27th April

- DDG says that at the moment there are a number of systems would like for there to be one system that is person-centred. It is about identifying the needs of young people.
- We talk about need to record progress
- DDG has had a meeting with careers and they have set up a working group. so hopefully they might change their thinking as well.
- Talked about the need for agreed action points.
- Talked about the important of Young people regarding YPC as a fresh start.
- Talked about the way some information is not always available and many mistakes with young people is because Key-workers do not possess all the relevant facts.

Assessment of overall information flow

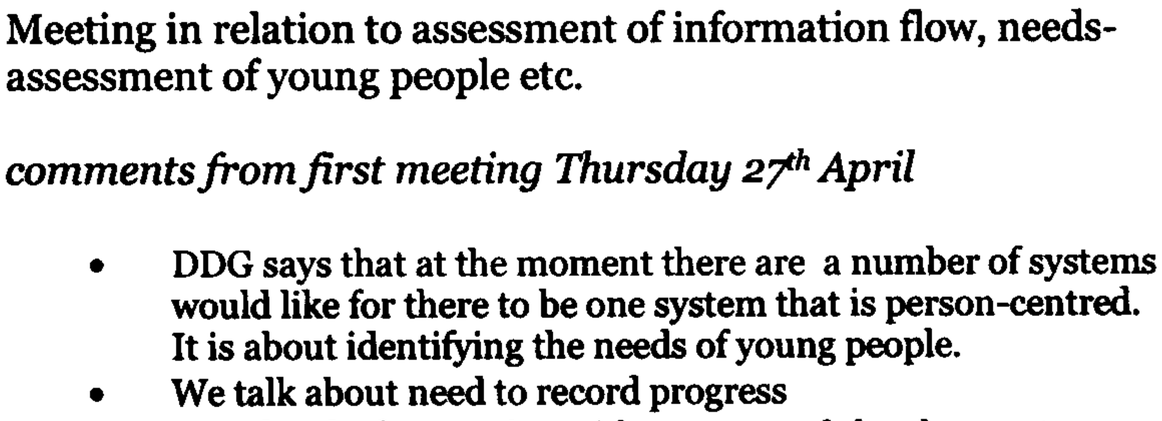

Fig 9.5 Discussion point sheet used by DDG and KM

sessions and staff pre-vocational meetings[see appendix H]. I also prepared some work on the person-centred approach and drew up the discussion sheet [Fig 9.5] which summarised the detail of the April meeting and below set out how I understood the information flow at YPC. DDG was given a copy of this sheet and the sheet [appendix H] with the 30 bullet points on, in this respect she was one of the first people at the YPC to receive my Phase one analysis. In the recorded session I talked DDG through my findings, we talked around the principle of the person-centred approach and I gave her photocopies of sections from two books, *The Carl Roger's reader* and *Freedom to Learn*[7].

On a white board DDG had drawn a table as set out in Fig 9.6, which she explained she had made up before the meeting and suggested we go through each one. This fitted in neatly with my 30 bullet-points. We started the meeting by looking at what information was on file for each of the young people in the 'January intake'.

A.	Referral stage	
B.	Interview Stage	
C.	Initial assessment and action plan	
D.	Reviewing progress & evaluation	
E.	Transition stage	Job
		Level I or II,
		Other training provider
		Exit agency
		College

Fig 9.6 White board details during 1st June meeting between DDG and KM

Each of the 14 files held different information which pointed to a lack of consistency in practice; further most of the information held consisted of timesheets, the original application form, log sheets from activities done on the residential and any 'disciplinaries' the young person had undergone. There were no measures of progress and very little actually filled in by young people except numeracy and literacy forms required by Tarbert Enterpise [TE]. We then talked through her stages A to E. During the discussing I introduced the information flow chart [Fig 9.5] suggesting we look at how young people came into the YPC and how they left. We filled in this chart together, creating the flow diagram presented in Fig 9.7 [below] One of the first discussions was about Stage A - who refers young people to the YPC? and on what basis?

DDG: I was really surprised, as they [*the careers service*] don't have any criteria as to why they send someone to LG, GJS[8] or YPC or college.

KM: How bizarre

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[7] Kirschenbaum, H and Henderson, V (1990). *The Carl Rogers reader*. London: Constable.
Rogers, C. & Jerome Frieberg, H. (1994) *Freedom to Learn*. Upper Sadle River NJ: Prentice-Hall.

[8] LG and GJS are alternative training providers in the Moultrie area.

DDG: What they said was 'well we have to, we know every provider has so many places and we have to divide the trainees equally between the providers'.

KM: So it is not even based on young people's expressed interests?

DDG: Well yes if someone is interested in business admin they send them to us as we provide business admin, but GJS also provides business admin. So they send a few to them and a few to us.

KM: Also I find when you listen to the young people and ask them 'why did you come to YPC' they don't know why they say 'I was referred'. Either I was referred by secondary school support or careers. They don't know why and they don't know what it is.

DDG: We get these assessment reports and I ask why are they produced? Every training provider is complaining that they don't get the information before the person appears for an interview. Information could be useful and it would stop us asking the same questions.

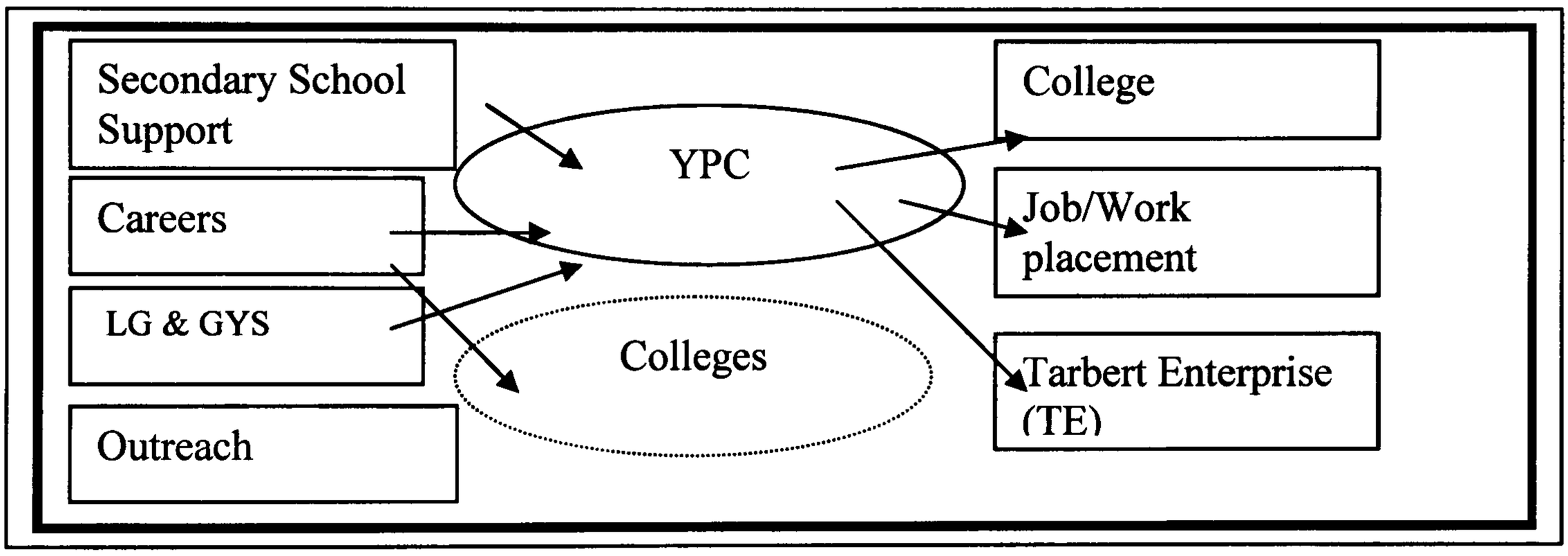

Fig 9.7 Assessment of Information Flow chart co-created by KM & DDG during the June 1st meeting.

We talked about the idea of a sheet where young people can put down their goals so the YPC could assess whether they had achieved their goals.

DDG: Reduce all the paperwork and just have one sheet which has all the positive and essential information on the front and it should go in a database system[9], and goals, why someone referred to a training provider, the training provider could work with the document and just add things. Because it is not always in the interest of trainees, if there are goals on their form they have achieved these goals then the outcome will be there it is no longer a barrier, or a problem or they have achieved a qualification, and then it can go it is no longer relevant (deleted off the database) it is a working document.

[9] At the time of the meeting not all of the information gathered on young people was entered into a database system though one existed, it depended very much on who their key-worker was.

KM: I am not sure when the goals would be established at this stage or at the referral stage?

DDG: I think the goals should be put on paper by careers, why they have sent the young person.

KM: So careers' goals rather than the young person's goals?

DDG: No, yes, well, they should put them together on paper. If the young person says I want to do motor mechanics course but from their achievements from school they aren't able to start they will be referred to a pre-vocational programme.

KM: I think that would make the information flow more coherent but the danger if careers or any other groups (on left hand boxes in fig9.7) are not really in touch with the young people, then you might get goals that are created there and then, that don't really relate to the young person's aspirations. Which then get carried through the YPC, the YPC isn't then a fresh start. Which I would be concerned about certainly listening to some of the young people in the pre-induction interviews, you get the feeling that they didn't really have that much of a detailed conversation with the careers officer

DDG: They don't have a relationship

KM: If in the first stage at the YPC there are certain goals established by the key-worker then that would be more young person-centred rather than careers. Often the young people I spoke to expressed an interest in something and then they say careers advised them to do something else. For example one of them had said they had wanted to do child-care but careers had advised them to do retail, in the end they came here [YPC] and went on the Leisure & Tourism so that's all over the place, they had a specific interest in doing child-care with children with special needs and that is very very specific.

DDG: And they are probably doing something else now (laughs). 1st June 2000

In this way I was able to draw from my 30-point list of observations and the data I had gathered following the 14 young people while DDG was able to draw from her experience of being a key-worker. My flow chart and her A-E processes were used as a frame to develop our knowledge around information flow and what assessments are made on the young people and on what basis.

I suggested in the meeting that what happened at the YPC was that it gave out lots of information at the beginning and gathered lots of information, however at no stage did it engage in any co-operative inquiry with the young people. For example we talked about the initial application form used by the YPC at the pre-induction interview it has the same sections as a conventional job application form, previous work

experience, educational experience, referees etc. Which most of the young people I observed were unable to fill in. Here I relay this to DDG

KM: That's the form that they fill in, [see appendix R] it is just a job application form slightly adapted, I don't know what you think, but I think it is very inappropriate on the whole, they just can't fill it in, they take a long time to fill it in and they are leaving massive sections...

DDG: Empty=

KM: =Empty

DDG: Yes it must be very frustrating.

KM: I think it sends out a message to them really.

We went through the next stage, which involved a letter being sent out inviting young people to come in for a paper-filling session; we talked about this session, the induction week and finally the support and guidance sessions.

KM: From the residential to the first one or two weeks, from the young person's point of view there is a lot of information gathering that goes on and what I found myself saying on that page is it's information gathering followed by information giving really.

DDG: (laughs) Yes.

KM: I don't know whether the young person really has an opportunity to start to communicate what they're interested in doing their aspirations and interests or concerns, it doesn't really occur until much later on.

DDG: But we are too much focused now on getting the paperwork done

KM: Yes there are these two models 'school' and 'work' and there seems to be a requirement that they know the rules and regulations and it is drilled into them.

DDG: (whispers) Yes I am not used to that.

KM: It's delivered as well, it is not interactive, so they just sit there it doesn't mean anything to them because it is so out of context.

DDG: I spoke to DR and DL and they have agreed that the Induction needs to be changed. I think it is the right of a trainee to get information on us before they go to the interview and we should think about how we want to present ourselves. In the training project in [*DDG's previous employment*] we invited people, we had an informal meeting, every week there was a time when people could come in (...) people were trained to give the information about the training programmes about Skillseekers

prepare them for the interview. I notice with the Gateway Induction[10] that these informal meetings were quite successful you establish a relationship they relax they know the place.

I drew attention to the Personal Development Plan (see appendix I[11]) and explained that this wasn't really a personal development plan but rather involved a series of technical questions which were designed again to meet the needs of TE the principal funders. In the second half of the meeting we discussed ideas for re-designing the system.

KM: You would start with a co-operative approach, maybe an informal start, which would loosen it up a bit. Then I would say, the first one-to-one meeting should be a co-operative process rather than imparting information they should engage in a mutual process. Where the key-worker is saying 'this is what we do, these are the resources that we have and these are the courses that you can go on', then the young person can come back with 'these are the things I am interested in, here are some concerns that I have, I live in this place'. Any forms that are designed record this process. There is an hour to play with of which, as it stands, half of it is based on filling in a form that can't be filled in.

DDG: All the information that is gathered in the initial assessment that should go into a plan and that is missing now. Because there are a couple of things done at the residential, there is a final de-briefing.

KM: The residential is very assessment driven and it is all about the assessment matrix[12], which isn't about young person-centred, it is about employability, getting them into the right shape to behave themselves when they get to work. There isn't that much self-assessment.

DDG talked me through how she would like the self-assessment to develop using a document she had designed see appendix K.

DDG: (Using Appendix K) in self-assessment they should sit down with a key-worker and put down on paper what kind of things they would like to work on and most of these things will be most relevant for the pre-vocational trainees. Like finding out about other jobs, or about communication or about behaviour. It could be anything it could be about housing. They could put down where they would like to be at the end of the programme and then every week they could put in a rating between 1 and 10 how they feel about it, if

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[10] Strategic Delivery's New Deal 18-24 Gateway described in Section3.2.2 which had been contracted out to the YPC that I had observed where I had first met DDG.
[11] Whilst this appendix is titled Individual Training Plan, it is referred to within the YPC as a 'PDP' a personal development plan.
[12] A copy of the assessment matrix is given in Appendix J.

they have made any progress or not. There would be a working sheet were they can put down what kind of action they would undertake to improve the situation. Because there is so much variety in the issues that have to be addressed, it could be learning support but it could be drug and alcohol or anything. I think it is so important after the initial assessment to sit down and agree and then they have to review this every week. The rating system should show how they feel about it.

Here we are tackling measuring progress; we begin to talk about the Q-sort and I explain the idea around Roger's Q-Methodology and how the YPC might be able to use that. After this meeting DDG developed her report and sent it to me prior to the next meeting inviting me to make comments on it.

In the third meeting, on 28th June, we spent all afternoon working through her report, in terms of how it was structured and so on. Her report contained many of the observations that I had made in the second meeting. I encouraged her to make themes and organize the points under each theme, rather than list all her recommendations as bullet points at the end of her 10-page report. DDG had included a few comments from young people and I suggested she include more of these. We continued to debate how the system at the YPC could be improved discussing the exit stage and how this wasn't fully considered

KM: Then we get into 'exit and aftercare' and there is an issue there where you flag up another problem about how the exit and aftercare falls apart doesn't it? There isn't a system there at all and you are recommending that they put one in place. I think there is a missed opportunity there in terms of young people coming back to YPC to be introduced to new trainees (...) and that there should be follow-up as well a year later.

DDG: I expected that they would have to do that just for funding reasons. The Database doesn't record anything.

KM: I will be doing it in my research. I will be doing it with the January 2000 group I will be getting in contact with them again. So we will get something back which might be useful.

DDG: I know it is very difficult to keep in contact with trainees.

KM: I don't know, a lot of them stay local and even if you sent them a form to fill in a lot of them would fill it even it is a small percentage it is worth it.

DDG: In my previous job we did it, we contacted everyone by phone that is best way to get information. It is time-consuming but I think it is worthwhile to do it [28thJune 2000].

DDG then sent me a copy of her new report plus a self-assessment sheet which she had designed [see appendix L]. The new measure, can be understood as also involving an implicit self-perception psychology of unemployment and anticipating a sensitive meeting I suggested we meet face-to-face and discuss it rather than discuss it over email. We spent the entire meeting working on the new self-assessment form, I suggest that it needs re-designing and DDG asks me what ideas I have.

KM: I think following on from the last meeting we had, what could be useful is to make a distinction between issues that they have and that they want to develop and progress and certain assessments that YPC have to make or would like to make. 'Cos I think that those are two different things. So there are core skills so that would be one section. Then some of these issues that you describe here, in terms of "personal issues" and "skills in the workplace" are again really the organization's concerns rather than the young person's.

DDG: Well things like this "are you quite happy with your present housing situation" or are you...

KM: Those are personal in that they are to do with the individual, but it is the YPC that is setting the agenda if you know what I mean. [DDG: Yes] I mean really, I think there is a slight difficulty with these ones in the sense that whilst they are headed up as "personal issues" most of them aren't to do with the person; they are mostly to do with external barriers. Like transport, that is an external barrier, which at least half of the young people are going to say yes to because they live in rural areas. Which is quite a different one to say drugs and alcohol, which is more of a personal issue. That they may be can work on if they identify themselves as having a problem, the difficulty is if whether they will identify themselves as having a problem. I think in the first instance=

DDG: =I think after you have an interview, you build up a relationship you can find out about these things and discuss them. I don't expect a young person to sit down and I thought, from my point of you this is only a list that gives them ideas about=

KM: =the sorts of issues.

DDG: And I think the key-workers as well can come up with issues. Which they notice while working with the young person. Because sometimes they are not aware that things are a real problem of course they are discussing these things and then you can formulate them as a barrier or a real issue to work on. I think it is too much to ask young people to come up with all these things by themselves.

KM: I agree with you what I found myself writing here is they need to get the opportunity to express their interests and aims in the context of what is available.

Which I am sure is there in the whole Induction and beginning process. I think this [Appendix L - the self-assessment measure] is quite daunting in a way, because there's so many things that they would need to comment on about themselves. Given this distinction between some that are external to them and some that are internal. What might make for a more youth friendly process is, if the YPC lays out it's stall a bit more and says 'these are the things that we can help you with'

We refer back to the last meeting where we had agreed that young people often arrived at the YPC unaware of the service and why they were there; I comment "young people may wonder where the YPC is going with asking all these questions". Further we discuss the idea of developing a youth friendly measure and agree that this can't be done in the time-frame that DDG has been given. She explains she had just wanted to start it off with this measure as a suggestion and suggests it should be developed within a small group as she explains "otherwise it will just be another tool dumped on the staff and they won't use it". I argue that it should be piloted with young people so they are able to comment on it. The meeting turns to Q-sort. DDG suggests if it has lots of empty boxes and blank spaces it will be too difficult for young people. I explain it isn't as open as that. DDG continues to argue in favour of some sort of early assessment.

DDG: I think that it should be done after the Induction

KM: So in the second week

DDG: Yes, you sit down with the young person, and refer back at the moment they don't refer back 'remember we discussed this at the interview' because no notes are taken. I think maybe there could be more of a structure there so they can think 'I have discussed these things yes... I can put that as a goal in the self-assessment'. I can see your point that it is a lot of preparation (...) I didn't realise when I put these things down this difference between the internal and the external.

KM: I suppose because I am social psychologist I have seen things in terms of whether they are at the social level or whether they are at the individual level, from my unemployment research over the last few years there is this concern that people when unemployed do take everything on internally, you know everything is about them and they feel like they are being assessed and they may feel that some of these questions are questions about them as an individual when in fact they are not they are questions about their circumstances. I think when you hand out a questionnaire to people they give you answers they think you want to hear, especially young people.

DDG: Yes that's why tick-boxes don't work because they know exactly what you want to hear, but I think that the input from the key-worker is essential. It's just the way it is done, it can't be the key-worker on his own or her own.

KM: Ideally together [DDG: Yes] they can identify the issues and the objectives of the young person from a menu of what's available. I think that is fairer as well otherwise you are opening up issues within young people, which YPC may not be able to actually deal with. I think it is happening everywhere it is not to do with YPC everyone is bringing in a little psychology and self-assessment is here and soft-indicators, every organization to do with unemployment is doing it. As a psychologist I have difficulty with it. There is a danger in trying to open up young people. It might be reasonable for a young person to say 'actually that is none of your business I am here to get vocational training and that is all I am interested in'. I have slight reservations about that use of psychology.

DDG: I wish young people said 'that's none of your business I am only here for vocational training' but I don't think that's the way.

KM: Some of them close down and others tell you everything their whole story.

DDG: I think it is acceptable I should accept that, if young people say 'I would like to get support on my literacy'. As long as continuing in feeling well and showing progress then it is fine. I think that's

KM: It is being able to cater for both ends, for someone who is focused and wants to get onto a particular VQ training/college path and someone who is presenting all sorts of personal and social problems. That's why I think designing it will take a long time because you need (a measure) which has got that flexibility.

My recommendations are built around the distinction between the internal and external barriers and I return to the standpoint presented to the YPC in the synopsis, I am however beginning to dominate the discussion with my "social psychology", which is perhaps unhelpful, at such a sensitive meeting. The discussion turns finally to the extent to which the YPC can be a fresh start.

DDG: Yes there are some that are really doing well and don't need any other support they are quite good in coping with their training programme, but if you think about ... certainly with the pre-voc there are a lot of trainees that need ...but I can see the risk. (...) This is a fresh start but if you have read something in their report, if there are issues then they should be discussed otherwise you start from scratch. I think it is a fresh start that you can build new relationship with a person but this information is already there and I think we should use it, can you see, do you know what I mean?

KM: I agree with you in terms of technical skills support, literacy and numeracy. But it is a thin line you have to try and demonstrate that that kind of support is available but any relationship they might have had, in terms of attitude with staff at school etc, should

be left behind. Difficulties like truancy may have changed so much within the space of a year.

DDG: When I spoke to a couple of the pre-voc trainees who all have real difficulties in their lives, they say 'I wish that I had known about these things before', they wish that other people had informed them, then they would have had better support.

KM: There is a real issue about how the YPC presents itself more than the self-assessment side of things.

DDG and I are really debating issues as colleagues who share a desire to understand the other's perspective and it is through this dialogical process of understanding that I revise my position and come to understand her self-assessment measure as intended to tackle young people's problems as early as possible so that they can be fully supported. The meeting ends with us returning to the aims of the self-assessment measure.

> DDG: I see this self-assessment this form as an on going thing maybe they just put one or two things on it. After a couple of weeks other things are
>
> KM: So the space is there.
>
> DDG: Yes, and then because all the issues are on one sheet then the young person can see that is going on or I am working on these things. The current system has all these different sheets and trainees don't feel any kind of ownership or anything of 'has that anything to do with me'. They just see it as a form that needs to be completed and signed. I think as a key-worker the things you notice with a young person this should be translated into 'well this is an issue you have to realise this will affect, or this is stopping you or this is a barrier'. Then it can be addressed 'that is something you need to work on' or we can refer you, so you can get some help with that. That is the way I think it should work. (...) I think self-assessment is important but I think there are other things that are more important
>
> KM: Yes I would be inclined to slow it down, if you are going to bring in a person-centred approach, then you have to do it properly. Staff would need to be trained and inducted into it.

DDG's self-assessment measure is intended to serve three distinct functions (i) an opportunity for young people to express their concerns, goals, issues etc; (ii) an opportunity for the YPC to measure the core skills that the SQA requires them to measure and (iii) an on going document which records key-workers' concerns and issues in relation to the young person and thus evidences progress. I then recommend

that these functions should form different sections of a booklet. Emphasizing that any self-assessment should be "in the context of them knowing what YPC can provide", that the measure aim to do more than just assess, and that it is not really about self-assessment in the sense of the person-centred approach.

DDG completed her report; all the information we co-created was put into it including an expanded version of Figure 9.7 under the heading "referral route". Again this action can be understood as using a dialogical approach to the psychology of unemployment. In this case there are two dialogues (i) the dialogue between the YPC and the young person entering the organization and the expectations each has of the other and my recommendations are around the YPC beginning to engage in an actual dialogue with each young person rather than trying to fit the young person to their pre-conceived ideas around the problems the young people face, that is working with their own notions of addressivity (ii) secondly there is the dialogue that develops between DDG and myself where again I use concientización within a dialogical psychology to challenge the psychology inherent in the approach that DDG is taking. This time it is done by distinguishing between internal and external barriers and the YPC's aims for the mapping exercise when compared with the young person's. In this action I am to some extent sharing a different psychology but it could also be argued that my role here is in using a dialogical psychology to challenge the pre-existing implicit psychology in the organization.

9.5 Action C – co-created by NE/KM/DF - Measuring soft-skills

This final action was built on three meetings with NE, the manager in charge of the New Deal programme for the 25+ age group at SD. It makes extensive use of email to debate issues around unemployment and illustrates the extent to which email can be used by intervention-orientated researchers acting as co-learners to facilitate development of action objectives. NE and I first met at SD when I observed the General Awareness Sessions on 11th January 2000. At this stage NE said he was very interested in my research and that he had responsibility for developing the New Deal 25+ programme; in particular he wanted to create ways of measuring 'soft indicators' - those indicators which related to personal and social development such as motivation, self-esteem. We began an email exchange and met again on 21st March 2000 for a recorded interview around soft indicators in response to a copy of a soft-indicators measure NE had developed, which my principal supervisor David Fryer [DF] and I had discussed in an hour-long meeting. I am presenting this action as co-created by NE, DF and myself. In response to this feedback NE then created a new self-assessment

measure, "What about me?" which we discussed in our third and final interview on 18th April 2000.

My first meeting with NE, after the January 11th GAS session, was when I asked if I could carry out observation at the next GAS meeting in February, [see Fig 9.8]. NE expressed interest in the research, based on my original synopsis, as discussed in Chapter One, and I suggested we meet up. In the event NE was not available in February, I observed the February GAS session and in March contacted NE again. By this time I had begun to interview managers at the YPC, and asked NE if he would be interested in being interviewed [see Fig 9.9]. I also asked for copies of the mentioned assessments; and these were sent by NE on 10th March these are the self-assessment questionnaire, [Appendix O] SD' Individual Action Plan [Appendix N] , and SD's Gateway Explorer Review Sheet [see Appendix M]. The meeting on 21st March is based around three documents as well as my original synopsis [see Appendix B].

Kesini Mahendran {PG}
From: Kesini Mahendran {PG}
Sent: 24 January 2000 5:19pm
To: NE
Subject: RE: Research Observation

thanks for this, it would be worth having fuller discussions on the social context of LTU clients, would you like to set up a time or do it after the GAS on 2nd Feb?
Kesi.

----Original Message----
From: NE
Sent: 18th January 2000 5:52 pm
To: Kesini Mahendran {PG}
Cc: NH
Subject RE: Research Observation

No problem with you attending the 2nd Feb at Moultrie. Starts at 9.30 as usual. I'll inform "NH" that you will be coming along.

From your report, I notice that you are examining some of the social problems around long term unemployment – we can discuss examining these issues with our clients if you wish. As you know some of our clients have a huge number of associated LTU problems – I'd be very interested in finding out more. Obviously Strategic Delivery can only tackle some, but it is very useful to know and understand some of the others when trying to place someone into work.

Fig 9.8 Email from KM to NE - discussing research interests.

---Original Message---
From: NE [NE@Strategic Delivery.demon.co.uk]
Sent: Monday, March 06 2000 6:34pm
To: Kesini Mahendran {PG}
Subject: RE: Research Meeting

I'd love to participate, In fact I am very interested in your research, as you know.
I am currently evaluating 'soft' indicators in adult long term unemployment, and our measures to combat barriers of low self –esteem, attitude, confidence etc. We already have a core transferable skills, basic skills and soft '*skills*' assessment that continues throughout each stage of the New Deal for adult long term unemployed.

We have some measures and assessment criteria in place, but I'd appreciate your comments/involvement in ensuring we are doing it as well as we could. I want to evaluate the real effects of long term unemployment, and our measure our model's effectiveness to deal with them.

We could help each other here.

Looking forward to hearing from you

Regards, NE.

Fig 9.9 Email from NE to KM - measuring soft skills

In the first action interview, NE and I discuss our thinking around New Deal, the meeting deals with different arguments for the measurement of soft-skills through self-assessment, and the strengths and weaknesses of the model of delivery used within Tarbert. Here at the start of the interview, NE explains the scenario and why SD has become interested in measuring soft skills.

NE: We work with long term unemployed, some of them very long term unemployed our clients start at 18 months of long term unemployment when they are referred to us, some of our clients who are unfortunately termed the 'stock' of clients are far longer unemployed than that, perhaps ten fifteen years of unemployment. (...) Basically this is a programme designed to increase somebody's employability and get them into jobs. Our funding model, or any of our providers, does not reward us for increasing somebody's employability, unfortunately. (...) For a number of our clients who are very far removed from the labour market we can maybe get them so far but not into employment yet. There is no measure at the moment of how far we ...

KM: Of that movement=

NE: =The only measure we have got is if somebody actually makes the move into employment and the long-term measure we have is if somebody retains employment so that it is sustainable beyond six months. So that is clear measures, what we don't have is the other softer skills areas, one of the things that I was keen to do from my background was to measure some of the other softer areas of New Deal. Not looking at the causes of unemployment but looking at some of the effects on softer skills areas. We designed this

skill-assessment sheet principally to ensure that every client is assessed in the same way (referring to Gateway Explorer Review sheet GERS - Appendix -M)

Here NE explains that GERS was created from talking to employers and that these were the skills that employers had said that they wanted.

NE: No point in removing one major barrier and yet the client still has an inability to work with others, can't communicate properly is very low level of self-esteem etc, so these are the things I want to tackle here, and this programme (..) developed this assessment sheet which goes down looking at person's presentation, working with others, communication, listening skills, attendance, which is again an important one, another common barrier, that a lot of employers perceive somebody who has been long term unemployed as tends to be a poor attender, for numerous reasons. We want to try and establish that, recognise that is a barrier and then be able to tackle it (...)

KM: Do you think these are being developed in reaction to employer's perceptions of the long-term unemployed?

NE: It's employers perception of the long-term unemployed, but also from experience we have from working with employers who have recruited the long-term unemployed, not just this programme but other programmes that are run by councils as well (...) this assessment is just a start I think there is a lot of work we can do on this, and I would like to obviously speak to you about it (...) for example we don't have a great assessment of our clients' self-esteem. How do you measure a clients' self-esteem? We obviously want to see that increasing as they progress through New Deal.

I indicated to NE that many measures of self-esteem existed, as well as of motivation and attitude to employment. He explained that there were different funding models based on "increased employability", "job retention" and "job outcome" some pilots in the UK worked with a funding model based on increased employability but for SD "job outcome" was the only measured outcome. I indicated that I was aware that the New Deal could be bottom-up and designed by local needs and local strategic partnership. We talked about this, and NE demonstrated that he was fully aware that the unemployment situation had to be understood in terms of both the supply-side and the demand side. He talked about the local labour markets in Kilchatten, Moultrie and Sommerville and explained there was a "skills mismatch in the area" and argued that this "cannot be resolved by the LTU client group". We begin to consider if everyone will benefit from New Deal.

NE: Better to have someone in part-time work than no work at all, better to have people as economically active, as it is increasing the skills base.

KM: Do you think it is economically viable for someone who is long term unemployed to take part-time work?

NE: Not at the moment through my limited knowledge of what the clients are saying people who have back to work benefit calculations that a lot of the client group quite clearly don't want to go into part-time work they want full-time work or nothing because of the loss of income (...) if they go into work they have this secure income from the state and they manage their lives around that and they have been maybe on that secure income for a long-time (...) you're quite comfortable in that. I am not being cynical.

KM: You adapt to that

NE: You adapt to that and nobody can be blamed for that to take a job you lose all these benefits immediately, a job is less secure than unemployment benefit effectively and it is a risk (...)

KM: I think the expectations on employees have changed as well. So you have got a slight contradiction in that we have got a flexible labour market, with casualisation and job-insecurity, and yet there is this notion now which to some extent comes through, that people are supposed to be the ready-made product, (NE: Hmm) that looks right, sounds right, has the right inter-personal skills, is confident and has self-esteem and so on. So the difficulty just to be a bit more critical with these sorts of indicators (appendices M, N & O) is that they effectively put people when unemployed under more pressure, than maybe you or I. (NE: sure). Under pressure to deliver on that level.

NE: Yerr and that's a very valid point, somebody has to get these skills just to get across the door of an employer nowadays (...) there is a lot of pressure on somebody to achieve when competition for jobs is still very high. It is far more difficult if you have been out of the labour market for a very long time you are possibly quite low down on some of these skills that an employer is going to automatically going to expect you to have. Because they will find somebody ultimately with these skills.

The conversation turns to NE's design of the self-assessment measure (Appendix O)

KM: I think that is the danger of it, I am with you in your beliefs about using soft indicators to get other measures of progress rather than going into employment, I think in an ideal world that one might usefully allow clients to express the skills that they actually have. Most of this, because it has to be, is based around a notion of 'the interview' 'the nine-to-five employment'. When I compare it to some of the ones we have in psychology the self-esteem scales are very very different, because its (appendix O) is really the interview isn't it?

NE: Yes, very much so, this was and I'll happily admit this, a stab in the dark quite literally a stab in the dark.

KM: Did you design it?

NE: I did along with the adult guidance assessors. I don't have a background in adult guidance I have a background in setting up training programmes and project management. Based on some academic reading and reviewing other programmes in other areas what I was trying to get down here was some sort of indicator that we could actually assess the average criteria that somebody should possess. Should be able to get a high number in all of these areas to get into a working environment. (...) Some clients coming and saying they are job ready, been identified by one of our Gateway providers as saying "this client is job-ready they just need to get a job now" maybe they never get into a job or never get an interview. It actually turns out that they are actually low down on some of these other areas, because they haven't identified that as being a barrier and they have maybe overlooked it and what I was trying to do was to get some structure into it, some sort of formal assessment whereby you would be able to review all of these and identify if that really is a barrier. I am not saying that everybody should have a score of 4 or above (scale is 1 to 5) this is just a measure by which Gateway providers (...) can look at clients and say "this actually isn't a barrier I don't need to bother with this". (...) They might put in an action plan that "they are quite low down on this but that doesn't really matter for that client the kind of job they are looking for they don't really need that'" (KM: Sure) so it is used flexibly within the judgement of the client and a provider. I felt there was too much left to gut feeling and judgement and not enough on that. (...) It is just a tool to allow providers to use some sort of fixed assessment.

The self-assessment questionnaire, contained a number of personal probing questions. In a meeting with DF we had discussed the distinction between internal features of unemployed people and external barriers and what we had termed the "ideology of personal responsibility"[13]. Within the interview in response to NE's rationale for the questionnaire, I return to the Gainful Unemployment standpoint.

KM: But you are kind of moving into, this is something that underpins the New Deal and it is not peculiar to SD, it is the same all over Britain and that is that you are really locating the problem of unemployment within people and their skills and their abilities and even the former head of the Wise group would agree, even if you had an ideal government that made unemployment its priority you would still have a percentage of people that would be unemployed. Do you agree with that?

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[13] C. Kingfisher (1998) How providers make policy: An analysis of everyday conversation in a welfare office. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 8, (2), 119-136.

NE: I totally agree with that, what we are talking about here is one tool for... working with long-term unemployed people. The bigger picture is looking at the jobs in the area, the type of jobs that are being created.

KM: Even going beyond that NE, even if, you have things like NAIRU, the idea of a rate of unemployment which is fixed to keep inflation at a certain point, at a macro-economic level. At the Wise group they claim, and admittedly this was about three years ago, you were looking at one and a quarter million people who would remain unemployed=

NE: =unemployed that in a state of what the Chancellor would call total employment.

KM: Yes because he has switched full employment to employability and that is the key thing.

NE: Now you have to bear in mind that SD runs a New Deal programme (...) it is a bigger macro-economic argument, to look at how it is delivered the way it is delivered and is it part of other economic initiatives throughout the country=

KM:= The reason why, I will tell you where I am heading towards, is you have then got a group of people we see in organizations such as this, who are very long term unemployed, who have the health and social problems that go with that and realistically I think we both agree, there will always be some of those who will stay unemployed. But this system that we are now going through is putting them through quite a lot of personal pressure because these sorts of indicator which over the three pages are really asking them to talk about themselves 'how do you feel', in a way it was almost easier before, I think, do you know what I mean?

In this respect NE and I begin to debate the 'Fifth option'[14] and NE turns the discussion to a metaphor for understanding the impact of activation policies such New Deal on long-term unemployment.

NE: =I know what you are getting at and this is why I was particularly keen to speak to you about this and certainly I want to tap your brain about some of these other ideas as well. I have had lots of discussions with DfEE, and our contracting colleagues and the Employment Service about New Deal and particularly the pilot and what the government is trying to do with New Deal and how the New Deal will be re-engineered beyond April 2001. Looking at some of the arguments for a provision of this sort to be in place, there is (...) somebody likened this provision to a pot of soup, I don't know if you have heard this one before? (KM: No I've not, no) and it was a pot of vegetable soup

[14] In setting out the four options within the New Deal the New Labour government explained "there would be no fifth option of a life on the dole" See chapter Three for a discussion around these options.

where you have the large heavier potatoes for example sitting at the bottom, then if you consider the top of the soup as the line of employment, and if you get out of the soup then that's obviously out into employment. And you have a scenario with the little carrots and the peas and the lentils are floating about and there in employability they are the ones that have the skills they are in jobs, out of jobs etc, some make it out in secure sustainable jobs in the labour market and develop etc, and that's the idea. There is always going to be the big potatoes at the bottom that are very long term unemployed that have a whole host of other barriers that is going to stop them from getting jobs.

KM: and those barriers sit outside of them.

NE: Yes that's right, they are not necessarily at fault, (...) I agree with the... that but it is a recognition that there are other things that have to be done. With the New Deal what is happening is something like this is coming along and stirring it up and some of the potatoes will rise to the top, and very quickly they will all settle back down again. But this is a way to say look we are not forgetting about you, let's stir it up a little bit and see what happens. Some of them make it out and some of them don't. When put to me that way I did sort of recognise what it was about. This provision covers everybody who is claiming JSA, who is over 18 months unemployed. There is always a recognition that there is a huge number who will never, find employment not through this measure, and not through any measure that is currently available and that is where, yes there are areas where the New Deal completely fails. (...)

KM: I think that you are right in what you say, which I didn't before I started researching unemployment in 1995, before then I wasn't really fully aware of this, but I think you are right I think it is true that for some people they are pleased that they have not been forgotten about, so they are for it, they are pro it, even though it is going to constrain them, and make them have to attend training centres etc.

9.5.1 Employment-commitment

At this stage in the interview I begin to re-frame the assessment measure within the context of the relationship between unemployment and health.

NE: Politically, for example what is the government doing to solve very long term unemployment? The New Deal 18-24, you can see what is happening there, it is to stop them becoming long term unemployed, and to a certain extent it is working, and they are right to do that. There are models that are there (...) not a New Deal for over 25s, majorly running throughout the country, it's very very expensive to do that, and they want to see if they can pick up any good model private sector, public sector, doesn't really matter, who is coming up with a good model to solve some of these issues, there is one in Ellan[15],

[15] Ellan, another county in Southern Scotland.

which is probably able to tackle the very long term unemployed better than this one can. (...).

This one is very much job outcome based 'let's see how many people we can get off the register and into employment' in the short term. So it is not solving the real problems of long-term unemployment. It is allowing some people, some of whom admittedly are very long-term unemployed, to get into the labour market, so great we have our successes but you also have in effect, all of the failures and our target for this pilot is 24% into jobs. So there is a recognition that 76% will fall back after the pilot after the six months provision, into long-term unemployment. They don't ever leave the register so it is not designed to fiddle the figures.

KM: But do you feel a responsibility to that 76%? Because research has sort of demonstrated that if you increase someone's employment commitment when unemployed you increase the likelihood of them suffering health problems. (NE: Sorry say that one again.) Yes it's unusual sort of element to being unemployed, but if you increase someone's employment commitment when they are unemployed you actually increase the likelihood of them suffering health problems. So there is almost like a defence-mechanism in being unemployed, which is to pull away.

NE: This is another one that I would like to explore with you. Because no I am not aware of that. I am not aware of that argument at all, this is the first time it has come up. It makes sense what you are saying and I can see that it would cause people, some stress. The one thing that we can do, the flexibility that we have, particularly with the adult guidance assessors, we exempt a very large number of people from the New Deal and all those that we can't exempt because we are not allowed to exempt people, because it is in fact a pilot, on the few occasions that we have exempted somebody we have written to the ES and said "look this person is not going to get as job this person shouldn't really be trying to get a job anyway".

KM: Yes

NE: We do it regularly actually it is not a small amount. We also have a lot of people that we don't exempt from the pilot we just treat them in a different way, we will see them maybe once a fortnight or once a month. It is not what we should do in our contract, but we are also aware that we should have an assessment in place so that we are able to turn round to the ES, and say "this person should not be actively seeking work, they are on the wrong benefits, this person is not able to get jobs".

Here NE maintains a commitment to self-assessment of soft indicators arguing now that it is of benefit to people who are very long-term unemployed as a way of evidencing their unsuitability for New Deal to the ES, who are constructed here as having the authority over SD. There is evidence of the dialogical self at work as NE and I

externalise a number of *I*-positions; he takes on the position of the SD worker who has to explain things to the ES, as well as the position of the key-worker who works directly with the unemployed client. He also demonstrates that he has debated this before and someone has explained the logic of activation to him using the soup example. Below NE, in another feature of a dialogical approach, demonstrates that he is understanding this issue in relation to shared views held on unemployment in public spheres, that is representations of the responsibilities of the welfare recipient, as discussed in Chapter Three.

What is persistent throughout this interview is the belief that if people are not engaged in actively to seek work they should not be receiving unemployment benefits (JSA) but should be receiving another benefit - presumably Incapacity Benefit. We debate this for the remainder of the interview and NE explains that he and his colleagues are sympathetic to this. Again through this debate and dialogue each develops an understanding of the other's position and the action arrived at the end of this interview is on building in an appreciation of the relationship between unemployment and health. Critically NE and I begins to externalise the *I*-position of the unemployed client being faced with the logic of the New Deal.

9.5.2 Building in an appreciation of the relationship between unemployment and health

NE: This is another argument, we do have a lot of clients who have maybe worked all their lives, and they are claiming benefits, and we have got a lot of clients just claiming national insurance credits, (...) we feel a great deal of sympathy for somebody who has been forced in the system if you like, they are claiming benefits society deems that they should then go to get a job, (...) we don't necessarily share that viewpoint, (...). The ES, I am not blaming them, but a large organization, then, who might well pay their insurance stamp, or pay their benefits turns round and says to them "right sorry you are now x amount of time, long-term unemployed, you have to go into a provision which is designed to get people off their fat backsides and into a job" and that is the perception that they may well have. It causes them stress and we understand that.

KM: Do you think you could build that into your delivery?

NE: We do unofficially build it into our delivery not officially. (...) We are not policy makers here, we are not saying to somebody "we think you should work we think you shouldn't work". That's the design of the pilot (...) There is another argument which goes how do you make that assessment because we don't have an ability to screen, that's why we do it unofficially.

KM: To be realistic I am fully aware that there are funding issues there and we started this interview by saying that the measured outcome was employment, and I am not so naïve as to expect these sorts of strategic partnerships to then start taking on, you know health issues and holistic issues, but if you can build in an appreciation of it, that I would think would be a positive step forward. In the way that it is delivered, not really saying to people "right we want to exempt you from the New Deal" because I think that becomes very very hard and it becomes a political nightmare, it is more about=

NE: I know what you mean about building in an appreciation of it, we have run workshops on mental health issues, for our providers, and our adult guidance staff, to be able to identify that and also to identify where a client is likely to have difficulties so we can recognise that client needs an additional amount of support. It is only recently that we have organized that. (...) If there was scope to do something like this again, another pilot, I would have a lot more flexibility in the delivery model, in terms of identifying where clients are not actually going to benefit from this kind of support.

Here there was acknowledgement that New Deal would be better if it could screen out people that are not going to benefit from it. This would be better for New Deal in terms of its figures of higher outcomes and better for people who are long term unemployed people who would not be supported by New Deal. NE who constructed, the New Deal as a supportive rather than constraining or punitive system, argued that such people should be supported however, by another system in dealing with health issues, and/or vocational issues. As NE put it

NE: If you could do this you could get rid of, excuse the terminology, out of the equation, perhaps fifty percent of the client group maybe not as much as that, but for sake of argument, fifty percent, so you are dealing with the fifty percent of people who you can do something with under this model. What we do is go through the motions with a lot of these other clients. (...) It doesn't happen that way because it is not easy for us and society at the moment, not society, the design of the New Deal does not allow that to happen. Ellan has gone a number of interesting ways with it, they have a group which allows people to say they are happy to remain on benefits and I was really interested in that, given that their ES is in the actual partnership so the ES is happy there to say 'ok let's screen some people off'. This (Tarbert's) is done on a micro-economic level if it costs the health service more money for fifty percent of our clients to have serious health problems it does not affect this pilot so again there is no recognition in the pilots to look at that holistically when I think there should be. (...)

Again we return to yet another reason for there to be a measure of soft indicators in the form of self-assessment. Finally we consider whether the New Deal will change as a result of the shortcomings apparent in the pilot.

NE: We can influence some of the policy–makers we're are always talking with DfEE ministers

KM: That is what they claim, they are always talking about the bottom-up nature of the New Deal and that they are interested in ideas, do you find that it does go like that?

NE: We have our ideas listened to I don't know we have our ideas acted upon.

---Original Message---
From: NE [NE@Strategic Delivery.demon.co.uk]
Sent: 23 March 2000 10:21am
To: 'Kesini Mahendran {PG}'
Subject: RE: Thanks

No problem, Kesi.
I read the articles you left me – very interesting!
I was, however, slightly concerned about the content of the 'New Deal or Raw Deal' paper (Percy-Smith and Weil). I see it's main point but it appears to be on very limited research, few interviews with New Deal clients (particularly those that have completed or left early). similarly, it argues that New Deal fails to assist the majority of the very people it is trying to assist, and goes on to demonstrate how – particularly in terms of it 'inflexibility' and 'bureaucracy'.

I do not agree with much of this report, however I do agree that New Deal could be improved. I also firmly believe that there should be a fifth option – but that should NOT be to do nothing, and to allow the participant to remain on benefits unsupported. Participants who are far removed from the labour market and who would not be likely to benefit (or indeed be further disadvantaged) by 'job-focused' intervention – must be given other professional, guidance or clinical support, as necessary (which is not job focused) to properly identify and resolve these other issues. These individuals should ideally, not be registered for JSA during this period, as they are, in effect, not able to seek work.

I am aware there are a host of other 'exclusion' issues that need to be tackled alongside any other New Deal support. This is happening, but not a the degree it could be, if a massive injection of cash was able to be found!!

In Tarbert, many of these issues are actually covered in the partnership and by Strategic Delivery in particular, and flexibility is in place for clients who require it. I would like the opportunity to explain how this has been done.

Perhaps we can discuss this when we next meet. I am not out to be a defender of New Deal, but I do know, in the Tarbert area, the New Deal HAS been effective in reducing long term and youth unemployment (and therefore has been successful in achieving its objectives) The harmful effects and the negatives - I want to explore more.

EC is organising a further Mental Health Awareness Seminar for early May – I will provide you with details when I get them.

Speak to you soon, Kesi.

Regard, NE

Fig 9.10 Email from NE to KM – debating the New Deal.

The interview ended on the subject of NE's new job, a move back to economic development, his previous work. At the end of the interview I gave NE two journal papers on unemployment these were *New Deal or Raw Deal?* Percy-Smith & Weil (2000) and *Unemployment and psychological distress in young people: The*

moderating role of Employment-commitment - Jackson et al (1983) in response to discussions around the relationship between unemployment and health.

Between March and April NE read these papers and we debated their content over email [see Fig 9.10]; NE explained the action he took after my comments on the original self-assessment measure.

---Original Message---
From: NE [NE@Strategic Delivery.demon.co.uk]
Sent: 06 April 2000 10:04pm
To: Kesini Mahendran {PG}
Subject: Meeting next week

Hi Kesi
Thanks for getting back to me, and welcome back to sunny Scotland!

I'd love to see those other papers, particularly before I leave Strategic Delivery, as I am in the process of amending New Deal for over 25's and re-contracting some of the providers for next April 2001. Beyond that there is a new 'Re-engineered' New Deal 25+, which will be national.

How about coming in on 11th April at 1.00 or anytime in the afternoon. Friday 14th is also OK.

For your info. I have amended the assessment sheet!! It won't go far enough for you, but it has radically changed in terms of provider assessment. It is now part of a, "Where Am I?" exercise where the clients circle the statements which most apply to them. We have always required our providers to tackle external barriers but the revised exercise allows both clients *and* the provider to identify all the major internal and external barriers together. If Clients wish to leave a section blank, they may do. This tells us the same information anyway, but does not make the person feel like they are being 'opened up'. This MAY in fact identify clients for exemption or special treatment, etc. and we can take appropriate remedial action – get supportive help, referral to AA, mental health etc.

This way, the clients can take stock of their situation, and with the help of their provider, work through each barrier to get a job (or leave New Deal – if appropriate)!

Speak to you soon,
Kind regards

NE

Fig 9.11 Email from NE to KM – announcing the new assessment measure.

Once NE had developed the new assessment he emailed me, [see Fig 9.11] and we arranged to have a final interview based on an agenda which containing the following bullet points:-

- Where am I exercise
- Alternative delivery models
- The fifth option.

In the April 18th interview NE gave me a copy of the self-assessment measure "What about me?" [see appendix P] it had developed partly in response to the literature and our discussions, and also inspired by what Ellan council had been able to do. One of the first comments that NE makes is that the providers had also had difficulties with

the original questionnaire (Appendix O) when asked to comment on it. It is also worth noting that NE in the following dialogue takes the *I*-position of both the adult guidance assessor and the client in presenting the new assessment.

NE: Here's the assessment stuff that you were interested in (...) it has radically altered (KM: Has it?) Well I liked it, you might not see any changes, (both laugh). We are not using it yet, it was met with a few concerns by the providers that were going to have to use it, so what I have been trying to do is to bring them on board, (...) I gave them a month to say what they thought about it and some of them tore it to shreds, rightly or wrongly and some of them were quite fine with it, but had concerns using it, the fact that it was quite objective, but generally they weren't happy with it so we didn't push it through

KM: This is the other one?

NE: The original one that you saw, it's funny I agree with what you were saying the way it was done the way it would have been delivered. I was looking to get something that was much more client-sided. So the client can actually say "I have got problem with that you could maybe help me" and it might flag up other areas, if you say "have you got a problem?" they are probably going to say "No" and feel a bit open to being dissected if you like. So with that in mind I have changed some of wording changed it round to make it more of a guide that the clients can use and they don't have to fill the whole thing in either. So they can leave things out. So we have changed it to "what about me?" rather than "where am I?" but we can change it back, basically it is about this is me, it is a client exercise and it certainly won't be handed cold to the client. The key is that the provider will sit with the client maybe on day two and say "we need to find out about you as much as we can the more you tell us the better it is going to be, don't worry in the slightest about it, it is not a test in any way but the more you tell us about yourself the more we will be able to help you or may be able to help you". (...) What I haven't said in this is "you may of course not be looking for a job". But that is "but you may want to tell us that as well" 'cos we do want to get the truth from this.

KM: Do you think people can do that though given the context?

NE: Yerr some people may be able to do that it is in two parts the first part is looking at the main external barriers, you had commented that we didn't, or that the original assessment didn't cover the external barriers, and my response to you was we expect our providers to identify external barriers with the clients anyway, (KM: Hmm) I thought we might as well put that as part of it.

In this way NE talked me through the new measure, indicating that it had developed as a result of our discussions. The new measure keeps the original one's one-to-five scale; the clients must still answer each question by ticking one of the five boxes.

> NE: The second part is the exact categories that were in the assessment, only now they are presentations skills, team working skills, communications skills, we have called it "this is me", and they can then say how they feel or what they want.
>
> KM: Hmm, yes it is a lot better.
>
> NE: It is certainly an improvement, there is presentation, hygiene, there is little tongue in cheek things in there, say hygiene, but people might not want to say that people can leave the whole question out if they want to and if they leave it out again that is something a skilled provider maybe would want to look at over the next few weeks to see if there is actually a problem, why they left it out. But they are not required to put everything in here.

A strength of the new measure although it is still an obtrusive measure and focused on internal barriers, is that it is also focused on external measures, further and critically it is less open-ended than the original. Much of NE's talk is now from the position of the client.

> NE: It is more friendly it is not so dissecting as the other one, (...) though we can't get away from the provider is going to have to still say 'yes but for you to get a job you need to be further along here' (moves left along the rows on appendix P) but that is where it is appropriate (...) on the self-esteem one which is on the very last page which is rather than having self-esteem they are ask the client how they feel at the moment and people can say "I am really motivated to find work" and at the other end of the scale people might say "I feel really hopeless about being unemployed or helpless and there are a load of other things in my life that are getting me down too" or "I need to talk to you about something I feel" and there are a few other ones where people can say "look I think I need a bit of help".

I am demonstrably positive about the new measure and we return to the issue of clients that are not going to get work as a result of New Deal and the idea of screening clients.

> KM: I think it is excellent because it shows you as an organization have an appreciation of these sorts of barriers
>
> NE: We do and the providers do, and this way is telling the client "we are caring for you we are trying to sort these things out for you it is not just about getting you into a job". Which is the other key issue (...) this identifying clients that need a bit more support,

this screening if you like. I think we are more client-centred than some regions (...) we will take someone out of Gateway if it is causing them concerns. But how do we identify that it is causing them concerns in the first place? (...) If it comes down to job outcomes then there is a commercial reason for doing it because you can work better if you take the ... my concern in running a business, is what happens to the people that want to get a job?

Because that is the whole focus of New Deal, which is perhaps some of the feeling of the papers that you have given me is perhaps where the New Deal has gone wrong is accepting that the focus on that, but it shouldn't be that and to hell with everything else, 'cos there is going to be casualties out of this. Your concern maybe is what about the casualties what do you do with them? And there is a huge amount and we accept that that is the case as well.

KM: Well it is the majority from the figures you described the last time, what was it 24% was the target?

NE: It depends on how you view that figure and 24% is the figure. This 76% that we are talking about, are they in the jobless class? Are they never going to get work? Or would a lot of that 76% given the right support be able to get a job if circumstances were different(...) I don't think the majority of that 76% are unemployable. I think a lot of them see themselves as employable.

At this point NE and I debate the papers, spending some time on the New Deal or Raw Deal paper NE argues that it is unscientific because the sample is so small[16], looking at the agenda NE moves the discussion to the fifth option.

NE: Briefly my views on the fifth option, I am quite clear there should be some sort of fifth option, when the government has said there should be no fifth option.

KM: That is a radical thing to say don't you think?

NE: Yerr but the message they were trying to give was that there should be, the emphasis is very much on getting jobs, and if you are claiming job seeker's allowance then you are saying that you are ready for work, (...) the New Deal has been designed with it is apparent flexibilities to offer everything that people need. So therefore there is no fifth option scenario (...) if you are looking for work this is what you will do. There is no way of getting out of it, it is quite radical, but I think there should be a fifth option but that fifth option should not be for those identified as looking for work. This issue at the moment

KM: This is the difficulty; it is a comment you made in the email also when JSA came in it was a rhetorical device by the last government.

Much of our discussion in this final part of the meeting is around what to do for the people NE and I both recognise will not benefit from New Deal but remain compelled to attend it. We discuss society's attitudes to the unemployed and the extent of benefit fraud. One of the key features of this action interview is that NE remained committed to viewing the New Deal as seen as supportive to some, despite the element of compulsion. Again in this action the dialogical approach is used to challenge a self-perception approach, on this occasion it is more explicit and the measures are designed to get long-term unemployed clients to indicate how they feel about themselves. In this action a series of journal papers, economic arguments are used as well as degree of competence of the bottom-up nature of the New Deal. NE is treated like a fellow-argumentative debator [Billig (1991): 31] however unlike the other two actions evidence from Phase one observations of the GAS sessions is not used.

9.6 Debating psychologies of unemployment.

The actions presented are collaboratively constructed, with the two parties finishing of each other sentences, checking meanings and often duetting [both say the same thing together] in working towards a shared understanding. The actions develop within this intersubjectivity, this common horizon where we are both in each case aware of the contexts which makes the other's comments meaningful. Dialogical features of the conversation are apparent; the way arguments are constructed through the dialogical self's ability to take and use different *I*-positions, we hear the voice of managers, and a key-worker, but also those of imagined unemployed clients, the Employment Service, society and the government. The communicative rationality that underpins these conversations is also a need for action and we are not simply debating training and guidance for the unemployed or social representations on unemployment, rather as is evidenced above, the programmes at both the YPC and SD changes as a result of our conversations and actions and desire to reach a shared understanding.

In reflecting upon these three actions, it is perhaps best to understand them as preventative. I introduced into the discussions psychological literature and arguments to counter and challenge the self-perception psychology of unemployment behind the self-assessment measures and the idea of introducing anger-management. Each time partly through a process of concientización, the nature of the psychology that exists within the service's system and practice is brought into awareness and made explicit and challenged with a dialogical psychology of unemployment. This allows the unemployed client a number of I-positions and sets the experience of unemployment within the wider socio-economic context. My reading on both New Deal and Skill-

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[16] A total of 17 interviews had been conducted with New Deal clients.

seekers meant that I was aware that whilst the legislation and policy came from central UK government the implementation in local areas was flexible and much of the literature had emphasized local bottom-up solutions. An awareness of this flexibility allows us to create action objectives within the meetings which we are able to implement. Equally I am also a student of the culture of each organization and the co-researcher educates me from their experience of the organization and it's activities, concientización, is used here to mean a mutual process of critical consciouseness raising where we are both learning and reconsidering our positions through dialogue. In Actions A and C I am in meetings with the person who will actually develop and make the changes. This in not the case in Action B, where DDG issued her report to the YPC and it was then up to the organization to make decisions about whether they would change the service. In the event however it was Action B, which went on to have the biggest impact. Where DGG's report and my Phase One report detailed in the next chapter, led in part to a total overhaul of the YPC's as they used the C-Navigators project to redesign their service. This transition is the subject of Chapter Ten.

To return to Drewery's argument discussed on page 83, a feature of the rationality that underpins these actions, particularly the last is that there is no longer a legitimate subject position of being both active citizen and unemployed, but rather one of people who are unemployed and seeking paid employment or unemployable because of health problems.

There is evident in these three actions a dynamic epistemology, as the knowledge co-created moves and changes over time a dialogism of words in use as anger-management comes to mean on this occasion 'working relationships' of 'playing the game' and self-assessment is constructed in different ways at different points. This style of intervention then is based on debate and dialogical nature of understanding.

9.7 Summary

The chapter demonstrates the dynamic epistemology which underpins the dialogical approach is demonstrated and equally the extent to which knowledge can be co-created. The chapter details three preventative actions in such a way as to give the chapter a sense of the different voices, or multi-voicedness that exists within research. The desire is that the voices indeed the character of the co-researchers as fellow argumentative debaters, engaged, as the researcher is, in rhetorical utterances have come through. In each case the change in the service rests on challenging a self-perception psychology of unemployment with a more dialogical approach. One that allows unemployed people to have a voice and the ability to take a number of *I*-positions in response to requests to participate in the New Deal or Skillseekers and it is interesting feature of the actions the way, that co-researchers and myself in this

dynamic fast paced process of debating these issues take a number of *I*-positions, in particular as co-researcher become more conscious of the nature of the psychology of unemployment that underpins their organizations activities, they themselves take on the *I*-position of the unemployed client. This feature of the dialogical approach will be explored further in Chapter Eleven.

Chapter Ten - Young people in Dialogue.

10.1 Introduction – imagining a superaddressee

10.2 A profile of the young people

10.3 Young people representing their lifeworlds

10.4 Comparing dialogues of young people, staff and managers

10.5 A dialogical analysis of employability

10.6 The paradoxes of Social Inclusion

10.7 Summary

10.1 Introduction – imagining a superaddressee

> When I die I am going to have a red, white and blue coffin which I am going to make myself and I am going to be carried down the street and the crowds are going to be screaming and there is going to be the union jack and the orange flag with the red fist of Ulster. The crowds are going to be shouting 'death to the IRA, death to the IRA' and there is going to be the whole of Rangers there and I will have my fist in the air. SM, [19th January 2000]

To Bakhtin, being was always co-being, existence was an event and much of his writing centred on life as a carnival. SM's comment made late one evening during the residential as a small group of us stood waiting to see an eclipse of the moon, demonstrates that she is in a dialogue before she speaks, drawing from the social world around her to make sense at that moment of her position in the world. SM was not left unanswered, we joked with her around the likelihood of Rangers players turning up to her funeral. Bakhtin argued that when we speak we consider not only the addressee, the "immediate participant-interlocuters" referred to on page 86, but also

> The author of the utterance, with a greater or lesser awareness, presupposes a higher superaddressee whose absolute just and responsive understanding is presumed either in some metaphysical distance or in a distant historical time [Bakhtin (1986): 126]

This chapter offers an interpretation of the dialogues in which people, particularly the young people are engaged before they speak, who they are with and what they are about, in an attempt to understand the experience of participating on pre-vocational training scheme from their perspective. It shifts the focus away from the relationship between the researcher and co-researcher towards those between the members of the

YPC, in their different positions as key-workers, unemployed clients or users and managers.

The chapter requires a reorientation towards the fourteen young people, who were followed between January 2000 and April 2000 and met with again in a follow-up interview in early 2001. The way they speak, their subjectivities and concerns, and the *I*-positions they take when in dialogue. Young people as users of the service are likely to be the most disempowered and Action B focused on how to get young people to articulate their needs. Trying to hear young people's voice and engage with their lifeworlds is central to the service offered by the YPC and this is tackled by use of the space maps. It is argued here that the space map offer a pragmatic representation of young people's lifeworld, they attempt to give the young people a less mediated voice, than a portrayal of them through the analysis of their talk

The chapter starts with a brief statistical profile of the young people indicating their health, housing and employment at the beginning and at the end of the research so as to situate the interaction and utterances within the concrete reality for young unemployed people at this time. This is followed by a comparison of the dialogues between young people, staff and managers the issues of importance to each group and the common themes found in the analysis.

The central focus on young people is further developed with a dialogical analysis of two key frames of reference which shape the service offered by the YPC – *employability* and *social inclusion*. The arguments set out in section 3.2.4 [see page 62-5] where employability was said to be better understood as multi-level concept rather than one which focuses on the individual's "capacity to move self-sufficiently through the labour market" [Hillage & Pollard (1998): 1] are revisited in the light of evidence which points to the gap between young people and the flexible labour market. Finally the implications of the concept of social inclusion for working with young people on training and guidance programmes are explored. The chapter closes questioning whether the actions regarded as socially inclusive are an effective response to combating social exclusion.

10.2 A profile of the young people.

Whilst the study is concerned with the dialogue between people who experience unemployment, those that work with them and the surrounding social knowledge, it is important that it remains grounded in the critical reality that is the sedimented social conditions within which the young people live.

10.2.1 Training Programmes January 2000 – April 2000

All the young people were registered with the YPC to attend in the first instance the 13-week Gateway as a part of their Skill-seekers, with the exception of KJ, who, being 23 years old, was registered on New Deal vocational training catering course. As is illustrated in the bar chart below, [Fig 10.1] most young people were on pre-vocational training programmes. This means they were assessed as not being ready for SVQ vocational Level I training. It was the intention that they would work their way towards this level over the 13-weeks. Returning to the discussion in Chapter Two and the extent to which young people can be encouraged towards gender-stereotypical training, at first glance the seven males and seven females would suggest that unemployment in this area is affecting both sexes equally; this intake is not atypical in this respect. Further Fig 10.1 would suggest that there isn't a gender-differential in the allocation to programmes, with the exception of childcare where both people are females. However this is very dependent on the intake, if there were more involved in Childcare, Construction, Motor Vehicle Maintenance or Horticulture, all vocational areas popular in the locality, then the gender-typical nature of the training may be more apparent. An interesting feature of this intake is that most of the young people were enrolled on the Leisure & Tourism course. In my initial meetings with the group none of them had expressed any particular interest in Leisure & Tourism when they were first interviewed or in the first week, and the story of it's introduction is one that becomes the focus of section 10.4 on employability.

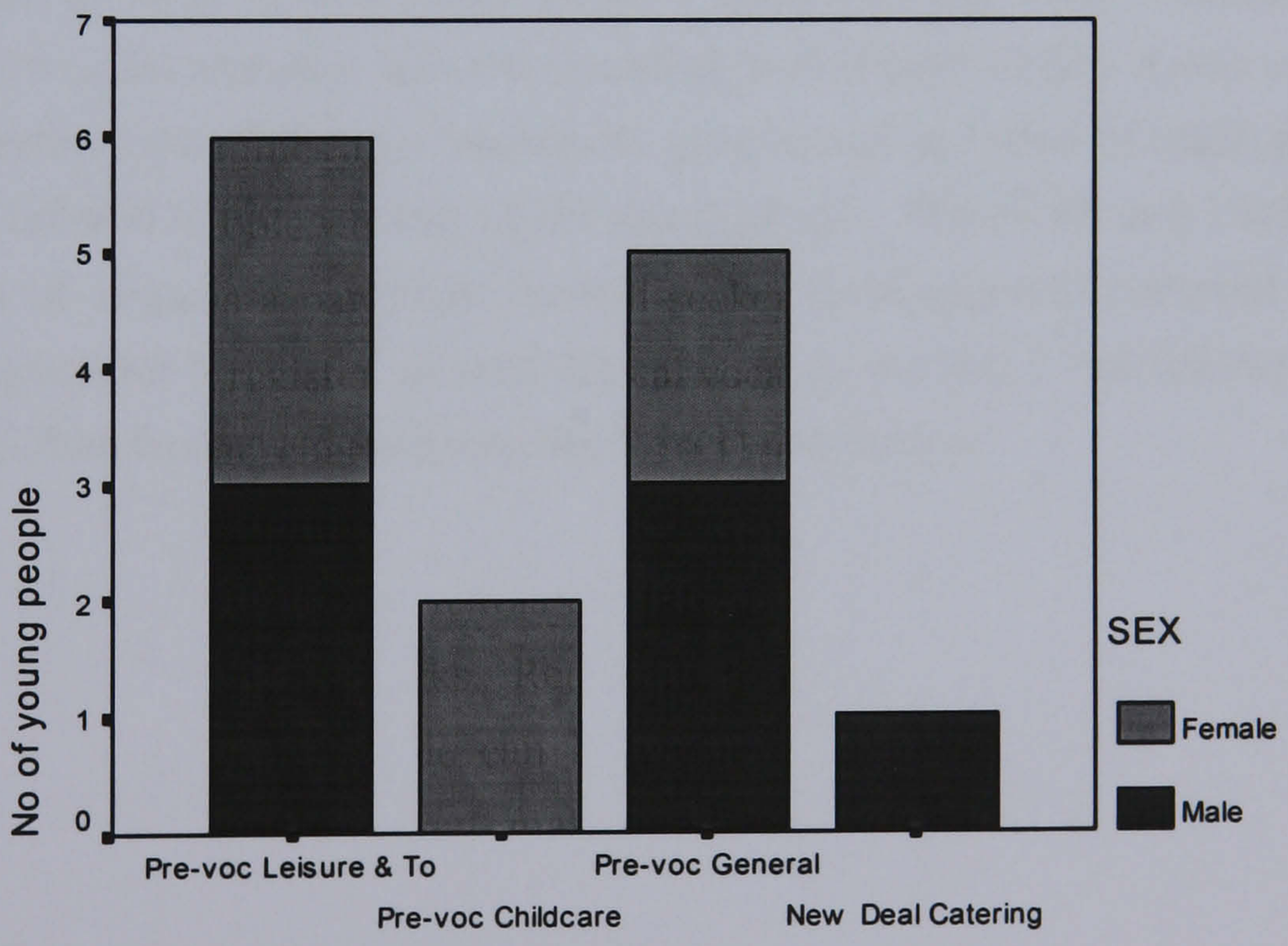

Fig 10.1. Skillseekers programmes the 'January intake' were registered on.

Most young people were referred to the YPC from Careers Services[1], usually with the support of their school, or in the case of three of them with the assistance of Secondary School Support. The young people attended their programmes five days a week and were expected to arrive by 9.00 am and remain at the YPC until 4.00 pm. For the first six weeks they attended SQA skills sessions focused on IT, problem-solving, Communication, Working with Others [also referred to as World of Work] and Literacy & Numeracy. Many of these session which were tutored, involved doing worksheets. Each participant had a weekly one-to-one support and guidance session, the aim of this session, as Action B with DDG demonstrates, is the subject of some debate. There were also specialised sessions around the theme of the course, e.g. Leisure & Tourism may involve trips to see tourists sites, talks from Moultrie Council, the Tourist Board, drama classes etc.

Each young person was allocated a key-worker according to the theme of the programme i.e. whether they were in the Childcare, Leisure & Tourism or General group. All 14 young people attended sessions at a local activity centre and Core-skills sessions on a Monday. These skills related to issues that the YPC's own research had said were important to young people such as drinking & drugs issues, housing, healthy eating etc. Young people were able to get a First-Aid certificate within these day-long Monday sessions. The sessions often involved a specialist group being contracted in from outwith the YPC who had skills in working with young people and facilitating a peer-teaching approach. I and members of the YPC's staff were not allowed to attend these sessions so as to ensure young people's confidentiality when discussing these issues with specialist workers. It is worth noting that though Action A was concerned with the development of this pre-vocational programme in terms of making it more individually tailored to the interests of the young people. Where PE and I debated the introduction of anger-management sessions these developments occurred between April and September 2000 and as such the January intake that I was following would not have benefited from the re-engineering of this programme.

[1] Now known as Careers Scotland.

10.2.2 Housing status January 2000 to April 2001.

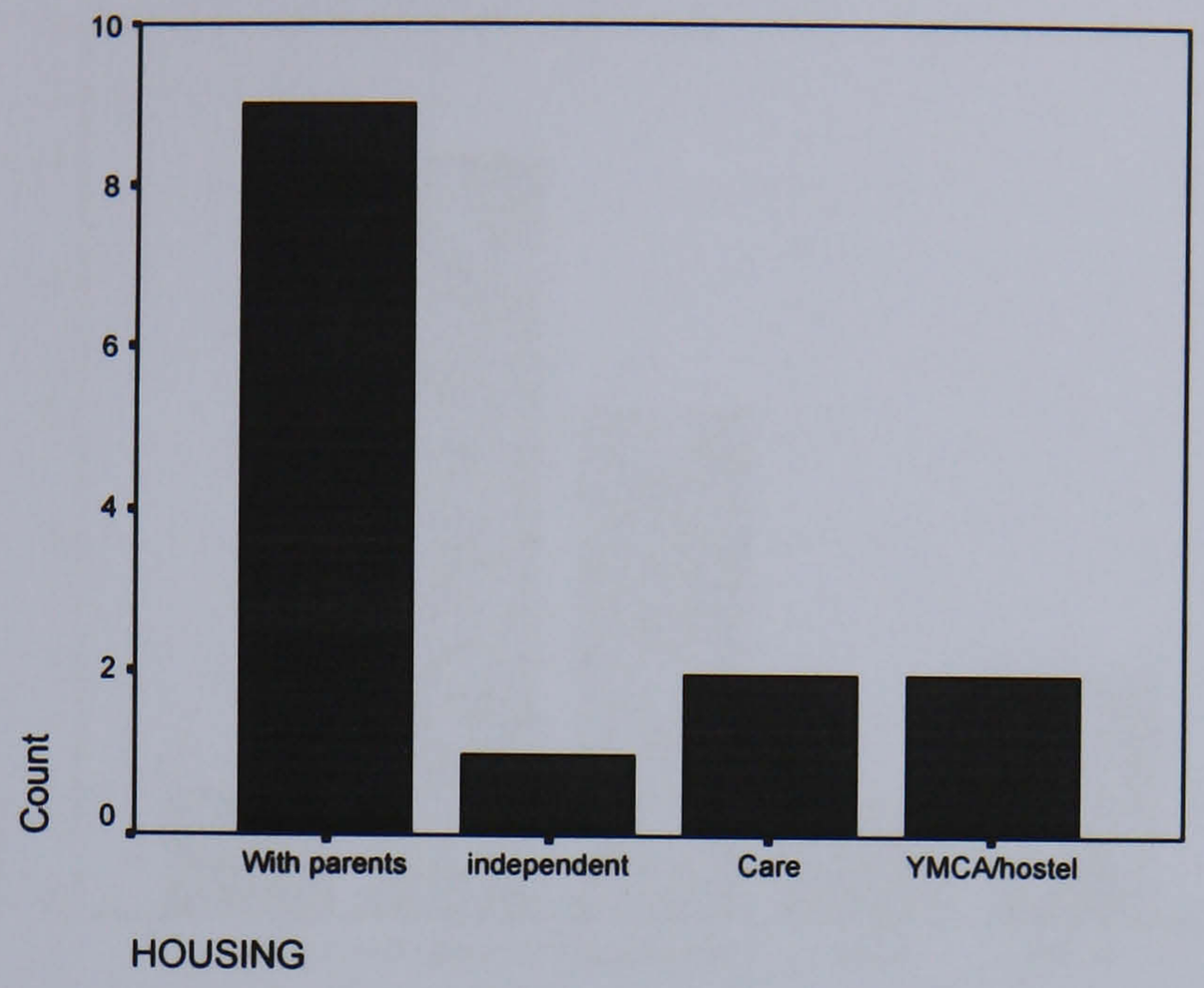

Fig 10.2 Housing status of young people - January 2000

Eleven of the young people lived in Moultrie, three in Somerville. Nine people as, Fig 10.2 illustrates, lived with their parents. Two young people were in care throughout the thirteen weeks of the Gateway Explorer and a further two were homeless and stayed in Moultrie's YMCA. At this stage only one young person was living independently. Turning to Fig 10.3, at the end of the research the housing status of some of the young people had changed; in particular there were now four young people living independently. In relation to the literature this is not exceptional in terms of young people moving away from the family home into their own places, however the figures perhaps do not tell the whole story for this group.

All the young people living independently were living alone in council housing, often in what is known informally as 'zero-points' housing - housing within council schemes which is available because nobody else wants to live there. Two of the four, for example, had no heating in their homes. The exception was SK, who when I visited her in Phase Two, had gone from a children's home to a small new-built flat within a block in a mixed housing area run by a housing association.

By April 2001, one young person who had been living with her parents was placed in care due to a sexual abuse charge which related to two of the females in the January intake. A further two were in hostels; SM, who had been in care and was now in a Homeless hostel for young people, had moved away from the locality and remained in touch throughout the research by sending space maps and letters; DM who had been living with her mother, had moved into a hostel during 2000. At the end of the research 50% of the young people, were living either alone in council housing, in a

YMCA or in care. In discussions with the YPC during Phases One and Two I tried to establish how unusual this January 2000 intake was; the general view was that this was a typical intake.

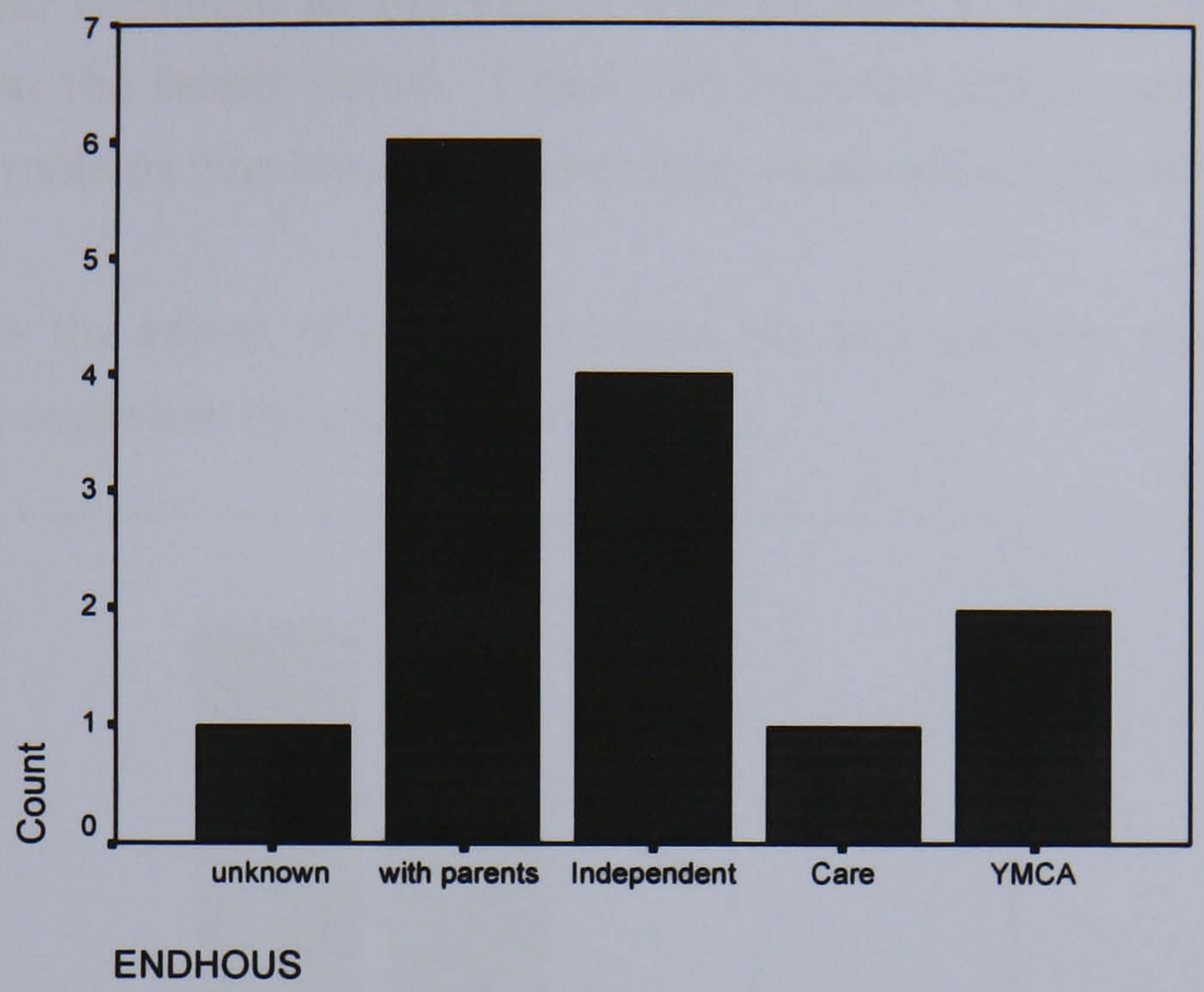

Fig 10.3 housing status of young people in April 2001.

10.2.3 Family, Health and Well-being

Turning next to the health and well-being of the intake, two of the young people, one male and one female, became parents during the research, and one had a miscarriage. Three of the young people were receiving counselling for drugs or alcohol issues and one for self-harming. Two young people described themselves as suffering from depression of whom one was claiming disability benefit for a physical disability and three described themselves as being on medication.

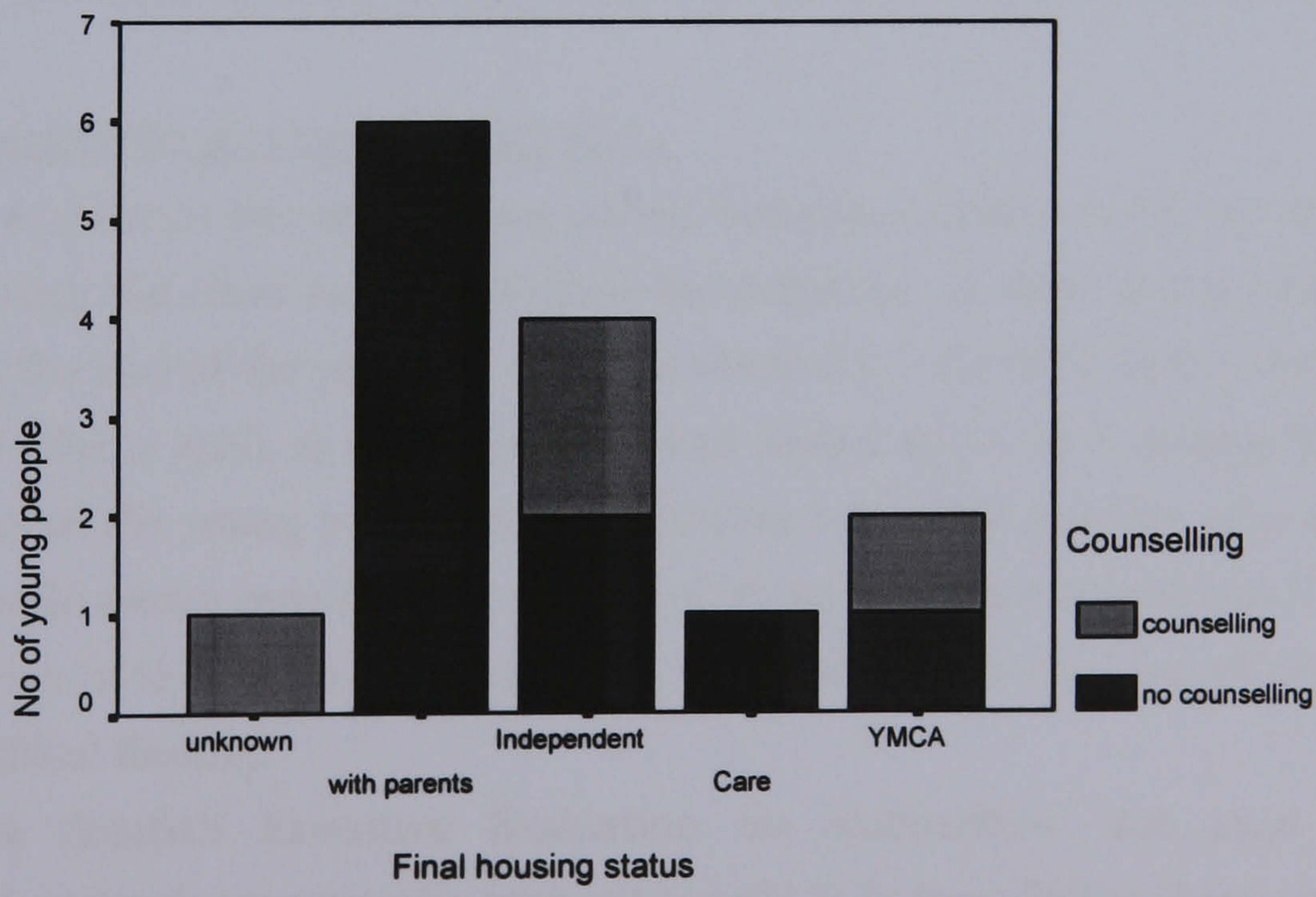

Figure 10.4 Young people with self-abuse (alcohol or self-harm problems) organized by housing type in April 2001.

This data, combined with the housing figures is presented in Fig 10.4. I have used the term "counselling" only where young people were tackling the problem through counselling either organized by the YPC or another agency; these people tend to be living away from the family home. I have not included people with disabilities or mental health problems who have not undertaken some sort of counselling through the YPC.

To assess the extent of health problems Fig 10.5 presents overall figures for health problems organized by housing status.

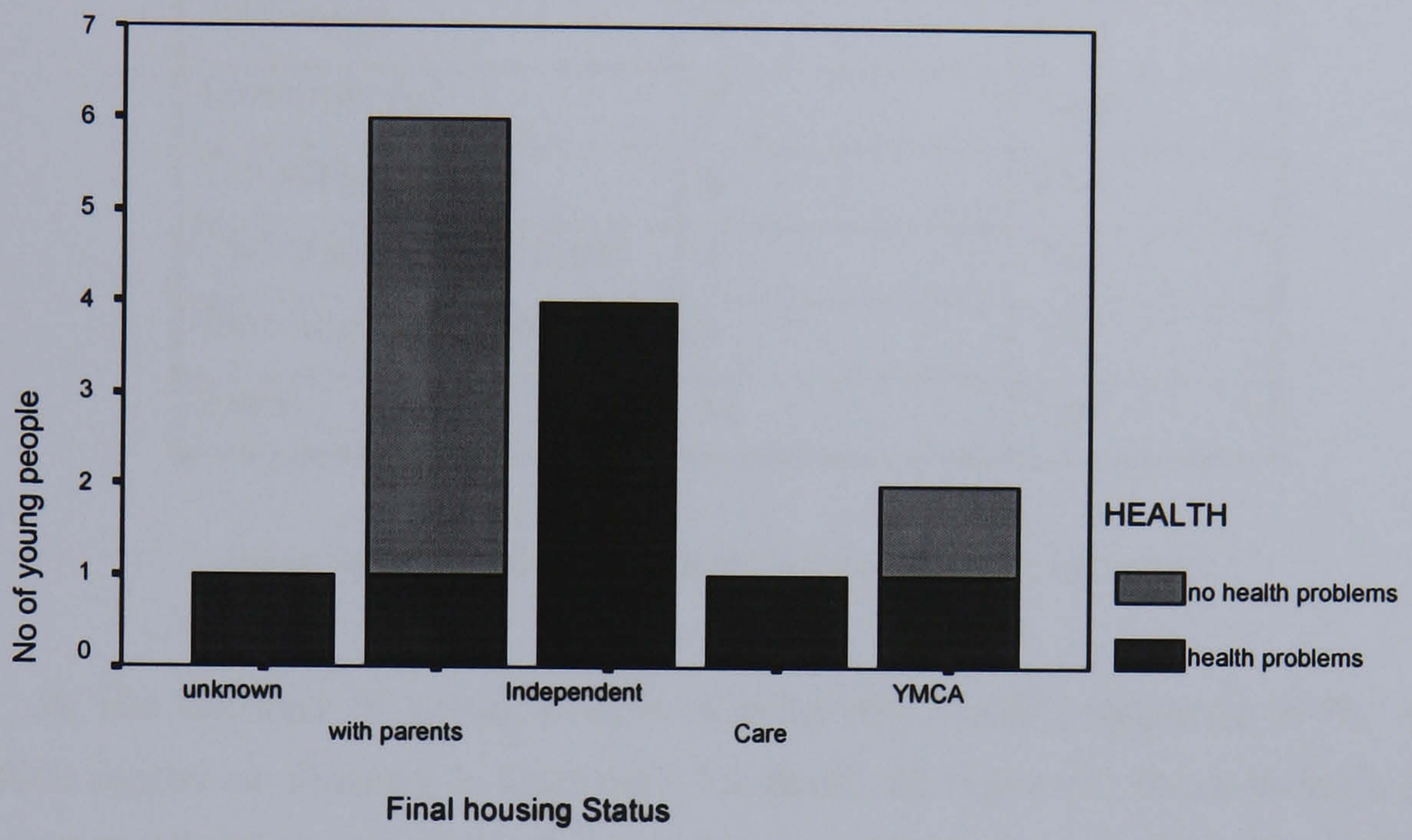

Fig 10.5 Relationship between health and housing status – April 2001.

The bar chart shows 8 of the 14 - 57% have some sort of heath problem. It also suggests greater vulnerability for those living away from a parental home, or those living alone.

10.2.4 Training/Employment in April 2001.

By April 2001 two of the young people had progressed to Level I training, one in Housekeeping, the other in Motor Vehicle Maintenance. A third young person was in training at the end of the research, however she had left the YPC within the first three weeks and after a spell of unemployment had signed up to be a trainee hairdresser. Thus eleven of the young people did not continue with their training after leaving the YPC. 6 people were unemployed at the end of Phase II of the research [see Table 10.6], with only two of the eleven, for whom data was available, in any kind of employment. This is a critical finding.

The Scottish Executive Evaluation on Skillseekers [see page 59], had highlighted particular groups who may not benefit fully from Skillseekers - people with special needs, people who were unclear about what they wanted to do, or who took

more than one placement - and the earlier report had estimated the special needs group to be 5%. For the YPC, special needs, ambiguity about choice of programme, and multiple short lived work placements seem to characterise the majority of the intake. To put these figures in perspective Furlong & Cartmel's aggregated figures over five years showed 72% as still unemployed and only 8% at college or training [see page 74] the picture then is generally more positive for the small group of Scottish young people in this region.

YPC TO:	NO OF PEOPLE	PERCENT
Unknown	3	21.4
Unemployed	6	42.9
Training/College	3	21.4
Full-time employment	1	7.1
Part-time employment	1	7.1
Total	14	100

Table 10.6 Employment status of 'January intake' in April 2001.

As the number of young people is relatively small compared to the Scottish Executive report or Furlong & Cartmel's longitudinal research, there is little point in making generalisations from the above employment outcomes; however it does provide an indication of the contexts in which Skillseekers and in one case New Deal programmes occur and the issues that some young people face. Such findings together however present a challenge to the view that the new activation policies have resulted in an end to youth unemployment. This brief portrait helps to contextualise the discussion around young people's lifeworlds, social inclusion and employability below. To return to the issue of the vulnerability that may be associated with independent living, Fig 10.7 presents final housing status together with employment status.

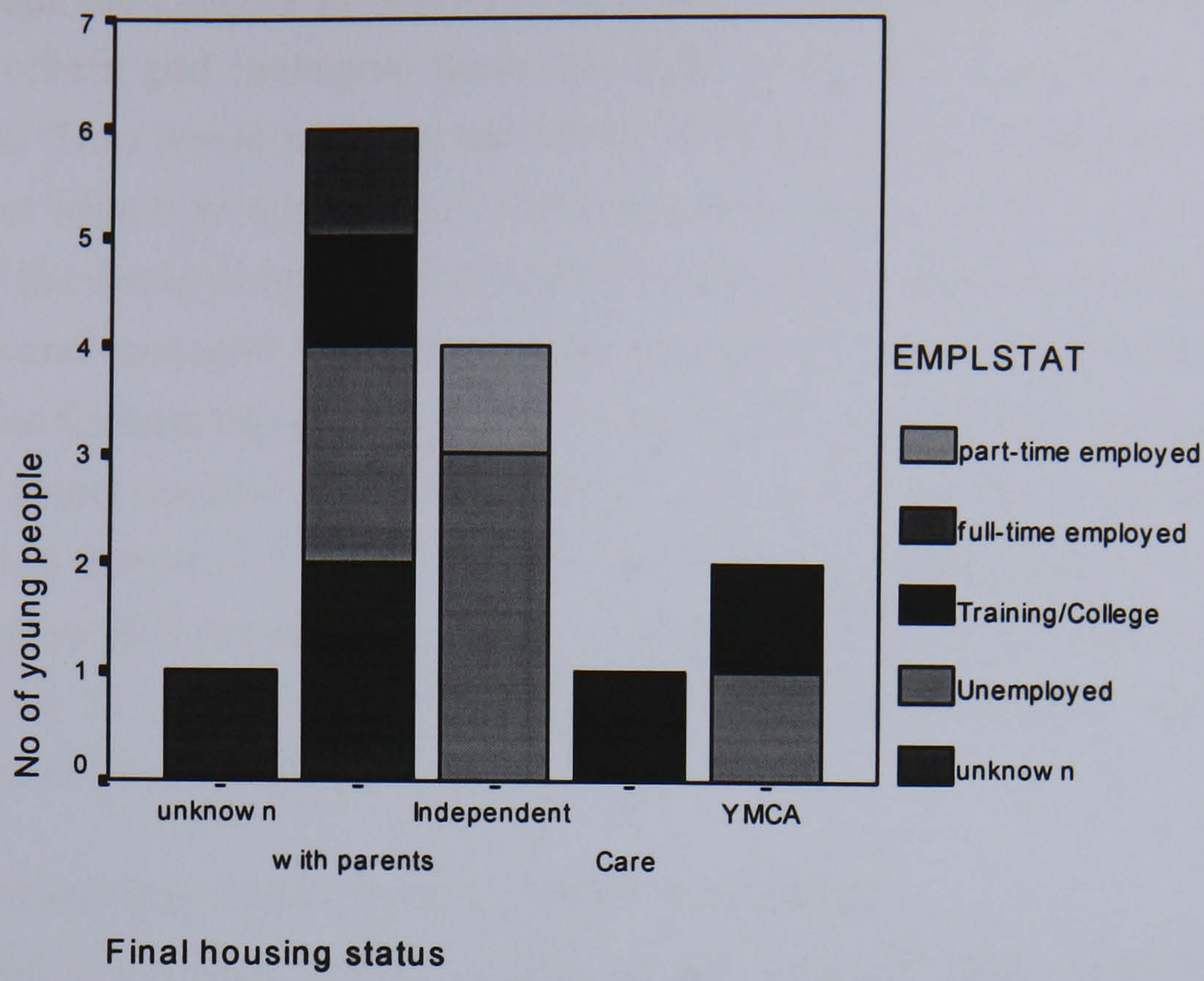

Fig 10.7 Relationship between employment status and final housing status in April 2001.

What emerges is that two-thirds of the young people who were unemployed in April 2001 were living either alone or in a YMCA. One person, WC, who was living independently was working in two part-time jobs, as a cleaner and in a local nightclub.

Of the four receiving counselling for alcohol, drugs or self-harm, three remained unemployed at the end of the research and one is an unknown. In contrast to the claim that young people's unemployment has less of an impact than adults, discussed in Section 2.3, the people who are entering government training schemes experience their unemployment and insecure employment as young adults within the context of other deprivations, financial insecurity and early adult transitions, in terms of relationships, housing, health and well-being issues.

Paul Convery has identified this group, described in policy discourse as the NEET[2] group, as being impervious to "the economic cycle or action by Government". Across the UK the figures have gone down amongst other groups of unemployed people, particularly the 18-24 age group, within the New Deal. However the figures have remained static for the 16-18 age group between 1997-2001[3], and have not significantly changed since 1992, Convery in response to this, calls for policy reform which provides a new financial package to this group, in the form of learning allowances, severe hardship payments and tax incentives [Convery (2002): 12-14].

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[2] NEET - Not in Education, Employment or Training
[3] The figure has in fact risen over the course of 2001.

Though the analysis presented in this chapter has not been presented to the YPC, key-workers and managers there are fully aware of this picture of multiple deprivations. They would probably not offer a challenge to the findings; however the debate is over what is an appropriate response to these issues. How does the YPC meet the needs of the young people? The dialogical analysis developed below aimed to allow key-workers and managers to develop a dialogue with the actual realities of the young people. In the findings report presented in February one recommendation was to think of ways that young people could have a stronger voice in the organization [see appendix Q] and this is a feature of Action B. Whilst the person-centred approach is seen as the means to engage with young people and their different social and economic needs, it is first important in a dialogical approach for the YPC to understand the different dialogues that exist within the organization.

10.3 Young people representing their lifeworlds

In order to meet the needs of young people – the YPC then needs to develop processes which both support young people in developing an effective user-voice and then put in place the processes that amplify that voice so that it is heard and integrated into the on going development of the service. This then requires working with the vulnerabilities associated with young people telling their stories. This section centres on an attempt at representing the lifeworld of the young people met during the study.

Young people such as SM, who's imagined funeral opened this chapter, exist within the YPC in a different way to staff and managers. I have struggled most with this chapter of all the chapters in the thesis – how does a researcher present young people's perspectives as co-researchers, in a way that is careful not to disempower or stigmatise them further – young people as users of the service in my study talk about themselves, where staff talk about their role and managers talk about changing the service.

Section 10.2 above has shown clearly the extent to which the 14 young people faced multiple barriers their daily lives involving unemployment, health issues, relationship issues, drug & alcohol abuse and perhaps most seriously the vulnerabilities associated with independent living. It is tempting then to use each of these barriers to understand the young people. However in order to present the insights into young people's lifeworlds, available to me from their interviews, my observations and the space-maps, I have sought to avoid presenting here a dialogical analysis around these themes of health, employment and independent living. I have also abandoned the original organisation of my data as presented in Chapter Seven [see page 130-1 for an account of SM's story] were each young person is almost a 'case study'. Rather here I aim to delve into young people's lifeworlds and their dialogical nature allowing the space-maps to be the main means of analysis. This aims to go some way towards

avoiding positioning young people within 'professional', service-provider or researcher frames [see Illich on professional imputation of needs page 28]

The space maps have the strength in allowing the young people to offer an account of their daily lives using their own terms of reference. To return to Chapter Six, section 6.7.4 most of the space maps were used in Phase Two. They were completed after the tape recorder was switched off and I often began one myself before the young person drew theirs - they can be understood as a link in the chain of the communication [see page 86] there is an addressivity in them as they anticipate their audience – the next link in the chain. Young people as knowing subjects or social actors in a dialogue with the characterisations of the welfare recipient and the sham-traits that are attached to this particular group discussed in Chapter Four, present themselves as agentic – acting upon the world. In this respect the space maps must be viewed as a pragmatic response – to a researcher request to represent their lifeworld. The argument presented here is that in terms of addressivity it is through projective techniques, such as the space maps, that the young people are able to present themselves to you the reader. To show themselves how they would like to be seen.

10.3.1 Responsibilities, Loyalties and Skills

Whilst service-providers may emphasise their successful outcomes or the scale of the needs young people present to them and polemical academics may wish to draw attention to details of multiple deprivations. When putting together the dozen space maps produced during this study what is immediately apparent is the extent to which the young people seek to represent themselves in a balanced way. JB whose full-size space map is given in Appendix S had said to me when I originally produce his map "that's easy I just draw a line through the middle and put 'girlfriends' on one side and 'pool' on the other!". In his space map JB divides the space between his activities 'swimming', 'skating' & 'pool', his commitments or responsibilities 'cleaning the house' 'rent' and represents also the people in his life – 'girlfriends' and 'friends'. KJ [Fig 10.11] allocates section after section to his relationships, KJ through much of the research lived alone as did PJ [see appendix T] who also includes 'family' and 'friends' in terms of activities PJ places within his lifeworld 'drinking', 'smoking', 'sleeping', 'T.V' and 'drawing'. Skills and activities are also a feature of SM's space map where she places both 'cross-stitch' and 'driving lessons' in her representation of her lifeworld.

PJ who had accepted a number of cheques from a provident man who had appeared at the door also puts 'debt' and 'elecy' to draw attention to which these bills take up his lifespace. WC also puts in her relationships and 'rent' in her second space map sent to me in March [Figs 10.9 & 10.10] she also allocates half the space to rent to emphasize the extent to which financial worries were taking up her lifespace.

A space map as a typical representation of the young person's lifeworld, within the two contextual frames of user of the YPC and co-researcher in this study, can be understood as having three components – *loyalties* family members, girlfriends and boyfriends and friends are all given space and feature in young people's talk, which we will return to in 10.3.1. *Responsibilities* – rent, housework, debts are all given prominence and finally *skills* or activities – swimming, football, drawing etc. The young people place creativity within their lifeworld – not just as a component but also in the way that they approach the task.

SM like WC began to use the space maps as a means of communicating with me in Fig 10.12 she allocates almost a third of the space to her self-harming and this occurs in other space maps, she also makes reference to her driving lessons, the space allocated to driving lessons increases over the maps and then disappears as she passes her driving test in the summer.

In each case I had asked them what it is they would like to change about their lives what were their ideal scenarios–in the case of PJ and JB they respond "to get a job I like doing" – "to get on better with my family", and "to clear up my debt". To consider finally what is not present in the space maps is also instructive – most notably whilst 'work' is a feature of many of the space maps it is not given much space. Employment was a central feature of young people's interviews but as is indicated in Table 10.13 the focus of discussions were more likely to be around exploitative terms and conditions and their relationship with managers. Four of the six interviews contain accounts of how ill-health had resulted in the young person being laid-off by their manager. Equally 'study' that is attendance at college is not mentioned at all in any of the space maps despite being present in the data as table 10.14 [see page 225] shows this is not because young people had no experience of attending college. Both these issues are pursued further in the second half of this chapter.

The space maps then, when faced with contradictions, continual frustrations, disappointments and the financial insecurities which characterised their lives, are constructed along different dimensions those which emphasize the depth of relationships, loyalties, skills and competencies – that is young people in the study emphasize their strengths and self-efficacy.

10.3.2 Possibilities for engaging the user voice

Whilst there is a limited use of this method in this study the space maps then have the potential as a projective techniques to add to the dynamic and relational epistemology, which underpins a dialogical approach. Modern communication technology would allow for scanned space maps to be presented as 'moving' over time and both the local advice centre and the YPC were enthusiastic about the space maps'

potential. However if the space maps are to be used effectively they would need to be used within the context of a dialogical approach which emphasizes self, communication and context. Some caveats then in their use to engage with users. It is tempting to say that what has been presented here is young people's lifeworlds a window into their subjectivities a means by which a practitioner might work together with the young person on their social and person development. The potential of the space maps I would say is rather as a means of a communication, a pragmatic representation of the lifeworld within the context of being a user of the service and being a social actor engaged with a dialogue with social knowledge on 'young, unemployed people' or the 'passivity of the welfare recipient' which exist in public spheres.

It is a finding that reoccurs through part three of the thesis – that organisations such as the YPC and also SD need to establish ways to support users in developing an effective user voice and then to build into their service ways in which that voice is heard. The space maps can offer a way of showing 'distance travelled' by a young person over time [a preoccupation of the YPC and SD] but it can also be a fruitful way of beginning to engage with user voice through a dialogical approach.

This would involve working along the four levels of a dialogical analysis outlined in this thesis – to engage in self-other face-to-face dialogue with young people over time, to investigate the *I*-positions taken by young people, to explore the dialogism in the use of certain words by young people e.g. 'work' or 'mother' and to understand them as social actors with a critical awareness and ability to make sense of pertinent social knowledge within the public spheres. For the voice of the young people to be heard within the YPC, not only would this process need to occur but also as presented below the YPC would need to be understood as a multivoiced organisation – this involves an understanding and comparison of the different key stakeholders in the organization.

10.4 Comparing dialogues of young people, staff and managers

An initial analysis of these different dialogues formed the last section of appendix Q, entitled 'The Identity and Culture of the YPC' which was presented back to the YPC in February 2001. Much of the analysis and interpretation presented here can be usefully understood as a further extension of this section, with the benefit of the second phase data and a second period of analysis and reflection. The section in the report begins the analysis of the frames of reference used within the YPC. It indicates how the addressee was conceptualised with terms such as "cherubs" "trainee" or "young adult" used to refer to young people and key-workers referring to themselves or being referred to as " training officers", or often sardonically as "social workers[4]".

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[4] In this thesis, the terms 'young people' or 'unemployed clients' and the term 'key-worker' is used to describe the front line staff, however within the research the term 'young people' and occasionally

YOUNG PEOPLE	*KEY-WORKER*	*MANAGEMENT*
1.Relationship with mother	1.Job-insecurity	1.Changing staff attitudes
2.Financial worries & debts	2.Role-confusion	2.Transition to PCA/coherent ethos.
3.Relationships with partner/desire to have home & children	3.Powerlessness/ stress overwhelming caseloads.	3.Youth ownership/citizenship
4.Relationship with friends.	4.Consistency of practice, measured outcomes.	4.Inter-locality competition
5.Housing issues	5.Not informed by management/communication	5.Partnership working
6.Support issues	6.Culture of young people - work discipline/lifestyle	6.Health promotion
7.Drugs/Alcohol/Self-abuse	7.Reflexive practice	7.Lifelong learning
8.Employment conditions	8.Young people should be allowed to evaluate the service	8.Street level café- so young people can check us out in a neutral space. Young people's perceptions.
9.Familiarity/Locality	9.Young people as playing the welfare system	9.Young people must understand there are rights & responsibilities.
10.Parent's occupation	10.Client group as having behavioural difficulties.	10. Consistency of approach in measuring progress.

Table 10.8 Different issues in the talk of young people, staff and management.

[see appendix Q]. These differences in the terms used to refer to members of staff relate to differences in practice which will be returned to in Chapter Eleven. It is interesting to note that there is no data on the terms used to describe key-workers by young people, they were always referred to by their Christian name. Managers were always addressed either by their Christian name, or referred to as 'managers'. However when, in Phase Two I asked the six young people to name the two service managers at the YPC all of the young people couldn't name them. Interestingly frequently when young people did name someone it was always a key-worker.

A feature of the second phase of analysis and reflection and sense-making was to try and explore the extent to which the three groups in the organization, young people, key-workers and managers tended to operate within different communicative worlds, to put it simply then tended to talk past each other. Each working with assumptions about the other rather than what they were hearing. To make sense of this, an analysis was carried out which simply indicated what were the most important subjects or

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'youngsters' was used. The term key-worker, was chosen because it is a generic term which has become popularised by the Beattie report.

issues within the conversation of each of the three groups. This is presented in Table 10.8.

10.4.1 The interpersonal emphasis of young people

In this analysis young people, as noted above were predominantly concerned with interpersonal relations, familiarity and support. All young people in Phase Two, those that had been brought up by their mothers and those that had been in hostels and children's homes, when interviewed referred frequently to their mothers, in both positive and negative terms, her occupation, her outlook and lifestyle were all used as a frame of reference, in this respect they engage in the I-position of 'son' or 'daughter' in dialogue with their mother. Upon arriving at one young person's flat embarrassed by the state of the place, the broken window, the lack of heating and the scarcity of the furniture, he commented

> PJ: This isn't me I am middle-class. You should see my mother's flat she has done it up with real style. [22nd February 2001].

This was often supplemented by talk of fathers and step-fathers, friends and other young people on the programmes. This emphasis on the interpersonal is a indicated above a feature of their space maps. However, given that 50% lived alone or in hostels, these brothers and sisters, and parents are often people who are kept in mind the subject of internal dialogues rather than people that they actually see regularly. I would argue that it is a measure of both loneliness and a lack of continuity in the lives of young people.

10.4.2 Ambiguities over the role of the key-worker

Staff given their position, as service providers rather than users, tend to talk within quite different horizons. They focused on three main issues, the nature of the job, issues around practice and issues around the culture of the young people. Key-workers who were acting as the personal contact point for young people, rather than tutors or administrators, demonstrated job-insecurity and discussed the current ambiguities over the role they were expected to play, for example EMcA said to each young person in the three pre-induction interviews I observed "nobody guarantees me a job and nobody can guarantee you one".

Figure 10.9 Space Map WC – 12/02/01.

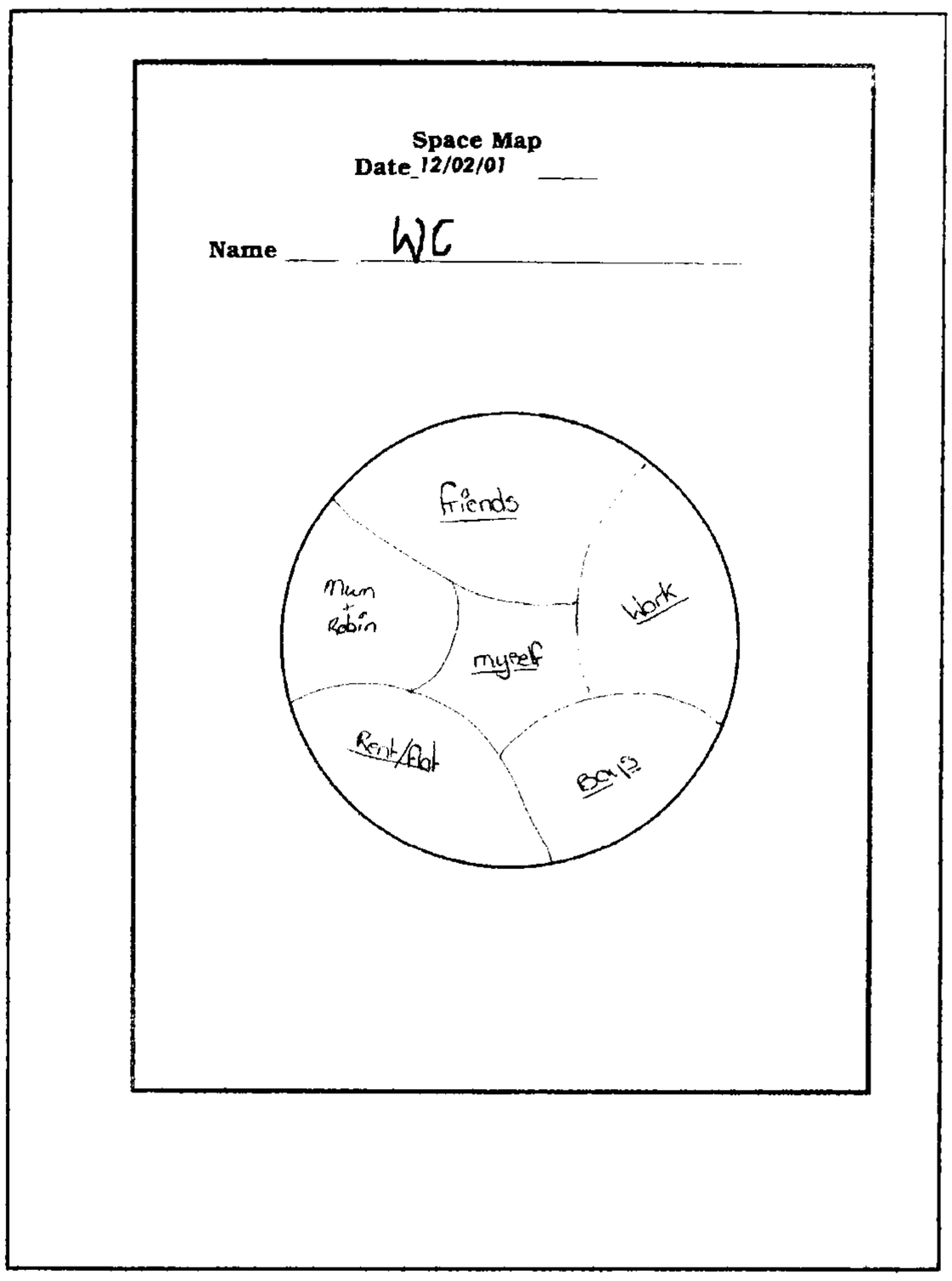

Figure 10.10 Space Map WC – 02/03/01

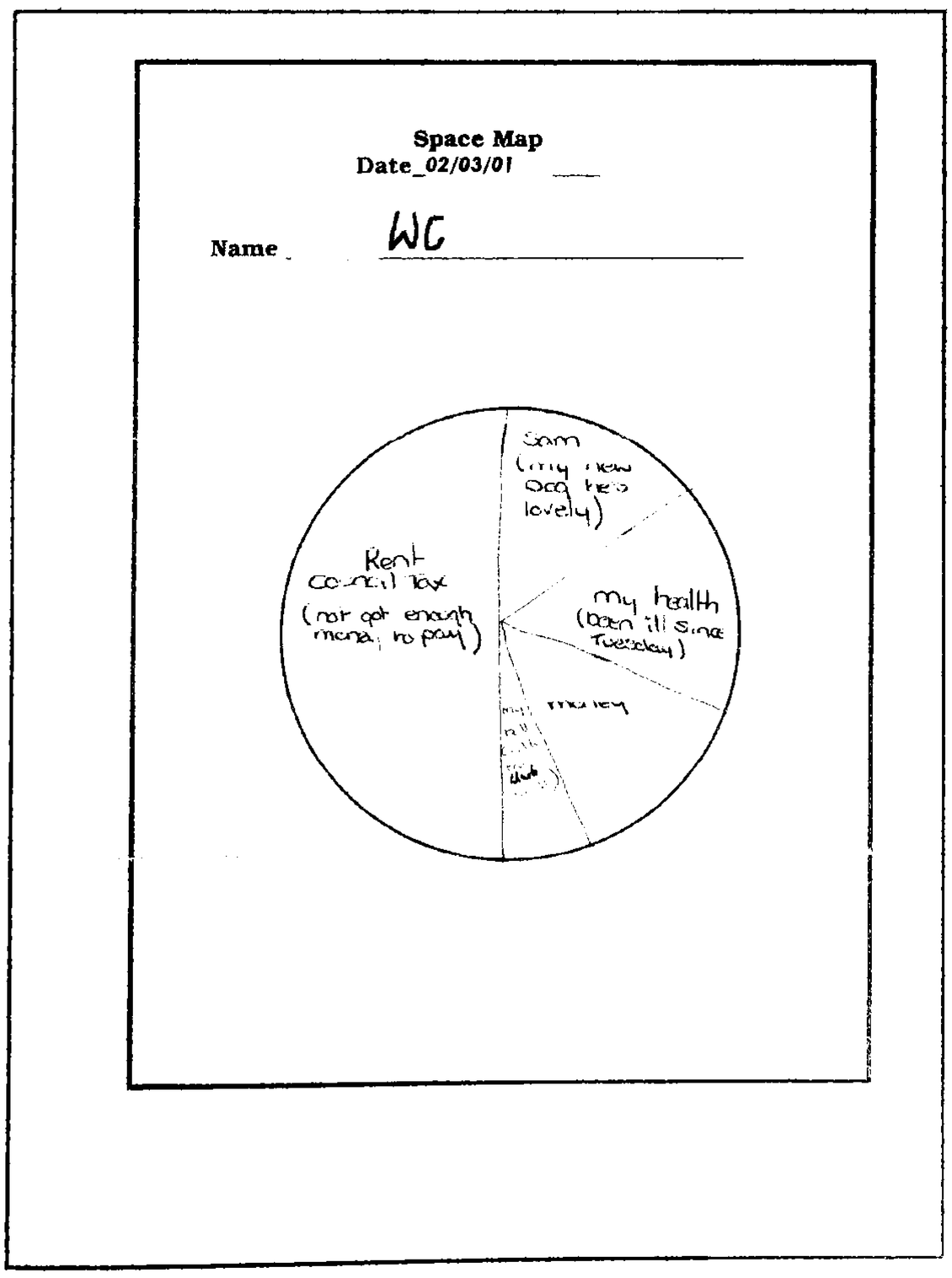

Figure 10.11 Space Map KJ – 12/02/01

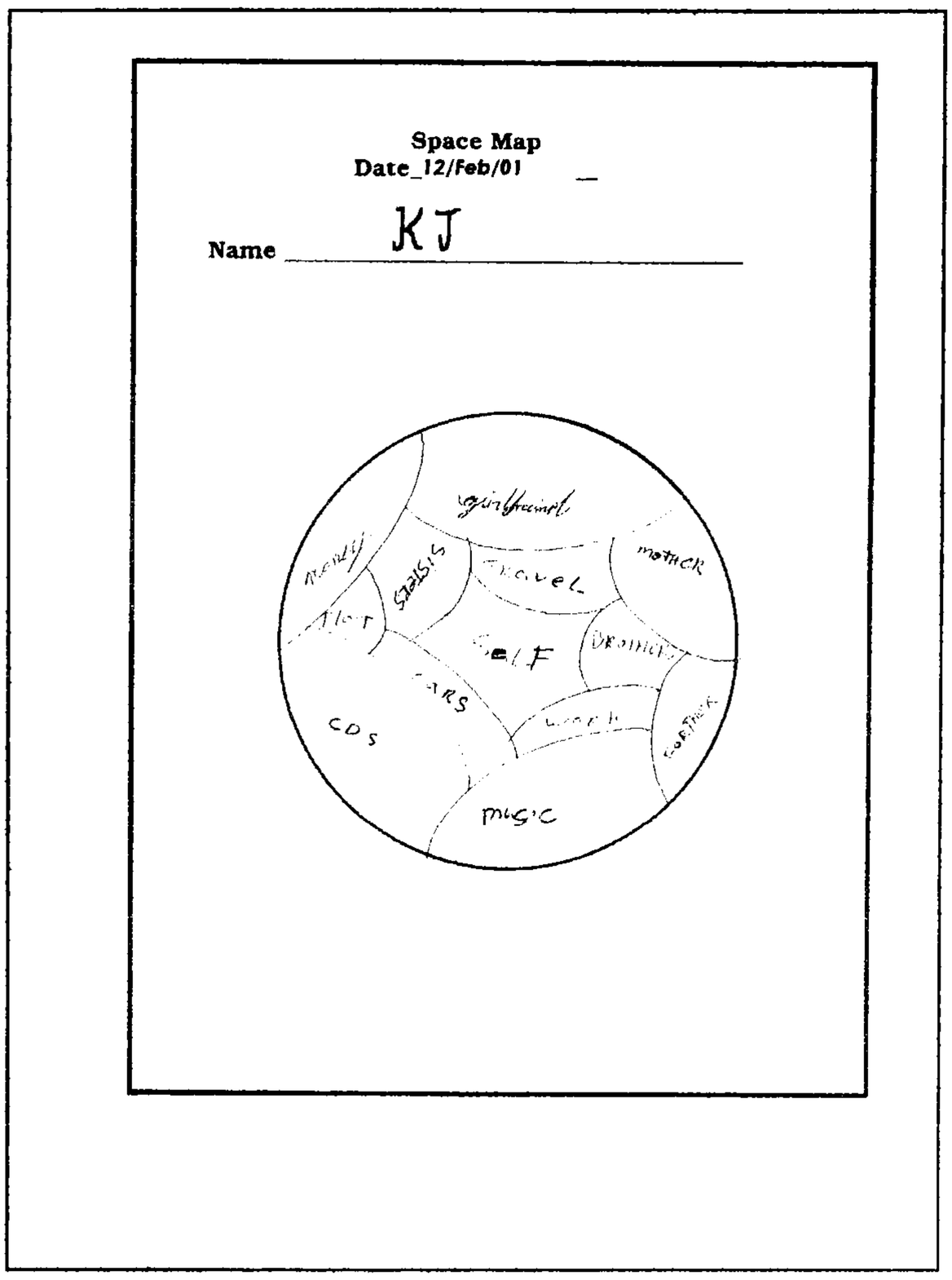

Figure 10.12 Space Map – SM – 12/08/00

Themes	YOUNG PEOPLE	KEY-WORKER	MANAGEMENT
Work ethic/ Employability	1Pay & conditions not reasonable. 2 Ideology of work values	1.Young people often don't have a work ethic 2. It's just laziness. 3. Face barriers to developing work ethic	1. Face barriers to developing work ethic 2. It's about rights & responsibilities
Employer's	1.Don't want to be told what to do 2. It was my last day so he thought he'd have a go	Have to play the game, do as your told	Employer's expect young people to be the finished article
Training	1.Not relevant to what I want to do 2.Good work opportunity 3.Exploitative- "an extra tenner a week"	1.Training needs to be relevant to world of work if young people are to accept it	1.Training needs to part of a holistic package which includes social and personal development
Locality	1.Need to get away 2.Don't want to leave I have social connections	Young people not seen as having locality issues	1.Young people not seen as having locality issues 2.Emphasize community
Client group	1. I know you have dealt with loads of radges coming through here	1.Our client group has behavioural difficulties 2. We are on the third generation now 3. His father was here 4. The young people need anger-management	1. Our client group face barriers 2. The young people need anger-management
Familiarity	1.Difficult as I knew people there 2.I didn't know anyone	1.Positive for young people to know each other 2. Difficulties of conformity	1.Positive for young people to know each other. 2. Difficulties of conformity 3. Community participation
Funding for projects and the YPC itself	1.They get paid per person. 2. YPC better than some places who are only interested in the funding 3. How much is this costing? I feel spoilt	Funding isn't available unless it's about vocational training – hard outcomes	Funding is available for vocational & soft skills

Table 10.13 Comparing talk on common themes within the YPC.

Discussions on practice and consistency of practice were around the extent to which different key-workers approached young people in different ways. How to work with young people was an on-going hotly debated topic throughout my time at the YPC. Some staff argued that there was not enough reflexive practice. Concerns over consistency of practice are raised within Action B when DDG and I discuss the way programmes are currently running at the YPC, and the different approaches staff take in gathering and recording information on the young people. Key-workers were also inclined to talk of the 'character' of the client group and the tension and difficulties of actually working face to face with these sorts of young people.

In what I have termed in Fig 10.8 'culture of young people' there is talk about how young people are different today, less orientated towards work, less disciplined. This relates to the discussion on culture of poverty in Chapter Three but in some ways it goes further, the last issue in Table 10.8, is one of the client group as having behavioural difficulties, this was a popular perception amongst staff that the young people had social and psychological problems which required the sort of professional help that they were not trained to give. Equally staff, interested in reflexive practice, often referred to the young people's rights as users to evaluate the service, something which was not occurring[5] and was one of the recommendations made in the Initial findings report [see Appendix Q].

It was felt that managers, often failed to appreciate the issues that staff faced and further that decisions were being made, evaluations by external bodies, new directives and so on which were not being communicated or cascaded to them. Given that young people in interviews could not name managers and were not able to describe the key-worker role, it seems that this ambiguity over the role of the key-worker is pervasive throughout the organisation.

Turning to the final column in Table 10. 8 managers seemed to be concerned with the strategic issue of how the policy, that was influencing the organization, was being turned into practice. In meetings, interviews and field observation, they were often in a dialogue with the socio-political discourse, on 'rights and responsibilities', 'lifelong learning', 'active citizenship' and so on, however the most prevalent topic or issue in conversation was staff attitudes. The key steps involved in the transition towards a person-centred approach were understood at the level of staff development and convincing the staff to change their understanding of their role. Thus the key issue was the reconceptualisation of the role of the key-worker. The steps actually taken by the management at the YPC towards a person-centred approach and these tensions are the subject of further analysis in Chapter Eleven.

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[5] Postal questionnaires were sent out to former users of the service. This process had a very low response rate.

It is natural that each group in the organization should have different concerns and priorities, this is a reflection of the power-asymmetries in the organization, where the dialogue of staff is mostly around their job insecurity and managers talk most of changing staff attitudes, as the means of developing the service. Young people, as users of the service, talk in a more personal way, though given the account of their multiple deprivations above, it is perhaps surprising the extent to which their conversation is not about themselves but about the other people in their lives.

The analysis then points to the need to clarify the role taken by the key-worker as the principal contact point for young people using the YPC services and also to develop an appreciation of the importance attached to the interpersonal by young people. This is perhaps in conflict with the move towards a person-centred approach.

Ichheiser (1949) suggested that we misunderstood each other more than we understood each other, in his account, discussed in Section 4.4.1 this could be understood in terms of the differences between impression and expression, that our utterances are interpreted within the impression formed of us. The three groups within the organization have different preoccupations and if there is to be the moves towards the dialogical shared understanding that occurs in Chapter Nine between co-researchers and myself then it may be useful to analyse what each group understands under common headings. Table 10.13 on page 218 sets out the common themes that emerged across the three groups.

10.5 A dialogical analysis of employability

The first three themes, 'work ethic' and 'employability', 'employer's' and 'training' can be usefully understood within the context of the school to work transition. Young people talk about work values, conforming to a 9 to 5 job, and in particular the terms and conditions of low-paid employment. Each young person described situations where they felt that managers had taken advantage of them, e.g. CJ describes a scenario in which a manager had tried to throw a bucket of water over him for a joke, within a work placement "it was my last day so he thought he would have a go" [6th March 2001]. There was here a distinction made between the work placement and the actual working environment, however young people frequently described their experience of actual work environments as overwhelmingly negative.

With 6 out of the 14 unemployed at the end of phase two and a further 3 unknown this leaves, only 2 people actually in any kind of employment. To make sense of this it is worth exploring what is occurring in this gap between school and work. Given that this picture emerges during a period of intense activation it presents a serious challenge to Layard & Nickell's argument [see section 3.2.4], that full employment is possible through employability. Is it the case that the employability of

the young people who stayed with the YPC simply didn't increase? Or, as this intervention argues, the current conceptualisation of employability is inadequate to explain the gap between school and the flexible labour market that certain young people face.

It is worth developing this further in the light of Table 10.13. The issue is not that young people do not get the opportunity to take up work placements or that they cannot get employment, all of the young people that I came to know during this research achieved employment again and again. The issue is that young people cannot *sustain* employment or perhaps the character of the employment they get is not sustainable. Young people tended to get work in the hospitality sector, in restaurants and hotels, a service sector that is characterised by low-pay, increasing casualisation and a high turn over of staff as has been noted many of the young people described to me in detail situations where they had been laid-off because they were ill.

There are two key ways that a study such as this can shed light on this problem. By exploring how young people understand the environment at the YPC, the extent to which they perceive it as a work environment and also by exploring the assumptions which underpin the YPC's attempts at preparing the young people for the labour market.

10.5.1 The environment at the YPC

One of the first difficulties is the ambiguity surrounding the environment at the YPC, young people are referred to the centre from the Careers service and within it they undertake training which at the pre-vocational level focuses on SQA core skills, [see page 58]. Young people themselves however struggle to make sense of this environment.

> JB: What I want is a list of rules of what you expect of me. *Residential feedback session in week 2, January 2000*
>
> PJ: that's what I want to know how many warnings what's the limit?"
>
> EmcA: there is no limit it depends on the severity....there's verbal, written, final"
>
> PJ: so it's three?"
>
> EmcA: no it's not as simple as that, you can jump." *Support & guidance session Week 2 January* 2000.

The difficulty is that the YPC does not induct young people into its culture, it does not explain to them frequently why they are doing what they are doing. The field observation within Phase One suggested ambiguity about whether the YPC was creating a school environment or an employment environment. Staff often used the language of the world of work, in term of a 'three-warning' system, the paperwork also in some

respects, especially the application form, filled in before the induction was based on a job application form. The matrix which was the main assessment device for measuring progress [see appendix J] related to employability. Further in the induction there is talk of health and safety and unions and so on.

However the core-skills are delivered in classroom sessions and young people were also given talks on healthy eating, alcohol and drug use often in the style of school sessions. This ambiguity is demonstrated in the impressions formed by the young people themselves. In phase two when I met up with the young people, I asked them the question "what advice would you give to a new young person who is starting at the YPC?" All of the young people were quick to make clear how positive they felt about the YPC, the question was asked five times; first of all 'WC' and 'SK' offer a positive response

> WC: I'd say for them to go because it is good I enjoyed it. Obviously you meet new people as well. That brings you out of your shell if you don't know them. You weren't tied in so many words, I don't know if that's right, you didn't have to, they weren't really strict with you, you were able to be yourself and I think that is what I liked about it, it was good.

> SK: I'd tell her to go, cos it was a laugh too at the same time it done your head in when you didn't have anything to do but half the time you would just make a laugh.

On a different note 'KJ' and 'CJ' both of whom during phase two, were still involved with YPC, commented

> KM: what advice would you give them?
> KJ: behave (*laughs*)
> KM: Behave?
> KJ: Just don't piss them off that's all I can say.
> KM: What do you think is the best way to get the best out of YPC?
> KJ: listen; listen to what they're saying
> KM: yerr
> KJ: 'cos if you don't you are stuffed and you don't know what the hell they are going to say next time. Just listen.

> CJ: to take it as a normal job, to take on all your responsibilities seriously because if you don't take them seriously you don't get anything done at all and it all just falls back on to you. Take all the folk that you work with seriously like 'FP' and all that. Don't treat them like your pals and all that because there not, they are there to make you work and help you. You know 'EMcA' (*key worker*) he knows how to have a laugh but you need to know

when to draw the line you need to know when he is going to have a laugh and when he isn't.

and finally 'JB' echoes this view

JB: Just behave you know what I mean? Get on with the stuff you are told to do eh? and like dannae take drugs and drink and that (*laughs, I laugh*) things like that, know what I mean in case you get, you dinnae want to lose days, that's when you lose your money and that no? There is folk coming in and getting about twenty pounds wages and moaning to them because they werenae there. Whereas half the time it was there fault.

If the gap between the flexible labour market and young people is to be understood it requires that centres engaged in training and guidance understand the impression young people form of such centres comments about 'listening' and 'behaving' or even 'having a laugh' all suggest that young people, with the exception of WC are concerned about the rules of the organization. In many respects young people learnt the rules of the YPC through experience, frequently there were disciplinary hearings and as JB notes it was common for young people to lose money. This problem of what the staff call learning to 'play the game' also extends to work placements.

10.5.2 <u>Employability and the flexible labour market</u>

Staff in turn often discuss the extent to which young people today simply don't have the work ethic, demonstrating that the dialogue they have with young people is often influenced by the social knowledge that surround unemployment most notably the concept of a *culture of poverty* as one key-worker TA put it "we are on the third generation now" January 2000. They are not unsympathetic to this and suggest that young people face barriers to learning the work ethic.

One of the difficulties was that staff tended to operate with a view of secure employment, often based on a model that the acquisitions of vocational skills could lead to permanent work. In this respect staff themselves did not tend to prepare young people for the flexible labour market which not only characterizes the service sector that most young people in 'January intake' tend to end up in. It also underpins the policy discourse notion of 'employability' which emphasizes the idea that young people should move self-sufficiently through the labour market. Rather much of the discussion around work socialisation was around the extent to which young people needed to know how to 'play the game', that is know how to act when in employment, as PE and I illustrate when we discuss anger-management and working relationships within Action A. It is illustrated by the following discussion between PJ and his key-worker EMcA.

PJ: within a couple of minutes that woman decided that she didn't like me, she said 'who are you' and I said ' I'm PJ' and she said 'well I haven't heard of you' and I said 'well why not?'"

EmcA: but Rory wasn't impressed with you in the kitchen

PJ: If he had given me something to do I would have done it.

A support & guidance session week 9 February 2000.

and also with JB,

EmcA: the progress is there but the placement fell through

JB: Exactly my dad laughed

SL(careers): What was the underlying reason?

EmcA: The underlying reason was to do with how I explained to him. He would have to do a split shift. Unfortunately in the first week he was asked to do a Saturday. He starts arguing and shouting the odds...she didn't like his temperament"

EmcA explains at a 13 week exit interview why JB has lost another placement.

Managers in contrast, perhaps as a result of less day to day interaction with the young unemployed people, tended to also talk about the extent to which young people faced barriers. They however also discussed employer's attitudes to young people that is expecting young people "to be the finished article", it was felt amongst managers that employers did not take up the responsibilities around work socialisation of young people.

These differences in the dialogues between the three groups are also evident when each group talks about training, young people express their frustration with training in particular the core-skills training and staff feel that young people will only engage with training if it relates to the actual world or work. There are some difference amongst staff here which are taken up in the next chapter, however the majority emphasized vocational training which related to actual vocational skills, such as joinery, construction, painting and decoration, childcare and so on. Managers given their desire to move towards the person-centred approach wanted young people to be trained in a holistic way tackling their social as well as economic needs.

10.5.3 Gainful Unemployment and employability

The difficulty that the young people at the YPC face is that the gap between some young people and the labour market is so large that any supply-side measure that is designed to improve the employability of young people will not breach it. Such measures would also have to be supplemented with measures which moved the local labour market towards the realities of both the YPC as an organization and it's objectives and the everyday realities of young people.

The 'Bridging the Gap' approach which underpins most post-Beattie developments in this area and is a feature of the YPC's thinking is that that YPC needed to act as a bridge from school to work. The analysis of the first 13 weeks of the January intake did not support this, it was clear that young people were faced barriers in gaining employment, however many of these barriers seem to stem from difficulties that were mostly long term, childhood poverty, and often related to social conditions in terms of housing, health, debts, etc, as such the thinking that school and work are stable and it is the transition that is unstable, did not fit with the data collected. Rather often school was unstable 3 of the 14 young people were referred to the YPC from secondary school support and many of the others were low-achievers in school terms and had difficult and chaotic school histories. This then is a problem for the idea of lifelong learning which underpins the employability discourse, as young people do not look positively at college as a fresh experience. PE explained to me in our meeting in April why SK lost her college placement " I think she (SK) called her (the tutor) a blonde bimbo".

	No experience of college	Attending College	Attended one college – dropped out	Attended more than one college dropped out
Number of young people	8	2	3	1

Table 10.14 January intakes experience of college at April 2001.

10.6 The paradoxes of social inclusion

When I first presented these findings at the Global Youth Conference [Mahendran 2001a] I argued that young people were not in a dialogue with the socio-political context and managers were, however delegates argued that the young people were in a dialogue with socio-political discourses but it was expressed in a different way, with critical reflection it became apparent that this was indeed the case. Young people, as social agents, tended to be fully aware of the extent of funding of each project explaining that a strength of the YPC, in one young person's PJ's view was unlike some of the projects in that it was not only interested in the money. This is not confined to the YPC, SK comments on the Welcome Vista, children's home that she was staying in during Phase one.

> SK: They get 200 odd pounds for somebody moving in... a week. 22nd March 2001.

It is a measure of the extent to which the young people that form the January intake have developed "a rational and cynical competence" [Illich (1978): 84] when dealing with the welfare system. Further young people also have an awareness of the role they

are to play, when engaged in such programmes, they can take the appropriate position and engage in the appropriate dialogue, emphasizing their vulnerability where needed, in the cover illustration to Part Two, PJ, a heavy smoker who frequently cadged tobacco and offered me his cigarettes, draws a smoke line advert as part of a core skill session around health promotion. It states

> The bad things that you can get from smoking well out weigh the good things ...so if you get offered one by a pal just say NO

There is dialogism in his poster, it recognises the addressivity in the key-workers request to create a poster on health promotion, and he takes up the appropriate subject position, using the catchphrase of the government sponsored drugs campaigns of a decade ago.

One of the findings within the first phase was the extent to which young people were involved with so many agencies, it was not uncommon for a young person to have different key-worker for their housing situation, health issues and schooling situations, a social worker and then the YPC key-worker. SM complained to me that her YPC key-worker and her social worker often contradicted each other. SK when I arrived to interview her in Phase Two, said "meetings, meetings, I seem to spend all my time in meetings".

In my initial analysis presented at the BPS Social inclusion conference I argued that in many ways young people could be seen as more included than excluded and that the assumption of the notion of social inclusion needed to be reconsidered [Mahendran 2000]. Young people were in discussions about their lives again and again. A useful example can be found in the exit interviews for SM, PJ and JB. In this hour long meeting the central focus was on whether their time at the YPC should be extended for another thirteen weeks, when there was no sign of them beginning a Level I VQ. The meeting consisted of a manager from TE, the local enterprise authority who would authorise the funding, the key worker from the YPC, a manager from the YPC, another manager from the careers service, a care-worker for the young person, the young person and finally myself as an observer. In this interview each young person met with a panel of six professionals all discussing their case. In this respect the young people lead very monitored lives. These young people are in fact more monitored and controlled and assessed than other groups of the same age they are usefully understood as more a part of the needs of the system than other young people who do not end up unemployed or going through training schemes.

Discourses around 'social inclusion' along with 'dependency' Lødomel and Trickey argue are the two key features of the rationale, as discussed in Chapter Two, that underpin the New Deal and Skillseekers. These schemes arise out of the belief

there are groups at the margins of a consensual society who are vulnerable and excluded and turning to the moral underclass discourse, [Levitas (1998): 99-107] are to be understood as atomised and under-socialised. Economic participation, which leads to work socialisation, is the key policy response to insert such people back into society. The young people from Moultrie and Sommerville are not necessarily usefully understood as socially excluded. It is true that they suffer from inequality and poverty and indeed many lived alone, however in interpreting the findings of the study there are three features of young people's participation that would challenge the efficacy of this conceptualisation (i) familiarity and locality (ii) comparing inclusion with exclusion inclusion (iii) a dialogue with the socio-political discourse.

10.6.1 Familiarity and locality

Returning to Table 10.12 'Familiarity' and 'Locality' are a source of ambivalence for young people, some talked of the need to get away from their old peer group, and wishing to go somewhere where they are not known or conversely commented on the strength of knowing people in the YPC. Most of the young people talked of knowing other people at the YPC, or neighbouring projects, either from school or from the neighbourhood, this was seen in an ambivalent way, they resented the extent of this familiarity in some cases and in others found it comforting to know someone else who is going through the programme. WC talked of not wishing to go into Moultrie in case she met someone she knew and refusing to use a particular support service because she didn't want to bump into certain people. Whereas PJ, talked of not wanting to leave Moultrie as he had friends and was settled here.

Paradoxically, whilst key-workers and managers were aware of the ambivalence of familiarity, in the sense that the recognised the difficulties of pressures on young people conforming to their peer group. They worked within programmes which placed an emphasis on working together as a key feature of work socialisation. This is demonstrated in the cover illustration of Part One, a photograph of a team-building exercise, "spider's web".

In many respects the discussions between PE and myself on the development of the pre-vocational programme towards individually tailored programmes was to counter the extent to which young people developed a group or "intake identity". If the YPC age cohort is compared to another cohort of the same age range that is young people going to University, for the majority of the young people the YPC does not constitute a fresh start, whereas for University students it does. The difficulty is the dominance of the concept social inclusion, and the perception that people in poverty are marginalized from a mainstream means that ambivalence and issues around locality and familiarity are not fully considered.

Managers and key-workers seemed less aware of the issues surrounding the locality itself; that is the strengths and weaknesses of being known in Moultrie were rarely considered when developing the service, in contrast the notion of social inclusion resulted in an emphasis on community participation. The difficulty here is that social knowledge around community participation may be based on thinking stemming from urban areas where young people may be viewed as not integrated into their communities. It may be less appropriate in rural and small town settings, where young people may be very integrated in their communities already and knowing people and being known may impact how young people approach a service.

10.6.2 Comparing exclusion and inclusion.

Figure 10.15 lists the deprivations that young people experienced during the research it is contrasted with the social inclusion response to it. Strategies designed to tackle social inclusion, because of the dominance of what I am calling a social representation of the character of the welfare recipient, as outside the mainstream. Dependent and existing within their own culture, tends to focus principally on civic socialisation and economic participation. Social inclusion initiatives are ratcheted onto active labour market programmes, where there is a danger both practitioners and policy makers remain more in a dialogue with the social knowledge around the area than the realities of the young people as they are presented in Sections 10.2 and 10.3.

Social Exclusion	**Social Inclusion**
.Duty of Care .Supervision Orders .Sexual Abuse .Police Arrest .Court Appearances .Homelessness .Miscarriage .Teenage Parenting .Drug & Alcohol Problems .Depression .Disability .Rural barriers	.Council-led Interventions .Active Citizenship .Lifelong learning. .Health Promotion Core Skills such as … 1. C & IT 2.Problem-solving 3.Numeracy 4.Literacy 5.Working with Others
Economic- Insecurity	**Activation Policies.**

Figure 10.15 Indicators of social exclusion compared to social inclusion strategies.

10.6.3 The dialogical implications of social inclusion

Figure 10.15 suggest that the solutions do not always fit the problems. However the conceptualisations that underpin the area of poverty, training and guidance of the

unemployed have important dialogical reverberations. To return to my meetings with PE, the manager in charge of the pre-vocational programmes; one of the questions I had asked him was what was the logic of the Leisure & Tourism course? When I had spoken to the young people none of them had expressed an interest in Leisure and Tourism, though one SK, became interested in it during the programme. He explained that a directive had come from Moultrie Council, where it was felt that a festival that was coming up in the town would be a good opportunity to demonstrate young people's involvement in the community, the idea was that young people would create pieces for the festival and this in turn developed into the Leisure & Tourism course. Which was then offered as the main option to the January intake in their pre-induction interviews.

In Action B, I tell DDG the story of CM, who when I met her in one such interview, had expressed to me a clear interest in working with children with special needs, and had gone to the Careers Service and had been encouraged to do retail. She had then been referred to the YPC and been encouraged to the Leisure and Tourism course. CM dropped out after two weeks and was unemployed by the end of this study.

The difficulty here is that managers within the council or the YPC, who exist in a dialogue with the socio-political discourse that clusters around the reference points within 'social inclusion' e.g. citizenship, participation, community develop policy responses which meet the connotations of the term, rather than hear the voices of the young people whose aspirations may not fit in with these responses.

10.7 Summary

There is then a need for organizations which work with young people to engage in a real dialogue with them, to engage in the young people's lifeworlds, where practitioners are able to approach the situation as interpretative practitioners [Percy-Smith & Weil (2000): 13] interested in active listening. The space maps presented above and the dialogical analysis around key issues to young people such as 'employment' or 'employability' offers a way in which organisations such as the YPC can build a real dialogue with young people to capacity build an effective user voice which if amplified in the evaluation of the service will help in its ongoing development. This is the way in which the YPC will be able to meet the needs of young people in their transition from dependence through independence to interdependence.

Despite the individual focus of current training programmes and the rising prominence of the person-centred approach in this field, young people do not tend to have a narcissistic preoccupation with their own narratives. Rather both their conversation and their representation of themselves are often centred on their loyalties their adult responsibilities and dilemmas. They give prominence to their successes, skills and competencies.

There is then it is argued in this chapter value in working with the dimensions and frames of reference which can be uncovered using a dialogical approach with young people. Projective techniques such as space maps along with dialogical analysis of communicative actions can offer a dynamic and relational approach to working with young people, which goes beyond the usual preoccupations with individual case-management and considers instead the externalised *I*-positions employed by young people, the 'superaddressee' or imaginary interlocutors that inhabit their talk. The extent to which young people offer an account of their lifeworlds must be set within the context of the services and options a centre such as the YPC can provide and contextualised further by an appreciation that young people operate pragmatically as social agents in a dialogue with the social knowledge in public spheres. That is not only are they aware of characterisations of the welfare recipient, they are equally aware of the pragmatic funding & practice considerations of organisations who exists in an environment of competitive tendering. They are also often acutely aware of the realities of Central Scotland's casualised and flexible service-sector dominated labour market.

To this end this chapter has also explored briefly the extent to which concepts such as 'social inclusion' and 'employability' reposition young people and impact on the way that they are addressed and the service provision offered to them within organizations such as the YPC. The evidence within this intervention suggests that the concept of 'employability' in the sense of supply-side skills development is not enough to bridge the gap that exists between certain young people and the labour market. They are aware of the realties of this world but cannot bridge this gap.

Finally it has also explored the practical implications of working with a frame of reference such as 'social inclusion' in term of policy initiatives and programme developments. Where an emphasis on *active citizenship* or *lifelong learning* does not always fit with the multiple deprivations, loyalties, skills, adult dilemmas and responsibilities which, as has been demonstrated above characterise this group of young people.

Chapter Eleven – From person-centred to "PCA"

11.1 Introduction – the YPC as a multi-voiced organization

11.2 Transition towards a person-centred approach

11.3 Staff voices: The creation of symbolic capital

11.4 The internal dialogism of the concept 'person-centred' in-use

11.5 The C-Navigators Project

11.6 Summary

11.1 Introduction - The YPC as a multi-voiced organization

During the course of this study the YPC successfully attracted ESF Objective 3 funding[1] to totally overhaul its services for young people. In 2001 it set up four one step local centres to implement a new approach to working with young people this was called 'C-Navigators'. The C-Navigators project also involved the employment of eight specialist full-time workers, concentrating on mental health, substance abuse, criminal justice and learning. Further it involved the development of the position of the key-worker. This chapter tells the story of this new development and the role the dialogical intervention played in this, within the context of the YPC's transition towards a person-centred approach.

To understand the YPC dialogically involves making sense of the different positions in relation to this transition rather than presenting a monological narrative, it involves telling a number of stories and the multiplicity of meanings around the term person-centred, that is the dialogism of the word 'person-centred' in use.

The extent to which different members of staff adopt different positions in relation to this transition is explored by introducing Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital, where some staff have access to this and others do not. This chapter continues then to paint of picture of a dynamic, contradictory and relational epistemology, the dialogical nature of the YPC is first understood by arguing that the YPC is best understood as a multi-voiced organization.

To argue that YPC is multi-voiced in the Bakhtinian sense is to go further than to say there are different voices in terms of clients, staff and management, but to argue that within the talk and actions of member at the YPC there are further voices, such as

[1] European Social Fund Objective 3.

the voice of the mother in young people's talk. The communicative rationality that developed between PE and myself as we debated the introduction of anger-management within the context of the development of the pre-vocational programme illustrates this multi-voicedness. In the following extract we are discussing EMcC, a key-worker who I had observed in Phase One, as being very popular with the young people.

KM: He comes in at a different level I think.

PE: Well that's right and I think that's where he's got the advantages he's seen as, he comes in and he does his little bit and then he disappears again. Whereas the rest of us are probably there as a constant thorn in their side. Always bugging them to do this or whatever and you know another one of them is JL [*a new young person at YPC*]. I don't know, I really don't know where he is going, he says he wants to go to the army but [*sighs*] his attitude at the moment, they wouldn't touch someone like him with a barge pole, and you try and sort of get that through to him and then it's 'I'd be different then' ..and you ...try and say, 'if they come and ask you for references or ask us for references about what you are like, how do we know that you are going to be like that?'. That's a story I have heard for years from young people from back in the training centre days. 'We need to be able to endorse you to approve you to an employer but how am I going to be able to do that, look at you now?' then you know 'oh I would be different if I was with an employer, it's because I'm here', I've heard that one for years.

KM: I've heard it as well in the time that I have been there, and it is revealing because it shows you how they see the place, it being *not* a work environment=

PE: =Environment, and they don't, it's fairly clear and I don't think we help that, I mean the amount of time they've got to mill around doesn't .... doesn't create a work environment.

KM: And also I think the way they are treated as well is ambiguous really. In that people sort of regard them, different members of staff regard them in different ways. It shows so it goes all over.

PE: Oh yes, there is no consistency, there is no consistency in dealing with them in terms of how staff approach, I mean we ... I mean just looking at this lad JL, various staff have sort of spoken to him about being disruptive and GD [*another line manager*] goes in to duty and there is a sort of ..and that's why we have got a disciplinary hearing and I am not saying it is wrong, it is an inconsistency of approach. Others have had dealings with him or spoken to him about it but we haven't gone down... necessarily had any findings to go down that road. Maybe it is the right road maybe it's what we need to do with them, to actually bring it home. 'Hold on here what you are doing is not acceptable and here's the consequences'.

KM: I think there has to be lines, you know everybody else, you and I have to deal with lines within our working environment and they are there and that's kinda how you learn, you make the mistakes and you cross a line and you get the reaction.

PE: But in terms of how we deal with them, we talked about the, you came in and did a bit about the person-centred approach to ourselves, which I missed [laughs] but it was always there about we need to take this out to the staff. It is all well and good us having this philosophy that this...you know and we do, we go out and tell people that we are moving towards a person-centred approach, but we have not actually done anything to the staff to say, this is what a person-centred approach is about and this is how you deal with it. It just seems to have got sort of forgotten about [6th July 2000].

In the extract, which is quoted at length in unedited form, our "multi-voicedness" can be seen in the imaginary interlocutors within the dialogue, the "sideways glances" indicated by "a certain halting quality to the speech and its interruptions by reservations" [Bakhtin (1995b):159]. There are the barely "hidden internal polemics", when PE debates the course of action taken by another line-manager GD where GD had given the young person JL a disciplinary hearing. His utterance is "double-voiced" i.e. anticipating the thoughts of the other speaker, myself [Bakhtin (1995a): 106-107] when he comments "maybe it is the right road" and then takes on a new *I*-position, the voice of a more authoritarian manager explaining to the prototypical young person where the lines are.

I respond by saying "there has to be lines" I speak from the *I*-position of the worker constrained by the rules and norms of the work environment. However equally PE also addresses me as the researcher-practitioner, who presented on the person-centred approach, an approach normatively associated with unconditional positive regard and he begins his rejoinder on this note. He emphasizes that the staff have not received any training on what the person-centred approach is.

This exchange usefully illustrates that member of the YPC are not only in face-to-face dialogues with each other, but equally each member is to be understood as multi-voiced, with internal dialogues and dialogism in their choice and style of utterances. This is illustrated in PE's externalised *I*-positions, - those of the front-line practitioner engaging with a young person, the prototypical young person, the manager in debate with another manager, the manager in debate with the research-practitioner.

PE and I also illustrate the way each time the word 'person-centred' is used it has its own connotations. Connotations are understood here in the sense that Bourdieu sets out as "elaborations" or "individual deviations from the linguistic norm", where "speakers fashion an idiolect from the common language" [Bourdieu (1991): 38-39]. It

is the thematic analysis of these connotations that is the key to unlocking what is needed for the YPC to successfully develop an authentic person-centred approach.

For example in the exchange above PE describes "person-centred approach" as a "philosophy", where "we go out and tell people we are moving towards a person-centred approach" here he uses the term as an ethos that underpins the YPC's activities, earlier he speaks of the YPC's lack of consistency. The term firstly serves to integrate the organization and secondly it serves as a way to present the ethos of the YPC's philosophy to those outwith the organization. The analysis presented here does not focus on subjective connotations but intersubjective ones, those that are repeatedly used by more than one person. Where such creative work around the term "person-centred", which remained unfamiliar at the YPC, is viewed as an expression of an underlying shared reality. [See Mahendran (2003):243-46 for a fuller account of using a dialogical analysis]. The concern here is not what the person-centred approach means or what it can be understood as, rather what it comes to mean within the context of the YPC's transition towards it.

11.2 The YPC's transition towards a person-centred approach

> JM: Two and half years ago, we tried to change the organization, by using the term 'holistic' however we never really developed it theoretically or conceptually so I felt we never actually took a holistic approach, it never actually meant anything (...) we all use different terminology and we all come from different backgrounds and it takes us ages to understand each other. [November 1999]

Discussions around the desire to move towards a person-centred approach began back in 1999, within the access phase, arising from a realisation that the YPC, was not fulfilling its objective of meeting the needs of young people. As Section 10.2 illustrates the unemployment of the young people that used the service at the YPC, often combined with a number of other deprivations, and the term holism was originally used as a way of suggesting that what was needed was to treat the young person as a whole rather than just concentrate on their vocational training.

11.2.1 Presenting on the person-centred approach

Within these access meetings with JM we agreed that I would present on the person-centred approach. The December presentation concentrated on three features of a person-centred approach empathy, unconditional positive regard and power-sharing. I Distinguished between no empathy, where the key-worker is unable to take the young person's perspective, accurate empathy, when the key-worker is able to feed back at the same level, adopting the young person's frame of reference, outlook and so on. And finally 'additive empathy' when the key-worker is able go beyond the young person's conscious awareness, engaged in depth reflection and bring in other issues. The

presentation went on to suggest that to develop this would need training in 'active listening' equally it would need key-workers and staff being able to explore their own feelings and attitudes to clients i.e. congruence and acceptance. The second key concepts which was central to the presentation was 'unconditional positive regard' here I stated

> Unconditional positive regard does not mean not having boundaries or different values it just requires that the key worker is explicit about them. *Taken from the presentation on the person-centred approach.* [9th December 1999].

I had stated throughout that I was a social psychologist rather than a person-centred psychologist and the presentation also highlighted weaknesses of the approach, stating that it's perspective on human nature had been challenged, that crucially it required the person to be able to articulate their needs. Explaining that a key stage would involve developing techniques that allowed young people to articulate their needs. I also pointed to its individualism; the problems with dependency on the person/service using the approach and that power-sharing, a central feature of the approach, could be difficult to put in practice. I suggested that if the YPC were to develop this approach they would need to concentrate on mutuality and safety, creating an atmosphere of growth and devolving power to the young people themselves. After the presentations to the management team in the discussion, I asked them about the original objectives they had stated at the last management meeting in December 1999, see box 3.7.

> KM: What is that you mean by the term active citizenship because I am not sure if it would fit in with a person-centred approach?
> TR: Well knowing if you steal something from a shop that it is wrong. December 1999.

There seems a contradiction in an organization with stated objectives such as 'Active learning', 'employability' and 'responsible citizenship' and those in box 3.7 [see page 78] trying to develop an authentic person-centred approach and at the same time the evidence presented so far, in this study, does suggest a need to work with the actual realities of young people rather than focusing on just their vocational training needs. Further the YPC's desire to move towards a person-centred approach represented further evidence that managers were in a dialogue with the official discourse.

11.2.2 The adoption of the Person-centred approach as a centralizing process

> JM: The whole approach changed with the new government and the New Deal from being project-centred to being person-centred though the 'on your bike' element from the Tories is still there [July 1999].

The expression "on your bike" was coined in relation to the Conservative Cabinet minister, of the 1980's,Norman Tebbit, who had explain that when his father was unemployed he was prepared to get on his bike and travel up and down the country to look for work. The desire to move towards a person centred approach suggests that managers were in a dialogue not only with developments within the New Deal but also the findings of the Beattie report [see page 73] which had emphasized that the focus should be on young people not the aims and objectives of organizations, it is in this interview that JM makes the comment on page 158 about challenging the view of staff who were "pushing people through training schemes and that young people have to fit in with the objectives, targets and requirements of the organization"

Here it is worth drawing attention to the distinction between dialogue and discourse, the YPC were not just being influence by texts in the public sphere, managers often felt themselves to be in a dialogue with 'Westminster' as GB illustrates

> GB: I mean the really interesting thing is that ... about six months ago, maybe longer than that, over the period of the Labour government there has been several erm...expressions of interest from Westminster about what we are doing up here and how things are going and I am not saying that we have really majorly influenced some of the work that is done down south but I have no doubt they have had a look at what is going on up here.

KM: Because these sorts of organizations are quite rare.

GB: That is right and I think to be fair I mean if you said to them out there [*the staff working outside the office*] that at the end of the day, we very well could have influenced the new structure and how things are going down there, they would go ' prfffff' [*a noise of disinterest or disbelief*] but the reality is that we very probably did.

KM: Especially with this new government who are really researching they're sort of, they are very big on researching and finding out what is going on.

GB: We have more than once been asked to send down information about what we do, and what is going on and that is quite interesting. [March 2000].

There is evidence here of an internal dialogue of the manager who regards himself or herself as recognized and listened to by the government. "Westminster" could be understood as one of "GB's" externalised *I*-positions. It is important to be careful in suggesting that bureaucratic managers are simply passively absorbing these discourses. Bakhtin argued that official discourse or what he terms "authoritative discourse" were "unique" genres, requiring special analysis,

> The authoritative word demands that we acknowledge it, that we make it our own; it binds us, quite independent of any power it might have to persuade us internally; we encounter it with its authority already fused to it (...) it cannot be represented it is only transmitted [Bakhtin (1981):342-4].

Managers and staff at the YPC used terms, that when analysed were revealed to be taken from government discourses and placed within YPC's literature, concepts such as "Social inclusion", "Participation", "Outreach" "Rights & Responsibilities", "Youth involvement", "Mentoring" "Active Citizenship", "Youth Information" and finally "Advocacy". This is perhaps unsurprising; YPC is after all a public organization.

There was, for example, a manager who was responsible for "mentoring" and "advocacy", however when I asked what these two terms meant there was confusion. It is important to remember the triadic nature of such exchanges, a possible reading is that as a psychologist and researcher, participants, whilst I may have addressed them as co-researchers, may still be reluctant to reveal their ignorance, to someone who they may have addressed as a "social psychologist" or "expert". However I could not find a written account of what was going to be taken, for these terms, i.e., how the YPC were going to operationalise them within their service to young people. This confusion in the transmission of government "official" discourse was almost "langue de bois" that is, wooden language which Marková, in her account of speech genres, explains is "characterised by containing little semantic information, few references to reality" [Marková (1997): 266].

To Bakhtin such utterances are subject to centripetal and centrifugal forces that is centralization and unification is challenged and stratified through centrifugal forces which serve to differentiate, fragment, subvert the meaning of this discourse "the uninterrupted processes of decentralization and disunification". Bakhtin talks of the "contradiction-ridden, tension-filled unity of two embattled tendencies in the life of language" [Bakhtin (1981): 272]. The managers, as civil servants, who may regard themselves in an actual dialogue with ministers, listening and being listened to by the government, take on the centralizing, unifying task. However this will be stratified also by centrifugal forces, as the staff begin to develop their understanding of the nature of this transition.

11.2.3 Presenting the person-centred approach to the staff

The management at the YPC wanted the person-centred approach to be understood, and not to repeat the mistakes of their use of the term "holism". They wanted the approach to be accepted by the staff and hoped it would act as a communicative framework affording the YPC social integration. In February 2000 during a staff development day the YPC announced the adoption of the person-centred approach. A line manager MD gave a presentation entitled "Effect on our jobs" which focused on where the staff's responsibilities would begin and end. In addition the key-

workers were told, "from now on you will call the young people clients". The presentation was then discussed in a plenary session. Many of the staff responded by saying that the young people should be asked what they want to be called.

What characterises the addressivity in the expression "Effect on our jobs", is management's belief that they knew what was of concern to the staff, to return to Bakhtin's dialogism they anticipate the subsequent 'link in the chain of communication', [see page 86] as being staff resistance; key workers were conceptualised as a group concerned chiefly with the professional boundaries of their jobs. In a subsequent interview GB reflects on the staff development day.

GB: There was a minor bit of change avoidance in there and barriers that needed to be broken down. There is a big chunk of it that is about self-perception [*of the key-workers*]. So we have been trying to battle our way through that or work our way through that, sometimes it feels like a battle [*laughs*]

KM: Change always does, whenever there is change there is resistance to change in any organization. People fear the unknown

GB: Aha oh absolutely

KM: And they [*key workers*] don't know where it is going to. In a way when it was kind of vocation driven people were in charge of specific programmes it was clear cut. If it moves away from that there is always that question of where is it going to end up? You could always say it is going to be young people driven but that's.

GB: But even that is a bit kind of ... when we spoke about it the last time we did, we talked about the need for... When we did the last round of staff development *[the February staff development day*] and reflection and planning there was this issue about clarifying young people as being part of a caseload including any and all and about what implications that had and about drawing the line as to where the YPC staff stops and where we take them to the door of the counsellor and drop them off but we don't go beyond that (...) I think there is probably a need to be clearer yet with the staff on where we want to go.

Again GB's dialogical relationship with the staff is apparent, they are seen as viewing the person-centred approach as a process of being overwhelmed with the needs of young people, perhaps having to play the role of counsellors. A further interesting feature of this exchange is the way that we both do not pursue the discussion that KM initiates on the possibility of the centre being "young-people driven".

11.3 Staff voices: the creation of symbolic capital

Positions of Key-workers	Implications for practice with young people
Unqualified vocational training position	Here key-workers tended to use their own semi-skilled work experience, often in construction, nursing, joinery etc as the basis of the way they spoke to and worked with young people. This outlook often involved using one's own experience when young as a frame of reference when working with young people, often talking about a first job, being able to get up in the morning and aspects of work discipline.
Qualified vocational training position.	This returns to key-workers use of the terms 'trainers' or 'training officers' and young people as 'trainees', this outlook involved basing one's practice on qualifications in vocational training work with an emphasis on objective measured outcomes, SVQ's for the young people and assessments in the workplace. As well as professional qualifications for staff such as TDLB[2] D32, 33 & 34.
Qualified caring sector position.	This outlook, as a result of the new emphasis on measuring progress in soft skills, i.e. personal and social development, tended to draw from education, community education, and social work, counselling & psychology backgrounds. Practice was couched in clinical or community discourse. This perspective develops in a dialogue with other professions and terms such as "self-esteem", "confidence" "motivation" and "positive and negative reinforcement" were used.

Table 11.1 Three positions adopted by staff in relation to working with young people

It is worth considering this staff perspective a little further if the multi-voiced nature of the YPC is to emerge.

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[2] Training & Development Lead Body

> GB: We lost some staff [*four years ago*] who were unwilling to change, there is a question of occupational competence. Many staff see their jobs in terms of vocational areas, three to four years ago, we would recruit staff on the basis of vocation. There were two redundancies we were the only section to make redundancies [April 2000].

Many staff were ambivalent about the transition to the person-centred approach, in particular what role they were expected to play. There was concern, as anticipated, about how such a transition might impact on their professional development. The approach of the staff can be interpreted in terms of three positions [see Table 11.1].

As key-workers worked closely together, each member of staff was fully aware of the other positions or frames of reference and key-workers are able to adopt or "perform" their part in the appropriate dialogue. Nevertheless these differences in reflective practice were a source of insecurity; many key workers were concerned that the service was moving away from providing vocational training, where there were objective measured outcomes, in the form of SQA core skills and VQs, into unknown or unclear territory. There was concern that an emphasis on ambiguous "soft skills" would not prepare young people for the realities of the world of work.

There were tensions between those who emphasized *soft* skills and those who emphasized *hard* vocational skills. With some staff feeling that others were more involved in the management decision-making than others. To Bourdieu

> It is rare for language to function as a pure instrument of communication. (...) Utterances receive their value (and their sense) only in relation to the market (...) the value of the utterance depends on the relation of power that is concretely established between the speaker's linguistic competencies [Bourdieu (1991): 66-7].

He explains that dominant individuals, who often favour the consensus, "can impose principles of de-vision" [Bourdieu (1991): 130]. Thus knowledge on the person-centred approach, can be understood as "symbolic capital" to which some key-workers, especially those recently recruited have access, and others, those reliant on the thinking of a programme-centred approach, don't. As long as the YPC offered no training on the person-centred approach the situation continued, there is little normative agreement on what the person-centred approach actually constitutes, rather the term is used with it's own internal dialogism each time.

11.4 The internal dialogism of the concept "person-centred" in-use

> KM: There is a big chunk of theory [*on the person-centred approach*]; well fifty years of theory now and then there is the applications as well in a much more operational sense. Holistic is very =

GB: =It is awfully vague (...) we didn't just need to support them [*the young person*] in learning the job we needed to support them with coping with the job. And that is where this idea about looking at the young person as not just a 'trainee' but looking at them as a whole it's where the holistic came from. And as we explored that the person-centred became quite clear as being the theory, if you like, to hang it on to, which is where it came from. What we have not done which we need to do, which is being quite clear about where it is that we want to go to begin to develop the confidence of the staff. We also need to have things like measurements in place. So that we openly value the other work that they do with young people as well as the work they do to get them through their VQ [March 2000].

As with the triadic encounter with PE earlier, we can isolate the connotations of GB, "person-centred" becomes treating the young person as a whole, and is also is something of an "expert theory" that needs to be explained to staff. Critically here the staff are not seen as already being implicitly person-centred, and person-centred is understood as not involving measurement; this latter connotation is important as the YPC is an organization which privileges measurement and must demonstrate progress within the young people if it is to continue to receive funding.

With PE and GB certain shared connotations emerge; the interpretation below sets out a thematic organization of those connotations that are shared amongst key-workers and/ or management, that is not to say collective meanings but rather meanings that are held by more than one person.

Person Centred as an Ethos

Here the term was used to suggest a unifying ethos, where "person-centred" could be used to create symbolic cohesion, its use rested on a normative agreement that the job of the YPC was to treat young people both as a whole and as unique individuals and attempt to meet their needs.

Person-centred as a feature of a progressive reflexive organization

Here adoption of the person-centred approach allowed the YPC and individual managers to demonstrate they were listening to and being listened to by the government, where person-centred implies a progressive new emphasis on soft skills. This progressive theme is also evident in the staff's comment that young people should be asked what they want to be called. Here we see the beginnings of a sub-theme, a shared connotation around *youth ownership* but as noted this is often hinted at but not developed. A more powerful sub-theme relates to the concept of *customer* or *client*, person-centred was connected to client-centred by both management and staff, within this, there was the parodic centrifugal "the customer is always right" connotation used by some key-workers.

Person-centred as a regressive emphasis on unmeasurable soft skills

Here the use of the term can be understood along a soft-hard continuum, where at one end we have meanings which pick up on the "unconditional acceptance" nature of a person-centred approach; it is interpreted as a requirement to deal with all young people's social and psychological issues. Management anticipate the *I*-position of the resistant key-worker and talked of drawing lines and measurement. Contrasted with the "hard" realities of the working world, person-centred was used critically by key-workers to emphasize the extent to which the working world involved work discipline and fitting in with a system. In this last theme, a normative feature of person-centred - its "unconditional" nature was often referred to by both staff and management. Here the "thinking" aspect of the organization is evident, members as social agents are able to pick up the notion "unconditional" from the socially shared knowledge of the person-centred approach within the public sphere.

"PCA" as consensus?

Let us consider this thematic aspect of "person-centred" as a unifying ethos a little further. In visits to the YPC, towards the end of 2000, member when discussing the person-centred approach used the phrase "PCA". There were no pauses or awkwardness, both staff and management seemed happy to say "PCA". It is a collective connotation created dialogically by the YPC to be "harder" more objective–orientated than the problematic unmeasurable 'soft-skills' connotation. "PCA" is now used in the YPC literature, where it is written as "person centred but job–focused" and it's first use is in the bid for the C-Navigators project.

11.5 The C-Navigators Project

To return to Action B -Assessing information flow, where DDG and I met in the Spring and Summer of 2000 to discuss how the YPC could assess it's information flow and develop person-centred approaches to measuring progress with young people particularly in soft skill areas. DDG completed her report and passed it to GB. Just before this study began in 1997 the YPC had applied as an organization for Social Inclusion Partnership and had been unsuccessful. My analysis, discussed with DDG and my comments within the first phase were integrated into this bid, along with DDG's report, the Best Value Review Exercise and another report from two tutors from Sommerville College. Figure 9.7 that DDG and I had co-created was developed into a A4 figure called *referral route* and placed within a bid for funding from the ESF Objective 3 in January 2001 which was successful.

The bid argued that young people faced multiple barriers to employment and were so far away from the labour market that a different approach was needed in

engaging and working with them. One that integrated the social and economic nature of their situation. In day-to-day discussions we had used the term "pre-pre-vocational".

The ESF awarded them £400,000 to pilot the project and in October 2001 awarded them a further £2 million to continue this project for the next three years. The YPC's services have totally been redesigned as a result of the new "C-Navigators" project. In the bid the approach that is to be taken is explained, it states.

> The project aims to address social exclusion amongst young people (...)it will assist young people to deal with their barriers to participation and enable them to make a successful transition to employability and active citizenship(...) this project will through being person centred but job-focused, support young people into any and all areas of available employment[3].

The bid is written making use of the terms that underpin the social knowledge on young people's unemployment social inclusion, participation, person-centred and active citizenship all demonstrate the extent to which the YPC is an organization in a dialogue with the socio-political discourse and the bid is successful.

There is however a tension in "PCA" coming to be understood collectively as both person-centred and job focused. This comment, taken from the co-analysis of the initial findings data, illustrates the tension.

> CW: I think the key thing that has come from the staff as well as myself is 'to PCA or not to PCA' in certain situations, when is it appropriate when is it not? I mean I think a really good example just recently, is on the residential [*January 2001*] where two young people were sent home because the judgement was that the two young people were not actively participating in the programme [15th February 2001].

The rhetorical nature of YPC's use of the term "PCA" then comes to overshadow the actual object that is being referred to. Manager CW's comments suggest that PCA remains something of an ideal. Its use in their literature is double-voiced; it is designed to appeal to the authorities of central European government bodies such as the ESF and also anticipates the perceived resistance of those that would emphasize the *conditional* realities of the working world. There is a dialectical tension that exists within this connotation, of "PCA" being both person-centred and job-focused. Within YPC, there are many dialogues; funding bodies, Westminster, the Scottish Executive, other partners, management, staff and young people all exist in a dialogue with each other. Where there is a social distance in any communication between the sender and the receiver, in terms of power-differentials with the young people themselves as the most disempowered by the context. It may be useful to return to the thinking of Habermas in what he has called "the blown up role of the client" [Habermas (1989): 350]. The

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[3] Taken from Moultrie Council, YPC Project Bid to ESF, January 15th 2001.

YPC's use of this term is understood as further internal colonization of people's lifeworlds by the imperatives of the system, the notion of "client" or "customer" in the sphere of labour, amounts to no more than concessions offered by modern social-welfare states, a process by which the means of protest against the conditions of being unemployed are neutralised [Habermas(1989):347-348]. The concluding chapter considers the extent to which the YPC's adoption of the person-centred approach if not built on a dialogue with all the voices in the organization, could amount to a perniciously psychological intervention by state administration into the personal autonomy of individuals when unemployed.

11.6 Summary

This chapter which understand the YPC as a multi-voiced organization, tells the story of the YPC's attempt to develop a person-centred approach, it has focused on the different positions that staff take in relation to this approach it has shown the dynamic nature of dialogue and how terms such as "person-centred" move in meaning and are addressed to different audiences with different intentions. It has also shown how through an iterative process, analysis and sense-making carried out during this study can move also, from discussion with managers and staff particularly DDG and GB into a project bid to the ESF and this can be understood as a further example of the social change that occurred as a result of this dialogical intervention.

The chapters ends by raising a critical point in relation to the dialectical tension that is created by the new C-Navigators project which aims to be "PCA", that is both person-centred and job-focused and argues that there is a danger here that this new approach could amount to a pernicious intervention. This latter point is the subject of some discussion in the last concluding chapter. Which with the benefit of further reflection and sense-making assesses the limitations of study, the distance travelled in this study and discussing new ways forward in using a dialogical approach to intervene in the psychology of unemployment.

Chapter Twelve– Conclusion and critical reflections.

12.1 Introduction
12.2 The emergence of four psychologies of unemployment
12.3 The legitimacy of Gainful Unemployment
12.4 Practice issues for psychologists
12.5 Conclusion – way forward with multi-voiced research

12.1 Introduction

> It is the impossibility of consensus that is the basis of all dialogue [Marková (2000): 424]

Perhaps the most striking finding of this study is the extent to which psychologists that become involved in researching or working in unemployment must work with the psychology that is already there within state interventions such as Skillseekers and New Deal. The central finding of this intervention-orientated study is that the current management of unemployment is to a large extent a process that concentrates on the *self-perception* of unemployed people. Increasingly both state and psychological interventions have focused on measuring the soft skills of their client group.

It is worth taking the opportunity to reflect within this final chapter of the thesis on the distance travelled during the study and the construction of it as a thesis. From the original aims set out in Chapter One to the research products theoretical, methodological and practical as set out throughout the thesis. In exploring the evolution of the two concepts which formed the initial foundation of the study – *psycho-social space* and *gainful unemployment* the chapter discusses the emergence of the theoretical framework – the four psychologies of unemployment. It revisits the standpoint of the thesis 'gainful unemployment' considering the extent to which this standpoint can be viewed as a legitimate position.

This is followed with an exploration of the extent to which a dialogical psychology of unemployment can be used to challenge the dominance of the self-perception psychology of unemployment. This necessarily involves returning to a sub-theme throughout the thesis that is the role of the psychologist. Consideration is given,

finally, to the challenges of a dynamic and relational epistemology, which has the possibility of exciting real advances in qualitative research methodology.

12.2 The emergence of four psychologies of unemployment

The four psychologies of unemployment are used in the construction of this thesis to form the backbone of its theoretical structure. However I did not alight on these until the re-writing of the literature review in 2002. When I first began the study the organisation, at a conceptual level, centred on the two concepts psycho-social space and gainful unemployment, described in chapter one. I continued with these concepts until the end of the fieldwork in Easter 2001. This section offers a reflection on the original aims of the study the emergence of the four psychologies of unemployment and in particular the emergence of a dialogical psychology of unemployment.

12.2.1 Reflections on the aims of the thesis

To return to the original aims of the study it started with two broad aims. *'To explain why there was a relationship between unemployment and health'* and secondly *'To collaborate with people in the field, in creating interventions to tackle this relationship'*. The study did not at any stage aim to explore the relationship between unemployment and health; this had already been firmly established. Further there is no account or exploration in the data of what might be called the 'health effects' of unemployment. Rather it was always the case that the orientation of the study was to the social psychological factors that intervened between unemployment and health, that I believed would explain *why* the relationship existed.

In this respect both health and unemployment were understood as built on self-other and self-world relations. This preoccupation with intersubjectivity was originally understood using the concept 'psycho-social space' and it is this concept together with the gainful unemployment standpoint, discussed below, which led to the methodology employed particularly the time taken to develop trust on a relational basis as set out in chapter eight and the use of the space maps presented in chapter ten.

Towards the end of the first year of the study two research questions were devised principally because it was difficult to present the study to the department without research questions. These were *'what are the factors that affect psycho-social space when unemployed'* and *'how can psycho-social space be managed in the light of these factors?'* Psycho-social space operated in the first two years as no more than a broad framework to allow for the intersubjective basis of the experience of unemployment to emerge in a grounded way. A heuristic concept that could be used to explain the broad orientation of the research to would be co-researchers.

It was only in 2002 in developing a framework to understand existing interventions and in reflecting on the nature of the actual communicative actions that I had been involved in that psycho-social space became the dialogical psychology of unemployment. This arose because the co-constructed realties of the field could not be adequately be explained by the one-dimensional concept of psycho-social space. I became aware that the conversational actions I had been involved in were operating in a multi-level way. The study by 2001 had taken the two questions around the factors affecting psycho-social space and how to manage them and developed these into understanding a dialogical psychology of unemployment at four levels of dialogue.

12.2.2 Why four different psychologies of unemployment?

That is the multi-level realities of the modernisation of poverty and the way organisations worked with unemployed people, the multiple voices people were able to take and the use of key concepts, often psychological concepts, needed an extended theoretical approach. Working with the data I realised that this was something more than intersubjectivity, it was not a question of 'shared understanding' but a question of self, communication and context. The data suggested constantly shifting horizons as people engaged in dialogue, practice encounters revealed the connotations that surround the use of words, the contingencies created by the individual, the shifting contexts and the possibilities of connections. In this respect the continued theoretical development of dialogism or dialogicality within the social representations approach together with the rediscovery of the work of Bakhtin arising out of the broad 'communicative turn' that has occurred in social research proved invaluable. It is not a question of how one can manage psycho-social space when unemployed – but rather 'how have different social psychologies been used by the system to manage unemployment?'

The dialogical psychology of unemployment I believe maintains the emancipatory potential of the original concept psycho-social space. The study created 'interventions', in the form of communicative actions, that changed the nature of the service in two training and guidance organizations for unemployed people. Much of the change that occurs during the study, the three actions around information flow, anger-management and measuring soft skills have been understood here as preventative. Where a dialogical psychology is used to challenge a self-perception psychology of unemployment. Further the initial observations of phase one were used in the development of the C-Navigators Project at the YPC, which as I write this last chapter is still running in the Moultrie area. In this respect the original aims of the thesis have been met. – The study fulfils its broad aims of working collaboratively with people in

the field on interventions that increase the 'space' of unemployed people as users of the service.

It was always clear that the intervention orientation of this study was in emphasising a collective responsibility towards people when unemployed set out in contrast to existing individualised psychological interventions that emphasized a return to employment, or re-creating the functions of employment. *Four* psychologies of unemployment emerged when it became clear that both the existing approach and the intervention literature that existed on unemployment were built on a variety of different epistemologies and it is was by considering the locus of intervention that agency-deprivation accounts and social perception accounts were set apart from the self-perception account.

The first part of the thesis then was organized to emphasize the different traditions that exist within psychology and it's use in organisations that work with unemployed people. As noted in the introduction a central finding was the extent to which modern active labour market policies such as New Deal and Skill-seekers or the newer 'Get Ready for work' all have as their locus of intervention 'the self' as the project of people when unemployed. I have no doubt that there is potential to use a dialogical psychology to engage with all the voices within an organisation concerned with reflective practice and ongoing development. This would take a 'psychological literacy' on the part of decision-makers within organisations, to view different psychologies critically.

12.2.3 Excluded voices

The study also recommends a re-examination of the frames of reference associated with the concept 'social inclusion. Policy discourse around social inclusion perhaps has the strength in that it focuses on the social rather than the individual, however Pavis, Hubbard and Platt point out that in their research, also in Central Scotland, the move from unemployment to insecure employment in rural areas is not a move out of social inclusion [Pavis, Hubbard & Platt (2001): 291].

In this study the paradoxes of social inclusion have been highlighted where it is argued that not only the social inclusion policies not adequately conceptualised to tackle the features of poverty described in Chapter Ten. More critically the young people in this study given the extent to which they are involved in overlapping services and a number of different caring professional are a highly monitored group who can be understood as more included than excluded. The Bridging the Gap developments in the form Connexions in England and Wales and Beattie Inclusiveness projects in Scotland are designed to acknowledge this. Where one key worker is involved in

engaging with young people as a 'single contact' over issues such as housing, health, finances and so on.

The real challenge for these new interventions is to work within young people's I-positions and their pragmatic representations of their lifeworlds, rather than to develop their practice from the three positions outlined in Table 11.1. As Chapter Ten illustrated young people engaged in a representation of their lifeworlds were all keen to present a balanced account, their positions emphasized their relationality and their interpersonal emphasis. In reflecting on the distance travelled in this research it is also vital to return to the other central concept of the study – gainful unemployment.

12.3 The legitimacy of a 'gainful' unemployment

In many ways one of the key aims in using the concept 'gainful unemployment' was to make clear that the study was not about developing actions or interventions that would help people back into unemployment. It was a study about how to survive the imperatives of the system, which are currently engaging in a colonisation of the lifeworlds of people when they happen to be unemployed. In this respect the study has throughout argued that to be unemployed is a reasonable position from which to act as an active citizen.

To talk of gainful unemployment as a legitimate position of an active citizen requires a degree of maturity and honesty within late modern capitalist societies such as Scotland or the UK's. Gainful unemployment is not just an argument about the positive and constructive activities of people when unemployed or their contributions to their localities and networks. Despite the popularity of Boeri, Layard & Nickell's 2000, neo-classical endogenous growth theory, which promotes a view of powers of aggregate employability [see page 63], the 'gainful' view of unemployment requires an acceptance of the indelible nature of unemployment in mixed economies open to global capitalism. It also requires a careful revaluation of the role of employment or economic participation within society. Gainful unemployment, as a standpoint, argues that it is legitimate to prioritise other facets of social existence when unemployed, parents or retired people after all make a vital contribution and the persistence of the proportion of young people who are NEET suggest in part that some young people explore possibilities before settling into employment.

If as the rhetoric suggests we are concerned with -closing the opportunity gap - then it seems reasonable to allow for a gainful unemployment and ask unemployed people 'What do you do? What takes up your time? This is what occurs in this study and the young people who are the co-creators of the study were careful, as has been noted, in setting out in their space maps their successes, skills and competencies. It

seems possible then to work with these activities whether positive, negative or neutral to engage people who approach services such as the YPC or SD.

The young people over the 16 months moved through periods of unemployment and precarious employment. As the space maps and the dialogical analysis of their talk illustrate, they were of an age or at a stage where their lifespace was not dominated by employment. That is not to say that they were not preoccupied with 'work' issues. All of the young people represented themselves as wanting a job; nevertheless 6 out 14 remained unemployed at the end of the study.

It could be fruitful then for organisations in order to really engage with the lived realties of young people to use projective techniques such as the space maps to allow young people to present their gainful activities when unemployed, such as taking driving lessons and passing a driving test or stabilising an addiction. It is perhaps worthwhile exploring the possibilities of creative contributions and positive development within periods of unemployment – this however would need us to seriously question the current preoccupation with employment as a panacea to all of society's ills and focus on excluded voices rather than social inclusion.

12.3.1 Employability and the flexible labour market

Another conclusion that arises out of 6 out of the 14 young people remaining unemployed; is that interventionists must consider more closely the demand-side. Not only in terms of economic activity in regions or the aggregate demand for labour but also in terms of concepts such as *employability*. This study argues that the current gap between some young people and the flexible labour market is so large that any measures which focus on a supply-side orientation to increase employability will not breach it. Rather the concept employability needs to be understood in terms of employer-employee relationships, employer perceptions of government training schemes and young people's perceptions understanding of the flexible labour market. Given that all of the young people had experiences of employment, there is a need for qualitative research into sustainability and advancement when in employment - a dialogical approach could be a useful way to shed light on this.

12.4 Practical considerations for psychologists

To return finally to the dominance of a self-perception psychology of unemployment – this section considers the role of the psychologist and practice issues when intervening in unemployment. This study argues that psychologists have played a role in the development of the self-perception approach and journals continue to publish paper after paper on aspects of people's 'self' when unemployed. Such dominance can only be resisted if unemployed people and those that work with them

can actively interpret the discourses and representations that underpin the 'active' welfare state policy and develop a number of I-positions in relation to them. Psychologists involved in social research and the field of unemployment can have a role in this. They must be aware that today when entering the field they do not share their psychology but rather it engages with the psychology that is already there. Either challenging it, complimenting it or co-existing with it.

In this study a dialogical approach which emphasizes an exploration at the four levels of dialogue is used to challenge a self-perception approach leading to a pragmatic science which aids the development of multi-voiced organizations. Such an approach has the potential for disempowered client groups and insecure public sector workers to creatively develop centrifugal symbolic capital in response to the constraints of both a self-perception psychology of unemployment and the extent to which in the unemployment sector the language is constantly changing. Managers of training and guidance centres, who's position requires a dialogue with the socio-political discourse can equally become critically conscious of the appropriateness of centralizing discourses to their organizations and reflect on the *I*-positions they are most often inclined to take.

There is a real difficulty in developing measures and techniques which increase the voice of young people and other user-groups within organizations which aim to work with their needs and this is something that could useful be the focus of further research. Not just developing techniques which allow young people to evaluate the service but also in terms of articulating their needs along side their attributes. One of the weaknesses of a person-centred approach is it rests on the individual ability to articulate their needs and concerns.

12.4.1 Challenges for a dialogical approach

However to take a dialogical approach would involve fresh challenges for qualitative relational methodology. For example, a question I struggled with was how to present the research-practitioner within research, if the researcher is self-disclosing within a dialogical approach which emphasizes debate and negotiation, how is the confidentiality of the researcher protected? This is a matter of the symmetries and asymmetries in the researcher/co-researcher relationship and the study has gone some way towards these methodological issues in offering an analysis of the dimensions of trustworthiness within this relationship.

There are a number of difficulties and tensions therefore which are created in an interventions such as this, in particular the many roles played by the research-practitioner. A feature of the dialogical approach used in this intervention is a relational epistemology, which has resulted in the research products being understood

as co-created. In part three this has often led to sections of transcript which involve dialogue between a co-researcher and myself. This approach presents a problem for analysis and this was discussed in terms of reflexivity in Chapter Five and in terms of interpretations and analysis in Chapter Seven. Given that most attempts at co-analysis were unsuccessful the study rest heavily on a single interpretation of fast-moving actions, events and conversations. Ideally a dialogical approach, where the researcher is a participator, should involve another colleague or a research team to act as an interpretative community.

Further it is also important that it is clear what obligations the researcher has to the organizations. Co-analysis, if it is attempted, should be approached within discussions with co-researchers about what both parties can achieve out of collaborating in the sense-making process. I continue to be in touch with the YPC, and some of the young people from the January intake and they have invited me recently to carry out more research. The findings were not however returned directly to the key-workers. I was invited to the April 2001, staff development day, the invitation didn't arrive I did not pursue this and at this stage, phase two, I was keen to make contact again with the young people. It would be worth then further exploring different means, beyond the written presentation of dialogue and thematic tables by which research products can be disseminated, particularly multi-media techniques which could lead to greater expression of multi-voicedness in social research to a variety of audiences.

12.5 Conclusion – ways forward with multi-voiced research

The challenge then for psychologists engaged in social research or entering into organizations which deal with social issues. Is to have a reflexive awareness of the extent to which their research constructs new realities and adds to the conceptual currency. To be ready for their psychology to merge with the psychology that already exists within organizations and the public sphere co-existing, complimenting or challenging it. In conclusion this study has taken the standpoint that to be unemployed is a legitimate subject position - within which one can exist in a respectful and useful way. It has argued that there may be value in organisations focusing on the gainful activities that clients engage when unemployed. It has challenged the central assumption that underpins 'social inclusion' rationalities - that economic participation is the only route to social integration and presented possibilities for understanding organisations as multi-voiced where the priority must be on how to firstly support users in expressing their multi-voicedness and to put in place means by which this can be amplified.

For this to occur there must be a mature understanding of the phenomenon of unemployment. Where it is reframed in such a way that it is based on a relational and

dynamic epistemology which focuses not on the character of unemployed people or welfare recipients more generally; but explores their I-positions and relationality, the practice issues for people who work with them and tackles carefully the social knowledge that circulates around and contributes to the management of the phenomenon of "unemployment".

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UNIVERSITY OF STIRLING

Faculty of Human Sciences

Department of Psychology

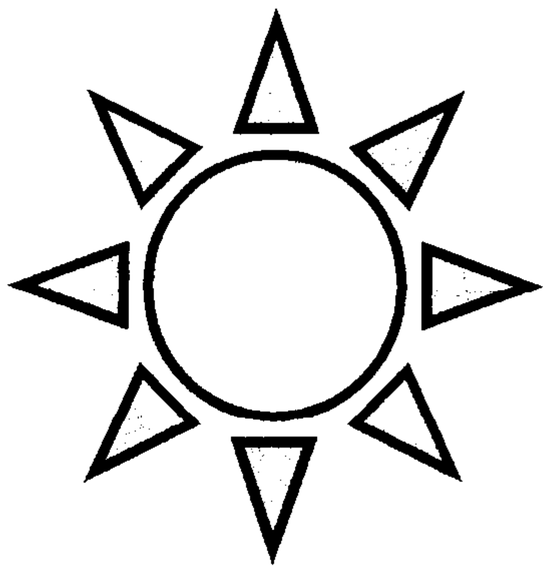
Gainful Unemployment

The management of psycho-social space when unemployed

September 1998 - September 2001

Kesi Mahendran

December 1999



Brief synopsis of research

Appendix A Synopsis given to the Young Person's Centre.

Aims of the research
Over the last twenty years there has been converging evidence demonstrating a relationship between unemployment and mental and physical health problems. Where unemployment causes health problems in terms of social causation and health problems cause unemployment in terms of individual drift.
This research asks the question why does this relationship exist?
In order to answer this question, the research sets out to examine intervening variables that exist between unemployment and health. Whilst poverty and subsequent economic insecurity will always be a consideration the variables that will be examined will be unemployed people's sense of self, identity, sense of stigma, agency, future-security and potential space. I am introducing the concept of psycho-social space (*more details below*) to explore this.
The research intends to look at both people who are not adversely affected by their unemployment and people who are in order to shed light on the relationship.

One strand of the research will be to follow people who are currently engaged with Pre-vocational, Skill seekers & New Deal training programmes within the Tarbert Head area and this is why I am approaching the Young Person's Centre.

My own background is in Social Psychology and the research also builds on literature on 'work' 'employment' and unemployment' and how such phenomena are defined in times of rapid social change. The research will involve the use of a number of qualitative techniques, in the first instance observation followed by focus groups, in-depth interviews and finally shadowing if sufficient rapport and trust has built up between the young people, the YPC staff and myself.

Who is funding the research?
The research started at the University of Stirling in 1998 and is due to be completed in September 2001. It is funded by the Faculty of Human Science, University of Stirling and as such, I am an *independent* researcher. The faculty makes no comment on the theoretical or methodological nature of the research other than to require a progress report every six months to ensure the research will be completed within the funding period.

Background to the research?
The research first began in 1995 at the London School of Economics it was entitled Gainful Unemployment; the everyday life of those who are currently unemployed. This research compared two groups 16-24 year olds with people over 40 to see if there was a difference in how work, employment and unemployment were perceived. This was compared to archival interview data, which focused, in part, on public perceptions of unemployment.

It was found in this research that a key factor affecting people's sense of self and freedom when unemployed, was the belief that other people regarded them as *personally responsible* for their unemployment. Participants having internalised this view consequently demonstrated identity-ambivalence and difficulties with self-concept. The majority of the participants in the research were creative and the research worked closely with a local music studio in South East London. A weakness of the research however is that participants were researched upon, devoid of the social and economic context in which they lived. The research that I am currently engaged in seeks

to avoid this by setting the participants experiences within the local labour market, the current training programmes and the attitudes towards employment and unemployment that exists amongst the public.

Why psycho-social space?
The idea of psycho-social space is a broad frame to contain concepts such as self, identity, sense of freedom, sense of future-security etc. Factors that would affect psycho-social space would be family, housing. health, local labour market, social security, education ,other people's attitudes etc. It is the aim to use the concept psycho-social space to understand people's subjective experience within their everyday context.

Why gainful unemployment?
The idea of gainful unemployment is based on an acceptance that unemployment is an indelible feature of the current macro-economic outlook, and as such, there will always be some people who are unemployed. The research rests on an important distinction between employment and work and is not designed to encourage unemployed people back into employment. It is the objective that the research explores ways of resisting potential mental and physical health problems when unemployed.

What methods will be used?
The research aims to make sure that no participant is disempowered or put at a disadvantage by the research process, as such, it is the intention that getting involved in the research will be mutually beneficial to organisations, groups and individuals.
<u>Methodology over a twelve month period.</u>

- **Initial observation** – to come in meet with young people and staff and observe some of the training sessions and the induction processes.
- **Longitudinal focus groups** – here I will explore attitudes to employment, training, work, unemployment and finally identity & stigma, these will be loosely structured allowing young people to introduce discussion issues.
- **In-depth interviews,** at this stage I intend to introduce the idea of psycho-social space, interviewing a small number of young people.
- **Analysis of formal and informal communication** – in order to set research in context of training programmes and local labour market.
- **Shadowing.** If sufficient rapport and trust has built up one or two young people may allow themselves to be shadowed

It is likely that the research process itself could impact on psycho-social space so I am keen to collaborate with the young people and staff to develop methods that are appropriate to the Young Person's Centre.

Why get involved in the research?
At this stage I have approached a small number of organisations that deal directly with people that are unemployed. The aim of the research is that it will provide a number of potential actions and techniques that will allow people when vulnerable to have more space to make decisions for themselves. It will also allow groups and organisations to develop *strategies of resistance* against psycho-social factors that impinge on people when unemployed. The findings of the research will be presented back to the Young Person's Centre upon completion currently set at the end of 2001.

Ethics
The research is be carried out in line with the BPS[1] Ethical guidelines for research. The research will be entirely confidential the name of all participants, the organisation and the town itself will all be changed. The research will only be carried out with participants who are interested in getting in involved. All participants whether staff or young people will have the right to withdraw from the research at any time for whatever reason.

Thank you for taking time to read this.

How to contact me?
I am based in the Department of Psychology at the University of Stirling
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Or email
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[1] British Psychological Society

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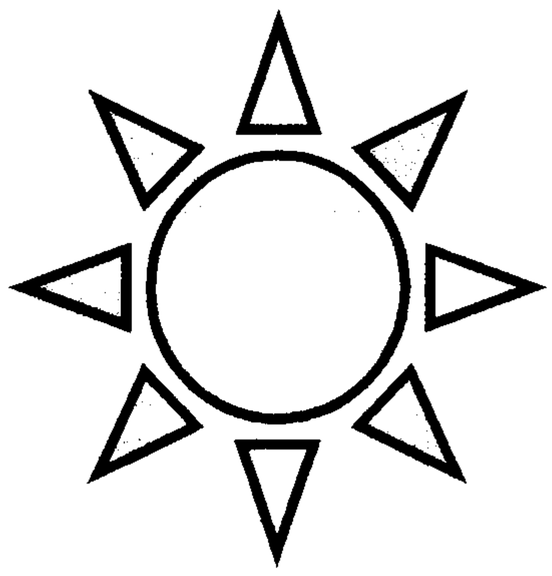

Brief synopsis of research

Appendix B. Synopsis Given to Strategic Delivery

Aims of the research
Over the last twenty years there has been converging evidence demonstrating a relationship between unemployment and mental and physical health problems. Where unemployment causes health problems in terms of social causation and health problems cause unemployment in terms of individual drift.
This research asks the question why does this relationship exist?
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My own background is in Social Psychology and the research also builds on literature on 'work' 'employment' and unemployment' and how such phenomena are defined in times of rapid social change. The research will involve the use of a number of qualitative techniques, in the first instance observation followed by focus groups, in-depth interviews and finally shadowing if sufficient rapport and trust has built up between the users, SD staff and myself.

Who is funding the research?
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It is likely that the research process itself could impact on psycho-social space so I am keen to collaborate with the young people and staff to develop methods that are appropriate to Strategic Delivery.

Why get involved in the research?
At this stage I have approached a small number of organisations that deal directly with people that are unemployed. The aim of the research is that it will provide a number of potential actions and techniques that will allow people when vulnerable to have more space to make decisions for themselves. It will also allow groups and organisations to develop *strategies of resistance* against psycho-social factors that impinge on people when unemployed. The findings of the research will be presented back to Strategic Delivery upon completion currently set at the end of 2001.

Ethics
The research is be carried out in line with the BPS[1] Ethical guidelines for research. The research will be entirely confidential the name of all participants, the organisation and the town itself will all be changed. The research will only be carried out with participants who are interested in getting in involved. All participants whether staff or young people will have the right to withdraw from the research at any time for whatever reason.

Thank you for taking time to read this.

How to contact me?
I am based in the Department of Psychology at the University of Stirling
Office 3B103
Direct line 01786 466365
Or email
kesini.mahendran@stir.ac.uk

[1] British Psychological Society

Notice for people considering participating in this research.

Hello my name is Kesi Mahendran and I am conducting some research into the everyday life of people who are currently unemployed.
I am interested in the experiences that people face when they are unemployed and what options are available to them in terms of jobs, New Deal, other training, voluntary work etc. I am also interested in other factors that affect day to day living such as housing, health, education, family etc. I am interested in unemployed people's sense of self and identity. Finally I am interested in attitudes to work, employment and unemployment held by unemployed people and those who work with them.

The research is funded by the Faculty of Human Sciences, University of Stirling and, as such, I am an ***independent*** researcher. The research has been given the support of 'SD' and the YPC but it **is not being carried out on their behalf or on behalf of any government agency.**

Confidentiality
All the information I note down or record will be completely confidential. I will not use your real name nor will I use the name of this organisation when writing up or talking about the research.

The nature of the research
If you are in agreement I would like to sit in on your initial awareness session today and then follow your progress with SD/ the YPC

Right to withdraw
You have the right to withdraw from the research at any point or you may contact me at a later date if you change your mind about participating in the research.

It is important to me that taking part in the research is a positive experience and if you are interested in further involvement with the research or want to chat about any issues, after today, don't hesitate to get in touch. ***Thank you for taking the time to read this***

Contact me on
01786 466365 (direct) at the University of Stirling, Department of Psychology
or email me on I tend to read my email most days Monday to Friday.

Notice for people participating in recorded interviews

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview. I am recording this interview so that we can have a face to face conversation at normal conversational speed. **The interview will be an hour long**. Whilst I have a number of areas in mind, you are free to pose questions to me and influence the direction of the interview.

After the interview

After the interview the tape will be transcribed by myself and then analysed. You are welcome to a copy of this transcription and to become involved in the co-analysis of the data. This could take the form of a follow-up interview.

Who is funding the research?

The research is funded by the Faculty of Human Sciences, University of Stirling and, as such, I am an ***independent*** researcher. The research has been given the support of 'SD/the YPC' but it **is not being carried out on their behalf or on behalf of any government agency.**

Confidentiality

All the information I note down or record will be completely confidential. I will not use your real name nor will I use the name of this organisation when writing up or talking about the research.

Right to withdraw

You have the right to stop the interview at any point for whatever reason or you may contact me at a later date if you change your mind about your participation in the interview.

It is important to me that taking part in the research is a positive experience and if you are interested in further involvement with the research or want to chat about any issues, after today, don't hesitate to get in touch. ***Thank you for taking the time to read this and for supporting the research.***

Contact me on
01786 466365 (direct) at the University of Stirling, Department of Psychology
or email me on

I tend to read my email most days Monday to Friday.

Appendix E Agenda for a recorded interview in Phase One

Interview Number _4_____
Interview Code _YPC2_____
Date 9th May 00

Time __10.00a.m._____

Location __YPC_____

What are the key changes in the services provided to young unemployed people?
Have the aims and objectives of youth support changed?
What was the thinking that inspired the introduction of the person-centred approach?
What would be an ideal service provision?
What active measures are being taken to involve young people in the development of YPC?
Will young people be able to evaluate YPC as a part of the summer 'service review'?
Explore the idea of presenting young people with a range of options and or putting together the accounts of young people who have been through YPC.
Could relate to lifelong learning priority (see below).
Ways of measuring personal and social development.

Community Service Priorities

Social Inclusion
Active Citizenship
Partnership working
Lifelong learning
Quality Services
Valuing Staff

Notes

Appendix F Letter inviting young people to participate in Phase Two

Kesi Mahendran
Department of Psychology
University of Stirling
Stirling
Fk9 4La

SK
Address..
Etc
Moultrie.

7th March 2001.

Hi SK,

I wonder if you remember me I was the researcher Kesi,(Casey) who was around when you were at the Young Persons' Centre You said you would be interested in helping out with the research. Hope all is going well
At the moment I am getting in touch with everyone who was in the January 2000 group and catching up with them to see what they have been up to over the last year. It would be great if I could catch up with you. It would take about an hour and a half and you would of course get paid for your time. I could come to you in Moultrie or you could come to me at the Uni.
I have managed to get in touch with most people so far KH, JB, (or 'ging' as you might say) PJ etc and a few have asked after you, so hope things are good. Oh by the way I never did get a chance to look at that newsletter you edited.
I enclose a pre-paid envelope just pop it in the post-box with a phone number saying when you would be free, I can work round your commitments or just give me a call on 466365, if I'm not there leave a contact number if you have one. Or if you have access to email it's .
Please do get in touch; oh by the way this is nothing to do with youth support it's my own independent research.

Bye for now & take care.

Kesi Mahendran.

PAGE NUMBERING AS ORIGINAL

YPC January 2000 intake follow-up interviews

Interview Number _____05_____
Date & time _____22 Februar 2001__at16.00. hours.
Name _____pJ
Location _____his flat ,
Contact details

Interview Question Areas.

A.Catch-up

Talk around things that have happened over last 12 months.
Housing & Health Issues
Work/College/other

B.Youth Support.

Why did you first go to the YPC ?
How do you feel you were treated bythe YPC ?
Is there anything about the service you would change?
If you had to give a new young person advise about using the service what would you say?

C.Space Map

Would like to try and do a space map.

Future

Any plans
Anything you want to talk about.

Information on 'Peter' from Nudist search.

January 2000

First met Peter during the January induction. He was registered on the pre-vocational and said 'I am here because I can't get a job' 17th Janauary '00. He attended both Induction days and the residential.

Is keen on the residential does the abseiling five times at least, sails the raft and gets soaked. He did most things but also transgressed rules. This is pickked up by his support worker.
Peter stayed on the pre-vocational course and also got an extension to 26 weeks. He had a series of placements at King Robert etc. He is often on a disciplinary once for taking a drink from a support workers desk..
Makes the comment 'tell me what the rules are' also asks how many warnings can you get before you are thrown off.

February 2000

Is slightly bored by the core skills sessions, expresses interest in art. Is often drawing & doodling.. Wants to transfer to the Lersure & Toursim course as he feels that they are doing more interesting things.
Talks about drug taking in a jovial manner is keen to debate these sorts of issues.

March-April 2000

Smashes a shop window when drunk
Apex counselling for drinking & drugs
Becomes briefly involved with fraggaric project.

Feels he isn;'t getting frequent enough support session.
Wants the project-leader to deal with 'his problem' is very angry at YPC.
Moved from alpin to Brendan as Alpin gets a secondment. Is staying in the garage in and out of his mums' place, often in some sort of row with her. Talk s about his relationship with her.
Becomes involved with another yp at YPC there is talk of money issues (both with staff & young people) drugs and a series of issues which lead to the young person's suspension.

He is conversation with the homeless unit and bannovck burn social services.
April- December 2000.

<u>May 2000</u>

Seems to be drinking heavily
Is involved in the creation of a newsletter at YPC
Becomes involved with Kelvin who takes him to a number of art related places, he is keen on the D of E and goes with H to football and other things.
HE then agrees to do his portfolio with H/MDand apply to art college.
Is involved in the 'S for change' project.

<u>December-January 2001</u>

Is thinking about going to London to do Volunteer work.

<u>February 2001</u>

Has his own tenancy in S and is working in a curry house.

Appendix H Discussion points for meeting between DDG and KM June 1st 2000

Meeting in relation to assessment of information flow, needs-assessment of young people etc

information flow – a rough working document (confidential)

Pre-Induction interview — by programme

- Interview based around application form
- Application form takes on average 25-30 minutes to complete (job application form includes referees, emergency contact, literacy and numeracy etc)
- Brief introduction to Y

Letter

- Invitation/information (?)

Paper filling session

- 8 forms including checklist
- including health, bank details, emergency contact etc.

Induction 2 days at Y

- introducing support workers briefly
- brief mention of advocacy (day one)
- based on handbook (day one)
- rules and regulations (day one/two)
- introducing activity sheets
- introducing timesheets etc
- residential explained (day two)
- D of E (day two)
- **Personal development plans (day two)★ most important form**
- Literacy/Numeracy assessment (day two)

Induction 3 days on residential

- YS Activities/assessment matrix (carried out by s/w's)
- Centre activities/ assessment matrix (carried out by s/w's)
- Activity log sheets
- photographs

Feedback session

- assessment matrix/attempts to agree scores between 1 and 4

Programme delivery

- 13/26 week programme
- themes around young people's perceived needs
- core skills

Support & Guidance sessions

- setting up work placement
- assessment matrix

- review
- ocassional agreed action points
- young person's brief chance to evaluate

Staff pre-vocational meetings etc.

- each young person reviewed in turn [1]

Current approach

Information Gathering
Information Giving
Programme (as information giving)
Placement

Alternatives

Co-operative Inquiry
Information excahnge
Facilitating environment
Freedom to learn (active l;earning)
Responsible freedom (individual contracts)
Agreed action points
Self-assessment
Open Class management
Evaluation/feedback processes

[1] Is this the case for all courses or just the pre-vocational ?

Enterprise

Individual Training Plan

Trainee Details

Name: Date of Birth:

Address: N.I. Number:

Postcode:

Trainee Start Information

Start Date: Estimated Completion Date:

Skillseeker Number: Actual Completion Date:

Training Category: Guarantee ☐ Non Guarantee ☐ STN ☐ MA ☐

Type of Programme: Skillseekers ☐ TFW ☐ Other ☐

Status

Employed ☐ Non Employed ☐

Work Placement Details

Placement 1

Company Name:

Address:

Postcode:

Tel No:

Type of Business:

Hours of Work:

Attendance Details:

Placement 2

Company Name:

Address:

Postcode:

Tel No:

Type of Business:

Hours of Work:

Attendance Details:

-Previous Work Experience / Employment Details

Qualifications

Career Objectives (brief statement of planned entry into Full Time Education or Training)

STN Support Arrangements / APL Details (if appropriate)

Health & Safety

Trainee Induction Completed:

Date: _____

Trainee Signature: _____

Training Provider: _____ (signature)

Employer Premises Inspection Date:

Date Checked: _____

atisfactory ☐ Unsatisfactory ☐ Remedial Action Completed ☐

Vocational Qualifications (There is the option of changing VQ or showing progression)

1. VQ Name:

   Level:

   VQ Number:

   MA ☐ (tick if appropriate)

   Award Body:

   VQ Registration Date:

   MA Registration Date:

   Breakdown of Units / Core Skills
   (Complete last page or attach separate sheet)

2. VQ Name:

   Level:

   VQ Number:

   MA ☐ (tick if appropriate)

   Award Body:

   VQ Registration Date:

   MA Registration Date:

   Breakdown of Units / Core Skills
   (Complete last page or attach separate sheet)

Vocational Qualification Payment Plan

Payment Point	Number of PCs / Elements	Expected Achievement Date	Actual Achievement Date	Payment Point	Number of PCs / Elements	Expected Achievement Date	Actual Achievement Date
1				10			
2				11			
3				12			
4				13			
5				14			
6				15			
7				16			
8				17			
9				18			

Reviews

Period	Planned Review Dates	Actual	Period	Planned Review Dates	Actual
1			10		
2			11		
3			12		
4			13		
5			14		
6			15		
7			16		
8			17		
9			18		

VQ Information Page

This page is used to lay out the Vocational Qualification content in Units and Elements. This must also specify if the Qualification is a Modern Apprenticeship and contain all the requirements for the award. Although this page has a basic format for this information you can attach a printed breakdown if you wish.

VQ Name: _____ Level: _____

Refererice Number: _____ Award Body: _____

Mandatory Units: _____ PCs: _____

Optional Units:

This is your Individual Training Plan and it must be agreed between yourself and your Training Provider. You should be sure that you understand the contents and how your Vocational Qualification will be delivered.

Forth Valley Enterprise will fund your training programme based on the information contained within this Individual Training Plan. You are required to sign this document when you have agreed the contents with your Training Provider.

Please sign the Individual Training Plan within 7 days of starting on your training programme.

Trainee Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Training Provider: _____ **Date:** _____

Element	1	2	3	4
Communication	Uses appropriate language & social skills ☐	Communicates well but language not always appropriate ☐	Reluctant to talk but can be coaxed ☐ Uses bad language ☐	Frequent use of bad or inappropriate language ☐ Frequently interrupts ☐ Poor listening skills ☐
Motivation/Attitude	Enthusiastic ☐ Shows initiative ☐ Reliable ☐	Motivation may appear erratic ☐ Requires encouragement ☐	Lacks commitment ☐ May adopt aggressive stance ☐	Completely disinterested ☐ Consistently adopts aggressive stance ☐
Working as an individual	Good concentration levels ☐ Little supervision required ☐	Concentration levels good with encouragement ☐	Requires / needs frequent supervision to complete job ☐	Poor concentration level ☐ Requires constant supervision to complete task ☐
Attitude to Authority	Follows rules and instructions ☐ Can ask questions in the right manner ☐	Generally accepts instructions ☐ Occasionally reacts inappropriately ☐	May object to being given instruction, but will complete task grudgingly ☐	Reacts inappropriately to being given instructions ☐ Fails to comply with rules ☐
Working as a Team Member	Active team member ☐ Gives and accepts help ☐ Willing to lead if necessary ☐	Active team member when it suits ☐	Continually seeks help from other team members ☐ Not willing to help others ☐	Unco-operative with all other team members ☐ Disruptive to the group ☐
Relationships with Peers	Relates well to Peers ☐ Accepts opinions of others ☐ Accepts others as they are ☐	Usually relates well to peers ☐ Can be susceptible to being led ☐	Frequently uses 'put-downs'to others ☐ Easily led by others ☐	Shows bullying tendencies ☐ Lacks confidence with peers ☐
Problem Solving	Perseveres - Usually finds solution ☐	Makes reasonable effort ☐	Makes an attempt but gives up easily ☐	Makes no attempt ☐
Health & Safety	Encourages and complies with safe working practices for self and others ☐	Personally complies with safe practise ☐	Understands Health & Safety issues but fails to comply ☐	No awareness of Health & Safety ☐
Timekeeping	Always on time or early ☐	Generally good with occasional lapses ☐	Frequently late ☐	Always late ☐
Attendance	Attends regularly ☐	Occasional days off ☐	Erratic or pattern of non-attendance ☐	Very poor ☐

Appendix J The YPC's Assessment Matrix

File Name: J:\VT\YTPER\WORD\YTS\PROFORMA\GLINESRV.DOC

Appendix K DDG's first self-assessment measure

INTERMEDIATE. END GOALS.

Starting points	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	goals	
1 personal issues.													where they want to be in relation to the issue. →	☐ job
formal assessments explained. Core skill? = problem-solving. = Comm = m = ~~[illegible]~~ = IT. = 2 of key 2 lib others. 5.48 National													2 website. Gail/elaine's report. → where they want to be Clacks College	☐ placement
3 2 of 8 skills.														☐ College
4.														☐ other

design

2nd week after residential feedback
de-briefing meeting first day after residential. > context
ind support + guidance. → ?

APPENDIX L

external barriers.

① 210Sd need to check before for.

Personal issues which may affect .....

- Are you quite happy with your present housing situation?
- Are you able to handle the use of drugs and/or alcohol?
- Are you good in handling.. a good ..... your money?
- Do you get support from your family/ friends?
- Do you feel physically fit to start in a placement?
- Do you feel mentally fit.....
- Do you have difficulties organising transport?
- Are you happy with your leisure activities?
- Do you feel good about your friends....?
- Do you feel confident about your skills?
- Do you feel good about your achievements so far?
- Do you have clear idea about your career goals?
- Do you look after other people at present?
- Do you easily loose your temper?
- Are you a coach potato?
- Do you think your behaviour is always appropriate?
- Do you find it easy to make a decision about your career/
- Do you knows what can affect your motivation?
- Do you give up a task easily/
-

② 210Sd

③ opportunity to express interests and aims in context of what's available.

what will the response alternatives be.

④ 210Sd need to pilot a new system and evaluate afterwards.

Core Skills:

Communications:

- Do you feel confident when talking to :-
- Do you know when to use a different language?
- Do you manage to do so?
- Do you feel confident about writing a letter?
-

Numbers:

-

IT:

- Do you have basic skills in word-processing?
- Can you use the Internet?
- Can you produce a c.v. On the computer?
- Can you e-mail a message to

Problem solving:

- Do you give op easily if you need to solve a problem?
- Do you need clear instructions when you are working or do you prefer to find out yourself?

Working with others:

- Do you feel you're a god team worker?
- Do you prefer to work on your own?
-

Skills you might need in a workplace

- Are you a good timekeeper?
- Can you cope with pressure?
- Does your motivation easily change?
- Can you cope with changes?
- Do you like to take your own initiative?
- Do you find it difficult to accept critics?
- Do you know which are your strengths?
- Do you know about your weaknesses?

- Do you know what support needs you have?
- Can you concentrate well or are you easily distracted?
- Do you feel your knowledge of Health and Safety is sufficient?
- Do you find it difficult to ask for help?
-

New Deal 25+ Pilot
Gateway Explorer Review Sheet

Client Name:	NI Number:
Date of current review:	Reviewer Name:
Date of last review:	

Progress to Date	Future Action
Personal Effectiveness:	
Presentation Skills:	
Working with Others:	
Verbal Communication:	
Listening Skills:	
Attendance:	
Time Keeping:	
Organisation Skills:	
IT Skills:	

Progress to Date	Further Action
Job Seeking Skills:	
CV:	
Interviews:	
Application Forms:	
Locating Vacancies:	
Other Indicators:	
Numeracy:	
Literacy:	
Self-Esteem:	
Confidence:	
Attitude:	
Training:	

Work Activity:

Client's Comments:

Agreed Action Summary:

Reviewer Signature:

Reviewer Name:

Client Signature:

Date:

new deal

A

New Deal 25+ Pilot
Individual Client Action Plan

Section 1 – Client Details

Title Mr ☐ Mrs ☐ Miss ☐ Ms ☐ Other (Please specify) ☐

NI Number

Surname

First Name(s)

Address:

Postcode

Telephone Number

Male ☐ Female ☐

Date of Birth 1 9

Unemployed Status *months/years

Section 2 – Employment History

Company Name and Address	Job Title	From	To	Duties

Section 3 – Education/Training Details

School/College / Provider	Subject	Grade/Band/ Level	Exam Body	Date Achieved

Section 4 – Skills History

new deal

A

New Deal 25+ Pilot
Individual Action Plan

Section 5 - Personal Qualities

Strengths	Hobbies and Interests	Required Support and Learning Aids (If applicable)

Section 6 - Employment Aims

Section 7 - Qualification Aims

Section 8 - Agreed Actions

Actions	Timescale

Client Signature:

Date

Guidance Advisor GE: (Signature)

Date

Guidance Advisor GE: (Name)

Date

Adult Guidance Assessor: (Name)

Telephone Number

new deal

A

New Deal 25+ Pilot
Individual Action Plan
Gateway Explorer Summary

Section 1 – Activities Attended

Supported Jobsearch Help		Individual Careers Guidance	
Basic Skills		Key Skills Training	
Help for Special Groups		Training Needs Assessment	
Other (please supply details)			

Section 2 – Core Transferable Skills and Basic Skills – (See Image Grading Sheet)

Category	Entry Level 1-5 (Starting GE. Level evaluated by GEP by end of second week)	Target Level 1-5 (Level anticipated to be reached on exit from GE)	Final Level 1-5 (Level on completing GE From TC13F)
Personal Effectiveness:			
Presentation Skills			
Working with Others			
Verbal Communication			
Listening Skills			
Attendance			
Organisation Skills			
Time Keeping			
IT Skills			
Job Seeking Skills:			
CV			
Interviews			
Application Forms			
Locating Vacancies			
Other Indicators:			
Numeracy			
Literacy			
Self-Esteem			
Confidence			
Attitude			

Summary of Progress

Detail of any special assistance required for training and /or Employment

Further Recommendations

Client

Date

Guidance Advisor GE (Signature)

Date

NEW DEAL GATEWAY

Self Assessment Questionnaire

Getting and using skills		Tick the box you fit into		
		I am confident	I am generally OK	I would like to improve
1.	When I explain things to people they usually understand me.			
2.	I can do sums in my head such as knowing what change to expect from £5 or working out from a timetable how long a journey will take.			
3.	I can follow diagrams for things like wiring a plug or putting a model together.			
4.	I can organise myself to get things done on time or get to places on time.			
5.	I can find the answers to things I don't know by using the telephone, the library, reading timetables, etc.			
6.	I can read and understand most official forms, letters etc.			
7.	If I want to learn something new I know the best way to go about it; being shown, practising again and again etc.			
8.	I know how the skills I have for doing one thing can be used when I want to do something else.			
9.	I can fill in forms on my own.			
10.	I can understand people when they are explaining things to me, or asking me to do something.			

NEW DEAL GATEWAY

Self Assessment Questionnaire

Understanding and valuing yourself		**Tick the box you fit into**		
		I am confident	I am generally OK	I would like to improve
1.	I can express an opinion even if I know it is different from the rest of the group.			
2.	I feel happy about choosing clothes, shoes etc to wear for different occasions.			
3.	If I am criticised I can judge whether or not I deserve it and I know how to respond.			
4.	I feel relaxed meeting new people.			
5.	I can try out new things - I am not afraid of making a fool of myself.			
6.	I know when I have reached my limit - when to say no.			
7.	If things go wrong I don't always blame myself.			
8.	I know what it takes to upset me, make me angry, make me laugh etc.			
9.	I would like to be my own friend - I think I am a good one.			
10.	I know what I can do well.			

NEW DEAL GATEWAY

Self Assessment Questionnaire

Knowing how you fit in		**Tick the box you fit into**	
	I am confident	I am generally OK	I would like to improve
1. In a new group I settle in quickly.			
2. When I meet new people I find talking easy.			
3. As I get to know people better I find I can say what I really think.			
4. I look forward to meeting new people.			
5. If I am asked to take on new responsibilities I can decide whether or not I can manage, say 'yes' or 'no', and discuss my decision.			
6. I feel I can maintain my own identify (be myself) in a group.			
7. I sense how other people are feeling and I respond in appropriate ways.			
8. I can take on different roles; for example I can take the lead with a group or be led by others, whichever is right at the time.			
9. I take the time to get to know what people are really like.			
10. People find me easy to get on with.			

NEW DEAL GATEWAY

Self Assessment Questionnaire

Making choices	**Tick the box you fit into**		
	I am confident	I am generally OK	I would like to improve
1. When I see something that needs doing, I get on with it.			
2. I can take responsibility for my own actions.			
3. I can choose between two courses of action and stick with it.			
4. I can influence what happens to me.			
5. I can change people's attitude and opinion through discussion.			
6. I can control my emotions and choose the best way to respond.			
7. I can identify my strong points and build on them.			
8. When I want to make a decision I can seek advice if I need it.			
9. I often feel I have a choice, whether it's what I wear, what to do, who to see etc.			
10. I don't just let things happen to me.			

Self Assessment Questionnaire

Your temperament

- ☐ patient
- ☐ impatient
- ☐ calm
- ☐ volatile
- ☐ easily upset
- ☐ easy going
- ☐ quick to take offence

Your voice

- ☐ low pitched
- ☐ shrill
- ☐ hard
- ☐ soft
- ☐ clear
- ☐ boring
- ☐ pleasant to listen to

Your manner

- ☐ aggressive
- ☐ assertive
- ☐ laid back
- ☐ shy
- ☐ friendly

Your appearance

- ☐ very fashionable
- ☐ scruffy
- ☐ untidy
- ☐ neat
- ☐ grubby

Your speech

- ☐ hesitant
- ☐ fluent
- ☐ always know the right thing to say
- ☐ have to look for the right word
- ☐ difficult to understand

Your attitude to others

- ☐ easy going
- ☐ offhand
- ☐ sensitive
- ☐ ignore them
- ☐ can't be bothered

Self Assessment Questionnaire

Do you

- ☐ like making a good impression?
- ☐ like being one of a crowd?
- ☐ like being an individualist?
- ☐ like to shock

Are you

- ☐ shy?
- ☐ a good story teller?
- ☐ the life and soul of a party?
- ☐ game for anything?

Any other strengths

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Any other weaknesses

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

NEW DEAL GATEWAY

Self Assessment Questionnaire

How well do you cope?

There are lots of situations which most of us find hard to deal with.

Below, are some typical situations. Number them from 1 to 10 according to how difficult you find each one, the highest number being the most difficult.

cancelling a date _____

going for a job interview _____

deciding where to go for the evening _____

telling your boss you haven't time to do something _____

telling your boss you don't know how to do something _____

asking for a favour _____

telling someone off _____

making an appointment by telephone _____

Observing other people

How much do you notice about the people you work with, your family and friends. Do you know when they are feeling low? Do you usually take them for granted? Tick the things you notice about other people.

their general appearance ☐

their clothes ☐

how they talk ☐

what mood they are in ☐

personal mannerisms - like running their hands through their hair ☐

how they sit when they are bored ☐

how they sit when they are listening to you ☐

how motivated are they to cope with good or bad news ☐

NEW DEAL GATEWAY

Self Assessment Questionnaire

Dealing with harassment or disturbing behaviour

This could be serious sexual or racial harassment - or because your colleagues/co-workers think you are different in some way from them. Or because someone has it in for you and wants to provoke you to a reaction. Add any other actions you take at the end.

If you are harassed, would you:

☐ ignore the remarks and continue with what you are doing

☐ talk back

☐ threaten the harassers physically

☐ leave at once

☐ try and get someone else on your side, perhaps later

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Being put down may be less serious harassment, but still something that can disturb you. How do you react when someone teases you or makes you look a fool or feel stupid?

Do you:

☐ answer back and give as good as you get

☐ blush

☐ go silent

☐ go away

☐ try and change the subject

☐ go into the attack

What about me ?

This exercise is designed to help us to understand how New Deal can help you to find the job you are looking for. It will also help you to write down and 'take stock' of any areas where you feel you may need help.

If you had a problem, say for example, with childcare, it helps us to know that. And we may be able to help you sort that out. Or you may need help with finding jobs, but we can't help you unless we know what kind of job-finding problems you are having.
This is not a test. So don't worry about it. There are no right or wrong answers and your tutor will help you if you need assistance.
Simply put a tick next to the point or points which most apply to your current situation.
You *can* leave rows out if you feel uncomfortable about any of the points but remember... ...
please do try to answer each row, because the more you tell us, the more we can help.
Try to tick only one box in each row.

The 'What about me' exercise is in 2 parts. The first part 'Where am I now?' looks at the external factors that may or may not effect you when looking for work. The second part 'This is Me' is based on all the things that we know employers tend to look for in new recruits in terms of personal attitudes, enthusiasm, getting on with people, etc.

Good luck!

Name	
Date	

new deal

SD

Part One:	*WHERE AM I NOW?* *(please tick the point or points that most refer to you in each row)*				
My income	• I have no dependency on benefits • My income is sufficient to allow choices • I think I would be able to accept any suitable wage provide it paid minimum rate	• I have been dependant on benefits for two years or less • I am claiming Jobseekers Allowance and can manage on the money I receive • My income is adequate for paying towards debts, but does not allow me to save any	• I have been dependant on benefits for 2-5 years • I am claiming Jobseekers Allowance and cannot manage on the money I receive because of debts • I have no incentive to leave benefits and/or accept part time work or low paid work	• I have been dependant on benefits for more than 5 years • I am claiming Jobseekers Allowance and struggle to meet my basic needs • Ihave no close family or friends to help me • I do odd jobs occasionally but do not declare it	• I do not want a job as I think it would affect my rent, council tax, etc • The Child Support Agency makes taking a job a problem • I'm already working. I just haven't told the Jobcentre.
Transport Issues	• I can get where I need to go by car • Public transport is easy to get, wherever I need to go.	• I can get access to a car if I need it • Public transport is available, but it is not convenient	• I can sometimes get access to a car but not every day • Public transport is available but very limited • I wouldn't know where to get transport to some jobs	• The car I have access to is unreliable or I cant often get access to it • Public transport availability is unpredictable • Even getting ***to*** the public transport is hard for me	• I have no access to a car or to public transport • Getting to most jobs where transport was needed would be almost impossible
Care Requirements	• I have no care responsibilities that would stop me getting any job	• Organising care would not be a problem for me	• My care arrangements will require planning • Care arrangements are available, but are not really ideal	• Care is unaffordable or unreliable	• I have no means of childcare or adult care • I have no means of paying for care
My Health	• My health is not a barrier to any employment and I have no drug or alcohol problems	• I have some health problems but they would not stop me doing most jobs, and I don't have any drug/alcohol problems	• I have some health problems which means there are a lot of jobs I can't do. • I have had previous drug or alcohol problem	• I have significant physical or emotional health problems • I currently have a drug or alcohol problem which is being treated	• I feel that I am unable to work due to a severe mental or physical health problem • I currently have a drug or alcohol problem which is not being treated

SD

Part One: (continued) *WHERE AM I NOW ?*					
My Housing Situation	• My house is affordable and adequate	• My house is affordable but inadequate • I could not manage without housing benefits	• The area I live acts as a barrier to employment	• I live in a hostel • I am currently living with friends or relatives • My current housing is not affordable	• I am homeless or under threat of homelessness • My housing situation threatens my health and/or safety
Criminal Record	• I have no criminal record	• I have no charges pending but have a criminal record within the last 10 years for misdemeanors	• I have no charges pending but have a criminal record for serious offences within the last 10 years	• I have charges pending for a serious offence • I am on probation or parole	• I have been in prison within the last 10 years
My Age	• My age is not a problem to employers and would not prevent me from getting any job	• I don't really think my age acts as a barrier to finding most jobs	• I think my age may be a barrier to getting some jobs	• My age sometimes causes me problems when I apply for jobs	• I feel I am too old for all jobs I want to apply for. • I really feel I am too old now to stand any chance of finding a job
My Work History	• I have had a permanent full-time stable job which paid reasonable wages and I enjoyed it.	• I have been in full-time, stable employment but not in an occupation I really wanted	• I have had a full-time stable job but it was low paid and I received some extra benefits (Family Credit, etc) • I have had lots of full time jobs but none of them lasted more than a few months	• I have only ever had temporary or part-time low paid unstable jobs • I have not worked for over 5 years	• I have never really had a job which paid a regular wage
My qualifications and Skills	• I have the necessary skills/qualifications or licences to do the kind of work I want to do • I have good previous work experience in the jobs I'm applying for	• I need to upgrade or update my qualifications to do the type of work I want to do because it has now changed since I last worked in that occupation	• I need to train or gain qualifications in order to get my desired job, because I have never worked in that occupation before • I don't really know what my skills are	• I have skills no longer needed by employers, but I doubt retraining will help will me get a job	• I have never really had a job • I am unwilling to train or retrain in order to try to get any job

SD

Part Two : THIS IS ME *(please tick the point or points which most refer to you in each row – skip a row if you feel you don't want to answer any)*					
How I present myself	• I have no reservations about presenting myself well at any interview and have smart interview clothes	• I have good appearance and present myself reasonably at interview	• My presentation is not too bad for interviews but I could use a fair bit of help	• I may look untidy at interviews and I don't really have any suitable interview clothes	• I am untidy at interviews • I don't have good interview clothes • I may have a wee hygiene problem
How I work with others	• I can work very well with other people always. • I am an excellent team member	• I can work well in a team and have no major problems getting on with people	• I am fairly good at mixing with people and working in a team • I don't know, I've never worked with other people	• I'm not too bad at working with other people but I've had occasional arguments with some of my colleagues	• I don't like working with others • I don't like mixing, or I don't get on with a lot of people
My Communication Skills	• I have excellent verbal communication skills and have no problems in communicating with anyone	• I can express myself fairly well with most people	• I suppose I can express myself not too badly.	• I sometimes have difficulty expressing myself to fellow participants or to my tutor	• I find it hard to get my point across to some people
How much I can take in	• I can absorb and understand complex information in any setting	• I can understand fairly complex information from most people, most times	• I can understand most people when they give me clear simple instructions	• I can understand most people and instructions but it needs to be clear and simple • I sometimes get confused or lose concentration	• I find it hard to concentrate • I don't really understand what people are telling me but that's life !
My Attendance	• My attendance is always excellent • 100%	• My attendance is almost always excellent • 80%+	• My attendance is not bad • 50% - 80%	• I would say my attendance is fairly poor • 30% - 50%	• I never bother attending things like this until I'm forced to • 0% -20%

SD

My Organisational Skills	• I have no problems handling deadlines and am very organised. • I need no help to get a job • I organise my week to make sure I have time to research jobs, attend Gateway, apply for jobs, learn new skills in my spare time, etc.	• I am not too badly organised. • I usually organise my time to make sure I apply for jobs, write applications, etc. • I need some help to get a job	• I am not as organised in jobseeking as I should be. • I can apply for jobs without help but I don't really apply for lots. • I never seem to find the time to apply.	• I hardly ever apply for jobs because there are never any jobs to apply for. • I only look for jobs when I'm at Gateway Explorer. • I do lots of other things when I'm not at Gateway and none of it will help me to find work.	• I don't have time to apply for jobs. • I've got better things to do than look for work. • Job hunting is too much hassle, so I don't bother.
How am I at Timekeeping?	• I am always on time for everything. • I have never been late for Gateway Explorer and I probably never will be • At work, I was never late.	• I am usually on time for everything • Apart from a few hiccups, I have never been late for Gateway Explorer. • At work I was almost always on time	• I don't really know if I'm late or early – I never bother about time. • I know I've been late for Gateway Explorer lots of times but I don't think its my fault. • At work I was late quite a few times.	• I'm late quite a lot. • I have been late for Gateway a lot. • I was often late for work.	• I don't own a watch. • I would probably be late for my own funeral! • I was always late for work • I am always late, but that doesn't matter anyway.
My Computer Skills	• I am very skilled in working with computers and can use most modern software applications	• I am reasonably confident in some computer packages.	• I can use a keyboard okay but I don't really have any IT skills (keen to learn though)	• I can't use a computer or a keyboard but I'm willing to learn	• I have no interest in learning how to use a computer or a keyboard.
How is my CV?	• My CV is as good as it gets, and I can change it when I need to, to suit the job I'm applying for.	• My CV is pretty good and I know where to get help if I need to change it.	• My CV has been produced by someone else but it's all I've got. • My CV could be a bit better. • I may need different CV's for the different jobs I apply for.	• My CV is okay but it may be out of date now. • My CV was produced at least a year ago.	• I have no CV • I don't need a CV • What's a CV?

Appendices/page 309

SD

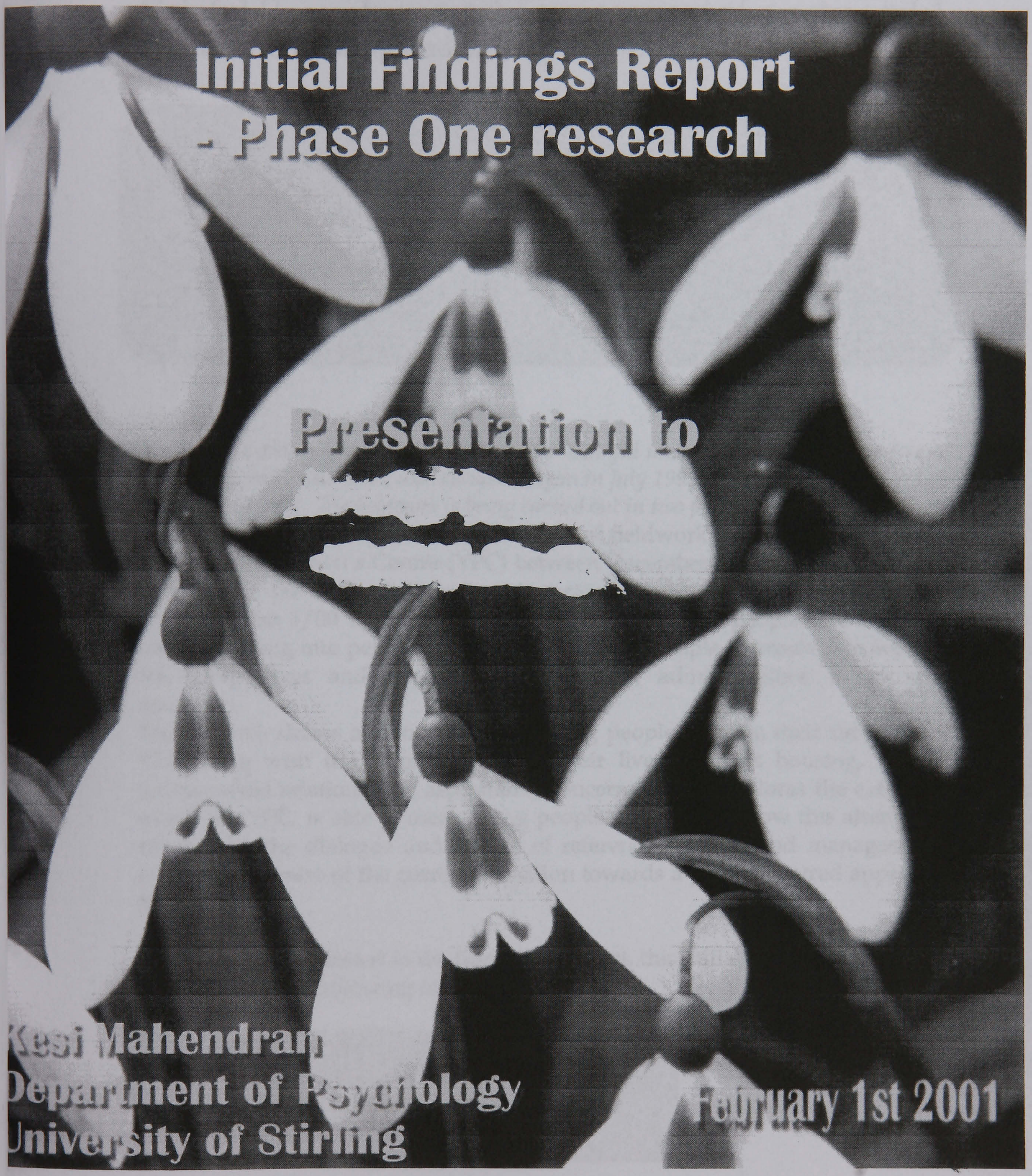
What am I like at interviews?	• I have absolutely no problems handling job interviews. • I can demonstrate that my interview skills are very good	• I'm fairly confident in the way I present myself at interviews • I could use some help refining my technique	• I'm fairly confident at interviews but I don't really know what I'm doing wrong. • I could use help with interview practice	• I don't if I'm good or bad at interviews • I get very nervous at job interviews and I know I perform badly. • I need a lot of help	• I am very bad at job interviews. • Help!
How good are my application forms?	• You can see how good my applications forms are. • It's certainly not the application forms that are letting me down. • I often get interviews when I apply for jobs	• I think my application forms are very good but I don't get many job interviews. • Perhaps I could use a little help.	• My application forms are not too bad but I need help. • I don't get job interviews when I send off applications.	• I need help when filling out application forms	• I don't fill out application forms unless my tutor tells me what to do or how to do it. • I don't bother with application forms..
Where are all the jobs? Do I know?	• I know find every job vacancy, even those which are never advertised. • I regularly scan them for jobs.	• I think I know how to find vacancies, including the hidden ones but I could always use a bit of help • I regularly scan these for suitable jobs.	• I only know about jobs which are advertised in the papers, the Jobcentre or the ones my tutor shows me. • I regularly scan them for jobs.	• I only know about jobs my tutor tells me about. • I don't always bother checking the papers or the Jobcentre any more	• There are never any jobs so why bother looking !
Am I a mathematician?	• I am great at maths • I can easily keep score at a darts match • I had to do lots of calculations in my last job – no problem.	• I am not too bad at making calculations • I could probably keep score at a darts match.	• I am reasonably confident with numbers, such as measurements and percentages.	• I am not very confident with numbers and sums	• I hate numbers, and sums, but I've never needed to count in previous jobs. • I need help here..
Am I a literary genius?	• I have no problems whatsoever with reading and writing. • I am considerably literate.	• I have no problems with reading or writing	• I need a little bit of help with writing letters • I need a little help reading	• I can't read but I'd like to learn • I can't write but I'd like to learn	• I cant read or write but I don't want to sit in a class like being back at school. • I don't read or write because I don't need to in my line of work

SD

How do I feel right now?	• I am extremely motivated to find work and I feel good about my chances • I am extremely motivated to find work and I'd feel great if I could just get a job	• I don't feel too bad about myself just now but I know I'd feel better if I was working •	• I don't feel that positive – I'm unemployed! – This might come over at job interviews. • I don't feel positive but that would probably change if I got a job	• I don't feel positive – would you be if you were in my position? • What's the point in applying for jobs when I don't think I have a chance anyway.	• I really feel helpless about being unemployed. • There's a load of other things in my life that are getting me down too. • I need to talk to someone about the way I feel.
Am I confident?	• I am a very confident person and I've never been nervous in any situation.	• I am a fairly confident kind of person as long as I know what I'm doing	• I come over as reasonably confident, particularly once I know what I'm doing. • I get more confident once I've been in a job for a while.	• I am a bit nervous in many situations. • I think I come over as being too nervous. • I don't know how I'd feel back in the workplace	• I am quite scared of going back to work because of all the new people. • I'm scared to go back to work because I may not be able to do the job.
What do I think about New Deal and working?	• I think I have a good, positive approach to everything I do. • I'm sure New Deal can help me.	• I think I have a fairly positive approach to most things. • I think New Deal may be able to help me in some areas..	• I think I have as good an approach to things as the next person. • New Deal might help me but I'll reserve judgement.	• I want a job but I don't think New Deal will help me get one. • I don't really want to be here.	• New Deal stinks ! • Being here will not help me in the slightest.

Thank you.
Your tutor will go through the form with you in the next few days to make sure you both agree, and so that they can help you devise your own personalised Action Plan to help you find work.. If necessary they will review some of the main points with you every few weeks to see how you are getting on.
You may find it helpful to do this exercise again if you still haven't found work in a few months. You will be able to see for yourself if anything has changed and hopefully see how close you are to securing the job you want.

This Skills Assessment Sheet has been designed from an original concept by the ELLAN PROJECT.


Initial Findings Report
- Phase One research
Presentation to
[redacted]
Kesi Mahendran
Department of Psychology
University of Stirling
February 1st 2001

Gainful Unemployment the management of psycho-social space when young and unemployed.[1]

Important note
This initial findings report contains *sensitive information* and is designed solely for the use of staff & management at The YPC. If you wish discuss the content of this report don't hesitate to contact me
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Overview

My research which has the rather grand title 'Gainful unemployment-the management of psycho-social space when unemployed', began in July 1999 and is due to be completed at the end 0f 2001. The fieldwork is being carried out in two phases.

These initial findings reflect the first Phase of fieldwork which was carried out at the Young Person's Centre (YPC) between December 1999 and August 2000 b.c[2]. With the main fieldwork being carried out over a 26-week period following the 1/00 intake. This consisted of 16 young people, the research involves taking into perspective chiefly the young people themselves as well as the perspectives and views of support staff, administrators, tutors and managers.

The research draws attention to how young people manage their time at the YPC along with the other features of their lives, such as housing, health, interpersonal relationships, aspirations, concerns etc. It explores the extent to which the YPC is able to meet young people's needs, and how this attempt is affected by the dialogue and frames of references of staff and management, within the context of the current transition towards a person-centred approach (PCA)

Whilst the data collected in the first phase is vast, this initial findings report will focus only on the following four areas.

- **YS programmes**
  - pre-vocational programmes
  - Induction
  - Guidance & support.

[1] This version of the Initial Findings Report has been anonymised, in terms of all names of people, places and other identifying features. In the report given to the YPC for example, pseudonyms for the young people had been created these were later reduced to initials and appear as initials here.
[2] Before C_____, (joke referring to the new ESF Navigators project).

The flexible labour market page 7
- Employability
- School to work transition

- **Psycho-social space** page 9
  - Space maps
  - Self and understanding adolescence

- **The Identity & Culture of the YPC.** page 11
  - Frames of Reference.
  - Dialogues

Methodology

I sat in as a non-participating observer on the initial pre-induction interviews, and then followed 16[3]young people through their time at the YPC. I spent the first week with them participating in the three-day residential and the two day induction. I also sat in on pre-voc programme sessions, core days, support & guidance sessions and the exit interviews. To gain a fuller picture of the service I also attended staff development days & pre-vocational staff meetings.
Along side the observation I carried out a series of interviews with young people, support workers, tutors & managers (including project-leaders)[4].

A **limitation** of the research is that it focuses mainly on pre-vocational through to Level 1, it does not take into consideration, the Italian project, or the other vocational programmes.

Phase Two (February to April 2001)

The principle aim of Phase II is to follow-up the 1/00 intake, explore the PCA development and engage in some discussion groups and co-analysis with staff & management.

9 one-to-one management meetings (including taped interviews)
1 meeting with management team
2 staff development days
17 meetings with young people and staff (naturalistic)
6 meetings with management & staff (naturalistic)
2- day induction
3- day residential[5].
8 informal visits to Pathways
Informal meetings with young people.

---

[3] this reduced from 16 to 14 young people within the first few weeks.
[4] Terms of Reference
'Management' refers to service managers and project-leaders
'Staff' refers to key-workers, tutors & admin staff
however in direct quotes the term 's/m' is used to refer to either staff or management and 'yp' to refer to young people.
[5] The residential alone involved 41 hours fieldwork.

Figure1. Fieldwork summary.

The research is being carried out as a social psychological piece of participatory action research, with the aim of being useful to the Young Person's Centre within the actual lifetime of the research. I have fedback my observations and analysis where useful from April 2000 onwards. I am very keen to continue to engage in discussions with staff and management over any issues in relation to the initial findings of this research. The research is not intended as an evaluation of the Young Person's Centre's services.
It does however explore throughout, the tensions and possibilities inherent in the YPC's current transition away from a vocational programme-driven service, through a broad holistic phase, towards a more focussed and explicated Person-Centred Approach (PCA) which I have also been involved in since December 1999.

The context of the research

As always many of things have changed since I began this research, most notable the success of the ESF bid and the current development of the C-Navigators programme.
The research began within the following context the delivery of the New Deal by SD, the recent publication of the Beattie report and it's emphasis on participation and ownership by young people.

YPC Values/aims & objectives

A useful starting point is the following aims and objectives as stated in December/January (December 99 Drymen notes)

- Health
- Employability
- Identity
- Family & social relationships
- Social presentation
- Emotional development
- Coping skills
- Stable accommodation
- Responsible citizenship.
- Plus the broader aim encapsulated in the mission statement.

I took these into consideration as well as examining the existing research commissioned by the YPC including 1996 Lifestyles Survey, 'Bridging the Gap' by _____ and DDG's report on assessments and information flow

YS January 2000 intake

16 Young People

Name	Jan'00	April	Aug
GL[6]	Dec D/O		
DO	New D/Hort	D/O	
CD	Pre-V D/O	Pre-Voc	M-V
DD	L & T		
WC	L & T		
BM	L & T		
MS	L & T		
SK	L & T	Bus Ad	
PP	L & T		
CM	L & T	Pre-Voc	Dis
SM	Ccare/P-V	Pre-voc	
DM	Ccare	HaDress	Int
PJ	Pre-Voc		
JB	Pre-Voc		
GR	Pre-Voc	Housekeeping	
KJ	New D/Pre-V	Catering	

Summary

7 Pre-vocational Leisure & Tourism
4 Pre-vocational general (1 New Deal)
2 Child-care

Figure 1. The January intake.

Programme Stages

Transition

The programme I observed in January 2000, which originated in early 1998, has no doubt developed since then with more consideration of the personal and social development of the young people and better ways of ascertaining their needs. However whilst the YPC is in transition, the paperwork and frames of reference still seem to lag behind.

Pre-Induction Interview (Time: 40mins –1hr)

Normally an hour long with as much as half an hour spent on filling in the application form.

In the pre-induction interviews I observed young people weren't able to fill in most sections of the form and were concerned by questions on emergency contact number, whether they needed childcare cover, referees etc.

S/m "..then we have the advocacy worker"
Yp "oh no not the police!"
S/m "no it's not the police it's advocacy.." (then explains)
Pre-Induction interview

Paper-filling session (Time: 3omins)

Young people then came in for a paper-filling session, health & safety, next of kin, residential paperwork, etc. There is further paperwork that is filled in the first two days of the Induction. Much of the paperwork is designed with the needs of outside agencies in mind, in particular Tarbert Enterprise (TE) rather than an opportunity for young people to begin to articulate their needs or for the YPC to begin to present it's resources and services.

S/M " as you are not in a union it would be your parents"

Y/P "what's a union?"
Induction day 2.

The induction

The two days are focussed on talking the group through the 'trainee handbook' which is unclear them to them, they are given explanations of the services available (mentoring advocacy, etc). and the rules and regulations, health & safety, disciplinary procedures, time sheets etc. However as this information is decontextualised it is perhaps, not absorbed by the young people.

On the second day afternoon the young people were allowed to fill out their 'personal development plans', it was immediately apparent that most young people faced difficulties when attempting to fill in this form.

S/M "..just fill in your career objectives"

S/M " 'stn/apl' refers to if you need help with basic skills"
Induction - filling in of the pdp's (day 2)

Recommendation: Update Paperwork.
The paperwork, in particular the application form and the *personal development plan(PDP)* could be re-designed to allow young people to express their initial needs and to allow YS to indicate what it has to offer (Each party keeps a copy)

Recommendation: Redesign Induction..
YS processes need to allow the young people to express their needs. Taking into consideration their natural reticence. Could use Q. Methodology and then use a PDP later in the Induction.

Support & Guidance (time 15-20 minutes).
Support and guidance sessions as well as review seem to be geared around the matrix assessment; this is designed with employability and work-readiness in mind. The sessions themselves appeared to be random, unstructured varying in time and style. With young people often having to wait up to an hour until their turn. Different support workers use different approaches. As the weeks went on s & g sessions did not take place very often in the formal session, however some support workers seemed to be approached by their young people all the time in an unstructured way.

Opportunity for evaluation
Whilst there is the twice yearly/annual(?) postal questionnaire,
There seems to be no real opportunity to evaluate the service built into the programme.

Record of progress.
Some young people's files contain only
Verbal warnings, letters and disciplinary details.
Whilst one contained residential paperwork
And eight activity log sheets.
Different workers have developed different communication styles in response to lack of standardised procedure.
How does the information gathered on the residential relate the rest of the programme?

Recommendation: Evaluation
All young people should be given the opportunity to evaluate the programmes, support & service they have received whilst at YS. Allowing for the ongoing development of services, this is built-in rather than 'added-on'

Recommendation: Measure all forms of progress
The paperwork gathered needs to measure progress, in particular 'softer' features of progress. Relating to the young person's social and personal development.

13 week programme
The first 13 week seems to be more coherent than the 13-26 week programme. It however seems to be dominated by SQA higher Skills development.

S/m " what have you done this week?"
Yp "sheets"
S/M " on Tuesday & Wednesday what were you doing"
Yp "sheets"
S/M "what did you try at the D____ activity centre?"
Yp "nothing, nobody did, we weren't allowed"

Guidance & Support session Week 2

Recommendation: 13-26 week development.
Week 13 to 26 need to be further developed.

yp "we went up to the castle and there was a man talking which was good"
s/m "was anyone else there?"
yp "no it was just me"
later....
Yp in frustration " for god sake I can't remember what happened yesterday let alone three weeks ago"
Support & Guidance/Review Week 8

Creativity and the success of Duke of Edinburgh
The Duke of Edinburgh component of the programme stands out as being the feature talked about most enthusiastically by young people.

The flexible labour market

One of the most striking findings of the first Phase is the gap between employer's expectations of young people on placements and young people's

own understanding of the working environment. This gap is greater than any interventions which might improve young people's 'employability'. It would need to be tackled in both directions. It would also require that the YPC orientates itself towards the flexible labour market. Young people often seemed to sabotage their own placement, with many losing the placement within the first week.

S/M " the progress is there but the placement fell through"
Yp "exactly, my dad laughed"
Careers "what was the underlying reason"
S/M "the underlying reason was to do with how I explained to him He would have to do a split shift. Unfortunately in the first week he was asked to do a Saturday. He starts arguing and shouting the odds…..she didn't like his temperament"
Support worker explain at 13 week exit interview why a young person has lost another placement.

Yp "what I want is a list of rules of what you expect of me"
Young person residential feedback session week 2.

Yp "that's what I want to know how many warnings what's the Limit?"
S/M "there is no limit it depends on the severity….there's verbal written, final"
Yp "so it's three?"
S/M "no it's not as simple as that, you can jump.."
Support & guidance Week 2

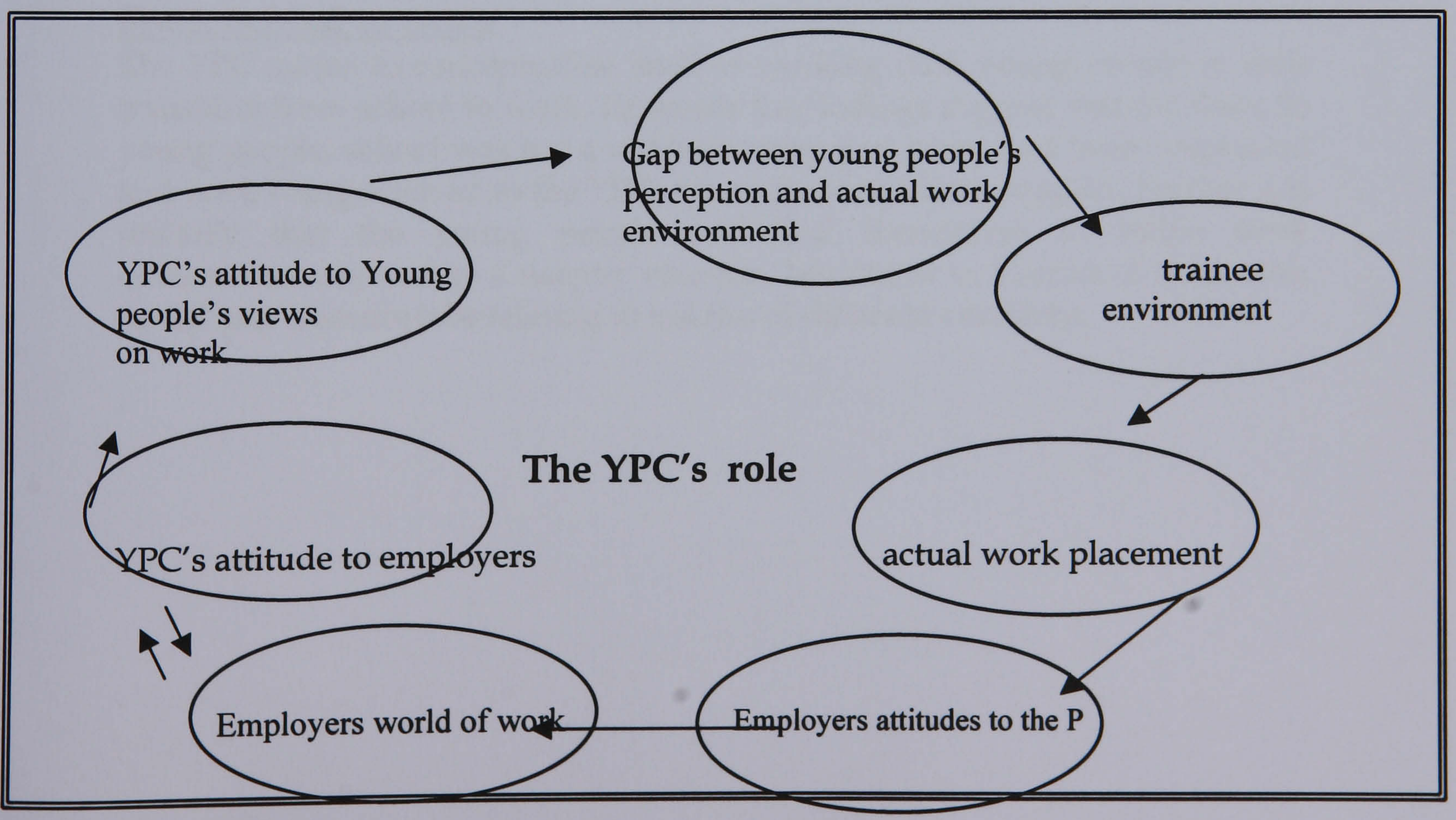


Figure 3 The gap between employers and young people.

Yp	"within a couple of minutes that woman decided that she said 'who are you' and I said ' I'm Peter Joyce' and she said 'well I haven't heard of you' and I said 'well why not?'"
s/M	"but Rory wasn't impressed with you in the kitchen"
Yp	"if he had given me something to do I would have done it"
	young person explains why the manager of the hotel he has a placement with, lets him go.
	Guidance & Support Session Week 9

S/M	"I think she called her (tutor) a blonde bimbo"
	Project leader explains to me why the young person lost her college place.

Yp	"I think I should be able to act how I like as long as I do The work"
S/M	"it doesn't work like that"
	Young person reasons with a support worker over why he Lost his placement G & S session.

The current work plan talks of an 'Employers Guide to Young People' will this involve diverse opportunities for young people to experience work environments and for employers to meet young people?

From School to work

The YPC seems to conceptualise itself as working with young people in their transition from school to work. However the findings suggest that for these 16 young people, school was not a stable environment many had been suspended and were being referred to the YPC via secondary school support. Further it is unlikely that the young people will find themselves in stable work environments related to a narrow vocation, but rather in a series of short-term casual and insecure jobs relating to a series of different vocations.

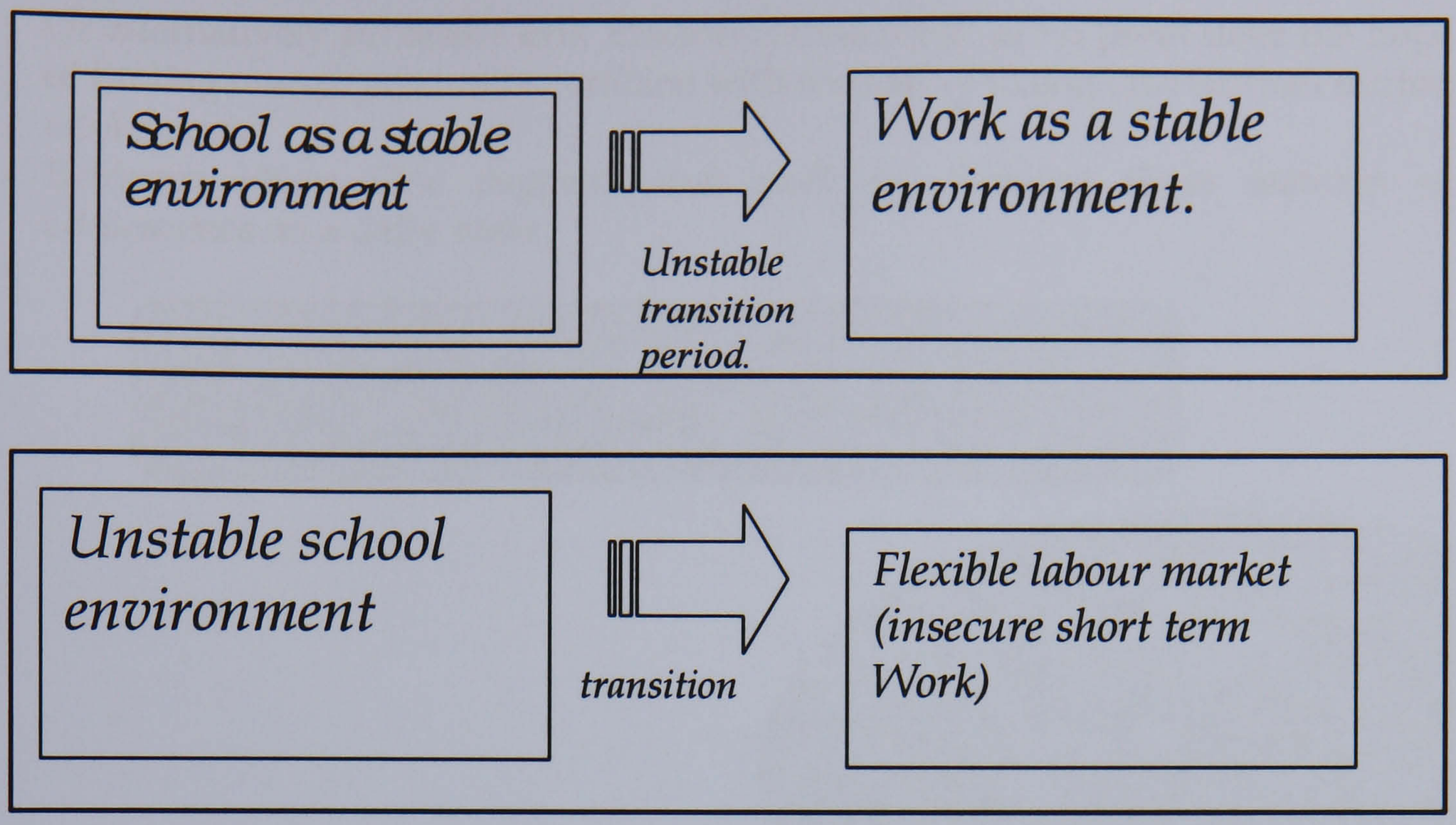


Figure 4 school to work transition (old view & contemporary view)

Psycho-social space

The research aims to develop the notion of psycho-social space. This can be usefully engaged with in the following ways.

1. Examining the space maps of composite case study 'Rhianna'
2. Exploring how young people develop their sense of self.

1 The space maps.(see appendices)

Three space maps done between June & August show how an imagined composite young person named "Rhianna" places work in with other features of her life. In particular Rhianna places a strong emphasis on interpersonal relationships she clearly has a strong sense of herself as a 'daughter'. She is also tackling her own tendency towards self-abuse, (drug & alcohol problems, self-harming etc) However her creative activity always takes up space. If we analysis these maps we can see how her creative activities possibly are being used to create space that might be taken up with other worries.

2. Self and the understanding adolescence.

We all develop our sense of self in relation to others and how they see us and react to us. This is sometimes called the looking glass self (GH Mead). For young people who have are still in the process of developing their sense of self (it is said to start during puberty) this can be a rather acute process,(see young people in dialogue page 12)

Adolescence is sometimes described as a period of 'storm & stress' (G Stanley Hall)

Or alternatively professor Erik Erikson commented" at no point does the hope of finding oneself so closely combine with the fear of losing oneself than during adolescence"
Evidence Phase One suggests that staff are tackling these features of adolescence on a daily basis.

S/M "Everyone seems to be getting the blame ..the pre-voc me(key-worker), job, mum apart from yourself"
Support worker reasons with young person. G & S

Recommendation: Understanding adolescence
It would be useful if staff could get an opportunity to do a short course on adolescence. For example peer attachments, identity-ambivalence, role-confusion, disengagement, adolescent regression
and focal theory.

Identity and Culture of the YPC

Frames of Reference

The young person's psycho-social space is also affected by the frames of reference that exist within the YPC, they pick up on the attitudes, beliefs & values held by staff & management. These combine with the wider beliefs held about young people or unemployed people.

If we consider the terms of reference both for staff and young people, we can see that there is a certain level of ambivalence.

terms used by staff & management when referring to young people...

'Cherubs' Young people Clients Users
Youngsters. Kids. Trainees Young Adults
'our particular client group' brats 'customers (frame)'

Terms of reference when referring to staff or staff referring to their role....

Training officer support worker generic working
youth worker(frame) key worker case worker
Community worker (frame) social worker counsellor

This combines with views held by staff on young people and how they are approaching their time at the YPC.

Staff perceptions on young people and the working environment

It wasn't like this in my day
We are both the same nobody guarantees me a job, nobody guarantees you a job
It's not down to me it's the system you are in.
We have to keep an 'open door for her
Some of them are playing the system they are not interested in employment.
He says he is a non-conformist but I think it is another form of laziness.
This place is a 'comfort zone' for her
We are now onto the third generation; their parents were in the same situation.
The way I look at it is, someone's got to work with them
I know how to work with young people but the other's don't
There is good in everyone one of them

Young People on the role of The YPC

Young people's attitudes towards YS are overwhelming positive for example.

S/M "it's ok you can tell D___(careers)what you really think of us"
Yp "you have been a great help"
Week 13 Exit interview

Yp "I'm really enjoying it here, meeting people….before I was stuck in the house"
Guidance & Support session

Yp "I'm really enjoying this I don't want to start my work Placement straightaway"
Guidance & Support session.

Yp "you've probably had tons of ragees coming through over the years"
Guidance & support session.

Dialogues

Staff, management and the young people at the YPC all operate in a dialogue with other agencies and influences, this is evident in the frames and terms of reference above and it is also apparent in some of the comments and examples below. The nature of the dialogue that young people are in will be analysed further in Phase II.

However to give you an indication, the dialogues tend to relate to family, friends and partners.

Young People in dialogue

"Does your mum get told this I don't want her to know I'm doing badly"
"She's an alcoholic (mum) and she has been since my real dad left"
"Last Tuesday my best friend died she was 16 she was an addict".
"My father was never well there was always something wrong with him"
"My boyfriend wasn't happy about me coming on this (residential)"

Staff and management dialogue can be best understood within the partnership working' agenda, whilst this creates opportunities it is also the potential source of difficulties.

S/M "The aim is to persuade the careers office to think differently about young people"

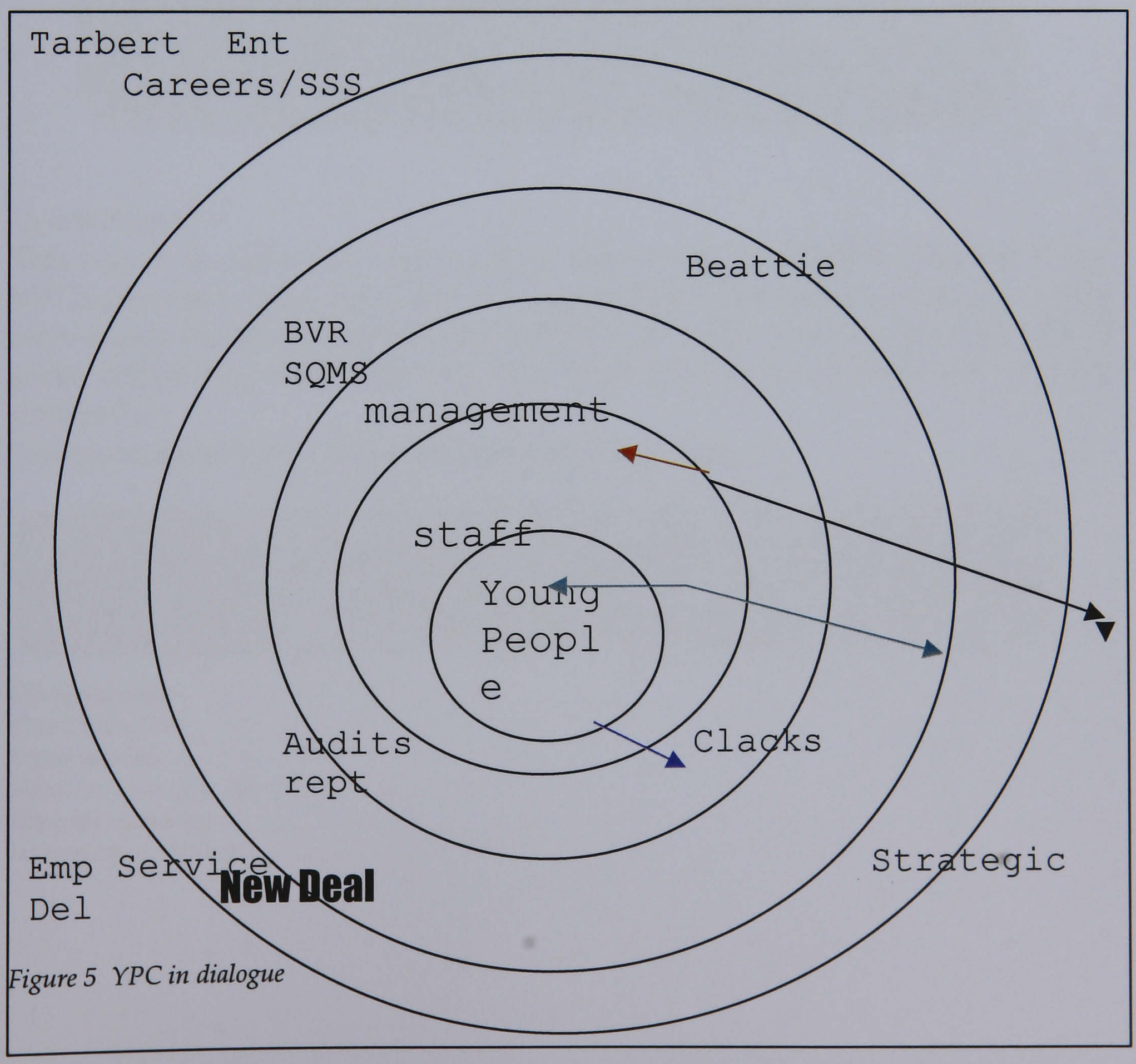


Figure 5 YPC in dialogue

Above is a way of understanding how the dialogue in YPC is set up here we see that the young people seem to be in the middle communicating most with staff. Some young people are in a dialogue with both staff and management however this is less often, staff are in a dialogue with yp, management, and the peripheral issues. Management are usually in a dialogue with each other, and the outside influences. The difficulties with this is that it becomes difficult to implement a PCA take for example the 'Leisure & tourism' pre-vocational programme,

Example a. Leisure & Tourism
The leisure and tourism themed intake seems to have developed out of a dialogue between community services and the YPC, where the D___ Festival was underpinned by a desire for community involvement, this translated into involving the young people at YS.

Example B Catriona
At pre-induction interview stated clearly that she wanted to work with children with learning difficulties, was advised by careers that this might be too dofficult, advised to do retail and referred to YS, she ended up on the Leisure & tourism programme and dropped out within three weeks.

In conclusion
This report sketches out some of the tensions and possiblities inherent in the YPC's attempt to meet the needs of young people. The young people I met who were nearly all pre-vocational presented the YPC with a variety of personal and social difficulties, their desire for employment is often overwhelmed by these difficulties.
See appendix entitled 'social exclusion and inclusion'.

S/M "what we will be doing is sign-posting, co-ordinating and facilitating and then passing young people on to other agencies"
Idealising the future of the YPC

Contact details
Kesi Mahendran
Phone 466365
Email km14@stir.ac.uk
Dept of Psychology
Universtiy of Stirling.

YPC
Application Form

Training Programme or Vacancy Applied for:

Surname: Name:

Address:

Post Code: Telephone No:

Date of Birth: NI Number:

School/College Attended: Leaving Date:

Qualifications	Subject	Level	Result

Previous Work Experience:

Dates From - To	**Company** (Name & Address)	**Type** ie YT, Full time, Part time	**Reason for Leaving** (if applicable)

This programme is supported by the European Social Fund

Please explain why you are interested in this training:

Do you have any other career/training choices:

Are you currently receiving any Benefits eg. Job Seekers Allowance, Family Credit, Housing Benefit etc?
YES/NO

If yes please given details and tell us what day and time you usually "sign on".

Will you require assistance finding child care or care for another family member to allow you to participate in this programme? **YES/NO**

If yes please give details of your requirements:

Please tell us about any skills you think you might need help with, eg. reading, writing, working with numbers, working with people.

Do you hold a current driving licence? **YES/NO**

nterests and Hobbies:

Referees:

Please supply name, address and telephone number of two referees)

Telephone No.

Telephone No.

Please supply any additional information to support your application ie voluntary/other experience, special skills or training

Please identify your emergency contact:

Name:

Address:

Telephone No.

Please note that applicants will be required to complete a confidential medical questionnaire prior to commencing any training programme.

Applicants to our Childcare programme will be subject to police clearance procedures.

IMPORTANT
The answers given to these questions are to the best of my knowledge true and correct.

I give my consent for The YPC **staff to transport me in their car if required.**

Signed: ..... Date: .....

Return to: The YPC, MOULTRIE

For Office Use Only:

to be completed at the pre-induction meeting by the Training Officer

Duration of unemployment	less than 6 months	6 to 12 months	13 to 24 months	25 to 36 months	over 36 months
No up to date relevant vocational qualifications					
Unemployed school leavers aged 18 and under who are seeking a training place					
No work experience at all (excluding periods of work experience undertaken at school.					
Aged 18 and under					
Aged 19 - 24					
People with disabilities					
Single parents/people with other care disabilities					
People needing training in English as a second language					
People with literacy or numeracy problems					
People living in rural areas					
People who have recently lost their jobs in large scale redundancies					
Ex-offenders					
Homeless People					
Some members of ethnic minorities					
Returners who have been out of the labour market for at least 2 years					

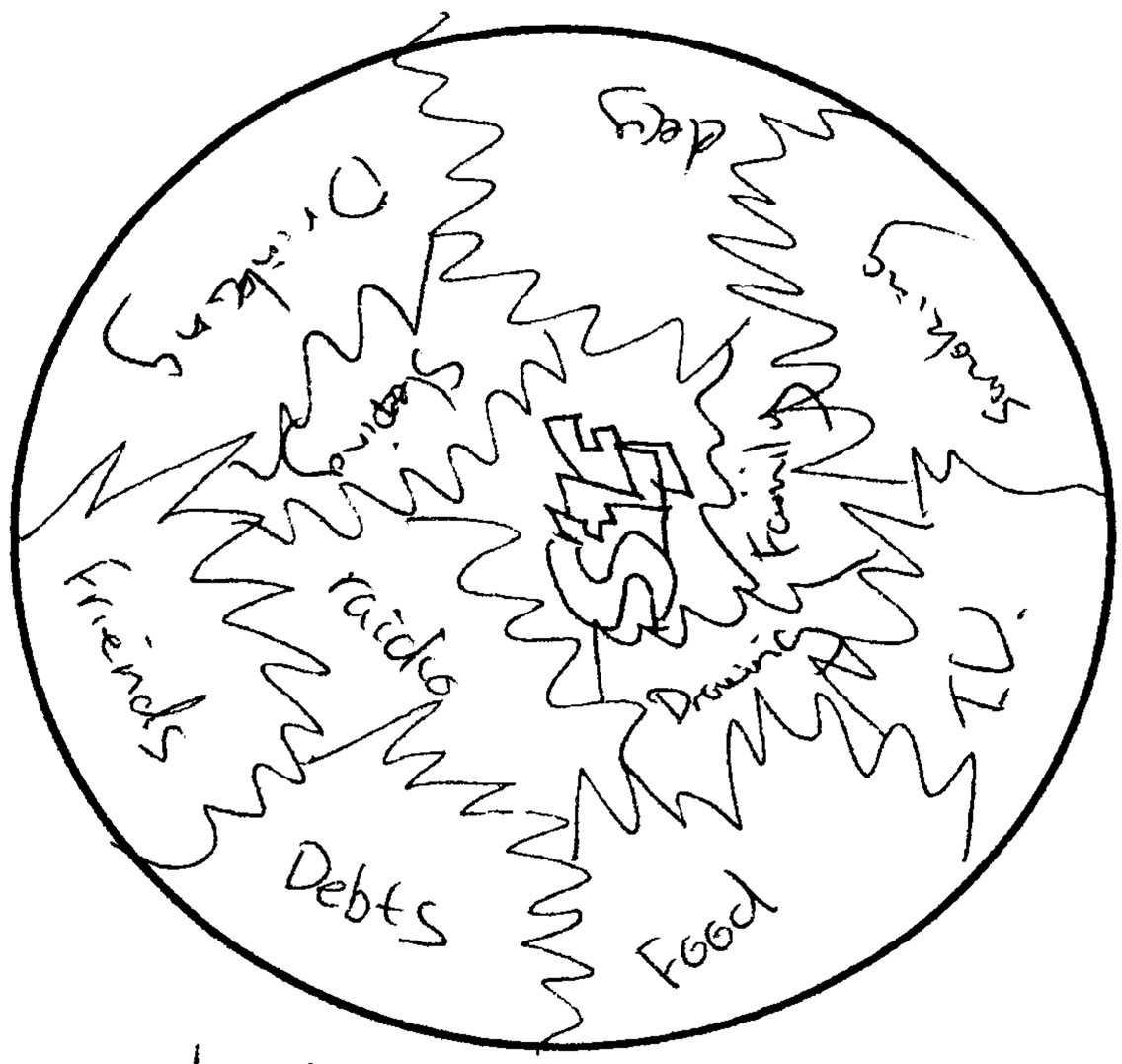
To be eligible for Objective 3 Priority 2 funding a person must be between 16 - 24 and unemployed.

I certify that the above is eligible.

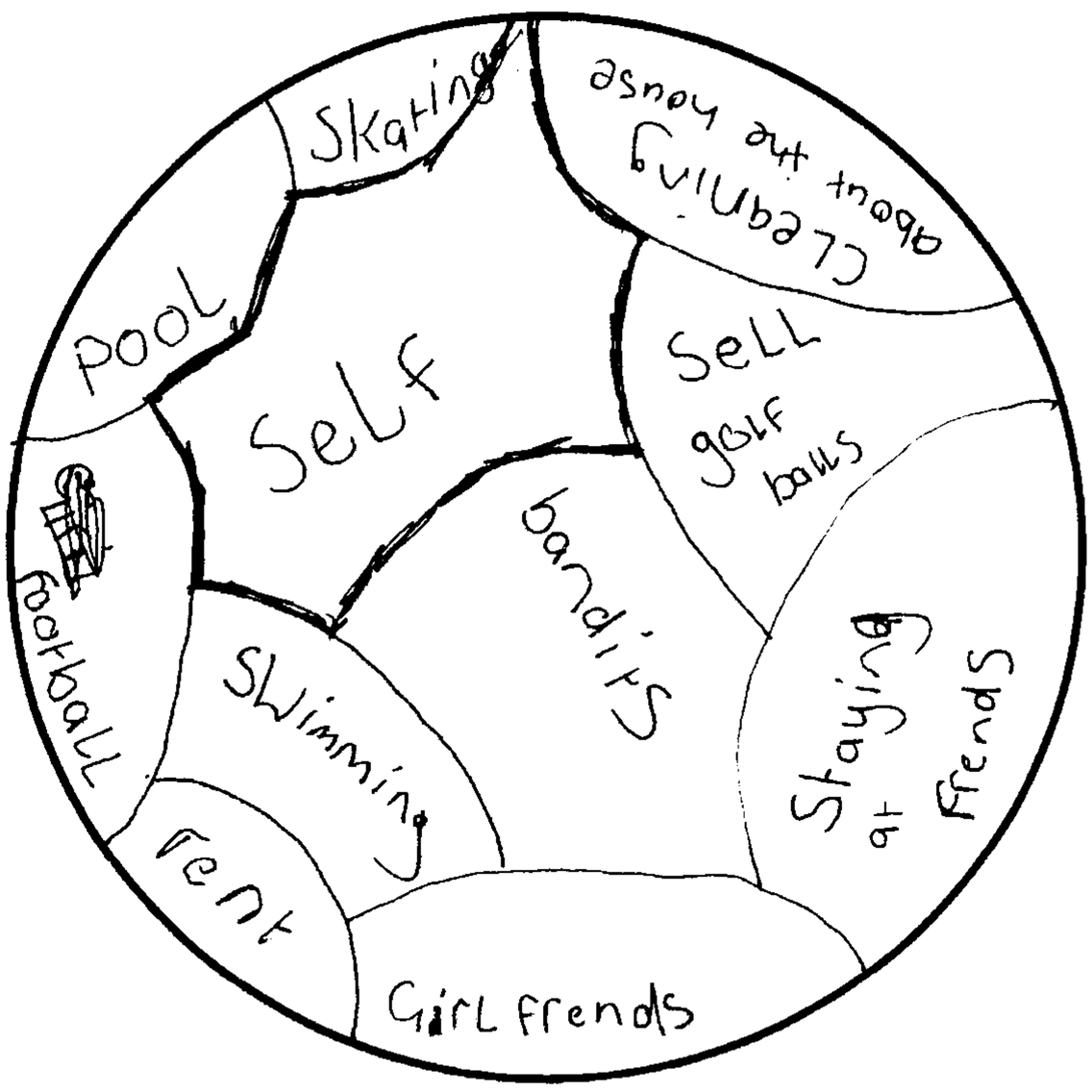
Signed: ..... **Date: .....**

Space Map
Date 22nd February 2001

Name PJ



① Full time job (that I like doing)
② To get on better with my family
③ To get my house sorted out
④ to cleare up my debt up

Space Map
Date *20/Feb/01*

Name JB