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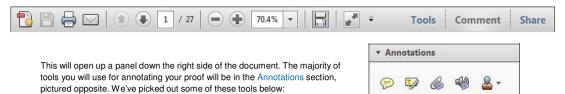
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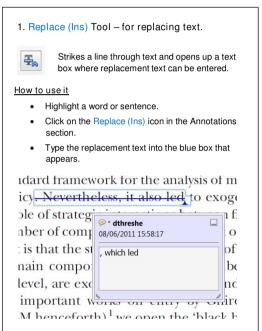
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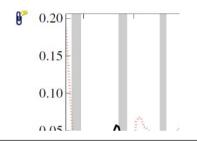


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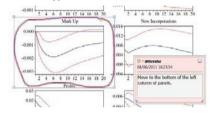
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Training as a social purpose: are economic and social benefits delivered?

Allan Butler and Matt Lobley

This paper reports original research which measures the social and economic impact of training and skills development on individuals who participated in training provided by social purpose, nonprofit organizations. An implicit policy assumption is that such organizations contribute to social and economic regeneration. Examining the costs and benefits of training to trainees, an adapted Return on Investment methodology measures any economic benefit, while an Index of Social Benefit measures changes in individual well-being. The results demonstrate that while changes to both the economic and social wellbeing of trainees occur, it does not necessarily relate solely to the training they received. Instead, changes reflect other, often complex, aspects of trainees' lives, although training may facilitate change. Furthermore, social purpose, nonprofit organizations need to evince the socioeconomic benefits of their training programmes to secure future funding, public or private, but proving their successful delivery may be difficult to determine.

Introduction

This paper reports original research which evaluates the economic and social impact of training when delivered by nonprofit organizations whose purpose is to create a social difference within their communities. Such organizations have existed for many years, but their potential to contribute to economic and social regeneration through training individuals has led to increasing interest at the policy level (European Commission, 2007, 2012; Haugh, 2005). The assumption that training has such an impact has changed little since the late nineteenth century yet empirical evidence of its justification is limited (Nilsson, 2010; Sage, 2015b). The assumed benefits, in part, are driven by the necessity of funders, whether public or private, to defend their spending decisions; and conversely, nonprofit partner organizations that deliver training for funders need to show the impact of their services (Mulgan, 2010). In the UK, the Public Services (Social Value) Act

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2012 reinforces this position, in that it requires the consideration of social (economic and environmental) well-being in the procurement of services (HMSO, 2012). Therefore, nonprofit organizations that receive government funding to provide training are obliged to evince both the economic and social value of their service provision.

Training provided by nonprofit organizations is part of a much wider range of active labour market polices (ALMPs). These describe a myriad of government-funded interventions in the labour market – training schemes, vocational and general skills to improve employability, information and job brokerage, subsidies to promote enterprise and business start-ups – that assist unemployed people to find work (Bonoli, 2010; Meager, 2009). Many ALMPs combine economic objectives with a 'social purpose' whether channelled through public, for profit or nonprofit organizations (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010). In the USA, for example, programmes of training and skills development for participants often include activities that simultaneously generate revenue, although in Europe this form of organization is less common (Kerlin, 2006). In the UK, the decentralization and privatization of public services has created opportunities for social enterprises to offer services, including training and skills development through nonprofit organizations to disadvantaged and excluded individuals (Haugh, 2005).

Measuring social and economic value differ in their level of complexity. Cost-benefit analysis and return on Investment (ROI) are long established methods for measuring the economic value of training (e.g. Cohen, 1985; Phillips & Phillips, 2000). Cost benefit analysis (CBA) treats training as a production process calculating the Internal Rate of Return over a specified number of years, taking into account the direct and opportunity costs of training (Galdo & Chong, 2012). ROI conversely, places a monetary value on the outcome of training programmes through extensive data collection on numerous measures across multiple periods of time (Bartel, 2000; Phillips & Phillips, 2007; Spitzer, 2005). Each method has its drawbacks. CBA requires understanding the magnitude of depreciation as the skills acquired by training become obsolete, which Galdo and Chong (2012) suggest lacks empirical consensus as econometric estimates show strong variance across studies. ROI requires the conversion of intangible benefits into monetary values (Bartel, 2000). However, common to both measures, is that their application is often confined to organizational employees, although there are exceptions (Jespersen et al., 2008, for instance).

Measuring the social value of training is more complex. The concept of social value has become increasing important in recent years (Mulgan, 2010) but like many concepts, it lacks an authoritative definition (Wood & Leighton, 2010). Despite this, numerous different measures of social value have emerged principally to monitor performance; to attract external funding; and to reinforce mission statements of social ventures (Pathak & Dattani, 2014). Mulgan (2010) estimates as many as several hundred tools exist to measure the social impact of voluntary sector activity. Angier Griffin (2009) depicts a useful framework mapping the most commonly used tools (See Figure 1). Of particular interest to this paper are the following two tools: Social Return on Investment and Quality of Life/Well-Being indicators.

In the UK, Social Return on Investment (SROI) has become particularly prominent partly because of interest from funders and from the public and private sectors (Wood & Leighton, 2010). This tool provides an economic analysis derived from CBA and attempts to quantify financially the social value produced by organizational activity (Nicholls *et al.*, 2009; Pathak & Dattani, 2014). Proponents of SROI claim that while monetarization (i.e. the SROI ratio) is important, the 'story of change' includes both qualitative and qualitative findings that assist organizations in their decision-making (Nicholls *et al.*, 2009). Nevertheless, the SROI ratio can become the critical focus as it makes visible the 'value' of third sector activity to commissioners and funders (Arvidson *et al.*, 2012). As such, it has the power to mislead as all impacts are summarized in one number (Lingane & Olsen, 2004).

Placing monetary values on social impacts, as in the example of SROI, may be problematic. For instance, Pathak and Dattani (2014) identify three technical issues with SROI: the use of discount values; the incorporation of overhead costs; and determinations of the counterfactual (i.e. 'What would have happened anyway if the project did

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Figure 1: A map of social quality and impact tools.

not take place?'). Moreover, this illustrates a more general point about the use of monetary values for social value as 'direct non-monetary indicators may be preferable when monetary valuation is very uncertain or difficult to achieve' (Stiglitz et al., 2009, p. 13).

Non-monetary measures of well-being and the related but separate concept of quality of life have vastly increased in the last 40 years (Galloway et al., 2006; Haas, 1999; Schalock, 2004). However, a review of the literature suggests these concepts are confused and poorly defined (Galloway et al., 2006; Pollard & Lee, 2003; Taillefer et al., 2003). Furthermore, indicators based on these concepts are often used interchangeably 100 despite measuring different aspects of social value (Galloway et al., 2006). Quality of 101 life tends to be a multidimensional construct capturing physical, emotional, mental, social and behavioral components (Janse et al., 2004), the equivalent of trying to measure 'apples' and 'pears', which cannot be summed (Veenhoven, 2000). Well-being, 104 conversely, tends to centre exclusively on individuals' subjective experience of their 105 own lives worthwhileness (Diener & Suh, 1997; Galloway et al., 2006).

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As the discussion above suggests, measuring economic and social outcomes from 107 training is not necessarily straightforward. Yet, funding pressures create an onus on 108 social purpose nonprofit organizations to provide evidence of their economic and 109 social benefits. As part of the UK's Proving our Value Programme (POV), a project run 110 by South West Forum in partnership with the Third Sector Capital City Building Cluster at the University of Bristol, this paper examines the effectiveness of two evaluation 112 techniques, ROI and subjective well-being in evaluating the impact of the economic 113 and social value training.

Method

To investigate the economic and social impact of training provided by nonprofit organizations, the study area of Okehampton was selected. Located in the South West of

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Recruiting training organizations operating in Okehampton

In deciding which training organizations (TOs) were appropriate for evaluation, a criterion was agreed with the POV programme. Organizations should: (1) operate within 127 the parishes of Okehampton and its immediate surrounding area; (2) trade on a nonprofit basis; and (3) provide training as a core economic and social purpose. As such, 129 three organizations were identified and agreed to participate in the research. As these 130 organizations provided sensitive financial data they are referred to as TO1, TO2 and 131 TO3.

Each TO differed considerably in their target cliental and aspirations for their social 133 purpose. TO1 was an enterprise agency providing training and advice to small businesses. Their aim was to help individuals develop and sustain their businesses through 135 improved competitiveness. In the 12 months prior to their involvement with the 136 research, TO1 provided training for 90 individuals, on a range of business skills including finance, marketing, information technology and one-to-one help with business 138 diversification.

TO2, a north Devon based organization, encouraged individuals to participate in 140 their own economic and social development using information and communication 141 technologies. Principally, its core clientele were individuals who were long-term unemployed and lacked the skills to re-enter the local workforce. For example, the TO2 programme offered longer-term courses for qualifications such as the European Computer 144 Driving Licence; national tests in Numeracy and Literacy Levels 1 and 2; and National 145 Vocational Qualifications in Customer Service and Business Administration. Shorter 146 training events were also held in setting up your own business, marketing, health and 147 safety and communication skills, for example.

The social purpose of the TO3 was aimed at connecting young people with adults 149 who could help them return to education and training. However, potentially more 150 important, it aimed to raise their individual self-worth and self-confidence so that they felt included rather than excluded from society. While TO3 operated as a commercial 152 training company, any profits were directed into its associated charity through a legal 153 covenant. TO3 training provided a workshop on team skills and another on starting 154 your own business. Each of these organizations, particularly TO1 and TO3, did not necessarily train individuals for tangible accredited qualifications.

In recruiting the TOs, contact was made with a senior member of staff in each organization. Furthermore, a modest incentive was offered in recognition of the time staff 158 would give up in providing financial information on training costs necessary for ROI 159 evaluation and access to potential trainee respondents.

Recruiting trainee respondents

To recruit individuals, a project information sheet and consent form was provided at 162 initial contact. Furthermore, a voucher for £30 was offered, which would be payable on 163 the completion of the two telephone interviews. The voucher was a useful mechanism 164 to encourage respondents to engage and often, given their circumstances, provided a 165 much valued reward for engaging hard-to-reach groups (Martinez-Ebers, 1997). 166

Measuring economic and social impact of training on respondents

ROI has a long history of use in evaluating the economic value of training at the organizational level (Phillips & Phillips, 2000). The novelty of this paper is exploring ROI at 169

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	Economi	Economic gain or loss		
Value of ROI ratio	Individual	Training organization		
>1 >0 and = <1 >0 but <1 =0 <0	Gain Gain Gain NOT gain or loss Loss	Gain No gain or loss Loss Loss Loss		

the individual level after training. Furthermore, rather than monetarize non-tangible 170 benefits of training within an ROI ratio, the subjective well-being of individuals was 171 measured to assess whether training on their lives was worthwhile.

Data for both the ROI and subjective well-being measures were collected through an interactive questionnaire. Designed within Microsoft Excel, it was used with respondents at the beginning of their training and then 6 months thereafter. This design had three distinct advantages. First, variables could be evaluated between the initial and final interview. Second, any change in a value of a variable between interviews triggered additional questions to understand why the change occurred. As such, these questions elicited whether the change was a direct result of training (direct), could be attributed to other training not connected to that being evaluated (attribution) or resulted regardless of any training the individual may have received (deadweight). For each of these three measures, respondents were asked to give each a value between 1 and 10, ensuring that the sum of values equated to 10. And third, an Excel-based questionnaire provided a readily available medium for the questionnaire to be adapted by interested third parties.

After accounting for attribution and deadweight costs, ROI was calculated using the following formula:

ROI = (Net value of benefits/Value of inputs (costs)) $\times 100$

where the 'net value of benefits' is the financial benefits gained by training less the individual's costs (e.g. transport costs, child care costs, equipment bought, etc.); and the 'value of inputs' is the cost of training injected by a TO (i.e. full costs of training programmes). This measure as interpreted in this paper is an innovative use of ROI to determine an individual's economic benefit from participation in skills training, as such, Table 1 presents an interpretation of potential results.

T1

For evaluating the social impact of training, a measure of subjective well-being combined elements of two tools: the Soul Record (Anderson, 2008) and the New Economics Foundation's (2009) index of well-being. The Soul Record grew out of a need identified by the Norfolk voluntary and community sector to evidence the progression of their clients in relation to so called 'soft' outcomes of informal learning. As part of its development, researchers mapped out 80 different 'soft' outcomes in partnership with six different types of community organizations. Subsequent questionnaires based on these outcomes were used to establish a base and to measure change in the distance (and direction) of travel of individuals' informal learning using a 6-point Likert scale. The NEF well-being index, conversely, measures people's feelings about their worthwhileness in five dimensions of well-being: general well-being; attitudes; social networks and relationships; trust and belonging; and well-being and work. The advantages using different elements of these tools to measure the social impact of training were twofold. The SOUL record tool provided a basis in which to measure the distance and direction 207

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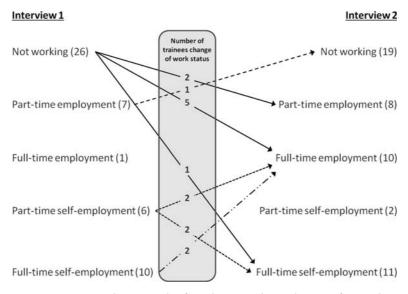


Figure 2: Direction and magnitude of employment change between first and second interview.

of change an individuals' subjective well-being, while the NEF framework allowed the 208 evaluation of five dimensions of subjective well-being.

Finally, to explore whether any statistical variation existed between individuals and 210 their ROI, the Mann-Whitney Test for two independent samples was used as the number in subsamples were small and the assumption of normal distributions was not possible. In particular, the ROI of individuals who trained with different organizations 213 and whether or not individuals' employment status had changed as a result of training 214 were examined. Statistical relationships connected to subjective well-being and its five 215 dimensions was explored using one-way ANOVA analysis.

Results

In total, 66 trainees were recruited with 50 respondents taking part in both interviews. 218 Of these 50 (94 per cent worked or previously had worked in the land-based sector 219 (agriculture, food, forestry and environmental management). With an average age of 220 42 (ranging between 20 and 63), over half of the respondents (52 per cent) were not working at the time of the first interview, 32 per cent were self-employed, while the 222 remainder were either in full or part-time employment. Given the social purpose of 223 each of the TOs, the sample reflects their target clientele in that 88 per cent of TO1 224 respondents were self-employed, while 79 per cent and 67 per cent of TO2 and TO3 225 respondents, respectively, were not working.

By the time of the respondents' second interview, 30 per cent reported a change in 227 their work status. Those not working reduced to 38 per cent, while those in employment had increased from 16 per cent to 36 per cent. However, the change in work status between periods is complex as illustrated in Figure 2, which shows the direction, 230 magnitude and dynamics of change. In this, the changes from part-time to full-time 231 work could arguably be construed as the movement away from under-employment. 232 For example, of four respondents that were self-employed on a part-time basis, two 233 became full-time within their existing occupation, while two gave up self-employment 234 for full-time employment. A major question is whether the changes in their work status 235 were a result of participation in training.

In evaluating the economic impacts of training, financial data provided by the TOs 237 showed that £535,149 was spent on training, while the respondents incurred costs of 238

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Table 2: Comparison of ROI scores between training organizations

	Sample size (n)	Medians	U-crit	р
Training with TO1	16	0.05	92	0.947
Training with TO2	19	0.00		
Training with TO1	16	0.05	70	0.752
Training with TO3	15	0.00		
Training with TO2	19	0.00	85	0.795
Training with TO3	15	0.00		

£5,825 in accessing their training (i.e. costs associated with travel, arranging child-care, 239 training equipment, etc.). At an aggregate level, the ROI was 8.86. In other words, for 240 every £1 of costs incurred by respondents and their associated TO in the delivery of 241 and participating in training, the benefit that accrued for all respondents was £8.86. 242 However, this masks wide differences in individual ROIs, with a maximum 259.3 (TO2 243 individual) and a minimum of -11.8 (TO1 individual). Part of this wide variation 244 occurs because of the difference in organizational training costs. An organization that 245 delivers a considerable amount of training may only incur marginal additional costs in 246 putting on a specific additional course. Therefore, if the costs of delivering training are 247 lower, for any given benefit the rate of return will be higher. Similarly, an organization 248 developing training for the first time may face significant start-up costs, which again is 249 reflected in an individual's ROI. Equally, an individual taking a low cost course and 250 then moving in to well-paid employment would also increase an individual's ROI 251

Given the different social purposes of each organization, no significant difference 253 was found between TO and their ROI scores (see Table 2). In addition, an examination 254 of whether training led to a change in an individual's employment status also dis-255 played no significance (U-crit = 169, p = 0.352 Mann-Whitney). Furthermore, no statistical association was found between a respondents level of education and their age and 257 whether their personal ROI was positive, negative or unchanged (respectively, 258 $\chi^2 = 4.936$, p = 0.294 and $\chi^2 = 5.019$, p = 0.285 Chi Square). From this analysis, it may be surmised that the economic impact of training on respondents when delivered by a 260 social purpose organization was minimal.

T2

T3

Turning to the social impacts of training, Table 3 shows changes to the subjective 262 well-being scores - and its five dimensions: general well-being; attitudes; social net-263 works; trust and belonging; and employment status - between the two interviews. 264 Most respondents (80 per cent) experienced a change in their well-being between inter-265 views. However, only 16 per cent experienced change in all five subjective well-being 266 dimensions. Sixty per cent of respondents reported that some of the changes in their 267 well-being were a direct result of the training they had received. However, this compares to all respondents reporting that change in their well-being would have occurred 269 in spite of their training (deadweight). Given that changes in well-being attributed to 270 training was limited, it is unsurprising that an one-way ANOVA analysis between (1) 271 the three TOs; (2) the respondents age; and (3) and their level of education; with the 272 five dimensions of the subjective well-being scores indicated no statistical significance. 273 Therefore, in a result similar to that for the economic impacts of training, the social 274 impact of training had a minimal effect upon the respondents involved.

Individual training cameos

In considering the maximum and minimum values for the five dimensions of the subject well-being score (Table 3); it is evident that some individuals experienced considerable change, both positive and negative, in their well-being. Using three specific 279

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	Table	3: Change in su	bjective well-be	Table 3: Change in subjective well-being as a result of training	training		
	General well-being	Attitude	Social and networks	Trust and belonging	Employment status well-being	Change in IoSB score	Change in IoSB score connected to training
Mean change Maximum positive change Maximum negative change	0.019 0.440 -0.340	0.004 0.289 -0.333	-0.020 0.200 -0.333	0.023 0.560 -0.320	0.050 0.700 -0.233	$\begin{array}{c} 0.015 \\ 0.257 \\ -0.178 \end{array}$	0.002 0.057 -0.002

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respondents as examples illustrates how both economic and social outcomes from training can have important effects on the respondents work and lives.

Training cameo one

Aged 28 and unemployed for four months, this trainee participated in the Business Start-Up New Enterprise Allowance Scheme to understand how to set up a business, business planning and how to gain access to any appropriate grants. Over the period of the training, the personal cost of training was £656. At the time of his first interview, the trainee received £6540 per annum in welfare payments. His second interview took place 6 months later. At this point, he had moved into full-time self-employment working in administration and finance and his economic circumstances had improved. His benefits were reduced by £2080 but he estimated that his income from self-employment would be about £8000 per annum. However, the trainee suggested that only 20 per cent of the change in his economic circumstances was a direct result of the training he received and thought that 80 per cent would have occurred anyway. Given his training costs alongside of the organizational cost of training, the ROI connected with this trainee was valued at £2.19 for every £1 spent. Furthermore, he thought that these benefits would last more than a year.

In terms of his well-being, the trainee's subjective well-being score improved from 0.76 to 0.81, although only 11 per cent of this change was attributed to his training. 298 Indeed, examining the individual scores for the five dimensions of subjective well-being showed that it was a mixture of both positive and negative changes. For instance, 300 there were marginal falls in the scores for general well-being, attitude and feelings 301 associated with trust and belonging. Well-being connected to work status almost 302 doubled, from 0.47 to 0.90. However, the trainee thought that his improvement to his 303 well-being connected to his work status would have occurred anyway and was not 304 associated with his training.

Training cameo two

Aged 34, this trainee had been unemployed since 2010, and was still unemployed at the time of the second interview. Over a six-week period, the trainee made use of a job club to search for jobs, gain access to Government gateway support and a supportive trainer. The personal cost of this was £10.50, the cost of travel to the venue. At the time of his first interview, the trainee received £3640 per annum in welfare payments and given no change in his employment status this remained the same after the second interview. Given his training costs and the organizational cost of training, the ROI cost associated with this trainee was a loss of £0.30 for every £1 spent. The trainee was planning to do more training but unfortunately, the funding was withdrawn. In terms of his well-being, the trainee's subjective well-being index value decreased from 0.65 to 0.47, although none of this change was attributed to his training.

Training cameo three

Aged 53, this trainee was self-employed in the first interview providing catering in a 320 public house. She had attended a Business Start-Up New Enterprise Allowance Scheme 321 that extended over 12 weeks. In the previous 12 months, she had completed her level 3 322 vocationally related qualifications (VRQs) in catering and cake decorating and planned 323 to continue training in the culinary arts. The personal cost of the specific training during the research period was calculated at £129.60. When the second interview was conducted, this trainee had moved into full-time employment, working in a restaurant's 326 pastry section. This change had a financial impact as her income from work was 327 reduced by £2500 by the change and her welfare benefits ceased resulting in a further 328 loss of £2600. However, she only attributed 20 per cent of these losses to the training 329 she received. Therefore, the economic impact of training was a loss of £4.77 per £1 330 invested.

During this period, this trainee's well-being improved, with her subjective well-being score increasing from a relatively low 0.53–0.66. Much of this change was 333 through increases in her general well-being and attitude toward life. The score for her 334

Stage:

The three cameos highlight some important observations, which were also apparent among other respondents studied. It is surmised that training is only a small factor that influences respondents' economic and social well-being. For example, cameos one and three had preconceived ideas of their work goals. The trainee in cameo one participated in training on planning and how to gain access to potential appropriate grants to start a business, yet it is likely that he would have set-up his own business without such training. Cameo three, conversely, had already embarked on VRQs, which proved important for her subsequent employment. Furthermore, while her general well-being and attitude towards life scores improved, this contrasts to working for less income. Finally, cameo two experienced a marginal loss in income but a considerable decline in his well-being. These changes in well-being suggest that given the complexity of respondents' lives and the diverse impacts upon their well-being, training was only a minor interacting factor.

Discussion and conclusions

Examining how social purpose, nonprofit organizations demonstrate whether the training they deliver provides economic and social benefits illustrates the challenges they face in proving their impact. In this paper, the results suggest that the impacts are minimal across the three groups of respondents. Indeed, for the economic benefits (and dis-benefits) that were associated with training individuals over the period measured, the median ROI was zero while the mean social benefits were marginally above zero. Accounting for deadweight in evaluations is critical. When only the direct effect of training was measured, both the economic and social impacts of training were much reduced. However, that some individuals direction of employment had changed (see Figure 2) would suggest the skills training they received may not have been the driver of change but instead provided at least some lubrication to enable the change to occur. At the extremes however, a few individuals experienced large positive or negative economic and social benefits, which while connected to training, reflected larger changes in their lives as a whole.

Previous studies on ALMPs suggest their economic and social impacts are vari- 366 able. Card et al. (2010) conducted a meta-analysis of microeconomic evaluations on 367 197 studies carried out between 1995 and 2007. One key conclusion from this 368 research was that evaluations that focused on the longer-term had more favorable 369 outcomes than those that focused on short-term impacts. Furthermore, the data 370 source mattered. Evaluations based on time spent in registered unemployment compared to evaluations based on employment or earnings showed a tendency toward 372 positive short-term results. In another economic meta-analysis, Kluve (2010) con- 373 cludes that once the type of programme had been accounted for there seems little 374 systematic relationship between programme effectiveness and a host of contextual 375 factors, such as the macro environment (unemployment rate, growth of GDP and 376 expenditures on ALMPs) and institutional features of labour markets. The evidence base on the social impacts of ALMPs is somewhat limited (Sage, 2015a). A review 378 by Coutts et al. (2014) suggests that 'participation within ALMPs, specifically government training programmes, can have a positive effect on participants' wellbeing, 380 compared with remaining unemployed or economically inactive' (p. 13). However, 381 the longevity of expected benefits post intervention implies a mixed picture. In 382 some research, post-ALMP benefit continued for up to 2 years (Vinokur et al., 2000; 383 Vuori et al., 2002); up to 4 months (Harry and Tiggemann 1992; Vinokur et al., 384 2000) or quickly declines (Andersen, 2008; Creed et al., 1999; Vuori & Versalainen, 385 1999).

The variability in studies raises a question about the most appropriate time to evaluate the economic and social impact of training. In this paper, measurement was conducted approximately 6 months after the initial training had begun. This was perhaps

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suitable for training with a longer duration but less appropriate for short one-day 390 courses. Therefore, when evaluating impact, the timing of the evaluation exercise relative to the provision of training may influence the results. Certainly, the constraints of 392 the research meant that it was not possible to tailor the second interview according to 393 the length of training, which is a limitation of the method. Furthermore, understanding 394 when is the best time to evaluate potential benefits is clearly a subject that needs further investigation to understand any trade-offs between costs, evaluation results and 396 complexity in research administration.

One unexpected observation from the results was the movement of participants 398 from part-time employment and part-time self-employment to full time positions. This 399 often mimics under-employment, particular when individuals work part-time but 400 would prefer full-time work (Jensen & Slack, 2003). Other indicators of underemployment in the sample included respondents who were not working and have given up 402 looking for work (i.e. not counted in unemployment statistics) and respondents 403 employed in positions well below that might be expected given their level of education 404 (Jensen & Slack, 2003; Livingstone, 2004; Stofferahn, 2000). Therefore, while the 405 research focused on three categories of work status - employed, self-employed and 406 unemployed – it was evident that the much broader concept of underemployment was 407 apparent. This opens a further avenue for research: the economic and social impact of 408 training on underemployment in economies.

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As noted above, macro contextual factors may influence the outcomes of ALMPs 410 (Kluve, 2010). At a micro level, the lives of individuals may also affect how much of the training is transferred into economic and social impact. For instance, the age of participants in the study ranged from 20 to 63 years across the three organizations, 413 although the average age in TO3 was significantly younger. Carneiro and Heckman 414 (2003) argue that rates of returns to investment in human capital decline across the lifecycle of individuals, and as such, this may influence short and long-term effects of 416 training. Another factor may be the types of training skills offered. Nilsson (2010) 417 argues that increasing transversal and basic skills is not sufficient on its own to generate growth and competitiveness in an economy as too much distance exists between 419 the educational environment and the workplace. Furthermore, Butler et al. (2006) argue 420 that when skills are transferred from training, their potential impact may be limited by 421 the dynamics of an individual's social circumstances and networks. The contextual evidence from the interviews would suggest that this was an influencing factor as many 423 of the respondents faced difficult circumstances that not only affected the impact of the 424 training but their lives in general.

In conclusion, this original study highlights some of the difficulties in estimating the 426 socioeconomic impact of training. For the social purpose, nonprofit organizations providing training, the imperative to prove their value is becoming increasingly connected 428 to securing future revenue streams. Therefore, their ability to evaluate both the economic and social value of training is likely to grow in significance. Measuring the benefits on individuals, however, may be problematic and difficult to determine. At the 431 level of the trainee, the longevity and transferability of the training they receive is influenced by complexity within their lives reducing measurable social and economic 433 impacts required by the TOs. Furthermore, the minimal impacts measured in this 434 study, suggests that the implicit assumption made by policy-makers that through training social purpose organizations contribute to social and economic regeneration is perhaps misguided.

Beyond these conclusions, there are limitations on the present study that deserve 438 special mention. The sample itself, trainees of the three particular organizations, were 439 self-selecting and the relatively small number of respondents limits our ability to test 440 statistically for relationships between social and economic variables. In mentioning 441 these, caveats it is not because the findings lack in either internal or external validity 442 but rather to recognize the need to replicate this research across a larger sample population where a more systematic approach can be employed to account for different tenures of training.

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