

COMMUNITY EDUCATION IN BRITISH URBAN PRIORITY
AREAS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HULL

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ABSTRACT

This thesis develops a model of community education for non traditional adult learners from the least socially and educationally advantaged groups living in the priority areas of urban Britain. The model is investigated through a case study of a community education project situated within North Hull.

The thesis is organised into six chapters. Chapter One commences with a detailed analysis of urban priority areas and examines the cumulative effects of post war material conditions, social dislocation and educational underachievement. Educational proposals for ameliorating the situation are reviewed, including the idea of closer links with the home and neighbourhood as part of a community education solution.

Chapter Two develops this emerging theme of community education by examining compensatory and reconstructionist models of British community education in which USA models of compensation and the idea of community problem solving became influential

Following this early discussion, a model for community education in priority areas is proposed in Chapter Three. The model has the overall purpose of developing adult learners and achieving more open and accessible institutions through a two stage continuum of learning opportunities.

Chapter Four describes the North Hull Community Outreach Project which investigates the model in practice. In Chapter Five an evaluation of the case study is carried out to analyse the potential value of the model.

Chapter Six brings together the main findings of the thesis. These suggest that the educational problems of non traditional adult learners are the result of the cumulative interaction between situational, institutional and dispositional factors in the priority area situation which serve to diminish the importance of education.

The proposed model hence should be regarded as developmental with the potential capacity of engaging adults in mainstream educational opportunities which may provide the skills and knowledge needed to challenge and possibly change the material inequalities in the situation.

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INTRODUCTION

I have worked for the past twenty years in a variety of educational contexts as a teacher, development officer and latterly, in local authority administration. My special field of interest has been community education in the inner city where I have worked with parents in inner London, developed adult education and youth work strategies in Coventry and Birmingham and led a variety of initiatives in post sixteen education in Humberside.

It has always puzzled me throughout my endeavours that despite the efforts of community educators in areas experiencing severe disadvantage, the involvement and subsequent performance of children and adults from such places has been disappointing. This despite community education in Britain having a long-standing reputation as the user friendly arm of mainstream educational provision and, as a consequence, often been expected to provide a point of connection between education and learners who have become disengaged from educational opportunities.

However, evidence from the post war period appears to suggest that community education in its various forms has made little impact amongst the people in areas experiencing considerable material disadvantage and social stress. The expectation that community education should undertake community problem solving may, on reflection, have been over ambitious. The problems of educational underachievement when linked to poverty, low income and the physical

conditions arising out of economic and social decay has proved too great a hurdle for community education alone to overcome.

The time has come to have a closer look at the role and purpose of community education in urban areas undergoing serious socio-economic decline. The social and economic changes of the past fifteen years particularly, have produced a new condition for education which has been reflected in legislation. Market and competitive forces have become the dominant factors guiding educational activities, jeopardising the kind of developments outside of the mainstream which community education has promoted.

The consequence of this position has been to lessen the scope for developing activities to support less advantaged groups which may be regarded as on the margins of educational provision and non-profitable. Yet the needs that such programmes set out to address are no less, and arguably, greater, amongst the groups in question. It is therefore imperative that community education continues to respond to these needs and develop strategies to encourage the re-engagement of non-traditional adult learners in education.

This thesis attempts to address the issues raised over the post war period by community education practice in disadvantaged areas. A model of community education is subsequently developed which is concerned with equalising educational opportunities for less advantaged groups by developing the potential in adults for greater participation

in education and proposing ways in which institutions can become more open and accessible.

There is nothing particularly new in this proposal; community educators in urban areas would argue that their central purpose is to seek the educational participation of disadvantaged groups. That is not being disputed. What is suggested however, is that the overtly social bias of past community education theory and practice has led to the development of educational strategies that have operated on the margins of the educational mainstream with proposals that have remained outside of the main body of provision. The model of community education proposed in this thesis is not concerned with creating an alternative educational methodology nor a pre conceived set of solutions labelled community education. Rather it seeks to raise the educational involvement of people who have remained outside of the system as adults by actively creating routes back into education through a developmental role for community education, stressing the importance of change in institutional practice which leads to the encouragement of greater access and participation in the main educational systems by less advantaged groups.

Community education, in this perspective, thus becomes the bridge between those outside of education and the opportunities within. What is emphasised however, is the importance of the process in community education which informs the total educational contribution that educational

providers and institutions undertake. Thus, in urban areas of decline, the model of community education is distinguished by its approach which takes account of the material conditions, outreaching in the area in a cautious and developmental process which brings people along to the point at which they can feel confident enough to want access into the main educational opportunities. The institutions then need to be prepared to become open and inclusive to encourage this emerging potential group of participants.

This thesis therefore is concerned with community education in urban areas suffering from decline. In giving consideration to this, the discussion will develop from community education as it has been presented during the post war years to proposals for a new model that takes account of the modern urban educational condition.

The structure of the thesis reflects this purpose and is divided into three main areas:

- (i) A detailed examination of the urban and educational context within which community education developed.
- (ii) The development of a model for community education based upon this contextualising as well as further and relevant literature and personal experience of twenty years work in the field of community education.
- (iii) The examination and evaluation of the model against a community education project, drawing conclusions on the model's effectiveness as a theoretical basis for practice.

The thesis is subsequently organised into six chapters. Chapter One commences with a discussion of urban priority areas, reviewing the development from urbanisation to suburbanisation which left the inner areas of many industrial cities experiencing economic and physical decline. The connection between population loss and subsequent social dislocation is argued and the role of education and in particular, community education, in responding to underachievement and disadvantage examined.

Chapter Two develops the emerging theme of community education by considering the influence in Britain of the United States compensatory programmes of the 1960s. The emergence in the UK of positive discrimination strategies in which the stress was on altering the cultural outlook of children and their families is examined and their influence on the early idea of community education analysed. As the compensatory strand in community education became criticised, more radical formulations of community education were developed and are summarised in the chapter as a broadly reconstructionist approach.

Here, the emphasis became placed on regeneration through community education involving the school based community oriented relevant curriculum, community action through adult education and community control and participation of local residents in the management of institutions. The bias towards community problem solving in both the compensatory and reconstructionist strands in post war community education however, raises questions about the

suitability of such an approach in meeting the educational needs of the least educationally advantaged groups.

In Chapter Three therefore, the discussion focuses on a model for community education in which the overall purpose is to develop adult learners and achieve more open and accessible institutions through a continuum of learning opportunities. In practice, the community education model has a number of key elements which assists in the development of individuals to be able and ready to re-engage in the educational mainstream and encourages educational providers to become more accessible and participative in their acceptance of non-traditional adult learners. The elements are summarised as interventionist, supportive and responsive to reflect the stages and types of community education practice contained in the model.

In carrying out its core purpose the model seeks to equalise educational opportunities for the least advantaged groups in society and in working towards this goal, takes account of the complex interactions of situational, institutional and dispositional factors which serve to inhibit their participation in education.

The model is subsequently examined in Chapter Four through a detailed case study of a community education project in Hull while in Chapter Five, an evaluation is carried out to see how far the practice illuminated and developed the model.

Chapter Six brings' together the main findings of the thesis. These suggest that the problems of the least advantaged adult learners in urban priority areas cannot be seen simply as an issue of the inadequate articulation between educational providers and educational consumers but that the cumulative disadvantages found in the priority area context are so overpowering as to relegate the importance of education. The proposed model has the potential capacity of engaging adults in educational opportunities which may provide them with the skills and knowledge to challenge and possibly change the educational and social inequalities in their situation.

Furthermore, the value of a closely focused, small area community education initiative based upon such a developmental model should not be underestimated in achieving the re-engagement of non-traditional adults in education and in doing so, improve educational performance. The long term social and economic benefits far outweigh the costs involved in establishing such projects. The argument is thus made for a community education process which contributes towards preserving the national interest, achieving a sense of equity and encouraging the development of an open and inclusive educational system. Such provision has an important part to play in working towards the educational empowerment of non traditional adult learners from the least advantaged groups in society.

CHAPTER ONE

THE URBAN PRIORITY AREA CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to examine and analyse the development of community education in British urban priority areas with special reference to Hull. The notion of the priority area includes existing and emerging areas in decline, both in the inner cities and amongst some of the peripheral estates of the conurbations. In these areas are gathered disproportionate numbers of people who live on lower incomes or in poverty, have limited employment opportunities, inhabit inadequate housing than elsewhere and persistently record low educational achievements.¹ As Harrison suggests, these priority areas are now and "likely to remain, Britain's most dramatic and intractable social problem"² where the combination of the "worst housing, the highest unemployment, greatest density of poor people"³ serves to materially disadvantage whole areas.

When analysing such material conditions, the underlying factor amongst the disadvantages many people living in such priority areas experience is that of poverty which is linked to a lack of employment opportunities. Poverty in these circumstances can be measured, as Townsend has suggested, by "the lack of the resources necessary to permit participation in the activities, customs and diets commonly approved by society".⁴ It is a helpful definition because this study is concerned with educational opportunities for people who are

at risk or have become disengaged from the main social and economic mechanisms of society as a result of their situation.

These will include those who are unemployed, people dependent on state benefits, socially vulnerable groups such as pensioners living alone, single parents and many ethnic minorities. Such groups make up the least socially and educationally advantaged sections of society and can be generally found amongst those groups of people who are classified by the Registrar General as Social Class V⁵ or as various government departments describe, Socio Economic Group 11⁶. Collectively they come from lower social class groups whose lack of money contributes significantly to their deprivation.

The purpose of this chapter therefore, is to provide the context for the discussion in the following chapters on community education in urban priority areas by examining and analysing the material conditions that characterise such areas and disadvantage the groups of people who live there. In carrying out this task, it will be shown that the effect of adverse material conditions has been to increase the social polarisation of priority areas away from the main body of society. As a consequence, concentrations of residents are being dislocated from the main social and economic mechanisms of society because of the severity of their position in the local area.

Furthermore, it will be demonstrated that children in priority areas have repeatedly recorded poor results as they persistently fail in the schooling system⁷. Educational

responses to this evident failure were concentrated over the post war period on widening access and improving the skills of pupils to meet the growing demands of the economy.⁸ The emphasis on removing the barriers to educational achievement for the least educationally advantaged focused on strategies which promoted equality of access such as the implementation of comprehensive schooling.⁹ The early development of the notion of community education which also emerged during the period however, concentrated more on strategies of compensation and on improving the cultural outlook of children and their families through schooling in an attempt to improve performance. The subsequent proposal to develop community schools and create closer links between school, home and neighbourhood contained in the Plowden Report¹⁰ was illustrative of this movement.¹¹

The chapter is consequently arranged in the following two parts to enable an examination and analysis of the priority area context and educational developments to take place.

1. Urban Priority Areas in Context.
2. Education and Disadvantage.

The first part describes the material conditions affecting urban priority areas and discusses the effects of population movement within the conurbations. It is suggested that the loss of population from the inner areas of the industrial cities has been selective and that many of those who remain behind or arrive later, represent the least advantaged groups in society. The consequence of the combination of

material disadvantage and concentrations of socially vulnerable groups serves to dislocate life within priority areas and further to polarise such areas away from the rest of affluent Britain. Evidence too is produced which suggests that the priority area situation is no longer limited to the older declining inner areas but is now spreading to include other parts of the conurbations in a gradient outwards from the core.

The second part of the chapter focuses on the position of education in relation to disadvantage and is discussed with particular reference to the educational performance of children from lower social class backgrounds and the range of educational responses which were developed in an attempt to improve achievement.

This discussion includes the emergence out of compensatory education strategies of community education as one solution to the problems of social and educational disadvantage in priority areas. In this response lay the basis of more radical formulations for community education which are subsequently developed in Chapter Two of the thesis.

1. URBAN PRIORITY AREAS IN CONTEXT

The purpose of this first part of the chapter is to describe and analyse five important and related aspects in the material conditions that affect urban priority areas. These are namely:

1. The movement of population associated with the development from urbanisation to suburbanisation during the 20th century and especially from the 1960s.
2. The effects of economic decline in the inner areas of cities.
3. The deteriorating housing conditions in cities.
4. The emergence of a gradient of disadvantage out from the core areas of the conurbations.
5. The existence of dislocation in priority areas and subsequent social polarisation away from main society.

It will be argued in this part of the chapter that it is the combination of all these factors which produces the economic, physical and social difficulties of priority areas and provides a particular context which affects education and the performance of learners in such areas.

1.1 Urbanisation and suburbanisation

The urban priority areas of 20th century Britain cannot be seen in isolation; they represent a "microcosm of deprivation, of economic decline and of social disintegration"¹² and as such exist within, and are subject to, the influence of a wider urban system. Hall has given this urban system empirical form by adapting the notion of the Metropolitan Economic Labour Area (MELA) developed in

the USA during the 1920s.¹³ Essentially he used the MELA to describe a daily urban system using the concept of an urban field linking place of work with residential area; it also included places that were employment cores and those that were outlying commuting areas.¹⁴

Although this explanation has useful definitional value when considering the wider urban system it offers little towards explaining the process which has resulted in over 90 per cent of the British population living in MELAs.¹⁵ To describe this process will require an understanding of the development from urbanisation to suburbanisation.

The process of urbanisation, of which the MELA is a functional description, has been occurring since the late 19th century when the early crowding of people and jobs into the urban cores of Britain during the early and middle parts of the 19th century gave way to a movement into the suburbs, smaller towns and rural fringes during the course of the 20th century as industrial and commercial centres developed outwards.¹⁶ The transformation from 19th century urbanisation, when almost three quarters of the population lived in or near the urban centres to 20th century suburbanisation, resulted in the depopulation of the older centres of the urban conurbations and has been summarised by Hall as a process of growth and dispersal.¹⁷

The dispersal that occurred coincided with public policy during the 1950s and 1960s which resulted in many large cities being redeveloped, both for commercial reasons at the centre and for slum clearance purposes around it.¹⁸ The consequence of this was a massive and sudden drop in the

population of many inner city areas as people, and employment opportunities, moved directly into suburban areas. Thus between 1961 and 1974, the metropolitan counties and Greater London lost 5.4 per cent of their populations while the rest of Britain had a population increase of 12.8 per cent.¹⁹

With a growth in the suburban population from 39 per cent to 43 per cent between 1971 and 1981²⁰ the movement away from the large conurbations continued unabated. Table 1 shows how between 1988 and 1990 the metropolitan areas and cities in non metropolitan areas continued to lose people while districts away from these areas gained population.

<u>TABLE 1</u> <u>Average annual population growth rates by</u> <u>type of district, mid-1977 to mid-1990</u>				
Type of district	Growth rate (per thousand)			Population at mid-1990 (thousands)
	1977-81	1981-85	1985-89	
England & Wales	1	1	3	50,719
Greater London	-7	-1	1	6,794
Inner London boroughs	-15	-4	1	2,523
Outer London boroughs	-3	0	1	4,271
Metropolitan Counties	-4	-3	-1	11,142
Principal cities	-8	-5	-4	3,418
Other metropolitan districts	-3	-3	0	7,724
Non-metropolitan counties	5	4	5	32,783
Cities	-3	-4	-2	4,465
Industrial areas	2	-1	3	6,799
Districts containing New Towns	14	9	8	2,359
Resort, port and retirement districts	5	8	9	3,638
Urban and mixed urban/rural districts	7	6	5	9,980
Remote, mainly rural districts	7	7	10	5,541
Source: Population Trends (Winter 1991) ²¹				

Thus, while there was a general overall increase in growth, all the metropolitan counties continued to lose population, as did cities in non metropolitan areas, with smaller urban areas, resort and remote rural areas experiencing increased growth. The resulting post war demographic trends hence, was for a shift of population away from the centres of the conurbations towards a substantial growth in the suburbs. This movement away from the inner parts of the larger urban areas has led to substantial loss of population as Table 2 shows.

<u>TABLE 2</u> <u>Population change in urban areas 1971-1981</u>	
Area	Population Change (%)
1. Hull inner	-35.8
2. Nottingham inner	-31.3
3. Manchester and Salford inner	-25.5
4. Liverpool inner	-23.1
5. Lambeth special area	-23.0
6. Glasgow	-22.0
7. Derby inner	-20.1
8. Birmingham inner	-19.3
9. Hackney and Islington	-19.1
10. Other Inner London	-17.1
11. Docklands special area	-16.9
12. South Yorkshire inner (Sheffield)	-16.0
13. Teeside inner (Hartlepool, Middlesborough and Stockton)	-15.6
14. Merseyside peripheral (Knowsley special area)	-15.3
15. Haringey, Kensington and Chelsea, Westminster	-15.0
16. Inner West Yorkshire (Leeds and Bradford)	-14.4
17. Southampton inner	-14.1
18. Inner Tyne and Wear (Newcastle and Gateshead)	-13.8
19. Bristol inner	-13.5
20. Other Merseyside inner	-13.2
21. Plymouth inner	-13.1
22. Other inner Greater Manchester	-11.5
23. Stoke inner	-11.5
24. Portsmouth inner	-11.3
25. Rest of Outer London	- 9.0
26. Brent and Ealing special area	- 8.7

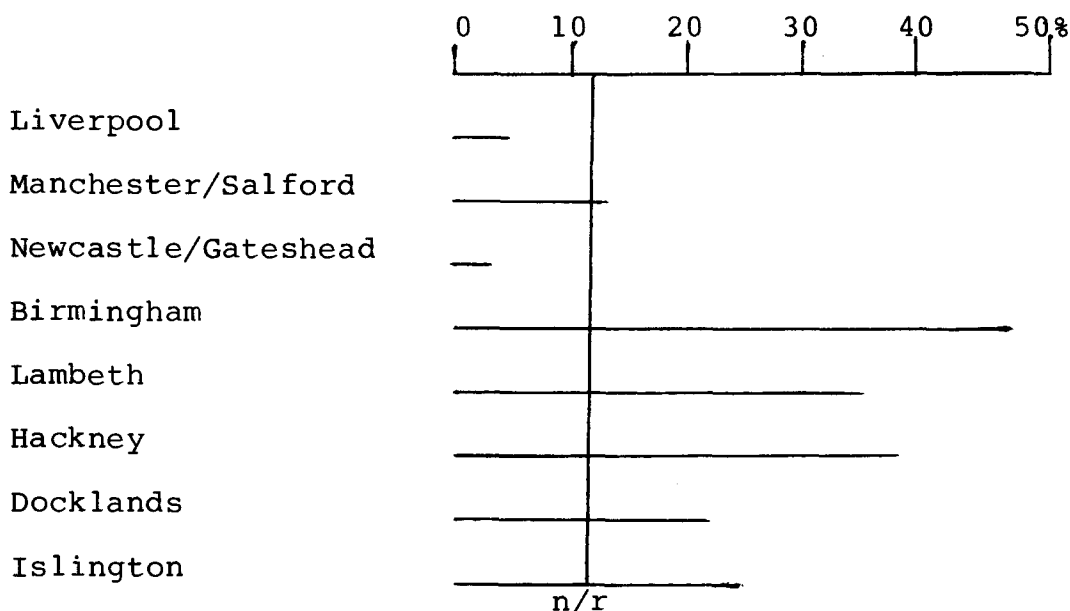
Source: Begg and Eversley (1986)²²

This demographic movement away from the inner areas of the large cities can be attributed to a number of factors,

beginning with the push factor of slum clearance and overspill policy during the 1960s and 1970s resulting in dramatic losses in the inner parts of older cities²³ and a pull factor in the desire for owner occupation as people seeking better standards of living and opportunities moved away from the inner areas which offered little in the way of new or affordable properties compared to the suburbs.²⁴ This movement though has been selective, with the more able and better skilled moving out to take on new opportunities available outside of the older urban areas. As a partial replacement there has been an inflow of ethnic minorities from the Indian sub continent, Pakistan and the Caribbean to specific parts of certain inner cities as Figure 1 shows.

Figure 1 Inner Areas 1981 : Ethnic Minorities

% persons in households with head born in New Commonwealth or Pakistan



Note: n/r refers to the national rate for ethnic minorities in England and Wales

Source: Department of the Environment (DoE)(1983), derived from the 1981 Census of Population²⁵

Generally these groups moved to take up residence in parts of inner areas between the central area and the outer boroughs often in the locations which had a higher proportion of poor quality housing than elsewhere.²⁶ However, it should be noted that the presence or absence of ethnic minorities cannot be taken as an indicator of deprivation or social problems in an area. Rather it may be interpreted as an indication of need and levels of support required. This is because the position of some ethnic minority groups is worsened by their experience of disadvantage compounded by discrimination across a wide economic and social scale.²⁷ Thus commonwealth immigrants join other low income groups to constitute disproportionate numbers of people in the inner cities who are predominantly unskilled and socially disadvantaged. The result of this movement of population during the post war period has been the migration away from the inner cities of the more mobile and better skilled workforce and a retention and/or immigration of less skilled and socially disadvantaged groups. Consequently this has led to a concentration of poverty in urban priority areas where high numbers of one parent families, of unemployed males, of manual workers and especially of unskilled manual workers are gathered. A range of studies by Townsend²⁸, Webber²⁹, Holtermann³⁰ and others broadly concluded that concentrations of poverty and deprivation do exist in urban areas although they also suggest, that as many poor people live outside of urban

priority areas as those living within and that many people in priority areas would not be classified as being poor.³¹

However a substantial problem does exist amongst the population in inner priority areas particularly if the indicators of deprivation used to designate urban priority areas for assistance through the Urban Programme are considered. The criteria used, namely, unemployment, pensioners living alone, single-parent families, overcrowding, houses which lack basic amenities and ethnic minority populations, are all direct measures of poverty and produce a picture of widespread material and social disadvantage. Two features which serve to particularly materially disadvantage residents in priority areas are declining economic conditions and the physical deterioration of the housing stock. These aspects of priority area life will be the concern of the following sections commencing first with an examination of economic decline.

1.2 Economic decline

Changing employment opportunities in the inner areas of the conurbations have contributed to the material conditions experienced in priority areas. As employment moved out of the centres of the large cities to relocate to the suburbs and expanding towns during the post war period, the jobs that were left in the inner cities were in employment sectors which were undergoing serious contraction. Thus, the manufacturing and distribution industries which traditionally provided unskilled work for low income groups

in the inner cities were, over the post war period, rapidly declining, as Table 3 shows.

<u>TABLE 3</u> <u>Changes in Employment 1951-1981</u>					
Manufacturing	Inner Cities	Outer Cities	Freestanding Cities	Small towns and Rural Areas	Great Britain
1951-1961	-143 (-8.0)	+84 (+5.0)	-21 (-2.0)	+453 (+14.0)	+374 (+5.0)
1961-1971	-428 (-26.1)	-217 (-10.3)	-93 (-6.2)	+489 (+12.5)	-255 (-3.9)
1971-1981	-447 (-36.8)	-480 (-32.6)	-311 (-28.6)	-717 (-17.2)	-1929 (-24.5)
Total Employment					
1951-1961	+43 (+1.0)	+231 (+6.0)	+14 (+6.0)	+1060 (+10.0)	+1490 (+7.0)
1961-1971	-643 (-14.8)	+19 (+0.6)	+54 (+2.4)	+1022 (+8.5)	+320 (+1.3)
1971-1981	-538 (-14.6)	-236 (-7.1)	-150 (-5.4)	+404 (+3.5)	-590 (-2.7)
Employment changes are shown in 000s; percentage changes are given in brackets					
Source: Hausner and Robson, (1986). ³²					

This meant in real terms that during the period 1961-1971, London lost 243,000 jobs, inner Manchester 84,000, inner Glasgow close to 60,000 and inner Liverpool 34,000.³³ Overall one million manufacturing jobs were lost in inner cities between 1951 and 1981 and a further one million from outer areas and free standing cities.³⁴ The jobs that were

provided by these industries for a predominantly low skilled workforce had subsequently disappeared with little alternative investment by new industry. Any growth in white collar jobs which occurred in either inner or outer areas largely attracted employees from the outer rings rather than those from the central areas of cities which contained disproportionate numbers of unskilled workers. Thus it was the combination of the absolute decline in the number of manual jobs and the higher than average concentration of manual workers in the inner areas which created a mismatch between employment opportunities and the skills available in such areas. Thus, many of the new job opportunities that were becoming available required a more skilled workforce, particularly in the growing demand from clerical, administrative and service industries. The consequence of a high concentration of unskilled manual workers and semi-skilled workers in priority areas with much smaller numbers of people from the higher social class groups led to the demand for skilled workers to be met from elsewhere leaving large numbers of the unskilled group out of work with little hope of finding any (see Appendix One). This mismatch in the available labour and urban employment demands resulted in higher than average unemployment amongst the unskilled groups from inner areas, as Table 4 demonstrates.

<u>TABLE 4</u>		<u>Unemployment Rates 1981</u>					
Inner City Partnership Areas	A	B	C	D	E	Total	
	Birmingham	6.5	4.2	17.8	18.3	22.0	21.8
Gateshead	7.7	2.6	17.5	18.4	22.4	16.8	
Hackney	5.7	5.9	15.0	12.6	14.5	15.4	
Islington	5.5	4.8	13.0	11.2	13.4	12.9	
Lambeth	5.6	5.3	14.3	12.0	10.6	14.4	
Liverpool	9.3	3.7	19.8	16.9	22.8	22.1	
Manchester	8.8	3.4	19.1	17.9	22.5	20.3	
Newcastle	4.7	2.5	18.0	21.1	21.7	17.7	
Salford	7.1	14.3	21.4	18.9	23.5	20.8	
AVERAGE	6.8	5.2	17.3	16.4	19.0	18.0	
GB	3.4	2.5	9.8	10.8	14.3	9.4	
Key A Employers and Managers (SEG 1&2) B Professional Workers (SEG 3&4) C Skilled Manual Workers (SEG 8&9) D Semi-Skilled Manual Workers (SEG 10) E Unskilled Manual Workers (SEG 11)							
Source: Manpower Service Commission, (1985), derived from 1981 Census of Population. ³⁵							

The effect in overall terms has been for unemployment rates among inner area residents to rise from 33 per cent above the national average in 1951 to 51 per cent in 1981.³⁶ In addition, certain groups have been disproportionately affected by unemployment, for example, 16-19 year olds who

averaged an unemployment rate of 29.7 per cent against the national average for that age range of 17.8 per cent and 60-64 year olds who also suffered with an unemployment rate of 16.6 per cent against a national average of 12.0 per cent.³⁷

In the peripheral estates on the edge of the large cities too, recent experience has been of economic deterioration on a similar scale to the inner areas with unemployment levels sometimes as high as three times the national average.³⁸ These areas remain isolated as the economic decline and lack of employment opportunities is heightened by poor transport links thus reducing access to employment opportunities elsewhere.

For both the inner areas and peripheral estates that make up priority areas the position remains that in general they experience higher than the national or regional average unemployment rates with disproportionate concentrations of unskilled manual workers. Moreover, because residents living in priority areas suffer an unequal share in terms of access to economic opportunity they hold a weak position in the job market which subsequently affects their ability to compete in other markets. Stewart has suggested that there exists a connection between the relative positions held in the job and housing markets so that

power in the job market is associated with power in the housing market, while a weak job market position (low, insecure income) is often linked to a weak position in the housing market.³⁹

The lack of affordable good quality housing and the existence of older decaying property particularly in the inner priority areas presents serious accommodation difficulties for those on low incomes as the discussion in the the next section shows.

1.3 Housing conditions

A great deal of the property in inner city areas is characterised by concentrations of terraced housing and in some places, larger housing now used for multi-occupation, mostly privately rented, generally decayed and poorly maintained.⁴⁰

The disproportionate accumulation of poor quality housing in the inner areas of the large cities is a visible reminder of 19th century industrialisation when vast increases of population had to be contained in towns and cities lacking the social and physical infrastructure to cope with the new demands of industrial and urban growth.⁴¹ The subsequent unchecked, substandard and cheaply constructed accommodation remains today to dominate the inner areas. While just over a quarter of housing in England was built before 1919 the proportion contained in the inner areas of large cities varies from between 40 - 60 per cent.⁴²

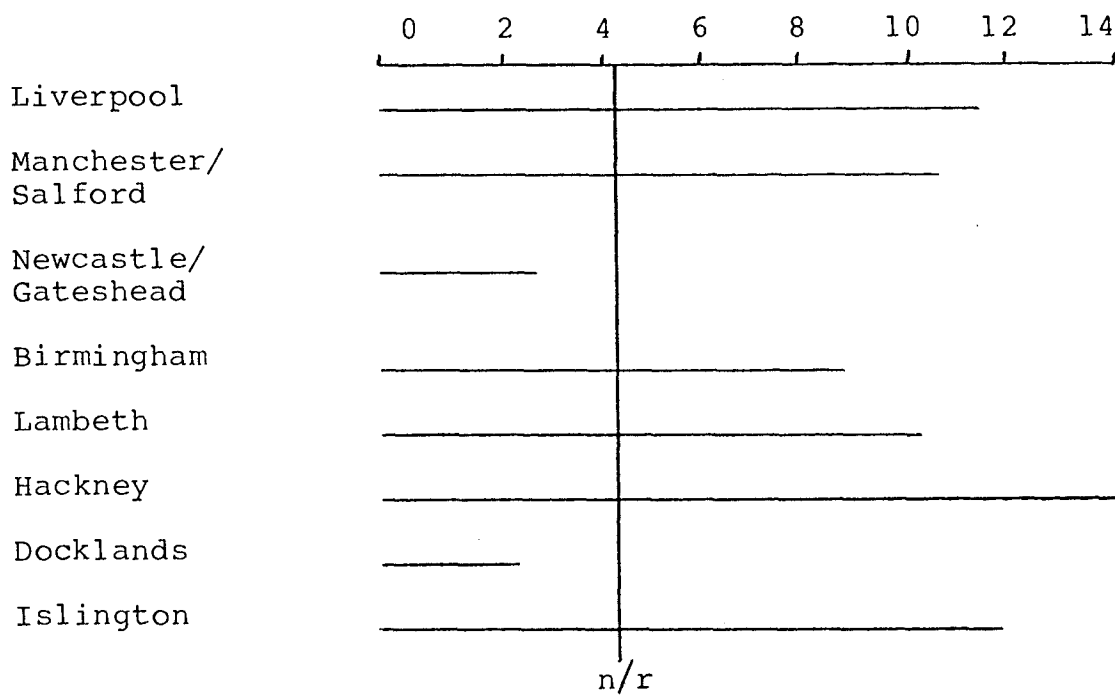
Furthermore, many of the contemporary properties in the inner areas have high population densities, little open space and are in generally poor and run down residential

environments with many owners tending to be older and poorer and unable to afford the cost of improvements to their property. The Inner Area Studies for instance noted that it was the combination of the inability of residents to fund their share of improvement costs and the refusal by absentee landlords to finance the upkeep of rented property which contributed significantly in delaying progress with improvements.⁴³

Those that live in these properties constitute some of the poorer and more vulnerable of the population generally. In addition to a large and often transient population there are disproportionate levels of socially disadvantaged groups such as pensioners living alone and single parent headed households where greater numbers are found in the inner areas than is the national average (see Appendix Two). These groups not only have problems in the housing market, they are also in need of more social and welfare support as their experience of the disadvantages encountered in such areas makes it particularly difficult for them to maintain their independence.⁴⁴ This is not helped by living in properties which are multi-occupied or lacking in the exclusive use of basic amenities. Figure 2 illustrates the scale of the problem in the inner areas.

Figure 2 Lacking exclusive use of basic amenities

% Households lacking exclusive use of basic amenities



Note: n/r refers to the national rate for such households in England and Wales.

Source: Department of the Environment (DoE), (1983), derived from the 1981 Census of Population⁴⁵

The lack of privacy induced by overcrowded conditions thus contributes to an overall personal deprivation for many priority area residents which affects the most vulnerable groups; people from ethnic minority groups are particularly affected by the shortage and poor quality of accommodation encountering the additional problem of discrimination in their attempt to gain a foothold in the owner occupied sector of the market.⁴⁶

Therefore, as many of the more affluent have over time moved out to the suburbs to become owner occupiers those that are left experience two problems, namely, that much housing in deprived areas "is in poor condition, and the choice is often very limited".⁴⁷ Paradoxically as the better able move out to inhabit relatively cheaper amounts of land the poor are left to contend with finding space amongst scarce and expensive inner city land. The paradox is partly resolved by the poorer residents adapting to higher rents by living at higher densities and hence taking up less land.

As the movement to rehouse residents from the inner cities gathered pace during the post war period, the number of overspill estates close to the periphery of the large cities increased and initially appeared to resolve many of the problems inherent in the older properties. However, the housing that was built needed to be constructed to avoid encroaching on the green belt. The emphasis therefore centred on retaining the densities of previous housing resulting in the erection of tower blocks or medium rise deck access blocks set in an environment short of parks and open play spaces.⁴⁸

Gradually, as many of these properties have begun to come to the end of their useful life, the housing disadvantages seen in the inner areas are emerging in a number of the outer estates where huge, impersonal and often single class communities exist amidst unkept public areas with little accessible or available social and recreational

facilities.⁴⁹ The consequence of these conditions in both inner and outer priority areas is for groups of people to be largely excluded from having access to good quality housing. Hall has suggested that they, due to "lack of money, lack of credit-worthiness, lack of information, lack of opportunity, lack of political power and influence"⁵⁰ have been unable to gain access to the suburban owner occupier market or the public sector housing system and have subsequently become forgotten people in the housing system.

Thus the argument so far in this chapter has suggested that a significant effect of the movement in population away from the older, inner parts of large cities has been to leave behind disproportionate and socially disadvantaged groups of people who experience deteriorating economic and physical conditions. In the next section a recent extensive survey by Begg and Eversley⁵¹ will be drawn upon to demonstrate that not only is there evidence of a connection between population loss and disadvantage but that such priority area conditions are no longer exclusively appearing in the inner areas but spreading to other parts of the conurbations to create a gradient of disadvantage.

1.4 A gradient of urban disadvantage

In their examination of eighty five urban areas in Britain, Begg and Eversley identified the existence of a high correlation in the twenty seven most deprived areas between disadvantage and population loss. Table 5 summarises their findings.

TABLE 5 Indices of social deprivation - ranking of most deprived areas

Rank		Favourable Adverse Scores	Population Change 1971-1981 %
* 1	Glasgow Old Core	-2.87	-22.0
* 2	Glasgow Peripheral	-2.50	-22.0
* 3	Birmingham Old Core	-2.37	-19.3
* 4	Hull Core	-2.26	-35.8
* 5	Derby Core	-1.97	-20.1
* 6	Manchester/Salford Old Core	-1.77	-25.5
* 7	Liverpool Old Core	-1.73	-23.1
* 8	Nottingham Core	-1.70	-31.3
* 9	Teesside Core	-1.60	-15.6
10	Other West Midlands Cores	-1.60	- 8.2
11	Other Strathclyde Cores	-1.55	-22.0
12	Other Greater Manchester Cores	-1.54	-11.5
* 13	Leicester Core	-1.43	- 7.1
14	Merseyside Peripheral (Knowsley)	-1.36	-22.0
15	West Yorkshire Cores	-1.34	-14.4
16	London Docklands	-1.31	-16.9
* 17	Plymouth Core	-1.27	-13.1
18	Other Tyne and Wear Cores	-1.27	-17.0
* 19	Sheffield Core	-1.20	-16.0
20	Newcastle/Gateshead Old Core	-1.10	-13.8
21	Other Merseyside Cores	-1.07	-13.2
22	Other South Yorkshire Cores	-1.04	- 3.8
23	Stoke Core	-0.98	-11.5
24	Hull Outer Area	-0.84	- 6.2
* 25	Hackney and Islington	-0.82	-19.1
* 26	Kensington and Chelsea, Haringey and Westminster	-0.66	-15.0
* 27	Lambeth	-0.60	-23.0

Note: * Those in receipt of funds from the Urban Programme

Source: Derived from Begg and Eversley (1986)⁵²

By using over seventy indicators grouped to correspond to identifiable policy areas⁵³, the authors of the survey were able to compare urban areas across a broad range using a method of scoring across favourable and adverse factors.⁵⁴ In considering the findings it is noticeable that Glasgow, the six English metropolitan county cores and the four inner London areas included in the most deprived areas are also included in the top eighteen rates of population loss illustrated earlier in Table 2, with Hull as the outstanding case amongst the free standing towns and cities, though not exactly in the same order. The connection therefore between population loss and deprivation is strongly evident from this study, reinforcing the belief that out migration has been highly selective and that the greater the rate of loss, the more disadvantaged becomes the social composition of the remaining population.⁵⁵

Furthermore, what emerges from a closer analysis of the survey is the existence in almost all cases of a gradient of disadvantage from the core to fringe areas. The only break occurs in the few identified post war peripheral estates which score highly on deprivation factors. Therefore as Table 6 illustrates, social conditions worsen in an almost straight line in relation to the closeness of urban cores.

TABLE 6 Gradient of deprivation

Type of area	Average advantage and deprivation factor for type of area	Advantage and deprivation factor	Population change 1971-81 %
1. Metropolitan	-1.48		
<u>Inner Areas</u>			
Glasgow Old Core		2.87	-22.0
Hull Core		2.26	-35.8
2. Peripheral	-1.57		
<u>Council Estates</u>			
Glasgow Peripheral		-2.50	-22.0
Knowsley		-1.36	-15.3
3. Other Old Cores	-0.97		
<u>Inner Nottingham</u>			
Inner Derby		-1.70	-31.3
Inner Derby		-1.97	-20.1
4. Rest of Old	0.25		
<u>Industrial urban Areas</u>			
Hull Outer		-0.84	+ 6.2
Derby Outer		-0.58	+ 7.4
5. Rest of agglomeration	0.74		
<u>Rest of Greater</u>			
Manchester		0.67	+ 0.37
Rest of Outer London		1.42	- 9.0
6. Fringe Areas	1.04		
<u>West Midlands South</u>			
Fringe		1.43	+16.6
London South Fringe		2.32	- 3.8

Source: Derived from Begg and Eversley (1986)⁵⁶

What can be seen is that nearly all outer areas are better off than inner areas, mostly by a significant margin. Hence, for instance, the inner area of Hull registers one of the worst overall scores in the country at -2.26, an outcome equally composed of high adverse indicators, an absence of favourable indicators together with the highest percentage population loss at 35.8 per cent over the 1971-81 period. The outer area of Hull by comparison scores -0.84 on the favourable-adverse factors and has a percentage population gain of +6.2 between 1971-81. The higher adverse score for outer Hull is explained by the fact the area includes pockets of severe disadvantage including the North Hull and Orchard Park Estates, the subject of the case study discussed later in Chapter Four.

Nonetheless the evidence contained in Table 6 points to a situation of increasing social polarisation in the cities of Britain occurring in deprived inner areas and a number of peripheral estates surrounded by favourable outer and fringe areas. The survey also confirms that the extent of deprivation is much wider than had previously been identified when only a small number of single indicators had been used.⁵⁷ What emerges too is a specifically geographical dimension to priority areas. Conditions are worse overall in the North and Midlands than in the South and worse still in those industrial cities which still bear the legacy of rapid urban growth associated with 19th century industrialisation and the large scale migration from a rural to an urban economy.

Thus, what has emerged from the survey by Begg and Eversley is a demonstrable linkage between the decline in parts of the urban conurbations with the outward movement of population, encouraged by push and pull factors associated with planning policies of the post war period and more recently, the disadvantages in priority areas being exacerbated by the effects of wider structural changes affecting national economies.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the traditional assumption that severe disadvantage is only to be found in the older declining inner areas of the larger towns and cities now no longer adequately reflects the situation. Other inner and outer parts of the conurbations are exhibiting similar combinations of adverse conditions in a gradient outwards that include more recently developed post war peripheral estates.

In some of these estates particularly, the problem of economic decline is such that unemployment levels exceed the national average and match those being experienced in the inner cities.⁵⁹ Equally, housing conditions too are deteriorating as poorly constructed and ill designed developments reach the end of their useful life. The increase therefore in the extent and scale of areas affected by economic and social decline raises questions over the geographical association with disadvantage implied in the term inner area or inner city. As areas in decline have now come to include some outer estates of the major cities, the conurbations may now be regarded as constituting a series of areas of varying quality in which disadvantaged or

declining parts may be found in the outer parts of towns and cities as well as near the centre. It is in these areas therefore that the priority areas of urban Britain can be found where there exists a low economic and skills base as well as high levels of unemployment. These lead to many people experiencing poverty with lower than average household incomes. Residents furthermore, live in unpopular and declining housing conditions amidst widespread physical decay, and the educational record is poor with low levels of achievement and progression. The 1977 White Paper "Policy for the Inner Cities"⁶⁰ in noting this situation commented on the

shabby environment, lack of amenities, the high density remaining in some parts and the poor condition of the older housing stock in the inner areas contrast sharply with better conditions elsewhere. They combine together to make these areas unattractive, both to many of the people who live there to new investment in business, industry and housing.⁶¹

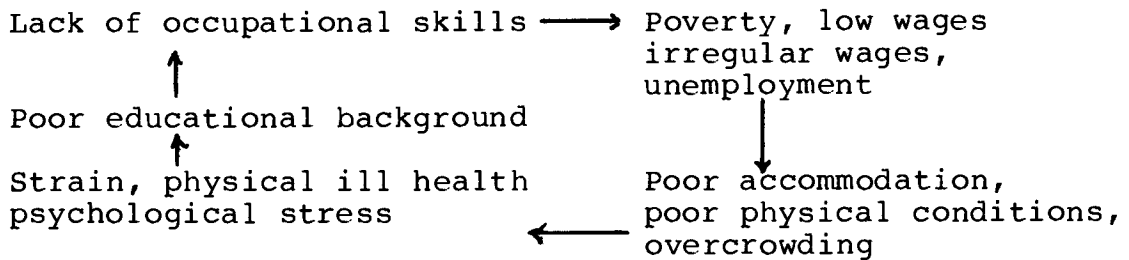
The situation thus, is worsened by the cumulative effects of the material disadvantages which produces deprivation in the form of a lack of access, limited participation and a denial of opportunity in the social and economic mechanisms of society. This in turn results in a dislocation of priority area life and is the concern of the next section.

1.5 Dislocation and social polarisation in priority areas

Crucially, in urban priority areas, it is this combination of the material disadvantages which serve to trap low income groups within an iterative process as one aspect of disadvantage affects another resulting in a cycle

of powerlessness, illustrated in Figure 3, from which there appears no apparent way of breaking out.

Figure 3 The cycle of powerlessness



Source: Adapted from The Open University (1976)⁶²

Thus in areas in severe decline it is the cumulative effects of disadvantage and poverty which is the fundamental problem. If "earned income is low and government support ... limited"⁶³ the lack of purchasing power which follows brings with it a loss of dignity and self esteem arising from the absence of a regular income. As a consequence, people experiencing poverty become socially isolated and excluded from participating in the mainstream of society.

This combination of disadvantages therefore contributes to a collective deprivation in priority areas which affects all the residents, even though individually many people in such areas are content with their homes and and satisfactorily employed. The 1977 White Paper believed that the cumulative effects of disadvantage gives rise to

...a pervasive sense of decay and neglect which afflicts the whole area, through the decline of community spirit, through an often low standard of neighbourhood facilities, and through greater

exposure to crime and vandalism... This collective deprivation amounts to more than the sum of all the individual disadvantages with which people have to contend.⁶⁴

Furthermore, the concentration of the worst housing, the highest unemployment and the greatest density of poor people in priority areas has served to fragment, unhinge and dislocate those who live there. Cohen⁶⁵ has associated this position with the breakdown of traditional neighbourhood and extended family arrangements which he believed was typified by the disappearance of the focal points of the traditional community in the shape of the corner shop, the pub and the street as a major area of "communal space".⁶⁶ This movement away from traditional neighbourhood in urban priority areas has been described by Wilmott⁶⁷ and can largely be traced back to the influence of the post war programmes of clearance and redevelopment in Britain's towns and cities which not only broke up existing local networks but also redeveloped the old districts in new physical forms making it difficult for people to get to know their new neighbours.

The development subsequently of huge high rise council estates was not conducive to neighbourliness rather serving more, as Wilmott suggests to "discourage sociability between neighbours".⁶⁸ By the 1970s, this redevelopment and dispersal of population changed the social character of inner cities, and as the White Paper noted, while the massive slum clearance and associated developments were necessary, the effect

... has sometimes been one of continuing disruption of local life and a loss of local community.⁶⁹

These factors have been used to help explain the dramatic changes in social relationships and subsequent breakdown of traditional community. While contemporary writers like Harrison⁷⁰ and White⁷¹ largely confirm that older, inner areas of large cities are more often characterised by social isolation and conflict than by any sense of community, while other evidence has suggested that under certain circumstances there can exist local social networks and a sense of community. For example, the Inner Area Studies⁷² noted how a concentration of fellow residents with the same ethnic background in a neighbourhood contributed towards strong local associational ties and extensive networks amongst people. The Birmingham and Lambeth studies particularly, reported that those who felt most attached to the places were the ethnic minorities, Asians in Birmingham⁷³ and West Indians in Lambeth.⁷⁴

These findings are a reminder that in discussing priority areas it cannot be assumed that such areas are homogeneous in their make up or that all of the people or districts in a priority area will experience economic or social deprivation. However, although deprivation may not be uniformly spread, the combination of disadvantages may have an effect across all residents in priority areas through a deteriorating environment and the overall negative image given of the area. Thus, the risk of a break down in social relationships is potentially increased under

conditions of material disadvantage and the consequent personal deprivation encountered by residents in priority areas.

In overall terms though, the material disadvantages affecting urban priority areas have served to deprive those who live in such places of the benefits enjoyed by the rest of society and, as the study of eighty five urban areas has demonstrated, contribute to socially polarise whole areas of the conurbations. The findings furthermore confirm the geographical bias to polarisation: all the areas surveyed, excepting inner London and Plymouth, were in the north and midlands of Britain where the legacy of 19th century industrial and urban growth still persists.

Furthermore, the prognosis is not good either for priority areas: Urban Programme funding and other assistance directed at disadvantaged urban areas has been around since the late 1960s⁷⁵ yet the evidence in this chapter shows that far from a diminution in the problem there has been a growth in the extent of areas in decline. New research evidence from the Policy Studies Institute too, suggests that the gap between deprived areas and the rest of the country in housing, unemployment, education and other conditions of life remains as wide as 15 years ago, when the White Paper was launched.⁷⁶

Hence, as the gulf between affluent Britain and urban priority areas widens and the fracturing effects of deprivation progressively dislocate social relationships and neighbourhood life, there are raised particular questions on

the linkage between improving education in such areas and ameliorating the range of disadvantages discussed in this chapter. The development of educational responses during the post war period to concerns raised over the failure of children from priority areas was predicated on the notion of widening access into education for lower social class groups who were seen to be performing badly as a consequence of their social and economic position. These responses will be examined in the next part of the chapter.

2. EDUCATION AND DISADVANTAGE

The available evidence suggests that the educational performance of children from priority areas over the post war period has been poor with low levels of achievement and progression being persistently recorded amongst the least socially advantaged groups concentrated in inner areas. This part of the chapter examines in the first section the evidence supporting this assertion while in the second section, the discussion focuses on the educational responses that were directed towards improving educational achievement. In particular, the emergence of early notions of community education as one solution to the educational difficulties being experienced in priority areas is considered.

2.1 Educational under-achievement

The concentration of children and families from the least advantaged social class groups in the older inner areas of cities was over the post war period, linked to the poor educational performance by children from such areas. The connection between social class and educational achievement was widely referred to in both government sponsored reports and other enquiries. In the National Child Development Study, for instance, Davie and colleagues reporting on progress up until the age of seven, found that social class was the variable with the strongest association with attainment in reading and arithmetic.⁷⁷ They discovered that 50 per cent of 7 year olds in Social Class V

had 'poor' reading scores compared to 9 per cent of those from Social Class I⁷⁸ while over 40 per cent from Social Class V compared to 12 per cent from Social Class I recorded 'poor' arithmetic scores.⁷⁹ Furthermore, when looking at the incidence of social disadvantage among these children, they considered the three factors of family composition (five or more children or only one parent), low income and poor housing to be crucial to disadvantage.⁸⁰ Both the Crowther⁸¹ and Newsom Reports⁸² too reached similar conclusions concerning the attainment levels of children from lower social class backgrounds while statistics from as early as 1959-60 showed that greater proportions of children from low income groups were leaving schooling at the earliest opportunity, as Table 7 indicates.

<u>TABLE 7</u> <u>Proportions of recruits who left school at 15, 16, 17 or 18+ in relation to occupation of father (1959-60)</u>						
Age of recruit on leaving school	Occupation of Father					
	Professional and managerial	Clerical and other non manual	Skilled manual	Semi skilled manual	Unskilled manual	All five groups
	%	%	%	%	%	%
18+	34	10	4	2	1	8
17	17	9	3	2	1	5
16	24	22	15	11	6	15
15	25	59	78	85	92	72
Total: 100%	923	879	3654	945	854	7255
Source: Central Advisory Council for Education (1959) ⁸³						

This pattern of early school leaving by children from lower social class backgrounds was reflected in the percentages that entered university as Table 8 shows.

Father's Social Class		1961 (undergraduates)	1968 (entrants)
1	Professional, managerial	19	19
11	Intermediate	42	32
111a	Clerical	12	18
111b	Skilled manual	20	19
IV	Semi-skilled manual	6	10
V	Unskilled	1	2
	TOTAL	100	100

Source: UCCA Reports for 1967/68⁸⁴

A decade later the situation had hardly improved for lower social class groups as Table 9 illustrates. This led Halsey and his colleagues to point out that while class chances of access to university remained more or less constant over the period the absolute gains from the middle class were massive compared with those from the manual classes.⁸⁵

Father's Social Class		Accepted Candidates		
		1977	1978	1979
1	Professional, managerial	20.9	21.7	21.9
11	Intermediate	41.2	41.5	42.3
111a	Clerical	14.8	14.4	13.4
111b	Skilled manual	16.6	16.1	16.3
IV	Semi-skilled manual	5.2	5.2	5.0
V	Unskilled	1.2	1.2	1.0
	TOTAL	100	100	100

Source: UCCA Statistical Supplement to the seventeenth Report 1978/79⁸⁶

On the basis of this and other evidence, Westergard and Resler suggested that manual workers' children were less likely to enter university than children from professional backgrounds by a factor of nearly nine times.⁸⁷ The statistics further supported the claim by Douglas that the social class background of parents was influential in the post school destinations of children.⁸⁸ Others like Floud⁸⁹ claimed that the gap between the educational opportunities and achievements of children from low income and manual backgrounds and that of middle class children widened as they grew older.

As far as children from ethnic minority backgrounds were concerned, the results of tests carried out in the early 1970s in London and Birmingham confirmed the widely held view that children of immigrants were underachieving in schools.⁹⁰ Assessments carried out through English Picture Vocabulary Tests (EPVT) to measure reading, listening and vocabulary skills and the Standard Reading Assessment (SRA) abilities test showed ethnic minority performance to be trailing behind that of white children, illustrated in the mean EPVT scores of 5-6 and 7-10 year olds and the mean SRA scores of 8-10 year olds contained in Table 10.

<u>TABLE 10</u>		<u>EPA Mean EPVT and SRA Scores</u>		
	White British (n)	Caribbean (n)	Asian (n)	
1. EPVT Level 1: Ages 5-6 years				
London	97.9 (957)	86.9 (298)	-	-
Birmingham	89.5 (342)	81.6 (96)	69.6	
2. EPVT Level 2: Ages 7-10 years				
London	92.9 (1162)	84.5 (250)	-	-
Birmingham	86.4 (785)	81.6 (209)	72.7	(373)
3. SRA: Ages 8-10 years				
London	93.0 (878)	88.1 (161)	-	-
Birmingham	86.4 (360)	83.5 (107)	78.4	(173)
Source: Payne (1974) ⁹¹				

Furthermore, not only did many children in priority areas experience low achievement and limited progression into post school education they received poorer educational provision, especially when measured in material and physical terms. The Newsom Report highlighted the condition of secondary schools in 'slum areas'⁹²; four years later, in 1967, the Plowden Report focused attention on the state of primary schools in inner urban areas calling for better educational resources in neighbourhoods that had "for generations been starved of new schools, new houses and investment of every kind"⁹³, while an independent report from the National Union of Teachers (NUT) pointed to the physical impoverishment of schools serving predominantly working class catchment areas.⁹⁴

Thus, in terms of, the educational performance of children in priority areas, the overall situation was one of limited achievement which produced yet another disadvantage that served to further deprive the least advantaged groups in society. In addition therefore to economic decline, poor quality housing and a run down residential environment with relatively high concentrations of socially vulnerable groups over reliant on welfare benefit and social services, was the problem of children who performed badly within the educational system. How such educational failure in priority areas was tackled will be the concern of the next section in this part of the chapter.

2.2 Educational responses in priority areas

As far back as 1959, the Crowther Report picked out the "special and depressing characteristics"⁹⁵ of the "...inner, declining rings of impoverished districts near the centre of the great cities"⁹⁶ as being in need of urgent attention from education.

This call for intervention epitomised post war educational concern over the educational performance of children from low income backgrounds which had two elements, namely in terms of the political and social problems over the manpower needs of the economy⁹⁷ and a concern over equality of educational opportunity.⁹⁸ Hence, as major government reports and enquiries in education during the 1950s and 1960s expressed worries over the inadequacies of the existing system to produce appropriately skilled labour

required for economic expansion the response was crucially articulated as a concern with working class failure in education and subsequent waste in the available pool of labour.⁹⁹

Part of the answer was to change the structure of education and to provide more of it in an attempt to widen opportunities. Thus educational spending during the 1960s grew faster than any major national enterprise apart from gas and electronics. Whereas education spending as a proportion of the gross national product was 3.2 per cent in 1955, by 1969 it had grown to 6 per cent.¹⁰⁰

Developments were subsequently concerned with opening up access for under represented groups in education by such means as the scholarship ladder, abolishing grammar school fees and establishing a comprehensive schooling system. Supporters of this latter idea such as Jenkins argued for the introduction of comprehensive schooling, believing that in their most developed form they would encourage "children of different social classes to understand each other better¹⁰¹ and make an important contribution to the achievement of social and educational equality of opportunity. In this notion it was assumed that the comprehensive school would act to "develop a united community" in new or crowded areas.¹⁰² Community thus became a new organising principle of the education system and as selection by 11+ was to disappear so selection by area was to grow bringing with it all the implications of

neighbourhood differences. The emphasis in the early manifestation of equality of opportunity thus was not concerned with the social processes within and outside schools which generated or reinforced inequality but with education as a means to personal social mobility through the improvement of access to education. In this universalistic approach to equality of educational opportunity it was perceived that the problem with education lay not so much in what it was or what it did, but how it was distributed.

Yet despite the movement towards greater equality of opportunity afforded by the removal of educational barriers and improvements in access, the school performance of children from lower social class backgrounds remained disappointing, with confirmation that there existed a spatial polarisation in respect to educational achievements.¹⁰³ Evidence was emerging that suggested children from families living in the suburbs of large cities took both advantage of educational provision and benefited from it while families living in the inner area of cities were neither benefiting from opportunities offered in the education system nor achieving within it.¹⁰⁴

Attention thus shifted to consider other factors contained in the urban environment which could possibly provide an explanation for poor educational performance. An important movement in the debate occurred when it was suggested by Douglas¹⁰⁵ and others¹⁰⁶ that school success and failure could be related to cultural as well as socio-structural aspects in the environment. It was suggested

that where there was a better 'cultural fit'¹⁰⁷ between home and school in terms of values and behavioural norms for example, the likelihood of success in school was made more possible. As Douglas pointed out:

When housing conditions are unsatisfactory, children make relatively low scores in the tests. This is so in each social class but whereas the middle class children, as they got older, reduce this handicap, the manual working class children from unsatisfactory homes fall even further behind; for them, overcrowding and other deficiencies at home have a progressive digressing influence in their test performance.¹⁰⁸

The implication that there might be a causal link between the environment which children came from and educational performance was strengthened when it was suggested in the Newsom Report that problem families produced children with "linguistic inadequacy ... poor attainments in school"¹⁰⁹ and that the incidence thus of educational underachievement was closely linked to the pathology of the urban community.¹¹⁰ The additional concentration during the 1950s and 1960s of families from ethnic minority backgrounds into the older decaying areas of industrial cities increased concerns about the educational performance of children who were at a disadvantage because of the poor educational background from which it was claimed that they had come¹¹¹ and reinforced the belief that educational failure was associated with cultural features in the family and neighbourhood.

The suggestion that educational problems could be related to the inadequacies of the home background and upbringing of children coincided with the debate promoted by Sir Keith Joseph's concern over why deprivation and problems of maladjustment persisted despite long periods of full employment and relative prosperity.¹¹² The ensuing notion of a cycle of deprivation that was developed to explain the problem proposed the existence of a "cyclical process of transmission of deprivation and social maladjustment from one generation to another"¹¹³ which was basically internal to the family. Thus the family was thrust into a position of crucial importance in affecting educational and social disadvantage. Wisemann argued that home variables had "pro rata, twice the weight of 'neighbourhood' and 'school' variables put together"¹¹⁴ and suggested that school absenteeism was linked to an unsatisfactory home life and uninterested parents.¹¹⁵

The idea that home and adverse neighbourhood conditions were important influences in educational underachievement was also put into a cyclical context in the Inner Area Studies where it was identified that the combination of poverty and concentrated multiple disadvantages became reflected in a lack of educational opportunities resulting in probable poor job conditions, low status, low income and eventually poverty.¹¹⁶ The Birmingham Study for instance showed that in the Small Heath district, only 3 per cent of males had qualifications of A level or above compared with 13 per cent nationally and only 13 per cent had O levels or

CSE compared with 22 per cent nationally¹¹⁷ Similarly, the Liverpool Study showed that while inner Liverpool contained 7 per cent of the secondary school population it only had 5 per cent of those in the city taking CSE exams while over 50 per cent of school leavers in the inner area had not taken CSE or O level exams at all.¹¹⁸

Against a growing belief that people from lower social class groups were bearers of educationally disadvantageous behaviour with an internal pathology at work which affected the educational performance of children, calls were made for greater intervention and closer links between schools, the family and the neighbourhood through a strategy of positive discrimination and programmes of compensatory education to meet the needs of "deprived children of limited family and social backgrounds".¹¹⁹ The suggestion progressed further, with claims that in improving the education of children from the poorest neighbourhoods the school would need to "transcend its environment and create within itself a community of good living".¹²⁰

It was assumed that the solution to the evident failure of lower social class groups and children from ethnic minority backgrounds who scored poorly on the EPVT and SRA tests¹²¹ could be found through an emphasis on compensatory strategies particularly in respect of additional support for English language teaching¹²² and later, by a recognition of creating closer links with families as a means of tackling educational under-achievement.¹²³ Thus, for the diversity

of social groups found in priority areas their underachievement became linked to a lack of motivation, language deficiency, economic background, literacy levels of parents and cultural traditions.¹²⁴

Interspersed with the concern to compensate for cultural deficiencies was the emergence of an idea for the urban school to become "a social centre for its neighbourhood"¹²⁵ built on a different design and scale as part of a community focus seeking to alter the cultural attitudes of the neighbourhood. The proposal in the 1967 Plowden Report for closer home and school links to influence the family's whole cultural outlook through "a programme for contact with children's homes"¹²⁶ represented the introduction of community education as one approach for solving the problems of educational underachievement in urban priority areas.

The recommendation in the Plowden Report for the school to become a focus for community activities¹²⁷ and stimulate closer links with the home, however, was also part of a broader concern for improving working class cultural behaviour as well as improving educational performance. As Vaizey put it

This (improving the schooling of working class children) would undoubtedly be the quickest and most effective way of eliminating the social problems of the so called delinquent areas, a name which masks a much wider social problem - the failure to integrate the unskilled and semi skilled working class into a society which is becoming predominantly governed by the values and the standards of the professional middle class.¹²⁸

Thus, the early manifestation of community education focused on the compensating role of schooling in attempting to improve the cultural and educational performance of children from lower social class groups through a strategy that linked urban communities and schools more closely. By attempting to influence the attitude of the home the early supporters of community education believed that children would display a more positive approach to learning and subsequently improve their performance. Improving education in this perspective was not directly linked to improving the major socio economic disadvantages discussed in this chapter; the emphasis was more on remediated cultural and social behaviour in respect to schooling.

Subsequent developments in community education broadly continued this interventionist approach amongst urban priority communities, although a different view emerged which stressed the function of education to regenerate local community life as a prerequisite to wholesale alteration of the social and economic circumstances in such areas. Hence, the purpose in the later strategies of community schooling and community development would be to educate people to be able to tackle and potentially change their disadvantageous social and economic conditions.

Thus developments in community education over the post war period were to move from a largely compensatory role to one which emphasised the positive attributes of urban communities. How far community education in these forms

was successful in solving the social and educational problems of priority area learners will be subject to a detailed examination and analysis in the next chapter.

TABLE 11 Broad occupational distribution of employment 1981

(Numbers in each group as % of total employment)

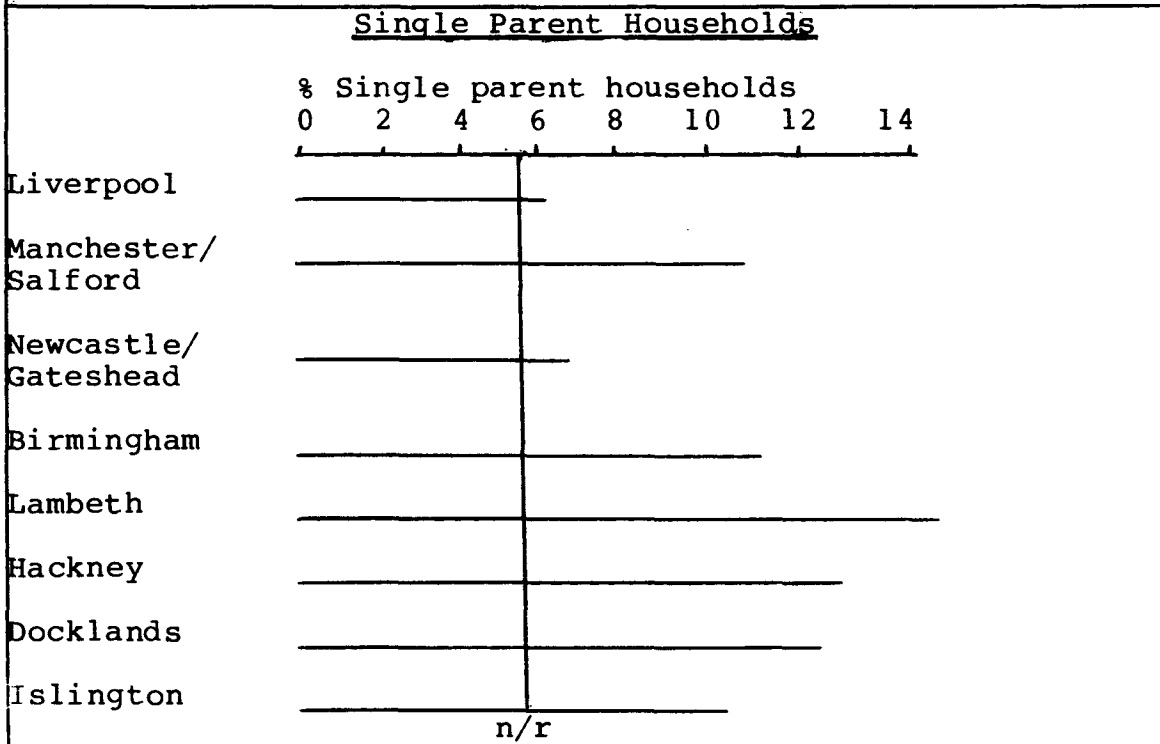
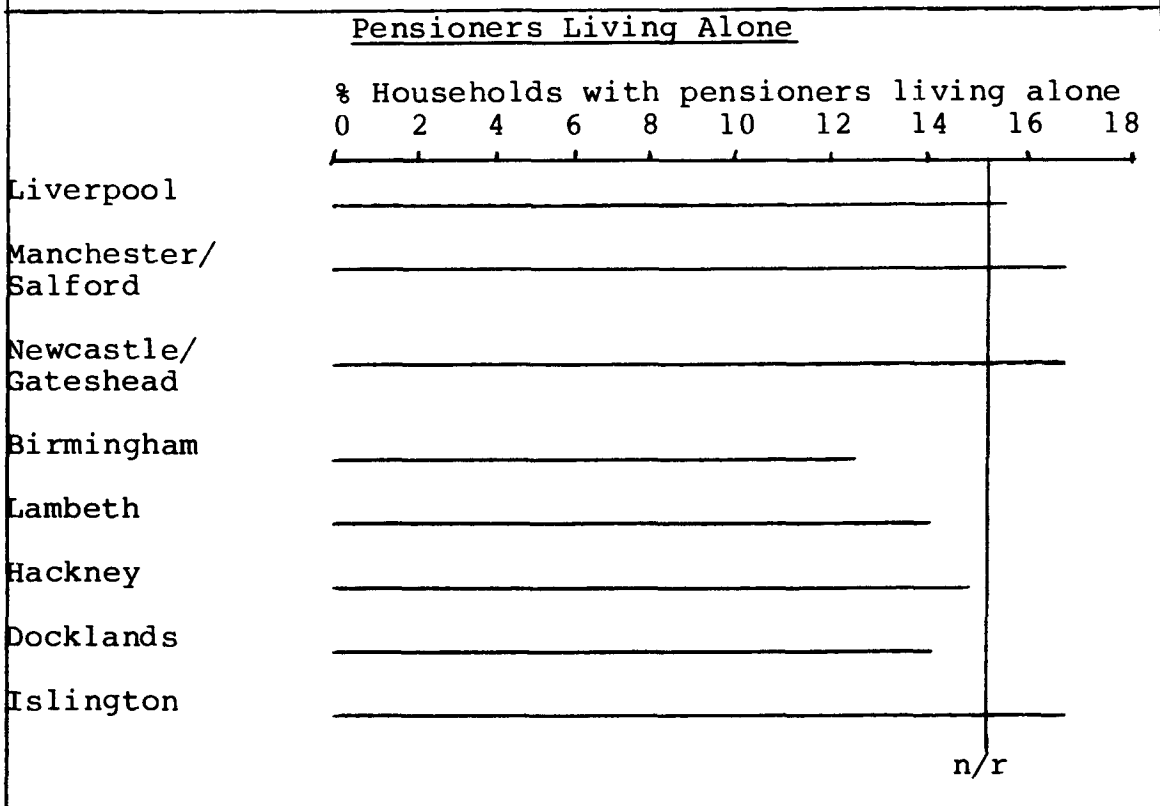
Inner City Partnership Area	A	B	C	D	E
Birmingham	6.4	2.4	23.0	22.0	9.6
Gateshead	6.4	1.7	27.6	16.0	10.4
Hackney	8.3	2.4	17.7	15.7	8.0
Islington	9.1	4.3	15.2	13.1	8.4
Lambeth	8.8	3.5	14.4	11.4	10.7
Liverpool	5.9	1.8	20.8	18.4	12.1
Manchester	6.3	2.1	22.1	18.1	11.1
Newcastle	7.9	3.3	22.4	12.4	11.0
Salford	5.2	1.2	23.6	20.5	13.6
GB	12.3	4.1	19.8	12.1	5.6

Key:

- A Employers and Managers (SEG 1&2)
- B Professional Workers (SEG 3&4)
- C Skilled Manual Workers (SEG 8&9)
- D Semi-Skilled Manual Workers (SEG 10)
- E Unskilled Manual Workers (SEG 11)

Source: Manpower Service Commission, (1985),
derived from 1981 Census of Population¹²⁹

TABLE 12 Disadvantaged households



Note: n/r refers to the national rate for England and Wales

Source: Department of the Environment (DoE), (1983), derived from the 1981 Census of Population. 130

Notes to Chapter One

1. For a detailed analysis of the condition of priority areas see Hall, P. (1981) The Inner City in Context which brought together the findings of the Social Science Research Council Working Party on inner cities in Britain. In addition to the work of Hall, source material for this chapter has largely been drawn from the 1981 Census statistics which in lieu of the 1991 Census findings, provides the most relevant and reliable available data on urban areas. However, whenever more recent information has been made available, for instance, Population Trends or the Economic and Social Research Council, this has also been used.
2. Harrison, 1983, p.21.
3. *ibid.*
4. Townsend, 1979, p.88.
5. See Reid, (1977), Social Class Differences in Britain for a fuller discussion of socio-economic classifications.
6. *ibid.*
7. The survey carried out by Halsey, A.H., Heath, A.F. and Ridge, J.M. (1980) Origins and Destinations is particularly informative on this point.
8. The major government reports and enquiries of the period were concerned with the inadequacies of the existing system to produce the types of labour power required for economic expansion. The Crowther Report (1959) 15-18 and the Newsom Report (1963) Half our Future both stressed the importance of schooling to prepare pupils for future employment.
9. See the Crowther Report, 1959, paras. 614-618 for a discussion on comprehensive schooling.
10. Central Advisory Council for Education (CACE), 1967.
11. *ibid*, paras. 102-130.
12. Harrison, *op.cit.*, p.21.
13. Hall et al, 1973, p.128.
14. *ibid.*
15. Denham, 1984, pp.10-18.
16. Hall et al, *op.cit.*, pp.249-253.

17. *ibid.*
18. *ibid.*
19. ACUPA (Archbishop's Commission on Urban Priority Areas), 1985, p.7.
20. *ibid.*
21. Population Trends, Winter 1991, p.4.
22. Begg and Eversley, 1986, p.71.
23. Hall, 1981, *op.cit.*, pp.22-24.
24. *ibid.* This pull factor is associated with the perceived attractiveness of suburban living which included not just better housing and environmental features but improved education and social opportunities.
25. DoE, 1983.
26. Hall, 1981, *p.cit.*, pp.19-21.
27. See for example Field, S. et al (1981) Ethnic Minorities in Britain for evidence of discrimination in employment and Brown, C. (1984) Black and White Britain which deals with the housing disadvantages faced by ethnic minorities.
28. Townsend, *op.cit.*
29. Webber, 1975.
30. Holtermann, 1975.
31. See Townsend, *op.cit.*, pp.553-60 for instance.
32. Hausner and Robson, 1986.
33. Davies, 1978, pp.5-7.
34. Hausner and Robson, *op.cit.*, p.9.
35. Manpower Services Commission (MSC), 1985, p.198.
36. Hausner and Robson, *op.cit.*
37. ACUPA, *op.cit.*, p.201.
38. ACUPA, *op.cit.*, p.14.
39. Stewart, 1973, p.212.
40. See Bor, 1973 for a discussion of this point.

41. Allnutt and Gelardi, 1979, p.41.
42. *ibid*, p.42.
43. DoE, 1977a.
44. Bor, *op.cit.*
45. DoE, 1983.
46. See the study by Rex, J. and Moore, R. (1967) Race Community and Conflict : A Study of Sparkbrook for an expansion of this point.
47. Bor, *op.cit.*, p.156.
48. ACUPA, *op.cit.*, p.176.
49. *ibid*.
50. Hall et al, *op.cit.*, p.628.
51. Begg and Eversley, *op.cit.*
52. *ibid*.
53. *ibid*. These included ten housing or household indicators, seven employment indicators, four ethnic indicators, nine demographic indicators, seven economic activity indicators, eight indicators related to social class, four family indicators and five other indicators.
54. *ibid*.
55. *ibid*.
56. *ibid*.
57. The official use of single indicators in urban programmes related to a few measurable phenomena were regarded by Begg and Eversley as unsatisfactory in measuring present needs or future trends.
58. The downturn in the national economy which has led to recession has consequently produced further contraction in employment opportunities and a squeeze on public sector expenditure and support for low income groups.
59. ACUPA, *op.cit.*, pp.176-177.
60. DoE, 1977b.
61. *ibid*, p.3.

62. The Open University, 1976, p.7.
63. Bor, 1973, pp.156-63.
64. DoE, 1977b, p.4.
65. Cohen, 1977.
66. *ibid.*
67. Willmott, 1986.
68. *ibid*, p.92.
69. DoE, 1977b, p.17.
70. Harrison, *op.cit.*
71. White, 1979.
72. DoE, 1977a, *op.cit.*
73. DoE, 1977d.
74. DoE, 1977a, *op.cit.*
75. Urban programme funding had been launched in 1968 by the then Labour Government in response to growing concern at the disadvantages experienced by ethnic minority groups in the inner cities. The following decade saw a variety of initiatives directed at urban areas culminating in the 1977 White Paper "Policy for the Inner Cities" which was the first comprehensive Government statement on urban policy.
76. New research edited by Willmott and Hutchison, (1992) Urban Trends 1, has examined these issues and suggested that little progress has been made to improve the material conditions of disadvantaged groups.
77. Davie et al, 1972.
78. *ibid*, p.104.
79. *ibid*, p.103.
80. *ibid*, pp.27-47.
81. Central Advisory Council for Education (CACE), 1959.
82. CACE, 1963.
83. CACE, 1959, Vol. 2, p.127.

84. UCCA, quoted in Mortimore, J. and Blackstone, T. (1982) Disadvantage and Education, p.20.
85. Halsey et al, op.cit., p.217.
86. UCCA, 1980.
87. Westergard and Resler, 1975.
88. Douglas, 1964, pp.39-51.
89. Floud et al, 1956.
90. See Payne, 1974.
91. ibid, Figure A (1-6).
92. CACE, 1963, pp.17-26.
93. CACE, 1967, par. 132.
94. NUT, 1962.
95. CACE, 1959, par. 59.
96. ibid.
97. See CACE, 1959 (The Crowther Report) and CACE, 1963 (The Newsom Report) for further discussion of this point.
98. ibid. As far as gender was concerned however, the sexes were accepted unquestionably as different with different needs. In the Newsom Report for instance, it was suggested that girls should understand their responsibility as mothers and home managers, CACE, 1963, par. 397.
99. ibid.
100. Whiteside, 1978, p.11.
101. Simon, 1978, pp.112-16.
102. CACE, 1959, op.cit., par. 617. See also DES Circular 10/65, 1965 in which comprehensive schools were proposed.
103. The evidence emerging from Floud, 1956, and Crowther, 1959, supported the concern over differential achievements in schooling by children from suburban backgrounds and from middle class groups and those living in the older urban areas from predominantly lower social class groups.
104. ibid.

105. Douglas, 1964.
106. See Vaizey, J. (1962) Education for Tomorrow, and The Newsom Report (1963), for example.
107. Douglas, op.cit.
108. *ibid*, p.67.
109. CACE, 1963, par. 50.
110. *ibid*, pp.17-26.
111. CACE, 1967, par. 184.
112. Joseph, 1972.
113. *ibid*.
114. CACE, 1967, Vol. 2, p.369.
115. *ibid*, p.370. Douglas too, regarded the influence of the level of parental interest in schooling to be greater than all other factors, op.cit., p.57.
116. DoE, 1977c and 1977d, op.cit.
117. DoE, 1977d, *ibid*.
118. DoE, 1977c, *ibid*.
119. Schools Council, 1970, p.7.
120. CACE, 1947, p.45.
121. See Table 10, p.51.
122. CACE, 1967, par. 190-198.
123. *ibid*, par. 113-118.
124. See CACE (1967), par. 183-186 for example.
125. CACE, 1947, p.26.
126. CACE, 1967, par. 130.
127. See the section discussing the idea of the community school in the Report, *ibid*, par. 121-123.
128. Vaizey, 1962, p.19.
129. MSC, op.cit.
130. DoE, 1983, op.cit.

CHAPTER TWO

COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND URBAN PRIORITY AREAS

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter described the post war physical decline in the economic and social fabric of British urban priority areas and suggested that the cumulative effect of subsequent material disadvantage has resulted in a dislocation of relationships and an increasing polarisation between such areas and the main social and economic mechanisms of society. It was demonstrated too, that these conditions are spreading out from the inner cities to affect other parts of the urban conurbations, including some of the outer estates on the periphery of the large towns and cities. Furthermore, the poor educational achievements over the period by children from lower social class backgrounds gave cause for concern, raising the question of what constituted a relevant educational experience for children living in such areas. It was suggested by Edwards that if

...a child's parents are poor and live in an inner city area of decay, the chances are that he will go to a poor school; his education will be deficient and the motivation for advancement through examination success will be low or absent.¹

Post war educational responses were initially concerned with increasing access as a means of creating wider equality of opportunity. As these strategies appeared to have little impact on educational underachievement however, the focus

shifted to the part environmental and cultural factors played in education. In particular, the effect of adverse social conditions and the attitudes of the family towards education were increasingly regarded as significant in affecting school performance. Consequently, the debate shifted to consider cultural factors in children and their homes which it was believed had the effect of reinforcing what were regarded as deficiencies in an educational setting.

What followed were calls for schools to intervene in providing a compensatory environment for children who were seen as culturally deprived, to enable such children to compete on equal terms with others from more favoured backgrounds. This led to a greater intervention by schools in their neighbourhoods through closer links being forged between home and school and the development of schools as community centres. These proposals formed part of the early compensatory education response to under-achievement that influenced the developing notion of community education found in the Plowden Report.²

As the notion of compensatory education became criticised because of its presumed negative view of priority area children and their communities, a more radical view of community education evolved in which the emphasis was upon reconstructing urban priority area communities.³ In this perspective, priority area communities were regarded as having positive attributes and the urban environment was taken as the source of an education that would be social

rather than academic. Thus, through the idea of the community school with its community oriented relevant curriculum and adult education, which emphasised community development through community action, both children and adults would be made aware of their social circumstances and become active in regenerating their communities.

In addition, it was believed that community regeneration could further be achieved by institutions which served as a social and cultural focus for their neighbourhoods and encouraged community control through participative management structures. By focusing community activity around institutions and encouraging forms of local control in the running of affairs it was believed that education could influence the cultural and social regeneration of disadvantaged communities.

The purpose of this chapter thus is to examine and analyse the movement from educational compensation to community education in urban priority areas during the post war period in order to set a context against which a proposed model of community education can be located and subsequently developed in Chapter Three. In carrying out this task, the developments contained in this chapter raise questions which require answering. In particular, the notion contained in compensatory education that education could alter the cultural outlook of disadvantaged neighbourhoods is problematic. So too is the idea that there exists in priority areas a homogeneous community that could

be encouraged through educational innovation to regenerate itself. The problem too, of circumscribing children's experience raised by the relevant curriculum also needs addressing as do the implications contained in the radical notion of adult education and community action. The questions raised in the idea of community control and participative management of institutions by local people brings the debate back to the earlier point on the existence of an homogeneous community in such areas. Specifically, the question needs unravelling on whether community in the singular sense as used by many community educators does in fact exist, in addition to exploring how the needs of diverse communities can be adequately represented at the level of institutional governance.

These issues are subsequently examined in this chapter through the following three parts.

1. Educational Compensation and Urban Priority Areas.
2. The Reconstructionist Strand of Community Education.
3. Developmental Issues.

In the first part, the notion of compensation and compensatory education is examined and its origins in the USA during the 1950s and 1960s analysed. The British context of compensatory education is then considered, noting in particular the influence of the idea of positive discrimination and the movement from compensatory education to early notions of community education in the shape of community schools.

The second part of the chapter discusses the development of the reconstructionist strand in community education and the concern over community regeneration and community development in priority areas. The three major aspects of the relevant curriculum, community action and community control reflected in this strand are then examined and their effectiveness analysed.

The discussion in the final part of the chapter considers the lessons emerging in the movement from compensation to community education and sets out the implications of these lessons for a model of community education which will be developed in the next chapter.

1. EDUCATIONAL COMPENSATION AND URBAN PRIORITY AREAS

This part of the chapter describes the emergence of compensatory education in the USA and discusses the theories which influenced its development. An understanding of American notions of compensatory education is important in the context of the early community education responses in Britain during the 1960s because these British responses broadly reflected the experience of the USA programmes. The discussion is subsequently facilitated through the following four sections:

1. The culture of poverty and cultural deprivation.
2. Compensatory education in the USA.
3. The idea of positive discrimination.
4. From compensation to community education.

The roots of compensatory education can be found in the response to the educational failings of children from black families moving into northern cities of the USA during the 1950s and 1960s and where influence of theories of poverty and cultural deprivation as explanations for under-achievement were widely adopted. The ideas behind the culture of poverty theory therefore will be discussed in the first section while in the second section, the development of compensatory education programmes in response to educational failings of urban families is examined.

The third and fourth sections are concerned with the British context of compensation where the discussion focuses firstly on the idea of positive discrimination and then on the development of compensatory education strategies, noting

the correlation between ideas developed in the USA and the British experience. In summarising the development of compensation in Britain during the post war period the emergence of community education in the form of the community school is identified and the influence of compensatory notions in this early development of community education considered.

1.1 The culture of poverty and cultural deprivation

The connection between compensatory education and urban priority areas in the USA and subsequently in the UK, had its roots in the so called post war crisis of the cities arising as a result of concern at the concentration of low income groups and blacks from the rural south into the major northern cities of the United States. Between 1950 and 1960 the city centres of the twenty four largest United States metropolitan areas lost nearly one and a quarter million whites to the suburbs and gained more than two million black people largely from the southern states. These new incomers encountered social and economic inequalities and their children repeatedly recorded poor school performance.⁴

The problems that they faced in the absence of job opportunities, adequate housing and decent educational and recreational facilities were compounded by high levels of poverty. A widely held view at the time regarded this poverty and the associated problems as an intergenerational phenomenon which produced its own culture that in turn, prevented the poor from gaining access to the economic and social mechanisms of society.

This view was closely linked to theories associated with the culture of poverty thesis, first advanced by Oscar Lewis during the 1950s in the context of Mexico.⁵ He had suggested that through a combination of financial hardship, squalid environment and lack of opportunity, people living in slums were left with "... a strong feeling of marginality, of helplessness, of dependence and of inferiority".⁶

His argument went further to claim that the values contained in the culture of poverty were generally linked and learnt early in life. Thus by the time children living in slums were six or seven years old, they had absorbed the basic values and attitudes of this subculture and were not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or increased opportunities which could occur in their lifetime.⁷

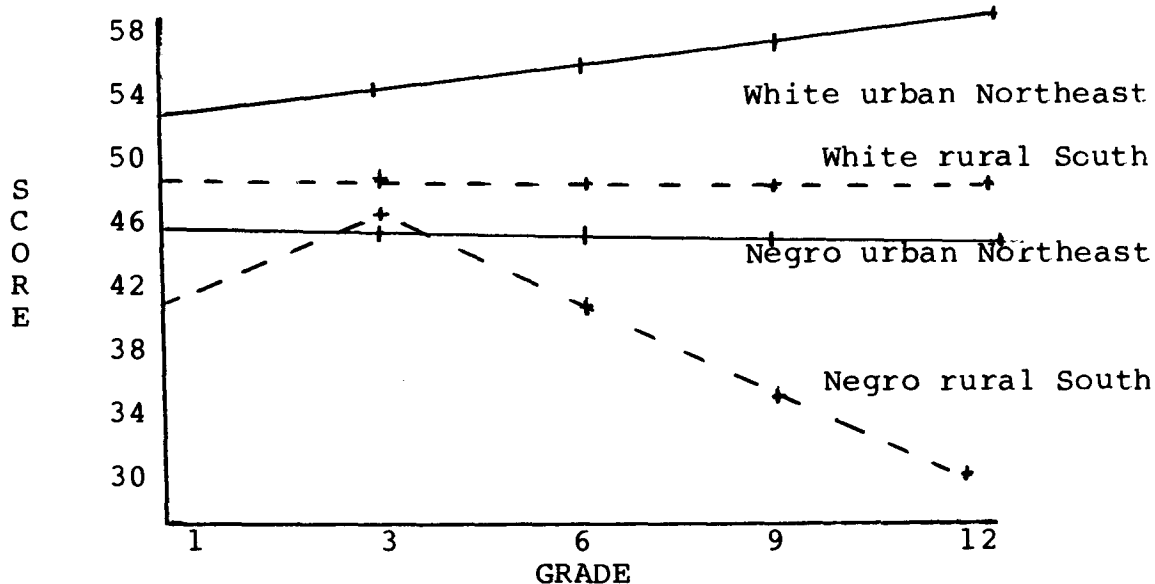
Subsequently, poor motivation and low achievement in schooling became directly linked to a range of cultural deprivations induced in children by the experience of poverty and gave rise to the claim by Reissmann that the "culturally deprived child was clearly one of the most pressing problems facing the urban schools".⁸ It was further supported by research evidence from writers like Ausubel⁹, Deutsch¹⁰, and others¹¹ where the findings concentrated upon the cultural, intellectual and socialisation deficiencies of lower social class urban groups.

Other however, such as Valentine¹² and Labov¹³, unhappy at the notion of the culturally deprived child, emphasised

the strengths and differences of the "bicultural child"¹⁴ arguing that the problem of educational underachievement lay with the school system which failed to resolve or acknowledge the duality and capabilities in the culture of the inner city child.¹⁵

The belief persisted however that children from low income groups were less educable than those from other social groups, a view that was given support by the findings contained in the Coleman Report¹⁶ in which the educational attainments of Northerners and Southerners, white and black were compared. Figure 4 illustrates the report's findings on the divergence in mean attainment between four categories of children aged between 6 and 18 (grades 1-12 in American schools).

Figure 4. Patterns of achievement in verbal skills at various grade levels by race and region



National mean score at each grade : 50

Standard deviation : 10

Source: Coleman (1966)¹⁷

The evidence in the Report pointed to a growing divergence between white and black groups as they progressed through the grades. The discrepancies in patterns of achievement especially those between white children in the urban northeast and black children from the northeast and rural south gave rise to serious concerns on the ability of the urban educational system to respond adequately to the new demands it faced.¹⁸

The response to this perceived educational crisis of the cities in schools was for more resources to be specifically targeted at compensating for the educational inequalities that were becoming evident. The findings in the Coleman Report stimulated the debate over the concept of equality of educational opportunity as meaning equality of outcome. It was an emphasis that moved away from the previous notion of equality of opportunity associated with equal chances of access to educational facilities, a theme adopted in British post war debates on educational inequality.¹⁹ Thus educational intervention in the war on poverty initiated by the Johnson administration became concerned with compensating for the effects of poverty and the crisis in the cities.

Subsequently, contemporary studies of urban communities focused on issues relating to low socio economic status, in particular ethnic minority status²⁰ and many explanations in the USA for the poor educational performance of learners from lower social class groups became linked to Lewis's

culture of poverty thesis which ascribed children with genetic, environmental and nutritional deficiencies of varying degrees.²¹ It was believed that a combination of these problems explained why children in schools exhibited language inadequacies, perceptual deficiencies, poor self image, short term view of life and a lack of motivation. Responding to such perceived deficiencies, proposals were made for programmes of compensatory education to be developed to redress the problems of school failure. These developments are the concern of the following section.

1.2 Compensatory education in the USA

The concern at widespread educational under-achievement and failure amongst the poor who were concentrated in the run down areas of the large cities of the USA, stimulated the initiation of a complex variety of educational developments and innovations in the early 1960s. These concentrated on broad strategies of change through the development of new curricula to tackle weaknesses related to short attention span, poor language development, deficiencies in visual and auditory perception and low levels of motivation towards learning in school.²² In practice, the emphasis on skill based activities included language enrichment programmes directed mainly at oral language skills and reading development²³ and an extension of nursery education contained for example in the Head Start Programme as part of an attempt at an early stage to influence the socialisation process.²⁴ Other programmes

meanwhile focused on improving home school links, creating greater community access and influence in school organisation and establishing closer links between schools and the world of work.²⁵

While early indications from these strategies suggested that certain types of programme did produce gains in cognitive abilities especially where the programme was more intensely focused on intellectual developments associated with language skills²⁶, the overall results of many of the large scale programmes proved disappointing. The massive Westinghouse Report on the national pre-school programme Head Start which was launched in 1965 completed a series of negative findings on the long run effects of pre-school programmes.²⁷ The Report argued that the project did not make any substantial long term impact on children's intellectual and social development. Evaluation of other programmes showed that in general, the smaller scale and more closely focused programmes were relatively successful while the larger broader based programmes failed.²⁸

Such failure could be in part attributed to the design of the action programmes, where the use of research evidence or limited terms of reference neglected children's wider social experience outside school.²⁹ Other factors contributing to the failure of the programmes were related to the overall level of the resources or short time scale within which to meet unrealistic and measurable objectives.³⁰

The overall negative findings from the compensatory programmes stimulated Jensen to reopen the debate on the

role of hereditary factors which challenged the emphasis on environmental influences in educational performance.³¹ In particular, he argued that genetic differences were far more influential in accounting for the differential performance in measured intelligence amongst different social classes and ethnic groups.³² He further contended that genetic factors determined individual differences in intelligence twice as much as did environmental features and therefore educational provision should be directed at meeting the particular needs of children according to their genetic composition.³³ In reality this meant developing lesser demanding educational programmes to correspond to the inferior conceptual abilities of urban blacks and lower social class groups.³⁴

By contrast, others like Bernstein from Britain, challenged the actual notion of compensatory education, arguing that education could not compensate for society³⁵ and that the labelling of children as failures served to deflect attention away from the real problem contained in the "internal organisation and educational context of the schools".³⁶ Grace too, in his later writing, regarded institutional solutions as inadequate being "locked into a present time and small scale focus"³⁷ limited to seeking solutions at the level of changed institutional procedures and improved interpersonal relationships.

Further evidence from the USA provided by Reimer³⁸, Kohl³⁹, and Jacobs⁴⁰ pointed to the relationship between low teacher expectation and alienating institutional procedures

and the marked effect these had on poor school performance and educational underachievement. The implication in compensatory programmes that there was something "lacking in the family, and so in the child"⁴¹ merely served to reinforce the argument put forward by Passow⁴² and Grace⁴³ that the USA compensatory programmes were another name "for an extended debate about the cultural deficiencies of ethnic minorities"⁴⁴ which ignored an examination of the role of wider structural forces in society that affected people living in declining urban areas.

A more radical critique was proposed by Jencks⁴⁵ who argued that little evidence existed to show school reform could "substantially reduce the extent of cognitive inequality".⁴⁶ In doing so, he challenged the assumption that the best mechanism for breaking the vicious circle created by conditions of poverty was educational innovation in the form of "extra compensatory programs".⁴⁷ He found, after reworking the Coleman Report data, that "neither school resources nor segregation has an appreciable effect on either test scores or educational attainment"⁴⁸ and concluded that school reform could not be expected to bring about significant social changes outside the schools.

Criticism of compensatory educational programmes thus highlighted the weakness of the assumption that educational underachievement could be solely attributed to the values and attitudes of families from low income backgrounds. In practical terms too, the evidence was mounting of substantial failure on the part of the programmes to achieve

improvements in the range of school related problems brought on by the dislocation occurring in the larger cities of the USA.

Yet despite the apparent failure of the programmes the ideas contained in the USA notion of compensatory education emerged in British urban social and educational policy during the late 1960s and early 1970s. While there was a specific British interpretation of need, programmes of educational compensation shared with the US strategies a desire to focus resources on areas where it was believed in some generative manner a cycle of deprivation existed among lower social class groups. This formed part of a wider notion of positive discrimination developed within urban policy in Britain in which a concentration of resources was directed at areas to tackle the problems of multiple deprivation and underpinned British responses to the social and material difficulties of severely disadvantaged areas. Thus, compensatory education in Britain was predicated on the notion of the pathological failings of urban communities and in which subsequent programmes were directed at correcting psychological and cultural failings of individuals and families. In this interpretation compensation in Britain became closely allied to the prevailing notions developed in the USA. These developments will be the subject of examination in the next section.

1.3 The idea of positive discrimination

The idea of positive discrimination reflected in both social and education area based policies and research studies of the late 1960s and early 1970s was largely advanced as a response to the problem of multiple deprivation in the inner city or various aspects of it. Such area based policies were, according to Hatch and Sherrott, aimed at

concentrating resources where they are most needed - without the disadvantage of means testing and limited take up. This is the policy of positive discrimination in favour of deprived areas.⁴⁹

Thus the application of positive discrimination assumed a concentration of deprivations; it also presumed that disadvantaged areas could usually be identified through the use of problem related criteria.⁵⁰ It was believed therefore, that as the poor, the poorly educated unstably employed and the unemployed were concentrated in particular, relatively small areas and because there was an ecological and statistical association with other area based social problems, some common causal factors were to be found in the areas themselves. This view connected with prevailing theories at the time from the USA on the culture of poverty and cultural deprivation⁵¹ and was reinforced by Sir Keith Joseph's suggestion that there was in existence a cycle of deprivation⁵² in which the personal and family inadequacies associated with social problems amongst low income groups were transmitted from one generation to the next. In the educational proposals which encapsulated the idea of

positive discrimination the link too was made between problem based characteristics and deprivation. In the attempt, for instance, to reach a closer definition of deprivation by devising apparently "objective criteria for the selection of educational priority schools and areas"⁵³ the Plowden Committee reinforced the prevailing notion of individual and family inadequacies. The use of indicators such as family composition, poor attendance and truancy and incomplete families⁵⁴ as a means to "identifying those places where educational handicaps are reinforced by social handicaps"⁵⁵ assumed that there were social pathologies at work in urban priority areas.

The assumption was held therefore that poverty was the result of defective socialisation as certain families with inadequate child rearing methods did not provide their children with the skills necessary to benefit from educational and employment opportunities.

This perception too, reflected an older concern related to the claimed decline in the traditional role of the family resulting from the fracturing effects caused by the rapid rise of British industrial urban society during the 19th century and the subsequent decline in the controlling function of localism.⁵⁶ Kay Shuttleworth had argued earlier in the 19th century that the rise of industrial urban society had resulted in the family ceasing to perform the basic social and moral functions and in particular, neglecting the education of children.⁵⁷ In the modern British context the view was similarly expressed on the

inability of families from low income groups to adequately provide the "sort of background which would promote success or even happiness at school".⁵⁸

This concern led to the call for schools to intervene in the upbringing of such children by providing a compensating environment. Firstly though, schools in areas of urban disadvantage would need to be upgraded and given additional resources for the task. The recommendation by the Plowden Committee to provide support for "schools and the children in them going well beyond an attempt to equalise resources"⁵⁹ in priority areas extended the notion of equality of opportunity, discussed in Chapter One, by incorporating the more radical concept of positive discrimination in education. In this proposal, it was argued that in an unequal society, equality of opportunity could only have lasting relevance if those children who began with unequal chances had unequal support from the education system.

In calling for more money to be spent on the education of disadvantaged children⁶⁰ the Report demonstrated a paradox within the concept of equality of opportunity. It was now evident that equality meant more than access; equality of opportunity meant equality of access plus positive discrimination. The argument followed that what children from disadvantaged areas needed was not equal educational opportunity with their more fortunate peers, but greater opportunity.⁶¹ Only through positive discrimination

could such children begin to recover in educational and social status. Positive discrimination in education was one way in which the life chances of these children could be enhanced. Thus it was proposed in the Plowden Report that a series of educational priority areas (EPAs) be established as a means of giving extra help to children in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The emphasis was on early intervention into the lives of children and accordingly, the Report not only suggested a radical reappraisal of primary schools in disadvantaged areas by raising "the schools of low standards to the national average"⁶² and of deliberately making them better, it also called for the creation of pre school facilities in the community.⁶³ These proposals formed the context of British compensatory educational responses to the perceived problems of priority areas and this development is the concern of the next section.

1.4 From compensation to community education

The subsequent emphasis that developed in British compensatory education programmes following the call for positive discrimination strategies in priority areas argued for educational intervention to occur throughout the life of disadvantaged families. What was required was "a pre school programme linked with a continuous policy throughout the whole of school life"⁶⁴ supported by the appointment of additional members of staff in all EPA schools with special responsibilities for home visiting.⁶⁵ In a similar way, urban programme funding was made available for schools to

pursue a policy of positive discrimination by "providing extra teachers in schools in deprived areas"⁶⁶ to work with difficult pupils. Nursery provision too would be extended in areas of "acute social need"⁶⁷ as part of a comprehensive attempt to rectify the educational failures of inadequate families.

In these proposals were reflected the concern at the perceived quality of family life and the fear that "cultural deprivation ... in its clearest form"⁶⁸ existed amongst lower social class groups which would require schools to "provide a compensating environment"⁶⁹ within which the problems of poor parenting and learning difficulties could be tackled. It was believed that the family's whole cultural outlook could be influenced through compensatory programmes and closer contact with the children's homes where parents would be encouraged to help the school with its out of hours activities as well as home visits by teaching staff and regular reporting back to parents on their child's progress.⁷⁰

This emphasis on linking home and school was predicated on the long held belief that the attitude of the parent and the home was influential in affecting educational achievement by children. Hence Wiseman was able to argue the case for the impact of home over neighbourhood and school in educational achievement,⁷¹ while the Peaker regression analysis specifically identified parental attitudes to education as the major problem urban schools faced.⁷² Such

claims had an important influence in the Plowden Report's call for closer links with parents, while proposals for compensatory educational programmes for 4-8 year olds⁷³ also had a considerable bearing on the arguments and outcomes found in both the Plowden Report and the Schools Council's Cross'd with Adversity Report.⁷⁴

The assumptions behind compensatory education therefore typified the generally held views informing urban policy at the time and the idea of positive discrimination. Hence, it was assumed that educational failure could be located in the emotional, physical and psychological handicaps found amongst children from low income groups. The homes and neighbourhoods in disadvantaged areas were believed to provide "little support and stimulus for learning"⁷⁵ with the result that children were "handicapped because of their home circumstances".⁷⁶ This assertion reflected the widely held belief that educational disadvantage could be linked to poor parenting and inadequate family life. It was a sentiment that accorded with Sir Keith Joseph's idea of the cycle of deprivation⁷⁷ and the theories of cultural deprivation developed in the USA discussed in the earlier section.

However, the educational strategies proposed had a number of practical limitations. Firstly, the drawing boundaries around areas of benefit could exclude the very people being targeted for assistance and include those individuals least requiring help. Barnes demonstrated that resources going to educational priority area schools in

inner London reached 13.6 per cent of all children but only 20.2 per cent of the most disadvantaged children in the priority area.⁷⁸ He found that for every ethnic minority child attending a priority area school three were not. There were also five times as many unskilled workers' children, three and a half times as many children receiving free school meals and four and a half times as many children with low verbal reasoning outside educational priority schools as were in them.⁷⁹ Townsend⁸⁰ suggested that any proposal based on ecology would miss out more of the poor or disadvantaged than it would include, while Holtermann concluded that "the degree of spatial concentration of individual aspects of deprivation was quite low"⁸¹ in priority areas.

Secondly, a shortfall in financial support for the educational priority area projects was a serious problem in implementing the reforms called for in the Plowden Report. The £16 million allocated for school buildings in EPAs fell short of the recommendation that approximately £5,000 be allocated for minor works for every EPA school. Similarly the call for an increase of over 500,000 nursery places for the country as a whole was matched by 18,000 government approved places while the special teachers allowance for 5,000 teachers in 500 EPA schools to offset high teacher turnover was paid at over £40 less than called for.⁸²

The "piecemeal progress"⁸³ which followed in the government response to the Plowden Committee recommendations

severely restricted the scale of responses that were believed to be needed. Nevertheless, the idea of positive discrimination epitomized in the Plowden Report and subsequent compensatory education programmes, focused on the importance of using the education system as a means of funnelling resources to disadvantaged areas to compensate children for the disadvantages found there.⁸⁴ In doing so, it was also believed that the personal and cultural attitudes of lower social class families could also be altered to adopt the values promoted through schooling.

The suggestion thus in positive discrimination for schools to adopt a community problem solving approach in their local neighbourhoods had earlier been proposed in both the School and Life Report⁸⁵ and the Newsom Report⁸⁶ where the "vulgarity, meanness and squalor of the modern urban environment"⁸⁷ could be countered by the influence of the school. The basis of the proposition lay in the belief that schools should be the focus for their local communities in an attempt to influence the disabling forces believed to be at work in the priority area neighbourhood. This view reflected the older tradition found in the 19th century and expressed by Kay-Shuttleworth,⁸⁸ where calls were made for the greater intervention by schools to affect the lives of the urban poor, based on the proposition made by the Newcastle Commission of 1861 that a good school civilises a whole neighbourhood.⁸⁹ The view was widely held then that in the poorer areas natural parents were disqualified or incapacitated by their behaviour from fulfilling their

natural role. Teachers' would have the responsibility therefore of counteracting the "evil example of parent and neighbours"⁹⁰ as part of the attempt to exert a moral influence over the children in such areas.

The subsequent early notions of community schools in the 20th century too were narrowly conceived around the idea of "building up a community sense in the absence of community"⁹¹, although they did arise in part as a response to the actual social and communal disorganisation created by post war redevelopment schemes discussed in Chapter One. Nevertheless, the underlying sentiment for schools to provide a social and cultural focus in priority areas were driven by a pathological view of the priority area environment. This early development of urban community education thus became dependent upon a perception of the learner as a socially handicapped product of a socially handicapped community in which the cause of educational failure could be directly linked to the personal inadequacies of individuals, their families and their communities.

The idea though of the community school contained in the Plowden Report, whereby primary schools would open "beyond the ordinary hours for the use of children, their parents and exceptionally for other members of the community"⁹² signified the first tentative movement towards incorporating a community education dimension within the compensatory strategy.

Subsequent developments in the proposals for community education and community schools emerging out of the EPA projects however extended this notion of the community school and encouraged a different perspective on the educational and social difficulties to be found in urban priority areas. In particular, the notion of compensatory education, as expressed in positive discrimination, gave way to a positive approach on the potential of lower social class groups to "cope with, gain power over, and in the end transform the conditions of their local community".⁹³

In these developments a different view of educability was held which stressed the idea of community regeneration and community mobility. Grouped together, these responses formed a reconstructionist strand in community education and being the antithesis of the deficit notions contained in compensatory education. An examination of the major aspects of this strand and the different ways community regeneration was approached is the concern of the next part of this chapter.

2. THE RECONSTRUCTIONIST STRAND OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION

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This part of the chapter examines through the following four sections the emergence of community education strategies which moved away from the notion of compensatory education to embrace the idea of community regeneration.

1. The notion of community regeneration.
2. The community oriented relevant curriculum.
3. Adult education and community action.
4. Community control and participative management.

The arguments contained in what can be regarded as the reconstructionist strand in community education extended the existing interpretation of learners in priority areas to include a different view of educability linked to the notion of a relevant educational experience. It was a proposal which was attuned to the social and economic needs of disadvantaged urban communities where the emphasis would be placed on community regeneration as the discussion in the first section will demonstrate.

This stress on community regeneration could be located within three different and often interrelated aspects of community education. The first of these aspects, which emphasised the community oriented relevant curriculum in community schools as a means of making children aware of problems and possibilities of their local environment, will be examined in the second section.

The notion of relevance extended also into adult education where the emphasis was towards community development and social action as a means of enabling adults to become more politically active in their localities. This

second aspect in community regeneration is covered in the third section while the fourth and final section, the idea that community regeneration could be achieved through an extension of community control and participative management of educational institutions is discussed.

2.1 The notion of community regeneration in urban priority areas

The philosophy of community regeneration in priority areas is concerned with community mobility rather than individual mobility whereby disadvantaged communities would be encouraged to act on their own interests to resolve their problems.

The ideas informing this perspective derive in part from the influence of the village college movement established by Henry Morris in the 1920s and 1930s as a response to the encroachment of urbanisation on the rural areas of Cambridgeshire.⁹⁴ Not only were the colleges established to provide basic community facilities they also represented an attempt by Morris through education to regenerate the local social and political life of declining communities. The colleges would thus become

...the seat and guardian of humane public traditions in the countryside, the training ground of a rural democracy realising its social and political duties.⁹⁵

Hence education for Morris was to be the focal point for the reinvigoration and re-creation of a way of community life which he believed was in danger of being lost from the rural areas. In similar arguments, supporters of community education in urban areas emphasised the role of education in

achieving community regeneration. As Halsey proposed, education would provide a basis which would enable each priority area community to "stand on its own feet like any other and rejuvenate its world".⁹⁶

Consequently, for both Morris, in the rural context, and urban community educators, education through its institutions would help regenerate the social and educational life of each respective area. The connection between the two traditions is established further when considering the problems of rural decline which faced Morris. These have close parallels with the material disadvantages found in urban priority areas as Figure 5 demonstrates.

Figure 5 Urban and Rural Britain:
Overlapping sets of problems

INNER URBAN		OUTER RURAL
Derelict physical environment	Economic Stagnation	Inaccessibility to services and jobs
Visual/noise pollution	-declining demand for labour	High per capita costs of services (public and private)
Racial and social tension	-high unemployment	High percentage of elderly people
Problems from overcrowding	-low wages	-effects on society
High density of population	-wrong skills	-costs of servicing
	-poor job opportunities for school leavers	
	Population decline	
	-loss of dynamic elements	
	Decline of services	
	-public & private	
	Little new investment	
	-public or private	
	Gentrification	
	-second homes	
	Declining morale and community spirit	
	Housing markets which lock in the poor	

Source: Adapted from Moseley (1980)⁹⁷

What can be seen here are similarities between urban and rural areas in terms of economic decline, unemployment, poverty, housing and social stress. All are found in both urban communities and rural areas in varying degrees of intensity and scale.

Thus for Morris, as the problem of decline in village life appeared deep rooted, the solution would subsequently need to be radical. In his view the village college would be a community centre for the neighbourhood, abolishing the duality of education and ordinary life, being concerned not only with children and schools but also, as the driving force behind community regeneration and political change.⁹⁸

In these terms, community education was not simply concerned with involving parents in their children's schooling, nor of schools merely opening as passive centres for community use. Community education would, on the contrary, service "community development"⁹⁹ and "help people work out their communal destiny"¹⁰⁰, with schools in particular holding a pivotal role in bringing about social and community regeneration.

Underpinning this belief in the function of education from both rural developments in the 1920s and 1930s and later community education developments in urban priority areas was the recurring theme of the loss of community in modern society. Cohen and others were shown in Chapter One to have regarded the widespread post war redevelopment of British cities to have contributed towards a decline in communal relationships.¹⁰¹ This concern at the loss of

community can be traced back to an older tradition found in the 19th century when social theorists wrote of the atomization and the alienation of modern society that left large numbers of people without neighbourhood, religion, kinship and community.

Tonnies¹⁰² for example, provided a distinction between the traditions of community and of the large scale, secular, individualistic industrial society that had grown in the latter part of the 19th century. His book 'Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft'¹⁰³ articulated this sense of loss of community brought about by the new social and economic predicaments of his time. Weber¹⁰⁴ developed the notion of bureaucracy reflecting an attempt to rationalise the transformed social and economic affairs while Durkheim's idea of anomie represented a spirit of pessimism, moral uncertainty and dislocation of norms produced in a period of material progress.¹⁰⁵ Closely associated with this concern in the decline of community was the development during the 19th century of the ideological usage of the notion of community as critique of the spread of industrial urban society. In this perspective, the concept of community portrayed a picture of homogeneous pre-industrial local communities based upon harmony, affection and social stability as a means of preserving an established social order.¹⁰⁶

The idea was thus developed of the existence of a single, homogeneous working community which rapidly became dissolved on the advent of the new 19th century industrial urban order. Despite contemporary criticism from

Williams¹⁰⁷ and Newby¹⁰⁸, of this ideal typification of pre-industrial society the sentiments it expressed have remained a powerful influence in community education developments. It is against this background that the desire by Morris to rekindle the notion of community around the village colleges can be located. In the urban situation too, this sentiment is prevalent. Dewey's idea of the school as a bulwark to the encroachment of urbanisation was underpinned by a concern over the decline of the pioneer American communities.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, modern community educators such as Midwinter sought to rebuild "a community life of ... social serenity"¹¹⁰ and adult educators, who believed in the presence within urban priority areas of a "profound and spontaneous desire for organic community"¹¹¹ were representative of a view that saw in priority areas a

...yearning for social wholeness, a mutuality and interrelatedness as opposed to the alienated, fragmented, antagonistic social world of daily experience.¹¹²

The idea that there existed a homogeneous population in urban priority areas thus became used to develop community education responses with the most significant manifestation of this notion of the single community coming with the development of urban community colleges during the early to mid 1970s.¹¹³

In a similar way that Morris believed village colleges could provide a social and cultural focus for the regeneration of rural life, community colleges were established to provide all of the educational, social and

cultural activities in urban priority areas. Centred on large multi-purpose campuses the aim was to encourage widespread participation in both the management of the colleges and the programmes available. In this sense, the proposals went far beyond the arrangements in the dual use of schools.¹¹⁴

Community colleges were conceived on a different design and scale to the desire for financial efficiency underpinning the dual use of schools. The colleges were established to promote community cohesion and identity amongst the local population, in particular, encouraging community control within institutions, as part of the contribution towards the regeneration of local community life. In pursuit of this aim, community colleges typically included a curriculum emphasis on local community studies, a willingness to use community resources as part of the learning process for children and an involvement with local community development initiatives. For instance, the Abraham Moss Community College in Manchester included on its campus a secondary school, a further education college, a residential unit, a youth wing, an elderly handicapped and single persons club, a district library, a district sports and recreation centre and shops. These resources typified the new developments¹¹⁵ where the aim was to widen the boundaries and functions of the traditional school with community colleges becoming the "cultural focal points for the community ... the enlarger of the social conscience and enabling mechanism to a higher standard of living"¹¹⁶ as

part of a comprehensive community service for local neighbourhoods.

In developing community colleges in these terms the belief was largely held that community education, as expressed through the colleges, could comprise a programme which satisfied the needs of all members of the community at any one time and providing, as Dewey suggested, a focus for the regeneration of local cultural and community life.¹¹⁷ Such a belief however rested on the assumption that there existed in priority areas a single homogeneous community with shared values and attitudes. This theme of fraternity reflected the longer romantic tradition of the 19th century, underpinned by notions of *gemeinschaft*¹¹⁸ in which society was organised as an organic and harmonious entity.

Thus urban community colleges attempted to create a situation whereby different groups in priority areas could come together, to work side by side in the romantic and idealised form of 19th century community. As laudable as this goal may have appeared, the reality of urban priority area life facing colleges consisted of diverse and conflicting groups of people, many of whom were caught in a cycle of cumulative disadvantage which reinforced their polarisation from each other and the main structures of society. The belief therefore that community cohesion and identity could be heightened by simply bringing together existing community groups and individuals within one centre, or providing an education programme which satisfies the needs of all members at any one time ignored the diversity

of cultures and local arrangements that exist in priority areas. Indeed this single layered approach to priority area community life was rarely supported by a detailed analysis by institutional builders of the local situation and the extent to which an implanted institution could intermesh with these.

Thus, the assumption that community in the traditional sense existed or could be recreated in urban priority areas was a simplification of the social situation of local populations experiencing the sort of material circumstances that were described in Chapter One. Furthermore, not only are priority areas characterised by severe adverse material conditions which serve to disadvantage and deprive people from low income groups they are also significant for their cultural pluralism. The existence of a diversity of groups in priority areas has the effect of increasing the range of different attitudes, perceptions and habits that people bring to that context. This leads to a multiplicity of values and a multiplicity of interests which give rise to the presence of a plurality of values and standards all existing in parallel. Thus, the gathering together of a greater diversity of people from culturally plural groups and concentrations of low income and socially vulnerable people raises conflicts of interest and a lack of congruency between groups competing in the priority area context for scarce resources and opportunities under conditions of cumulative disadvantage.

The consequence of this diversity under conditions of disadvantage is that urban priority areas, far from

constituting a common and harmonious community, consist of many smaller interest groups and factions, often in conflict and constantly striving to adapt to the range of contradictory and competing situations that typify the priority area. In this situation it is difficult to talk in terms of the existence of a simple, harmonious community and is problematic for educational strategies that attempt to predicate their solutions on this notion. However, despite this evident contradiction in the interpretation of priority area communities, the view remained in reconstructionist community education strategies that there was the existence in such areas of "a network of reciprocal social relationships, which among other things, ensure mutual aid and give those who experience it a sense of well being".¹¹⁹ Thus, despite social dislocation brought on by wide ranging disadvantages affecting priority area populations it was believed that the strengths of a cohesive wider community with shared values and interests could provide the potential for community regeneration and social reform. Subsequent community education responses were directed at enabling children and adults to acquire the skills and the perspectives to be able to compete successfully for more resources and greater local political power and influence.

The theory and practice of community education in this broad strand therefore stressed the positive educative strengths of learners and their urban environment and the potential that existed amongst individuals to work towards creating effective change in their condition. It was a much

more positive and all embracing concept which moved away from earlier notions of educational compensation based on the pathology of local communities. Community education in this perspective would take account of the participative nature of learners in priority area communities to stress the potential for social change and community regeneration to occur from within. This regeneration and potential change could thus be achieved through a variety of educational strategies, of which the community oriented relevant curriculum practiced in community schools, adult education which stressed community action and local participation and control of institutions, were typical. Through these developments children and adults would be given the skills to reform the urban priority area in "all its aspects, physical, organic, technical, cultural and moral"¹²⁰ and as a consequence, contribute to community regeneration. The first of these, the community oriented relevant curriculum, will be examined in the next section.

2.2 The community oriented relevant curriculum

The notion of the community oriented relevant curriculum emerged out of the EPA projects during the early 1970s and was inextricably linked to the development of the community school which became regarded as the educational arm for community development in priority areas. Halsey regarded the community school as the pivot for a wide range of reforms that would change the nature of disadvantaged urban areas and lead to a radical improvement in the quality

of life and employment opportunities.¹²¹ The liberating school in this context would contribute towards a new radical sense of community and self confidence by supplying politically and socially articulate young people equipped with the knowledge and skills to live and work within the priority area and ultimately transform their local conditions.¹²²

The formation of personalities who could regenerate their local area would be achieved through a community oriented relevant curriculum which was focused on the local environment, critically examining all of the social, political and moral issues. The advantages of such a relevant curriculum were well summarised by Midwinter:

First, it is likely that given a socially oriented content, children will do as well and probably better in traditional attainments, simply because the exercise of their reading, writing and so on will be directly geared to their experience. This answers the much pressed criticism of social education, i.e. the suggestion that 'academic' prowess suffers. Second, the child is dignified by the acceptance that education can be about him and his environs, that his is an historical character in a geographical situation, with social, spiritual and technical and other problems facing him. The ceaseless wanderings off to the cowsheds of rurality and the poesy of yesteryear can be a constant reminder to the child that 'education' by implication is not of their world. Third, parental involvement and support for curricular enterprises would probably be enhanced by a socially relevant curriculum, in that the parents' own experience, occupations, insights and so forth would be material evidence. The mysteries of the school would be, in part, replaced by a substance well known to the parent.¹²³

Thus for Midwinter the development of the community curriculum was a fundamental principle in bringing educational relevance to the learning experience of children in priority areas. He criticised the academic content of schooling for being alien to the children in priority area schools and asserted that the community curriculum would rectify this situation by a relevant total, life long experience, in which the home and neighbourhood played important parts, with everyone contributing to and drawing on this educative dimension of the community.¹²⁴

In these terms the community curriculum process was, according to Midwinter, different. It would have as its core subject matter, the development of a critical and constructive adaptation of children to the actual circumstances, so that they would be equipped "to meet the grim reality of the social environment in which they live".¹²⁵ Any other knowledge that transcended the immediate setting of time and place was regarded as irrelevant to children living in urban priority areas.

The emphasis therefore in the curriculum would be social rather than academic in practice, replacing the standard school curriculum with a process of socially relevant education in which children would receive "a sense of identification with their community, become sensitive to its shortcomings and develop methods of participation in those activities needed for the solution of social problems".¹²⁶ In this sense the community curriculum differed from the earlier propositions contained in compensatory education where it was assumed that the

standard system of education was correct and that the function of compensation was to make minor adjustments within it to accommodate the inadequate learning capabilities of priority area children.¹²⁷

In defending the educational content of the relevant curriculum, Toogood has argued that the conceptual aspects of learning are enhanced if placed within the readily understood context of the local environment:

... the whole tenor of the academic experience of the young person at school should be that movement of the mind from the practical everyday circumstances of community existence to the abstract reflection upon the principles of it and back again to the everyday reality.¹²⁸

Thus, by widening the interpretation of what could be included in the educational experience of children, not only linked the school curriculum to everyday life but assisted in breaking down the isolation of school existence from that of local community life.

This assumption was particularly crucial in urban priority areas where the idea of the relevant curriculum was seen as an aspect in closing the social and cultural gap between home and school. By reflecting back the values of the home and social experience of the child as being valid and significant the educational process would become relevant to children from homes previously disengaged from its ethos and purpose. The relevant curriculum therefore provided an area of mutual understanding which could be developed between school, child and parent.

One outcome claimed from this relationship has been the improvement in reading standards amongst children from priority areas. In addition to findings from the USA on parental involvement programmes¹²⁹, evidence supporting the effectiveness of such strategies continues to emerge. "Raising Standards"¹³⁰, the report of a large scale evaluation in Coventry, demonstrated how children from disadvantaged backgrounds could score as highly as middle class children on a range of reading criteria.

However, the narrow interpretation often associated with the community oriented relevant curriculum has led to criticism of the whole idea of relating the work of the school to local circumstances. The most frequently quoted comment has been concerned with the introspective and narrow view of the world promoted through such a restricted curriculum. The removal for instance of references to other forms of knowledge weakened the claim by Midwinter that the community curriculum would lead to children perceiving their environment in a critical way. The exclusion of historical and geographical contexts from the curriculum also, denied the opportunity to liberate the imagination of the priority area child through deepening their self knowledge by reference to other people and different environments. In the relevant curriculum people were historical characters only because they lived in the present; references to any other aspects in history teaching were dismissed as part of an irrelevant focus for priority area children.¹³¹

This denial of the opportunity to develop an understanding of the wider environment led to calls to

guarantee that the universal forms of educational knowledge would be retained. Teachers, Zeldin argued,

... should seek to accept and relate to the values and beliefs, moral symbols and cultural meanings, skills and sensitivities of the local community. However, the local situation and its traditions should not ... exclude the introduction of pupils to universal forms of knowledge and basic skills, otherwise they might be denied opportunities for participation in the wider society.¹³²

The Smiths in their review of community schools, suggested that the proposals contained in the relevant curriculum were nothing new and typified the characteristics found in many 'progressive' primary schools.¹³³ Furthermore, the belief that such a curriculum would produce in children, when they became adults, the capabilities, as Halsey proposed, to transform the conditions of their local community¹³⁴ was a simplification of the nature of the social processes at work in urban priority areas. The discussion in Chapter One has suggested that the adverse material conditions which characterise priority areas are the result of structural forces which require changing at wider political, economic and social levels.

The idea that a narrow school based community curriculum could achieve this task is problematic. Apart from doubts about whether schools have the necessary flexibility to undertake community development¹³⁵ it is not self evident in the proposition for a narrowly conceived community curriculum that what is relevant to learning about the realities in the urban environment is relevant in any other sense. The introspective basis of this curricular approach, far from educating for radical social change,

could serve to further disadvantage children in priority areas. The denial of 'the opportunity to develop an understanding of the wider environment and the part external forces played on local problems could frustrate the development of those perceptions which might lead children to being able to influence their environment.

As Merson and Campbell put it,

In terms of access both to forms of knowledge and admission into the groups that exercise political control, the relevance of the community curriculum is probably a supreme irrelevance.¹³⁶

Thus, the idea that a locally focused school curriculum could possibly achieve the scale of changes to make any significant impact on the reality of priority area social life was overly ambitious. The notion however, that schools should interact more closely with their local communities and in particular, encourage a greater understanding of local difficulties, had merit. The involvement of local people in the school curriculum and children learning in the community are positive elements emerging from this proposal. However, as a model for effective community regeneration and social change the achievement was much less than expected. As the Smiths have argued, if this form of community education had sought regeneration and change, the emphasis should have been on parents or other adults and not solely on children.¹³⁷

This latter point was taken up when a different emphasis in community education emerged which focused increasingly on adult groups, developing their political awareness and the necessary skills for successful community regeneration. This aspect in the reconstructionist strand

concerned the development of community action through adult education and will be discussed in the next section.

2.3 Adult education and community action

Adult education activities which developed out of a number of the EPA projects were concerned, as Lovett has suggested, with helping to create a

participating democracy, and finding solutions to the problems of social inequality and poverty by involving large sections of the working class in relevant, and meaningful education.¹³⁸

Hence, the notion of community adult education moved away from traditional adult education with its emphasis on standard liberal, recreational and vocational programmes to become what Lovett called "an educational movement closely linked and committed to the existing community action movement"¹³⁹, contributing to a broader strategy for regeneration and social change.

In practice this meant taking education out into local areas to ascertain needs and subsequently develop adult education programmes. These, it was believed, could be made relevant to potential learners by focussing on working class issues as opposed to engaging in traditional forms of education. Subsequent activities thus attempted to demonstrate that the culture and the environment of the working class communities could be the basis for an examination of community life, providing the materials for the educational experience.

As with the school based relevant curriculum, the local environment and its issues, formed the context for learning

with group work that took the life experiences of the participants as the basis for discussion together with a variety of non formal liberal, vocational and recreational courses.¹⁴⁰ The emphasis was also on the need for community education to work outside the traditional boundaries of institutions by meeting residents in homes, pubs, community centres and churches in an approach that had parallels with the proposals of Ivan Illich.¹⁴¹

Underlying the educational activities of adult education was a concern with community action. Here the stress was on assisting whole communities to become aware of and challenge the social inequalities within priority areas. Part of this process meant also assisting personal fulfilment by emphasising the opportunities afforded in education and to widen the choices available to individuals in such communities.¹⁴² Ultimately as Lovett argued, the effectiveness of community adult education would be measured in the extent to which it had contributed as an active agent to change in the wider community development process.¹⁴³

These developments were therefore concerned explicitly in achieving community regeneration and social change through a process of political awareness raising and subsequent working class action. The basis of this approach relied upon a belief in the existence of a reciprocal relationship between learners in priority area communities and the educative process, the two, under ideal conditions, collaborating to provide dynamic learning experiences that built on the strengths and attributes of individuals. Here

the emphasis was on culture, class and communication in which adult educators would unite with local people in fighting local issues and thereby raising their communal and class consciousness.¹⁴⁴ In this particular aspect of adult education can be found the influence of Freire¹⁴⁵ with his work in South America raising the political consciousness of poorer people as part of the struggle for freedom and democracy.

Adult education as it developed in the 1970s reflected a similar philosophy: its success would depend on how far it contributed "to the process of social change"¹⁴⁶ blurring the distinction between educational and political action. In the same manner as 19th century radical educationalists¹⁴⁷, education would be seen to be committed to collective political action¹⁴⁸ working towards the fully educated society as a prerequisite for social change. It was crucial therefore that the process had an all embracing cooperative and participative approach which emphasised the adult education content in community work in which adult education could contribute alongside other agencies, individuals and community groups in revitalising and enabling local communities in working towards solutions to the issues affecting their daily lives.¹⁴⁹

The political emphasis in adult education relied upon an assumption that the potential for social change existed within priority area communities and stressed the importance in its activities of increasing the critical awareness of working class people and their environment as a prerequisite

for community action leading to regeneration and social change. The difficulty however with an educational approach which was limited to exploring working class issues at the expense of broader studies was that it potentially risked excluding learners from full social and political participation. Indeed, before the war, Gramsci had criticised curriculum process that focused exclusively upon local problems because it ignored the fact that the problems facing local communities almost always had their origins in structural forces at the macro level.¹⁵⁰ He argued therefore that it was important in so far that education could contribute to an understanding and resolution of such problems, for the existence of a concept of relevance in the relationship between education and life which in the learning process may not always be immediately obvious to the participant.¹⁵¹

The idea hence of relating aspects of the local environment to adult education may have been very successful in encouraging working class adults to participate in education, encouraging personal development and possibly providing a way out of the priority area for a limited number of participants. In reality however, the idea of community action through adult education provided a narrow interpretation of education with the possible dangers of creating an educational elite:

...courses on the political economy of cities are fine, but very few ... are at the point where such phrases mean anything to them. Such courses are more often run for the benefit of left professionals ... with perhaps a couple of token working class activists or trade unionists.¹⁵²

The narrowly conceived community action perspective of adult education centred more on local alternative solutions to the problems of inequality, a rather weak form of radical practice that attempted to sweep away wider structural constraints. In reality what emerged was a diversion of local energies into activities that saw the establishment of small scale environmental improvements such as children's playgrounds and community parks, but very little in the way of widely recognised community regeneration or social change.¹⁵³ Ultimately, community action through adult education resulted in little widespread community regeneration. What it did precipitate though was the movement towards a process that saw education being centred in the very midst of local communities. The traditional reliance on institutional based provision became replaced by less formal locations where the emphasis was on educational engagement on the terms agreed by local residents.

Crucially, this aspect of reconstructionist community education precipitated the notion of negotiating educational activities with local people on the basis of a participative and reciprocal basis which became adopted in other community education responses. Thus, while adult education negotiated learning opportunities on an outreach basis in the priority areas, another aspect of community education in this strand concentrated on focussing community involvement and participation in education through large scale and multi-purpose institutions. How this was attempted will be examined in the next section.

2.4 Community control and participative management

The issue of community control and participative management by local residents in institutional life was an important facet in the rationale underpinning community colleges and other community education developments. Midwinter, for example, saw community schools as having more representative governing bodies which could help to increase understanding and awareness between professionals and local people.¹⁵⁴ Through this representation greater cooperation and integration could be facilitated, thus further reducing the gap between school and local communities.

In the community colleges the encouragement of local representation in the decision making process was regarded as

... both an educational goal in itself and a means of achieving a programme of opportunities which will match educational needs within a geographical area. Any attempt to describe or evaluate community education must understand the importance of this participatory process, which can and must lead institutions to develop a wide variety of activities.¹⁵⁵

Whilst the development of community colleges signified the most ambitious attempt at encouraging community participation in the management of community education the debate should be seen in the context of large scale complex institutional development. In such situations participation took many forms operating at different levels and with varying degrees of consultation. Thus it was through semi-managerial bodies variously entitled Community Council, Community Association, User Group existing alongside governing bodies, that attempts were made to incorporate

local community representation and local opinion in the running of institutional affairs.¹⁵⁶

The notion however of community participation brought with it a number of problems. Not least was the difficulty of achieving appropriate local representation from the wide diversity of groups and interests in the local area. The discussion earlier on pages 91-99 illustrated the failure of professionals associated with community colleges to fully grasp the issues of diversity in the priority area context and which manifested itself in institutions failing to select widely representative members from the local area for participation in the management of institutions. This difficulty reinforced the difference between the earlier model of the village college promoted by Morris. Whereas the village college movement could depend for its catchment upon reasonably stable residential communities with their own histories, in which most of the participants at the college were part of the local community, in the urban priority areas this situation of community as residential area is not easily transposed. The urban experience, discussed in Chapter One, indicated that priority areas have no clearly marked residential communities and consist of populations that are fragmented and highly mobile.¹⁵⁷ For the community college therefore the problem existed on the one hand, of institutional arrangements that assumed community homogeneity and on the other, the reality of culturally diverse groups, often in conflict and with dislocation in their social relationships.

Furthermore, Jones typically found that community representatives on governing bodies and users' groups were usually recruited from within a narrow constituency of membership.¹⁵⁸ This form of selection led to participation in the management of institutions being limited to those groups and individuals who were current users of facilities and were able to articulate better their requirements. This raised issues for colleges in achieving a broad cross section of the local population making it difficult to sustain wide popular support as the cultural and social focus for local communities.

Even with the representation that was achieved, difficulties soon emerged in relation to the sharing of power. Urban community colleges were developed in the belief that priority area communities, through participative structures, could markedly influence institutions and their curriculum. Such an assumption however became difficult to support because of the ambivalence contained in the concept of the community college. As Mitchell and Richards have suggested:

Ambivalence is endemic to the concept of the community college. Its management is dominated by the boards of governors who have a legal responsibility to the local authority which could well be in conflict with the interests and wishes of the local community. All too often, the representatives of the local interest, i.e. the community association, are in a weak position.¹⁵⁹

In particular, this problem became evident with the factionalising between interests that occurred on governing bodies between different groups as each represented their own collective version of what constituted the effective

running of affairs. Representatives from the local interests on the governors subsequently found themselves in a weak position with their small numbers and relative lack of power. The consequence of such a token position for the community representatives often led to difficulties in maintaining local member interest.¹⁶⁰ Community involvement became further obscured as governing bodies responded in other directions in meeting their legal responsibilities to the local authority.

The difficulties contained over the sharing of power can be linked to Arnstein's idea of levels of participation¹⁶¹ in which local interests are usually relegated to a level of token involvement. Cook¹⁶² has suggested that even when local people are involved, the limited power and influence over the decision making process results in widespread disillusionment. The point she considered crucial was that the presence of some form of community body should not be automatically taken to mean effective participation was taking place.¹⁶³

The general difficulty thus of involving members from lower social class groups in the running of institutional affairs remains problematic. Partly the difficulty can be attributed to the dominance of the professional interests in the control over educational decision making. The evidence available on educational hierarchies suggests that they consist of decision makers who compete with other educational interests in systematic boundary maintenance to preserve or reinforce internal power.¹⁶⁴ The business of

policy making and decision taking usually involves closed meetings with members from the local area only allowed selective access to institutions or meetings and nearly always in a marginal receiving role rather than a participatory one.¹⁶⁵ This would be true in the management of large urban colleges; the more complex the institution the greater the eventuality that professionals, with their experience and training, will have control in practice. Furthermore, educational hierarchies have traditionally been reluctant to share or give up control of land and buildings within their purview. The case is always that ultimate direction of an educational establishment is retained by those within the hierarchy who have control.¹⁶⁶

The paradox for community colleges of this position has meant, as Jones pointed out, that those who are to benefit are rarely consulted or given an opportunity to influence the process of development.¹⁶⁷ The lack of real power or control and the limited representation of local groups and individuals in the governance of institutions has made the claim that community regeneration could be achieved through such innovations as the community colleges somewhat tenuous. Rather the opposite reaction has often occurred.

Mason, when analysing the impact of Abraham Moss with the local area for example, suggested that the college was an expensive investment that failed to understand the dynamics of the area to be served.¹⁶⁸ The result of the project was for local participation in the adult and community programme to be minimal with a subsequent

disorganisation of existing groups and facilities. Jones too, concluded much the same in her assessment of Sidney Stringer Community College in inner Coventry where the monopoly by more advantaged groups from inside and outside of the local area over the educational and recreational facilities deterred use by those who were locally situated, already less advantaged and for whom the facilities were primarily intended.¹⁶⁹ Thus the solution to provide in disadvantaged urban areas monolithic educational settings as the prime mechanism for achieving a communal focus and local control of facilities as part of the movement towards community regeneration can be judged to have largely failed in that purpose. Furthermore the attempt to centralise activities on one campus far from acting as a cohesive force, has the potential effect of siphoning "educational and cultural life out of communities"¹⁷⁰ and produce on a single site an institution of such scale and complexity that it militates against the creation of an appropriate environment, or the involvement by local residents, in the running of its affairs.

In a related debate, the difficulties colleges experienced in achieving the wide mandate as cultural focal points in priority area communities, served to undermine the claim by community colleges that their existence could be traced to the development of the village colleges by Morris in rural Cambridgeshire. Whereas in his proposals Morris satisfied popular pressure for access to full secondary education for all some twenty years before it became national policy¹⁷¹ and established locally popularised

centres for communal activity, little evidence exists to suggest that urban community colleges were formed or sustained as part of popular pressure. Indeed, there is much to suggest that they were imposed by local authorities as putative solutions to local difficulties.¹⁷²

It is arguable therefore that little continuity exists between village colleges and community colleges. A few administrative changes, shared use and aspirations to be a communal focus are all that hold together Morris's carefully planned and radical policies of the 1920s and the modern urban community colleges. The emphasis thus on the provision of facilities at the expense of consideration of the relationship between the institution and its communities has remained problematic for urban community colleges.

3. DEVELOPMENTAL ISSUES

This chapter has considered the development of British post war community education in priority areas. It has been shown that community education over this period has been influenced by the movement from positive discrimination and the associated notion of compensation to responses contained in a more radical formulation within a reconstructionist strand of community education.

In this movement from compensatory to reconstructionist strategies of community education three key developmental issues emerge.

1. Views about priority area life.
2. The concern over community problem solving.
3. The issue of community control and participation.

3.1 Views about priority area life

The first of these issues concerns the view held about community life in priority areas. In the compensatory strand educational underachievement was closely linked to a social pathological explanation which connected in historical terms with the 19th century concern over the fracturing effects of industrialisation and urbanisation on family life and social behaviour. It was shown that positive discrimination and compensatory education were influenced by the debate in the USA during the 1960s where theories of cultural deprivation and the existence of a culture of poverty amongst lower social class residents became the main explanation for educational failure.

These negative views of family and community life suggested that the failure of lower social class groups in the education system could be attributed to individual, family or community deficiencies. The assumption was made that the young from lower social class backgrounds experienced a uniform set of cultural characteristics which dominated their personalities to produce culturally prescribed behaviour. In these assumptions, no allowance was made for the part individual choice and individual volition played in interacting with the cultural environment. Gans has criticised this overtly static nature of the culture of poverty approach which he suggests does not allow for individual change and development.¹⁷³ Furthermore, attributing educational and social failure to a pathological explanation of behaviour risked ignoring the influence of wider structural forces which contribute to the priority area situation. As Benington argued, the problems of multi-deprivation should be

... redefined and reinterpreted in terms of structural constraints rather than psychological motivations ... the symptoms of disadvantage cannot be explained adequately by any abnormal preponderance of individuals or families whose behaviour could be defined as 'pathological'.¹⁷⁴

Similarly, Berthoud has argued that deprivation cannot be explained solely in terms of social imprinting or personal and community pathologies but that basic inequalities in economic circumstances might be at least as important.¹⁷⁵ The limitations of the views contained in the compensatory strand are thus relatively easily identified when compared

with the evident material disadvantages of priority areas discussed in Chapter One.

Later community education developments rejected the negative views of compensation to stress the positive attributes of priority area learners and emphasised the potential for such communities to rejuvenate their world. The belief was held that while there may exist dislocation amidst community life in priority areas there was also in existence a unified and cohesive wider community with cherished beliefs, shared values and interests. This sentiment was closely akin to the *gemeinschaft*¹⁷⁶ notion of community which gave identity and a meaning for all members to be "allied in the common cause of a happy and prosperous community".¹⁷⁷ Priority area communities in this formulation were worthy and active bodies with the potential to change their destiny, despite the effects of adverse material conditions.

Furthermore, the assumption was held, particularly in the community college movement, that people were able to enter education ready to take a full and active part in the programmes and activities that were offered. This view, when linked to the desire to build on the existence of a single community with homogeneity of interests and needs was influential in much of the community education response in this strand. This was despite the limitations of the notion of a single community discussed earlier in the chapter when the ideological use of the notion of community was examined.

In the proposed model for community education in the next chapter, assumptions about priority area communities will need to take account of the diversity of local populations and the lack of congruency between groups existing under conditions of physical dislocation, social difficulty and educational underachievement. One implication of this situation will be that adults in priority areas are more likely to be non-traditional learners who will require carefully staged educational approaches and activities. The emphasis in both compensatory and reconstructionist strands on the social content of community education at the expense of educational strategies should be avoided. Thus it was shown earlier that positive discrimination and compensation sought to alter the cultural outlook of families and neighbourhoods by strengthening the links between home and school, while the reconstructionist strand was concerned with the regeneration and reorganisation of whole communities. This emphasis identified in the chapter raises the second issue for consideration, namely the focus on community problem solving in community education.

3.2 The concern over community problem solving

In the compensation strand, the concern with intervening in neighbourhoods and families was on the need to alter their cultural focus. The stress on the importance of reversing the deficiencies of family and home life by influencing the cultural outlook of the family reflected the

widely held view that school success and failure was closely related to the interests and attitudes of parents to school. The subsequent emphasis on intervention in the homes and neighbourhoods to achieve a better cultural fit¹⁷⁸ between home and school in priority areas was underpinned by a pathological view of community life which resulted in educational failure by children.

The emphasis on cultural and social intervention in the compensatory strand did not produce any greater social and educational equality or achievement. Part of the difficulty was in directing positive discrimination strategies through schools which, as Rutter and Madge argued, is "a very clumsy way of meeting the needs of children from disadvantaged homes".¹⁷⁹ The expectation that schools alone could achieve social equality without the need for wider and comprehensive reforms was argued against by Halsey when he suggested that education through the EPA "can be no more than a part, though an important one, of a comprehensive social movement towards community development and redevelopment in Britain".¹⁸⁰

In the reconstructionist strand however, the aims were on a much grander scale, seeking to create community regeneration through a variety of strategies which emphasised the strengths of priority area communities and providing an education that benefited all children and adults. Thus, in advocating the community school and the relevant curriculum as a central focus for achieving

community regeneration and social change Midwinter stressed the importance of the school in being at the heart of local communities putting resources at their disposal not only for social or recreation purposes, but to assist in the struggle for social economic and political equality.¹⁸¹

However, the stress on local area studies in the community oriented curriculum as a notion is profoundly ambivalent. It raises questions over whether it means a different educational experience for different areas of urban Britain and if so, does it also mean by implication, a lesser curriculum content than might be offered in more affluent areas. Such an approach merely serves to reinforce the isolation of priority area populations from the main opportunity structure of society and has uncomfortable parallels with Bantock's proposals for an adapted 'folk' curriculum for the 'non academic'.¹⁸²

This raises the whole question of what counts as relevant for learners in priority areas. While there can be constructed a reasonable argument for the curriculum in schooling to have a locally relevant emphasis, the issues of local interest should form the starting point of the exploration into wider fields of enquiry and not, as argued by supporters of the community oriented relevant curriculum, become its main focus. In this way, the primary task for education

... is not to be relevant but to help form a society in which its ideals of free inquiry and rationality shall themselves have become chief touchstones of relevance.¹⁸³

In adult education by comparison, the need was seen for community action strategies to provide learners with the skills to effect a permanent change in the vicious circle of deprivation and inequality affecting their lives. This would be achieved, it was believed, through an emphasis on community adult action strategies through programmes directed at revitalising and enabling local communities and agencies to work towards community regeneration and social change.

The narrow focus however on working class issues at the expense of standard forms of education in adult education programmes again carried the risk of isolating learners from standard forms of knowledge and prevent them from integrating into the wider society. In addition, the stress on community action raised the problem that such an approach could raise false expectations about the power of community adult education in achieving widespread social change.

Indeed, this idea of adult education and social change is linked to what adult educators regard as desirable social change. Thus, the bias and values of professionals may come to dominate the programme of learning and if adult education is judged simply on the amount of social change it achieves, irrespective of the form or content of such change, it would potentially contribute to the promotion of a closed, hierarchical society as distinct from one which is open and democratic. While the potential for community regeneration does undoubtedly exist amongst adult learners

in the priority areas, the idea that social change can be achieved through education alone is questionable and has been dispelled by writers such as Halsey¹⁸⁴ and Bernstein¹⁸⁵ For community education to achieve social change would require fundamental changes at the local political and social level together with complex parallel changes alongside schooling and education in the distribution and use of social resources. Educational strategies alone are not able to reconstruct local community life, and as Halsey has suggested:

... too much has been claimed for the power of educational systems as instruments for the wholesale reform of societies.¹⁸⁶

As a consequence of the limits to the community problem solving ability of community education, the proposed model in the following chapter will be concerned with stressing the educational bias in its process as distinct to a social emphasis found in previous strategies. The final issue emerging from the period was the concern to encourage community participation in the management of institutions.

3.3 The issue of community control and participation

The issues raised in the notion of community control and participation in the management of educational institutions can be summarised as a debate that has so far essentially been among institution builders and professionals. The development of institutions that would be open and inclusive to all members of the locality were in essence representative of an attempt to increase

participation in what were professionally dominated situations.

The crucial point is that the development of provision embodying the ideas and beliefs of professionals without consultation to ascertain local needs and preferences risks isolating institutions which will not be supported in their localities until there is ownership and involvement in their development by local people. As the Smiths suggest:

... with institutions like schools, imposed on a top-down basis with very little local consultation, a different strategy may be required. ... The whole approach cuts across a basic principle of community work; one should not start with a ready made campus - but first try, and get local people to articulate what they need.¹⁸⁷

Thus, in pursuing the notion of community control and participation in education there is a need for a more close and continuous involvement with local people and one which is not solely dependent upon formal mechanisms which, as section 2.4 has demonstrated, is problematic for the process being pursued.

In summarising community education developments during the post war period the emphasis has mainly been upon a social bias which sought to engage in community problem solving. It is arguable however, that this concern with intervention in local neighbourhoods in an attempt to alter local social and cultural behaviour should not be the immediate concern of community education.

Instead, community education should be involved in encouraging people to take advantage of the opportunities

available in the main body of education. By participating in education, non-traditional adult learners will increase their potential to gain the skills and knowledge that may assist them in overcoming the barriers to the social and educational opportunity structure.

The proposed model for community education thus seeks to work alongside adults in priority areas to develop in them positive attitudes to education and their ability to benefit from learning. In doing so, community educators will endeavour to assist adults in overcoming their situational, dispositional and institutional barriers by developing a continuum of learning opportunities that is interventionist, supportive and responsive to the position of learners. This model of community education can be regarded as developmental with the potential to engage non-traditional adult learners in a participative and accessible process which works towards equalising educational opportunities. This model of community education will be the concern of the next chapter.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. Edwards, 1975, p.5. :
2. Central Advisory Council for Education (CACE), 1967.
3. This development emerged out of the Educational Priority Area Projects (EPAs) established on the recommendation of the Plowden Report. For a more detailed discussion of this strand of community education, see part two of this chapter.
4. Halsey, 1972, p.22.
5. See Lewis, 1951 and 1966.
6. *ibid*, 1966, p.xlvii-xlvi.
7. *ibid*, 1966, p.xlv.
8. Reissmann, 1961, p.1.
9. Ausubel, 1966.
10. Deutsch, 1964.
11. See Hess, R.D. and Shipman, Virgini C. (1965), for example.
12. Valentine, 1968.
13. Labov, 1969.
14. *ibid*.
15. *ibid*. See Also Fantini, M.D. and Weinstein, G. (1973), "Who are the disadvantaged?", who suggested that inner city dwellers far from being culturally deprived may have "rich and complex cultures of their own - which only serve to set them further apart from middle class American life", p.218.
16. Coleman, 1966.
17. *ibid*.
18. *ibid*.
19. See the discussion in section 3.1, pp.48-55, in the previous chapter.
20. See Grace, G. (Ed.) (1984) Education and the City, pp.3-59, for a discussion of this point.
21. Lewis, 1966, *op.cit*.
22. Halsey, 1972, pp.23-25.

23. *ibid.*
24. *ibid.*
25. *ibid*, pp.26-27.
26. See Halsey, *op.cit.*, pp.21-27 for a discussion of this point.
27. See the Westinghouse Report in Cicirelli, et al, 1969.
28. Halsey, *op.cit.*
29. *ibid.*
30. *ibid.*
31. Jensen, 1969.
32. *ibid.*
33. *ibid.*
34. *ibid.*
35. Bernstein, 1970.
36. *ibid*, p.213.
37. Grace, 1985, p.14.
38. Reimer, 1971.
39. Kohl, 1967.
40. Jacobs, 1969.
41. Bernstein, *op.cit.*, p.214.
42. Passow, 1963.
43. Grace, 1984, *op.cit.*
44. *ibid*, p.13.
45. Jencks, 1972.
46. *ibid*, p.8.
47. *ibid*, p.7.
48. *ibid*, p.8.
49. Hatch and Sherrott, 1973, p.223.

50. The areally based approach therefore relied upon a connection between problem based characteristics and deprivation which it was believed occurred in small, discrete and identifiable localities, usually situated in the older inner districts of major cities and large towns. The advantage in presupposing that deprivation had a markedly focused distribution allowed for a concentrated attack on a number of specific areas which proved administratively attractive, cheaper and potentially quicker than wholesale social change.
51. Sections 1 and 2 of this chapter deal more fully with this point.
57. Joseph, 1972. See p.56 in Chapter One also for an explanation of this notion.
53. CACE, 1967, op.cit., par. 153. These were related to occupation, family size, the receipt of state benefits, housing conditions, poor school attendance, the proportion of handicapped children in ordinary schools, incomplete families and children unable to speak English.
54. *ibid.*
55. *ibid*, par. 153.
56. The rise of industrial urban society was believed to precipitate the demise of localism as an organising principle of society and the social controls that it brought. See Williams, R. (1961) The Country and the City and Stein, M. (1964) The Eclipse of Community, for a discussion of this point.
57. Kay-Shuttleworth, 1832. His concern focused on a pathological tendency in domestic relations that failed to perform basic social functions and gave neither training nor education for children.
58. Schools Council, 1970, p.26.
59. CACE, 1967, op.cit., par. 151.
60. *ibid*, par. 170.
61. *ibid*, par. 152.
62. *ibid*, par. 151.
63. *ibid*, par. 165 and par. 326.
64. Schools Council, op.cit., p.11.

65. CACE, 1967, op.cit., par. 158. Four EPA action research projects were subsequently established in London (Deptford), Birmingham (Balsall Heath), Liverpool 8 and the West Riding (Denaby).
66. Home Office, 1974, Annex A, par. 9.
67. Home Office, 1968, par. 6.
68. Schools Council, p.cit., pp.17-18.
69. CACE, 1967, op.cit., par. 151.
70. *ibid*, par. 130.
71. CACE, 1967, op.cit., Vol. 2, p.369.
72. *ibid*, pp.188-189.
73. See Schools Council, op.cit., p.63 for a brief description of this proposal.
74. Schools Council, op.cit.
75. CACE, 1967, op.cit., par. 151.
76. CACE, 1947, op.cit., p.24.
77. See Chapter One, p.56 on this notion.
78. Barnes, 1975, pp.244-249.
79. *ibid*.
80. Townsend, 1979.
81. Holtermann, 1975, p.34.
82. For a critical appraisal of the resource issue see Halsey, 1972, pp.31-42.
83. Quoted in Coates and Silburn, 1973, p.146.
84. Halsey, op.cit., p.53.
85. CACE, 1947, op.cit., p.26.
86. CACE, 1963, op.cit., par. 207(d).
87. CACE, 1947, op.cit., p.46.
88. See p.85 of this chapter.
89. Report of the Royal Commission (Newcastle Commission), 1861.
90. Quoted in Johnson, 1970, p.111.

91. CACE, 1947, op.cit., p.45.
92. CACE, 1967, op.cit.; par. 121.
93. Halsey, op.cit., p.12.
94. See Rée, (1985) Educator Extraordinary, for a biography of Henry Morris and his work.
95. ibid, p.32.
96. Halsey, op.cit., p.12.
97. Moseley, 1980, p.26.
98. Rée, op.cit., p.154.
99. Midwinter, 1973, pp.41-42.
100. ibid.
101. See pp.41-46 in Chapter One.
102. Tonnies, 1955.
103. ibid, p.231. Tonnies regarded the rise of industrial urban society as representing a contrast with rather than a continuation of the past which destroyed most of the older features of communal life.
104. Weber, 1958.
105. Durkheim, 1956.
106. This mythical portrayal of pre-industrial communities ignored the reality of rural poverty, deprivation and exploitation. Williams, R. (1973) The Country and the City, has argued that the inequalities which village life contained and supported were profound and could not under any exercise of sentiment be converted into a "rural democracy", pp.102-104.
107. Williams, op.cit.
108. See Newby, 1977; for a further critique of this discussion.
109. Dewey, 1916.
110. Midwinter, op.cit., pp.41-42.
111. Kirkwood, 1978, pp.148-149.
112. ibid, pp.148-149.

113. The first urban community college opened in Coventry in 1972. Rée, *op.cit.*, pp.132-141, has claimed that the reason for the spread of such initiatives is related to the fact that the chief education officers in the authorities which have become known for their work in this area have all had some direct or indirect relationship to Henry Morris.
114. The dual use of schools focused largely on developing shared use of sporting facilities. Circular 11/64 proposed that authorities should "... encourage the further development of sport ... and extend facilities in their areas for children and young people and for the community at large". (DES 1964, 1-2).
115. See DES (1973), "Abraham Moss Centre, Manchester", Building Bulletin 49 for a detailed description of institutional facilities.
116. Corbett, 5.10.73.
117. Dewey, *op.cit.*
118. See Tonnies, 1955, *op.cit.*, for a discussion on this term.
119. Midwinter, 1973, p.48.
120. Halsey, *op.cit.*, p.118.
121. *ibid.*
122. *ibid.*, p.195. Halsey makes the politically dynamic nature of the community school clear when he suggests it should be about the "formation of social personalities with the attributes of constructive discontent.
123. Midwinter, 1972b, p.29.
124. *ibid.* Midwinter's point was that the standard curriculum in schools dealt with forms of knowledge that were irrelevant to the realities and life chances of priority area children. What they needed, he argued, was a socially relevant curriculum that dealt with the immediate imperatives of time and place of the urban situation.
125. Halsey, *op.cit.*, p.118
126. Rennie et al, 1974, p.10.
127. See pp.79-87 in this chapter.
128. Toogood, 1980, p.158.

129. See Henderson, A. (1987) The Evidence Continues to grow:parental involvement improves student achievement, for evidence supporting this point.
130. Widlake and Macleod, 1984.
131. Midwinter, 1972b, p.10.
132. Zeldin, 1974, p.22.
133. Smith and Smith, 1974, p.8.
134. Halsey, op.cit., p.12.
135. See the Smiths on this point, *ibid*, p.10.
136. Merson and Campbell, 1974, pp.43-49.
137. Smith and Smith, op.cit., p.9.
138. Lovett, 1983, p.30.
139. Lovett, 1978, p.47.
140. See Lovett, 1983, op.cit., for a detailed description of these.
141. Illich, 1973.
142. Lovett, 1983, op.cit., pp.30-33.
143. Lovett, 1971, p.13.
144. Lovett, 1983, op.cit., p.35.
145. See Freire, P. (1972) Cultural Action for Freedom.
146. Lovett, 1971, op.cit., p.13.
147. There was a popular radical education tradition in the early 19th century which was closely associated with the radical political movement and opposed to all forms of provided education. See Johnson, R. (1980), "Really Useful Knowledge : Radical education and working class culture, 1790-1848", in Clarke, Critcher and Johnson (Eds.).
148. Lovett, 1983, op.cit., pp.38-39.
149. *ibid*, pp.29-30.
150. Entwistle, 1979, pp.168-175.
151. *ibid*.
152. Quoted in Lovett, op.cit., p.40.

153. Providing a public swimming pool is not in itself community development. Community development has more to do with the organisation associated with such schemes and the way they progress with the ultimate objective of developing amongst those some of the skills that can be used in other areas of social life.
154. See Midwinter, 1973, op.cit., pp.65-67 for his thoughts on the management of community schools.
155. Flude and Parrott, 1979, p.138.
156. See Jones, 1978, pp.94-101, for a discussion of these arrangements.
157. See the discussion on social dislocation on pp.41-46 in Chapter One.
158. See Jones, op.cit., pp.53-54.
159. Mitchell and Richards, 1976, p.22.
160. A point raised by Cook, N., 1979.
161. Arnstein, 1969. In Arnstein's model, the highest level of participation is when citizen control takes place in the decision making process. The intermediate stage of consultation in his model appears to apply to community college local representatives where they were allowed to be present but had little real power over the process.
162. Cook, op.cit.
163. *ibid*, p.41.
164. See Pahl, R. (1970) Whose City?, pp.200-285, for a discussion of the manner in which bureaucracies in local government function to sustain their own power structures.
165. *ibid*.
166. The Smiths, op.cit., pp.38-39, and Jones, op.cit., pp.112-113, both raise this issue of community control too, and identify dominance of the professional interest over local control.
167. Jones, op.cit., p.113.
168. Mason, 1978.
169. Jones, op.cit., pp.60-64.
170. Ball, 1977, p.18.

171. See Rée, op.cit., pp.78-89, for a discussion on this point.
172. A point the Smiths make, p.cit., p.9.
173. Gans, 1973. He argues that there is no such thing as an aspirational lower class culture, most poor people's aspirations being similar to those of the more affluent. Poor people, he suggests, are able and willing to change their behaviour if economic opportunities are made available to them. p.320.
174. Benington, 1974, p.4.
175. Berthoud, 1976.
176. See Tonnies, 1955, op.cit. "Gemeinschaft is characterised by the social will as concord, folkways, mores and religion". p.231.
177. Midwinter, 1973, op.cit., p.42.
178. See Douglas, 1964, who suggested that school success and failure could be related to cultural as well as socio-structural aspects, that where there was a better 'cultural fit' between home and school, in terms of values and behavioural norms for instance, the likelihood of success in school was made more possible.
179. Rutter and Madge, 1976, p.128.
180. Halsey, op.cit., p.180.
181. ibid, p.12.
182. Bantock, 1975.
183. Scheffler, 1973, p.135.
184. Halsey, 1972, op.cit.
185. Bernstein, 1971, op.cit.
186. Halsey, op.cit., p.71.
187. Smith and Smith, op.cit., p.8.

CHAPTER THREE

A MODEL FOR COMMUNITY EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

The previous two chapters have shown that urban priority areas in Britain are characterised by economic and physical decline, social dislocation and poor educational achievements. Thus, the first chapter of this thesis discussed the scale and extent of the material conditions affecting British urban priority areas and concluded that an increasing proportion of the population in priority areas were experiencing a combination of material disadvantages which served to trap them in a cycle of powerlessness. The deprivations which occurred as a result of this situation contributed to the social polarisation from the main opportunity structures of society for parts of the priority areas, and the problem was more widely spread than had previously been anticipated.

In Chapter Two, the development of post war community education as a response to the material disadvantages of priority areas was examined. The strategies that emerged broadly fell into two strands, namely compensatory or reconstructionist.

It was shown that the early emphasis in community education on compensatory programmes reflected a concern at the part socio-cultural features played in educational and social underachievements. Attempts to remediate for

perceived deficiencies of, priority area communities focused on programmes of positive discrimination which sought to extend the influence of schools in altering the cultural outlook of children and their families.

Widely criticised for their negative stance, as discussed in the first part of Chapter Two, responses in the compensatory strand made way for more positively directed reconstructionist strategies in which, through a community problem solving approach, community education was believed to be able to lead to the regeneration of whole areas as the examination in the second part of Chapter Two showed. While the emphasis in this strand on the notion of a relevant curriculum led to criticism of its narrowly based and introspective content, aspects emerging out of community adult education raised interesting possibilities. In particular, the stress in adult education during the period on working in non traditional settings amidst the priority areas, saw community educators attempting to contact local adults from the least educationally advantaged groups in their areas of residence and negotiate with them on their terms, learning opportunities.¹ In this way it was believed that not only would education be taken out to where people lived, thereby increasing the possibilities for access and participation, but in the process of negotiation and learning, adults would have developed a belief in their capacity to benefit from the education system.

The purpose of this chapter is to extend these positive elements and develop a model of community education which is

better able to meet the educational needs discussed in the previous chapter. It will consequently focus on adults and have two primary stages with a continuum of learning opportunities. The first stage requires intervention in priority areas to develop locally based educational activities. This has the purpose of building the confidence and self esteem of members from the least advantaged groups in society and seek changes in their perceptions and attitudes towards education so that they might participate more fully and benefit from learning. The second stage seeks to influence institutions to overcome the obstacles found at the institutional level and which serve to act as barriers to re-entry into education in order to make institutions more open and accessible. In the discussion that follows the generic term educational institution is used to describe all those providers and institutions who make available provision for adults. Thus colleges of further and higher education, the adult education service, community centred and school based providers are all included in this term.

The development of this model means community educators facing up to the problems brought on by a range of powerful situational factors in the priority area environment discussed in Chapter One, which serve as barriers to learning for many in the population. Adding to these barriers, is the education system itself with its cultural bias towards higher social groups and the re-entry barriers

found at institutional level. Together, these broad categories produce disincentives to participation which sustain dispositional barriers that members of the groups to be contacted have in relation to education.

The cumulative effect of these barriers reinforces the disengagement of the least socially advantaged groups from education. The proposed model however should not be regarded as a panacea for all of these complex and interrelated obstacles to learning. It is rather an attempt to seek out those aspects that can reasonably be influenced through educational intervention thereby creating the conditions for fuller participation and progression in learning opportunities.

The focus hence on adults from the least advantaged sections of society is quite deliberate. Research evidence has persistently shown that the attitudes and expectations of parents is a crucial dimension in the level of school success achieved by children.² If parental attitudes are positive towards education and there exists support for the values and attitudes of schooling then children on the whole do better. The contribution of parents and adults in the neighbourhood can therefore have a direct influence on educational performance and achievement by children.

Furthermore, by improving the educational opportunities of adults the potential is released for individuals, families and their communities to tackle the material disadvantages which inhibit everyday circumstances in priority areas. A better informed and more educationally

aware population is more able to challenge inequalities and to contribute to change.

In developing the discussion for this model of community education, the chapter is divided into the following four parts, each with a number of sections.

1. Barriers to learning.
2. Developing locally based educational activity.
3. Influencing institutionally based provision.
4. Towards a model for community education.

Thus, part one examines in more detail the barriers to educational participation while the second part of the chapter discusses the possibilities in the first stage of community education for engaging with non-traditional adult learners. In the third part, the debate is extended to consider how educational provision can be influenced to overcome institutional barriers. The fourth and final part of the chapter discusses the development of a model of community education which can be applied in urban priority areas. It will be against this model that the case study of a community education project described in Chapter Four will be evaluated and analysed.

1. BARRIERS TO LEARNING :

Research evidence from the UK,³ USA⁴ and that provided by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)⁵ points to the following broad groups of people being unrepresented in post school educational activities across a wide range of urban situations:

1. low income groups
2. people in unskilled or semi-skilled manual occupations
3. ethnic minority groups
4. women with dependent children
5. older adults.

These groups characterise the socially and educationally least advantaged sections of society discussed in Chapter One and whose reasons for non involvement in education have been summarised by Cross after reviewing American research to be related to situational, institutional and dispositional factors.⁶ Thus, in the urban priority area, the enormity and severity of material disadvantages contributes to situational factors to such an extent that educational participation is seen as irrelevant. This is further compounded for lower social class groups by an educational system which appears to be culturally adrift from the situation of disadvantaged groups with values and expectations that appear to favour higher social class groups. This mismatch is often reflected in the organisation of institutions where support for participation by non-traditional adult learners is negligible and acts as a barrier to re-entry.

The combination of these factors serves to confirm attitudes and perceptions by adults from the least advantaged groups in which the belief is held that education is not part of the value system of lower social class groups. In this situation, there exists little inclination or confidence in individual ability to benefit from education.

The sections in this part of the chapter are subsequently arranged to discuss these issues as follows:

1. Situational barriers;
2. Institutional barriers;
3. Dispositional barriers.

1.1 Situational barriers

The underlying factor linking the educationally least advantaged groups identified on the previous page is their social and economic deprivation. Thus in priority areas, the least educated are often unemployed or occupying low skilled jobs with low incomes and those on low incomes are usually disproportionately represented amongst the unskilled, older adults, ethnic minority groups and women.

In a wide ranging review of the literature, McGivney too found a strong correlation between socio economic status, cumulative disadvantage and educational underachievement amongst unskilled and unemployed people, members of ethnic minority groups, women and older adults.⁷ Within the priority area therefore, there exists substantial numbers of people from broadly heterogeneous groups who have

little or no experience of post school education. The crucial factor linking these groups in this position is low income bordering on poverty which, as was shown in Chapter One, is the result of exposure to a combination of material disadvantages.

The social deprivation and isolation brought on by this condition influences a person's decision to take up learning opportunities. Bruner has described working class indifference to education as a reaction to wider structural constraints⁸ which raises the question whether such indifference to education and achievement is the inevitable consequence of structural inequality. The examination in Chapter One of the disadvantageous wider economic, physical and social conditions suggested these inhibited the full development of social and communal relationships in priority areas, the consequence of which was internal social dislocation and external polarisation from the main opportunity systems of society.

The overall effects of the conditions in priority area life can subsequently be measured by a gradual erosion in the quality of life for disadvantaged groups. This qualitative decline is evident in greater levels of ill-health and disability, particularly amongst older adults, restrictions in travel brought on by low income, responsibilities for dependent children and fear for personal safety and the experience of racism and discrimination by ethnic groups.⁹

Given such circumstances, it would appear that the combination of adverse factors in the priority area situation serves as a powerful disincentive to adults from low income and less advantaged groups from participating in post school education. The problem however, is further compounded by the education system itself which systematically excludes members from the groups in question by virtue of its ethos, values and expectations which are differentially attuned to the requirements of higher social class groups. The effect of educational barriers to the participation in post-school learning of adults from lower social class groups will be considered in the following section.

1.2 Institutional barriers

As well as the powerful constraints produced by cumulative disadvantage in the priority area situation, adult learners from less advantaged groups are further obstructed from participating in education by the cultural barriers that are embedded in the system. Thus, as O'Shea and Corrigan have proposed, it is the effect of cultural and social class divisions and not low motivation which prevents adults from engaging and benefiting from the education system.¹⁰ This is part of a broader theme pursued by others such as Willis¹¹ and Bowles and Gintis¹² in which it is argued the school system prepares children for differential future expectations based upon their social class background. Thus, for lower social class groups, schooling,

and by implication the education system, works to replicate their existing situation rather than to liberate.¹³

This experience continues into post school education which reinforces inequalities that started in the school situation. As Mee and Wiltshire point out, large numbers of educationally and socially disadvantaged groups are excluded from post school education because of their experience of failure in the school system.¹⁴ Thus, for those people who are labelled as having failed at school there is an unwillingness to repeat that failure later in life and as a consequence, keep away from further educational participation.

In the instances that people from the least advantaged groups do attempt to engage in the post school educational system further barriers to re-entry appear. These relate broadly to institutional arrangements that do not take account of the specific learning needs of people who have been away from education for long periods. Included here are the difficulties associated with the financial cost of participating in education, childcare provision, support while learning and the complicated administrative arrangements around institutions which together form resource, organisational and learning barriers which can easily disorientate potential learners.

Thus there exists both in the broader cultural arrangements for education and at the level of the institution obstacles which militate against the full participation of the least advantaged adults in post school education. Furthermore, the combination of situational and

educational barriers to engagement are complicated by the attitudes and expectations held by disadvantaged groups. These latter barriers to learning produced by dispositional factors are the concern of the next section.

1.3 Dispositional barriers

For many people who are members of the least socially and educationally advantaged groups, the experience of education does not form part of their value system and behaviour pattern. A study by the Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education (ACACE) found that the most significant barriers to engagement in education was related to attitude.¹⁵ It was discovered many adults from these groups saw education as inappropriate to their everyday circumstances and needs. This notion of irrelevance was compounded by a view of the education system as part of the value system of higher social groups, which gave rise to the belief that attending educational classes was outside of the cultural norms of lower social class groups.¹⁶

In effect, such groups regarded voluntary learning as part of the culture pattern of higher socio economic groups and subsequently, outside of their value system. Hedoux has linked this reluctance to participate in post school education to perceptions of powerlessness and a lack of future perspective.¹⁷ Thus, while higher social groups have a positive view of education and live and work in situations that benefit from educational participation, the life experience of lower social class groups produces a situation that has a limited future perspective.

Hence, as Hedoux argues, the decision to engage in education is connected with a person's ability to control their life and anticipate the future.¹⁸ In a situation of cumulative disadvantage which traps large sections of socially vulnerable groups in the cycle of powerlessness described in Chapter One, the opportunity for escape is often unavailable and where it does appear, often imperceptible to the groups in question.

Consequently, education is poorly regarded by sections of the least advantaged groups in society who, as Scanlan has observed, hold a negative view which is characterised by the absence of something.¹⁹ This is seen in a lack of confidence and self esteem associated with a lack of qualifications and poor previous experiences of education, a lack of trust in the system and its relevance which is linked to a lack of perspective on the future, and a lack of awareness of learning needs and of the opportunities that are available.²⁰

The resistance towards education therefore by disadvantaged groups merely serves to compound the situation in which they are trapped by the effects of cumulative disadvantage. When the dispositional barriers discussed above are combined with institutional and situational features of priority area groups, the problem of non participation cannot be ascribed to any single, easily solved factor. What is evident is the interplay of a multiple range of problems which together combine to perpetuate the disengagement from post school education of

the socially and educationally least advantaged groups in society.

To alter the overall situation produced by all of the barriers discussed would require major structural change in the socio-economic and educational arrangements of British society. This is hardly likely to occur in the foreseeable future on a scale which fundamentally changes the balance of societal values and priorities. However, the educational perspective should be challenged to move from its traditional provider led model to one that is responsive to the particular circumstances and needs of the various groups found in priority areas.

This is not an argument for a return to the community problem solving approach of post war community education described in Chapter Two, where the concern was with attempting to tackle the situational problems facing priority area communities. It is evident that many of the structural factors which produce barriers to learning are beyond the scope of education alone to alter. What can be selected from the discussion so far however, are a number of identifiable obstacles to re-entry into education for non-traditional learners which may be amenable to change through community education and subsequently improve the opportunities for participation by adults. These obstacles are developed in Figure 6 and are derived from the previous discussion on barriers to learning plus a number of studies and surveys into the lack of participation in education by non-traditional adult learners.²¹

Figure 6 Obstacles to re-entry

1. Lack of learner confidence
 - (i) little educational contact
 - (ii) limited negotiation over activities
 2. Resource barriers
 - (i) the cost of learning
 - (ii) inadequate childcare facilities
 3. Learning barriers
 - (i) limited transitional arrangements
 - (ii) lack of guidance and counselling
 - (iii) timing and location of provision
 4. General administrative barriers
 - (i) poor reception facilities
 - (ii) inappropriate publicity
 - (iii) complex admissions policies.
-

It is possible to see from the range of obstacles in Figure 6 the opportunity for community education to intervene to tackle such obstacles. This can be achieved by the development of a continuum of learning for less educationally advantaged adults in a process which contains two stages. The first of these stages involves creating locally based educational activities in priority areas which involves making contact with people in local areas and negotiating with them programmes of learning activities. This stage is an essential part of a process of building the confidence and self esteem of adults to participate in education and see the relevance of the learning content to their life situation and expectations. The primary function of this aspect in the community education continuum is developmental in which adults are engaged in collaborative educational activity with professional workers. This developmental role continues into the second stage of the

community education continuum where the purpose is to influence institutional provision in overcoming obstacles impeding the re-entry of adults into mainstream education. Thus, in these two stages, community educators work towards altering the negative perceptions members from lower social class groups have of education and seek to change institutional attitudes and arrangements rather than being concerned directly with altering the broader issues of cultural barriers to education. One outcome of this approach is that in the ideal situation, after the process of confidence building and negotiation has taken place, adults accept an element of ownership and feel part of the educational system.

Underpinning this continuum is the need to equalise access into available educational opportunities for all disadvantaged groups in the priority areas. By positively working towards this, the belief is that community education can assist adults and their communities to intervene in the cycle of powerlessness through increasing the educational opportunities and achievements of those groups trapped by cumulative disadvantage. If community education is successful in attracting sufficient numbers of people into educational activity, the potential is there, individually and collectively, for priority area residents to alter the circumstances which serve to constrain their development.

This process hence commences when community educators move out into priority areas to initiate the first stage in the engagement of non-traditional adult learners. How this might be successfully achieved will be the concern of the second part of the chapter.

2. DEVELOPING LOCALLY BASED EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY

The previous part of the chapter concluded that the barriers to the engagement of adults from the least socially and educationally advantaged groups in priority areas were multi dimensional and in many respects, intractably linked into wider structural forces. However, it was suggested that it was possible to identify a number of obstacles to re-entry which could be potentially removed by community education. These barriers, contained in Figure 6, concerned a lack of learner confidence and institutional obstacles involving resources, learner support and general administrative factors.

Given these barriers, it was proposed that community education could tackle the problems facing non-traditional adult learners and in doing so, develop a continuum which enabled adults to progress through into mainstream educational provision. The first stage in this continuum occurs when community educators move out into priority areas to develop contact and locally based educational activity. The purpose of this stage is to build the confidence and self esteem amongst adults through a negotiated partnership which leads them to a point where they feel able to participate in educational programmes.

The purpose of this part of the chapter is to explore the propositions contained in the first stage of the community education process. These suggest that two activities are necessary in achieving the development of adults, namely making contact out in local areas and

negotiating learning opportunities. The following two sections consequently enable the discussion of this stage to be carried out.

1. Establishing contact in local areas.
2. Negotiation and ownership of learning.

2.1 Establishing contact in local areas

The material conditions of priority area life and the extent of personal deprivation of lower social class groups often means that benefiting from the opportunities available through education appears both remote and unattainable. The poor educational experiences of many adults from such groups in priority areas together with little tangible achievement to show for time spent in the system reduces confidence and a belief in the potential of education for progression. Under these circumstances community educators have the crucial function of developing in people the confidence to participate in education and of establishing with them, the relevance of education to their everyday circumstances and aspirations.

The task therefore is to persuade people that education can be relevant to their present and future situation. This requires the community education process being carried out amongst the priority area population where contact can be made and some of the deeply set attitudes and perceptions generated by long periods of economic and social disadvantage can be more directly addressed.

The first step therefore in the process is establishing contact in the priority area; this vitally important phase

in the process will not be achieved however through publicity alone. Members from the educationally least advantaged groups in priority areas will rarely respond to the traditional institutional methods of educational contact or provision. As Darkenwald and Larson put it:

One of the main reasons that groups are hard to reach is that they don't respond to the normal marketing strategies employed by continuing education.²²

People disengaged from education therefore need to be contacted at a personal level by educational professionals working in their areas of residence in a different approach that emphasises a local area based outreach strategy. This method of making contact with the educationally most disengaged groups is widely believed to be the only effective means of contacting and overcoming the resistance to education shown by many in priority areas. The successful adoption of outreach strategies in community based adult education during the post war period and discussed in the previous chapter, showed the importance of having educators working in local areas who were able to identify with some of the values and aspirations of the groups with whom contact was sought.

Working on an outreach basis furthermore requires that community educators are able to interact effectively with local people, listening to and understanding what is being said as well as articulating the educational perspective. This early contact and communication with local people will need sensitivity in the way it is carried out so that perceptions of professional imposition are studiously

avoided. Lovett recognised as an outsider coming to work in the Liverpool EPA project that he needed to spend a period of time getting to know the area, its problems and local residents. As he wrote later:

This meant becoming involved in a number of community activities which, on the surface at least, bore no relationship to adult education. Social functions, community councils, residents' associations, summer playschemes, pubs, community centres, school open days - all provided an opportunity to make contact with local residents.²³

The point for Lovett is the necessity of establishing a close relationship with local people before attempting to begin constructive educational work. This implies professionals immersing themselves in local area activities, events and organisations, both as a means of winning trust and of developing a dialogue and partnership with people in their areas of residence. In these situations the community educator works in the local area alongside individuals and groups as a form of "animateur"²⁴ who enlivens and stimulates the population into exercising a "capacity for self determination".²⁵

This role has elements of the community action perspective developed in adult education during the 1970s and discussed in the previous chapter on pages 111-115, in which working out in the local area is an essential element in establishing credibility and a focal point of contact between education and the priority area population. Central to achieving this role hence, is the requirement for the community educator to first spend time in an area exploring and investigating issues and understanding the problems and

contradictions which underpin the everyday life of people in such areas. From another context, Freire has acknowledged this is the essential first stage of a critical educational process.²⁶ In terms of the community education process, this contact stage is a necessary pre-requisite to developing subsequent responses.

Thus, the community educator seeks to identify with the people in the priority areas, understand their difficulties and aspirations and to slowly work to build self confidence and a belief that the education system can give knowledge and skills which will be relevant to the circumstances of priority area residents.

Furthermore, during this early stage of the community educator establishing a presence in the priority area, links with other agencies providing education in the locality are essential. This will mean establishing networks in the local area with a range of voluntary and statutory agencies as part of the process of coordinating the efforts of educational providers with the requirements of the population in the area.

By supporting local groups and identifying with their activities community educators have the means of establishing credibility in the area and the opportunity to supply an educational dimension to community groups. This latter aspect can be achieved through offering training, resources, access to institutions or other agencies. With regard to statutory providers especially, the function of the community educator is to provide a 'community' dimension

to the provision of services and resources through training programmes which attempt 'to sensitise agencies to the needs and perceptions of local people.

Larson has suggested that there is a further benefit for community educators in working through established groups. By making contact with local groups and identifying the key leaders within those organisations a greater range of influence can be brought to bear on the behaviour of sections of the population.²⁷ This notion of peer influence has the advantage in the cases of individuals who are the most difficult to reach but who may be amenable to contact or the influence of key local leaders.

In this position, working through locally based people who may be able to influence cultural and behavioural patterns in the locality, community educators may achieve greater success in making contact with larger numbers of difficult to reach adults than otherwise might have been the case. The Leeds Pioneer Work Project²⁸ for instance, which developed provision for unemployed adults, achieved a significantly wider range of contact by working through established groups in the local area. Thus, in such circumstances it is more practical to work through groups, rather than individuals, in establishing the message locally of the benefits of educational activities.

In the development function, therefore, the community educator has a multifarious role: from creating and developing local networks to acting as a resource agent and facilitator for local agencies and groups. All of these

aspects however, are contributory factors in the central commitment, namely to engage a greater number of adults from lower social class groups in educational programmes. The positive intervention in priority areas by community educators in this early stage of the developmental role assists in raising awareness of educational opportunities, affirms the relevance of education to the priority area context and most crucially of all, contributes towards the development in adults of a belief in their potential as learners.

This process however, has a greater impact when the least educationally advantaged groups are engaged as partners in developing the learning content. This means community educators involving adults throughout the developmental stage, as partners with whom the educational programmes and content are both negotiated and decisions about their implementation shared. This aspect of the process implies an element of collaboration between local people and professionals in an equal ownership of the educational content as a basis for further exploration and development. How this notion of local ownership can be achieved will be considered in the next section.

2.2. Negotiation and ownership of learning

One of the significant lessons which emerged from community adult education during the post war period was the emphasis on consulting with local people over the content of learning programmes. By negotiating with the potential

recipients, adult educators believed people who were previously disempowered could be taken through a process in which they became empowered to take decisions over parts of their circumstances. Working in this way implied establishing "a close relationship with all groups"²⁹ before mutually agreed and client centred educational work could begin.

The negotiation of learning between professionals and non-traditional adult learners however, is not just about the form and nature of provision. It includes the methods of delivery, styles of learning, modes of attendance and impact on future opportunities for local people. As such it gives the educator a valuable means of producing appropriately structured programmes of learning, by agreement, as a crucial introductory stage in the engagement of disadvantaged adults into education.

The value of a negotiated approach can be measured in four ways. Firstly, it allows the professional educator to find out what people want to do, how they want to do it, when and where they will participate. Secondly, with the benefit of this information, more accurate provision can be established. Thirdly, it offers the opportunity to clarify anticipated outcomes and benefits from participation in learning activities, linking thereby the value of education to the circumstances and future opportunities of potential learners. Finally, a negotiated programme of learning has a greater chance of success because it emerges from local people who will feel a sense of ownership in what is produced. Furthermore, through the process of negotiation

local people are given a chance to be a stakeholder in education which has the potential of establishing confidence in people to participate in education and to see its value for their situation.

It is therefore a fundamental necessity in the community education developmental process to negotiate throughout with local people to reinforce the belief that they are partners in the educational situation and not inferior or in receipt of predetermined outcomes. Being sensitive to the notion of engendering partnerships is important given that the least educationally advantaged groups very often have poor experiences of education and lack confidence and self esteem in their ability to participate in learning activities. With the wider constraints brought on by material disadvantage to further contend with, non traditional learners will require a carefully managed and positively directed educational contact in this early stage of the learning continuum.

Thus, community educators should be prepared to build educational activities around real life issues, as practiced, for example in the Leeds Pioneer Work Project. What workers found was that while no one was particularly interested in adult education explicitly, there was a great deal of interest in exploring the major issues which affected their everyday lives:

... welfare right, housing, the environment ...
consultation with the local authority,
organisational and group issues for tenants'
associations.³⁰

Similarly, as community adult educators found, professionals must take these issues as a starting point for discussion and develop onto them educational perspectives and skills.³¹ The result will be learning situations that while having direct meaning and a sense of ownership for local people are presented and developed to bring out the educational aspect of everyday living. In negotiating this learning programme, the community educator is seeking to encourage people to explore the issues that are important to their circumstances and for them to be encouraged to take control of their own learning. From this position learners are helped to explore available options beyond the initial activities that will provide the most satisfactory route to individual or collective progression.

In the first stage of the community education process therefore, the emphasis is on negotiating with people to find the best means of assisting in finding appropriate means to gain knowledge and information. There are however, three other fundamental purposes contained in this process of negotiating with local people. The first is linked to the development in people of a sense of self esteem and the confidence to not only take part in the learning process, but to want to learn. The second purpose is for local people and professionals alike to value and have valued the life experiences participants bring to the learning situation. The third and final purpose is to raise awareness of the wider educational opportunities and encourage a sense of independence in people to participate

further in education to gain the knowledge and skills that will allow them to potentially control and direct their life situation.

This idea of negotiation and ownership however, falls short of the notion of community control of institutions discussed in Chapter Two, and does not subscribe to the overt political intentions found in adult education community action strategies. Instead, the prime objective in this stage of the process is to engage adults by starting from their individual situations and develop with them the potential for fuller participation in the wider educational system. In this respect it has none of the overly ambitious claims of community control or wholesale regeneration through education which characterised much of post war community education.

Thus while negotiation and ownership in the developmental stage arguably, in an ideal situation, aspires to Arnstein's notion of genuine power sharing³² the lessons of the recent past in exercising the notion of community control have brought about a sense of realism to this proposal. The idea that local people can be involved in the formulation and decision making of education at a policy level falters, as Chapter Two showed, on the difficulties in overcoming professional hierarchies, avoiding domination by powerful groups and the problems of achieving appropriately mandated local representation. The structure of current society seriously undermines the claim that education, in a representative democracy, can be organised exclusively for

local people, by local people, based on local areas. As Saunders has observed, those that have control of the main systems of society do not welcome involvement by those who have neither been elected nor professionally appointed to run affairs:

... any effective increase in the level of political participation is seen as ... a threat to the stability of the system and an indication that the system is not functioning properly.³³

Pahl too, has made a similar point when discussing the notion of urban gatekeepers,³⁴. Those who control scarce resources are reluctant to relinquish power to others outside of the established hierarchies. In the developmental role of the community education process therefore, the involvement of local people is of necessity encouraged in areas of educational activity where the notion of partnership and ownership can realistically be developed as part of the first stage in winning confidence, developing self esteem and encouraging participation. To embark upon any other form of ambitious community problem solving strategy would jeopardise the delicate task of engaging the least advantaged members of society in educational activity. The lessons emerging from the analysis of barriers to learning in the first section of this chapter demonstrated the complexity of the multiple factors which combine to inhibit adults returning to learn. The developmental process in community education commences when educators intervene in local areas and work alongside adults to build their confidence for participation in education. This has a greater chance of being achieved when carefully negotiated

activities which are valued locally and which can be broadened into accredited educational programmes are developed.

This stage in the community education process thus fulfils a crucial phase prior to the engagement of adults in the main educational institutions. The first stage thus can be characterised by its interventionist role amongst priority area communities and reflects a crucial element in the continuum of learning opportunities. After the informal and flexible learning arrangements negotiated in this stage the key task for community education is to influence the way in which mainstream institutions subsequently integrate educationally disadvantaged adults. As the earlier discussion in the first part of the chapter indicated, there exist institutional barriers which produce obstacles to re-entry for many learners in priority areas and serve to reinforce the polarisation of disadvantaged adults away from education. (See Figure 6, page 155). These barriers will need to be overcome if the notion of a continuum of learning opportunities is to be realised through open institutions that are responsive to local circumstances. How such a position can be achieved will be examined in the next part of the chapter.

3. INFLUENCING INSTITUTIONALLY BASED PROVISION

The discussion in the previous part of the chapter suggested that the interventionist element of community education fulfilled the first stage in a continuum of learning opportunities for non-traditional adult learners. In this part of the chapter, the second stage in the continuum is developed by examining how educational institutions can be influenced in order that they might attract and hold adult learners from educationally less advantaged backgrounds. For this to be achieved will require community education overcoming institutional barriers to re-entry which inhibit access into education. Such obstacles were identified in Figure 6 and briefly restated, relate to resources, learning support and the general administrative arrangements in institutions.

The consequence of these barriers is to discriminate against the educational participation of the least advantaged members of society. Community education has a commitment to challenge such inequality and subsequently work towards equalising educational opportunities in priority areas. As a first step towards achieving equity, educational institutions should have a clearly stated institutional policy for equalising opportunity, supported by appropriate resources and management commitment to implement the necessary action.

There are furthermore two other elements to be fulfilled. These involve supporting learners and having responsive provision. Thus, supporting learners in their

transition from the educational activities found in the first stage of the continuum is critical if longer term involvement is to be achieved. So too is the need to provide guidance, counselling and personal support, including childcare provision for non-traditional learners. Finally, in supporting learners it will be crucial that the costs of learning, in terms of fees, books and materials, are not allowed to disbar potential students.

Institutions too, must be able to respond to the needs of non-traditional learners with educational provision that is flexible and appropriately pitched at the level of each adult. Equally of importance is the responsiveness of the general administration of an institution to learners. The way in which publicity is presented and distributed, the enquiry and reception arrangements and the admissions procedure all have an important contribution in achieving a responsive environment.

Consequently, the following sections in this part of the chapter are arranged to facilitate the discussion on achieving open and accessible institutions.

1. Working towards equal educational opportunities.
2. Supporting learners in education.
3. Developing responsive institutions.

3.1 Working towards equal educational opportunities

Educational providers and institutions should have strategies that are designed to offer equality of opportunity and of outcomes to the least educationally

advantaged groups who are under represented in education but over represented in urban priority areas. Community education has a commitment to work towards equalising educational opportunities for such groups because an education system which appears to benefit a small proportion of the population is both inequitable and unjust. Educational opportunities should be available to all who could benefit, particularly those groups who have previously experienced educational disadvantage, as part of the movement towards a more equal and just society. In practice however, many institutions do not have well developed policies, at best offering a broadly based statement of intent or code of conduct³⁵, and, as a study of institutional policies on equal opportunities showed, a great variability in the emphasis given to different groups.³⁶ In particular, the evidence demonstrated that by far the most widely supported aspect was work with special educational needs in which special facilities, courses and support for students was highly developed. By comparison, the emphasis on measures to increase the access and participation of women and people from ethnic minority groups was limited.³⁷

Furthermore, the problem for adults from ethnic minority backgrounds is compounded by the eurocentric domination in educational provision and a lack of non European cultural values represented in the system which often results in people from such groups being unable to identify with the learning content being offered. This

situation serves to reinforce a cultural barrier which obstructs participation for many within ethnic minority communities. When this problem is added to a general alienation from the education system arising from school experience, racism, stereotyping and a lack of role models in institutions, there is in existence a multiple range of additional factors compounding those already affecting disadvantaged groups which serve to reinforce barriers to re-entry for many members from ethnic minority groups.

Despite the differential experiences which inhibit the entry into education for some groups more than others in priority areas, institutional equal opportunity policy should not emphasise one groups' needs over another. Cooper and Bornat for example, have argued strongly for the need to have an integrated approach when dealing with age, gender, race and disability.³⁸ They regard any other strategy which benefits one group over another as detrimental, creating a fragmented approach to equal opportunities within education institutions which would serve only to further disadvantage already disadvantaged groups.

An equally important element in the implementation of equal opportunities policies is the position of the staff of an institution. Evidence has shown that the way in which responsibility is given for the coordination of equal opportunities is crucial to its development.³⁹ If responsibility is given on a part time basis the issue tends to become marginalised across the institution. However, by allocating the coordination of equal opportunities on a full

time basis to a member of staff working across the whole institution, the impact achieved is far greater. It is also vitally important to make a substantial appointment in promoting equal opportunities in situations where staff resistance to such policies is evident. When occurrences of apathy, obstructiveness or hostility to the spread of equal opportunities in practice do occur within institutions, the most effective way for altering such attitudes and behaviour may be best achieved through staff development and training programmes.⁴⁰

Other strategies for widening acceptance of the principle and practice of equal opportunities include involving teaching and non teaching staff in the drafting of policy and to be subsequently represented on any equal opportunities committee established to oversee development across the institution. By approaching policy formulation through collaborative and supportive strategies, equal opportunities becomes by implication, the concern of the whole institution. Thus, governors through to senior managers, teaching staff and support staff should all feel some responsibility and ownership towards making equality of opportunity a reality for learners.⁴¹

Such a wholesale approach implies a major awareness raising exercise supported by the resources to fund training, staff time and material to achieve the level of commitment and significant change in attitudes and practice being called for.

The development by institutions of equal opportunity policies reflects the intention to take positive action that will support the least educationally advantaged to benefit fully from educational opportunities. The difficulty however for adults who wish to progress after experiencing educational activities in the first stage in community education is the lack of support available in institutions to make the transition. The higher rhetoric of equality of opportunity is often poorly supported in practice by institutions lacking adequate transitional arrangements, guidance, counselling and personal support and strategies to assist in the costs of learning. This aspect of supporting adults returning to learn will be considered next.

3.2 Supporting learners in education

Adults who come from non-traditional educational backgrounds require additional support when they move from the informal and flexible educational activities experienced in the first stage into mainstream educational provision. In particular, there is a need for appropriate transitional arrangements, readily available guidance and counselling and assistance with the costs of learning, including adequate childcare provision. These aspects in supporting learners are discussed in the following three sub-sections

1. Transitional arrangements.
2. Guidance, counselling and personal support.
3. The cost of learning.

3.2.1 Transitional arrangements The importance of the transitional period when adult learners move from the initial contact made with locally based informal learning activities found in the interventionist element of the community education process into mainstream educational provision should not be underestimated. Despite the fact that it is during this period that non-traditional adult learners are most likely to drop out of education if the conditions for re-entry are not adequate, a recent survey carried out by Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) found that little allowance was made in much of the post school system for programmes that met the needs and requirements of non traditional adult learners.⁴² Rather, the tendency was to fit adults into existing activities rather than develop new courses or adapt programmes to meet local needs. Thus, for those adults who experienced locally based informal and flexible learning opportunities afforded through the interventionist stage the contrast with institutional provision may be pronounced. It is therefore not unusual to find that non traditional learners are reluctant to move on to an education system which they perceive to offer programmes that are too advanced or are characterised by formalised teaching methods.

It is important however, to ensure that adult learners do move on from the early stage of community education into the main education system, not only because of the opportunities it offers for disadvantaged adults to benefit from education but also because much development work found

in the interventionist stage is based on short term funding and subsequently time "limited. In addition to the uncertainties over future funding, the work usually developed in this stage is often carried out in isolation to other parts of education and with untypical arrangements where provision is often free, unrestricted by normal administrative rules and can have low numbers and still be viable.

In the community education process however, educational activities in the interventionist stage are seen as part of a continuum in learning opportunities afforded to adults and while funding may limit the time available to develop activities, the connection with main provision is encouraged by community educators through transitional arrangements in the institutions. Hence, what are required are a range of return to learn and access courses at institutions which provide a bridge into formal learning. Such courses are aimed at developing the abilities and confidence of adults to undertake institutional programmes and emphasise the importance of learning study skills. As Issett and Spence observe, this strategy develops formal and informal learning links between local communities and education institutions.⁴³

A number of institutions have recognised the importance of this form of work and have organised provided preparatory access courses with specialist guidance support for non traditional adult students.⁴⁴ The development of bridging courses is essential therefore if, as the evidence from the

Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit (ALBSU) suggests, many non traditional learners find, the gap between introductory and main programmes to be too wide and a cause of a high drop out from participation.⁴⁵

In addition, adults entering bridging courses during the transitional phase of re-entry into educational institutions require careful support and guidance in the choice of programme made and a continuing participation in the main system. The provision of guidance and counselling thus becomes a crucial element in making the transitional stage a successful point of entry for non traditional learners and is examined next.

3.2.2 Guidance, counselling and personal support For adult learners who have had little satisfactory experience of education, the need to have access to initial and continuing guidance and support in their learning is vital. Adults who enter post school education either for the first time or after a long interval will require careful initial support and guidance to ascertain their prior learning experience and the appropriate level of course to join. This approach is essential if the high risk of early dropping out of programmes is to be avoided. In this respect, the notion of 'sheltered entry'⁴⁶ has been promoted in which a non traditional entrant can spend a period of time finding out what programmes are available, visit providers and seek guidance before making a final choice of study.

Closely linked to this notion of guidance and counselling is the need to provide personal support in many cases. For those adults who enter post school education from socially and economically disadvantaged backgrounds and with cultural expectations different to those held in the main education system, the experience of engagement in the educational environment can be problematic. The feeling of alienation is commonly quoted as causing the most difficulty as adults move from a cultural and social milieu which is different to one which represents the dominant interests of society.⁴⁷ In these circumstances the need for personal support from experienced staff who can understand the situation and act as a mediator in the new environment is essential. This particular role is similar to the development function carried out by community educators in the interventionist element of the community education process. In the institutional setting, professionals act as critical friends, encouraging and prompting adults to maximise their progression in the wider opportunities available.

The opportunities for progression however, are often severely curtailed for women who have responsibility for children. Many such women wishing to re-enter education require provision of childcare facilities or assistance with arrangements for looking after children. However, the provision of childcare facilities for women with dependent children has been shown to be grossly inadequate across the country⁴⁸ in spite of the fact that a lack of such provision

contributes as a significant barrier to women wishing to return to learn.

Providing childcare support will require additional funding to be made available through institutions, ideally in collaboration with parents, as part of commitment to a strategy for widening access. An example of cooperation between educational providers and consumers can be found at the Totton Community Education Centre in Southampton where a variety of methods were tried, with success to establish and support childcare facilities. These included the free use of space, contributing or meeting in full the costs of staffing childcare, obtaining grants, and providing toys and materials.⁴⁹

The provision of adequate childcare facilities within institutions will afford a significant incentive for women with dependent children to take advantage of educational opportunities. All the available evidence suggests that when such support is made, the involvement of women in post school education is significantly increased.⁵⁰

An important and related aspect in the introduction and progression of adults through the main education system is the financial costs associated with re-entry. While access and bridging courses in the transitional phase aided by guidance and personal support all contribute to encouraging learner engagement in education, the cost of participation can often be prohibitive and requires overcoming as the following discussion illustrates.

3.2.3 The cost of learning The costs associated with participation in education for low income and disadvantaged groups is part of a wider national debate on the inequitable basis of financial assistance in post school education. As a recent study on financial barriers on access to education made clear, the absence of a national framework and the existence of a disparate means of funding for adult learners does not provide a properly planned system.⁵¹ It found that the problems associated with funding for part time study, non award bearing courses and the limitations imposed on studying while unemployed directly affect learners from low income groups who find these methods of study more appropriate to their circumstances.⁵² Thus, apart from those on special schemes or people with basic education needs, the majority of part time adult students do not get financial support.

What exists therefore, is a financial disincentive for many people in priority areas to engage in the education system. Yet, the least educationally advantaged adults with low income backgrounds and who left school early, or did not achieve their full potential when young, could potentially benefit from returning to learn as adults with different needs and experiences. Hence a lack of adequate financial support constitutes a serious barrier for such learners seeking to achieve re-entry into education.

In these circumstances it is vitally important that educational institutions find ways of easing the financial burdens for learners. The main problem will primarily

relate to payment of fees but there are other associated barriers to do with the cost of books, materials and transport difficulties. The practical and psychological barriers raised by issues of funding inhibit adult learners from choosing a programme or activity and often, completely excludes entry into education.

Institutions can respond in a number of ways to ameliorate the situation. They can publicise widely the availability and eligibility of fee remissions and make procedures to claim as simple and accessible as possible. They can subsidise courses by issuing vouchers to students studying over a specified length of the year or they can help students maximise potential assistance from grants, awards, bursaries and sponsorship. Examples of attempts by institutions to overcome the financial barriers for students include the scheme at Bradford and Ilkley College whereby additional funds are sought from elsewhere to help ease the financial burdens of students in difficulty.⁵³ Another is the introduction of a voucher system at Richmond College which allows unemployed people and other low income groups access to a subsidised method of payment for courses each term.⁵⁴ In another example of this kind, a project in Southampton not only employed a voucher system but publicised the fee remission policy, established shorter term and subsequently, cheaper course provision and put on one day taster courses on a frequent basis to minimise the cost of taking up education.⁵⁵

These examples illustrate some of the ways in which educational institutions can assist in the financial difficulties experienced by low income groups which potentially serve as a disincentive to re-entry. Supporting learners where appropriate through direct financial assistance is therefore a necessary step in attracting and then holding people who have a poor experience of education.

Thus, if financial considerations can be overcome and institutions are able to address the needs of non-traditional adult learners through transitional arrangements and guidance and personal support strategies, significant progress will have been made in the movement towards achieving accessible institutions. To fully achieve such institutions however, will require attention being directed to ensure that organisational arrangements are responsive to the needs of educationally less advantaged adults. How this might be addressed will be the concern of the next section.

3.3 Developing responsive institutions

The accessible institution is notable for the way it supports learners. It is also characterised by its willingness to be responsive in meeting the learning needs of non-traditional adult learners. This can be measured by the way in which professionals from institutions are willing to go out into local areas to make contact with adults, the flexibility of learning strategies and the extent to which general administrative arrangements are 'user friendly'. These aspects are considered in the following three sub-sections.

1. Working out in local areas.
2. Flexible learning strategies.
3. Organising the open institution.

3.3.1 Working out in local areas The time and expense involved in travelling to institutional locations some distance from the main site or homes of potential learners can be a significant problem for people on very low incomes or state benefits. For people with childcare or domestic responsibilities, too, constraints on their time, as well as finance, may often restrict travel from too far afield.

Institutions can overcome these geographical, and financial restrictions, by adopting an outreach method of provision where courses and activities are held in local areas away from the main buildings. Thus, the opportunity to use community centres, local schools or church halls should be fully explored not only to enable the widest possible opportunity for participation to occur but to signify to learners that education can and should happen in a community centred context. It is a strategy which builds on the outreach methods adopted in the first stage of community education and where close contact is made with people in familiar and non-threatening surroundings.

Examples of institutions taking education out into the local area involve not only basing courses in fixed sites but using mobile units, similar to a caravan project established by ALBSU⁵⁶, to offer provision in outlying parts of a local area. Associated with this idea of taking education to the people is the appointment of outreach workers to make contact from their local base with groups

and individuals not participating in education. As in the interventionist stage where community educators establish contact in the locality, institutional outreach workers will also collaborate and support existing individuals and groups and their activities, bringing institutional resources in to support local endeavours.

This idea of appointing outreach staff has been piloted by Rother Valley College where it has produced early progress in contacting a wider range of adults than has been possible using traditional methods. Such an approach which has the purpose to "build up relationships in the community and to engage in a dialogue which will reveal expressed or perceived needs"⁵⁷ connects closely to the interventionist element in community education and provides possibly one of the main ways of making contact with non-traditional adult learners.

Outreach work however, is still considered in the institutional setting to be of marginal importance and costly, usually only attracting short term development funding for its duration and then ceasing. What is required is a strategy that can maximise the benefits of outreach work by integrating its activities into the main educational programme as part of a response in providing a range of courses that serve people in their localities. These could include bridging or access courses which may often mean adapting existing levels of provision in offering appropriately pitched courses for non traditional learners to providing standard programmes as the demand requires.

This approach will often be part of the arrangements in the transition stage where, by offering a mix of access and intermediate level courses, institutions show a willingness to adopt a flexible approach to learning strategies. This notion of flexibility can be further extended to include other aspects of the learning process as the following discussion shows.

3.3.2 Flexible learning strategies Working towards achieving a responsive institution will include a commitment towards offering learning situations that are flexibly arranged to meet the specific needs of non-traditional adult learners. In particular, problems associated with the timing of provision often means that people involved in shift work, part time work with irregular hours or with home responsibilities have difficulties over regular attendance and studies cannot be pursued very easily.

In responding to such difficulties, institutions should look to arrange provision that is flexibly timed and modularised so as to allow for sampling of various courses and encourage flexible modes of attendance to a wider range of opportunities. This opens the way to the concept of "flexi-study" where adult learners are offered a greater choice of study programmes, flexibility of time scheduling and the opportunity to develop their own pace of learning.⁵⁸

Closely linked to this latter point is the importance of offering courses which are appropriate to the learning

stage of non-traditional learners to avoid the risk of excluding potential students through irrelevant provision. This will require flexibility on the part of institutions in organising new, or adapting existing programmes as, for instance, the pre-'0' level maths course at Southampton Institute of Adult, Youth and Community Education.⁵⁹

This type of flexibility in course provision opens the way to broader opportunities in adapting programmes to fit specific learning needs and can be an important part in the progression of less advantaged adult learners. For instance, some institutions offer certificated programmes specifically aimed at non-traditional adult learners which act as pre-course preparation for advanced study or higher level programmes.⁶⁰

Developing flexible learning strategies however, carries the associated risk of treating adult learners in isolation. The nature of flexi study encourages independent learning in a variety of settings. For the non traditional adult learners this type of participation may have the benefits of meeting many of their requirements when re-engaging with the education system but it can also produce problems related to confidence building and the sharing of experience.

It will be important therefore for institutions to encourage wherever possible learning in groups, both for mutual sharing of experience and as a way of supporting individuals and of restoring personal confidence which is

essential to the fullest participation in the continuum of learning opportunities. Once having achieved these aspects of group learning and established in learners the confidence to participate in educational programmes the next stage will involve the negotiation of individual action planning which allows adults to review prior achievements, plan learning activities and set targets for future study. This aspect of confidence building has close parallels with the interventionist element of community education and can be regarded as part of the personal support for adult learners which professionals in institutions should constantly strive to provide. Learning strategies that continue the flexible and informal methods developed in the first stage of the community education continuum will be more appropriate for non traditional adult learners, helped particularly when professionals in institutions are sensitive to the previous educational and cultural experiences of learners.

Developing supportive and responsive strategies thus is a goal to be aimed for in achieving accessible institutions. However, such strategies raise issues for the way in which the administration within institutions respond to the new demands placed upon it in supporting and responding to non-traditional students. How providers might operate more 'learner friendly' organisational arrangements will be considered next.

3.3.3 Organising the open institution The way in which institutions are receptive in their arrangements to receive non-traditional adult learners is crucial to the perceptions such learners will hold on the openness and willingness of education to be learner friendly.

Studies have confirmed that institutions which have poor or inappropriate publicity, unfriendly reception and enquiry points and complicated admissions procedures, contribute to seriously obstruct the re-entry of disadvantaged adults.⁶¹ Thus, in attempting to overcome the barriers produced through administrative arrangements, institutions should firstly pay particular attention to the availability and language of their publicity. Not only should it be in an informal and readable style with easily recognised language, it should be widely available at main centres and in the local area at places such as libraries, employment centres, community centres and shopping areas.

Secondly, improvements should be made to the reception and enquiry points in institutions. The evidence from studies⁶² found that many adults' first contact with institutions were spoilt by reception facilities that were inadequate or a telephone enquiry service that was either unavailable or unhelpful. Improving such areas of contact may, as far as telephone enquiry services at institutions are concerned, mean improving both the number of lines available to deal with queries and the information available to operators to make the right connections. Reception areas too should have trained and knowledgeable staff available to deal with adults, within comfortable waiting

areas with appropriate internal and external signposting. Improving the receptivity of institutions for non-traditional learners thus implies adequately trained and supported staff in the reception and telephone services who are often the first person to be contacted by the public. The way they deal with enquirers may be the difference between participation or non participation by potential learners.

Thirdly, creating a learner friendly environment will be assisted by institutional admissions policies that have, for example, application forms which are in an appropriate format for non-traditional students and enrolment procedures which minimise unnecessary queueing and formal and unfriendly interviews.

By overcoming the inflexibilities and lack of responsiveness often found in the general administration of institutions, and by improving the associated reception and publicity arrangements, participation in educational programmes will appear more achievable and open to those adults who have benefited least in the past. As such, these improvements offer ways in which institutions can become more responsive to, and increase the participation of, non-traditional adult learners within an open and accessible educational environment.

Fully achieving this goal will usually involve a combination of supporting learners and responding to their learning needs within flexible and receptive institutions that actively seek to equalise educational opportunities

through strategies which attempt to remove barriers to the entry or progression of learners. Thus in this second stage of the continuum in learning opportunities, two elements emerge which characterise the efforts of institutions seeking to attract and hold non-traditional learners. These elements can be described as supportive and responsive, the presence of which in institutions are crucial to increasing access into education.

When these two elements are set alongside the interventionist element, which is drawn from the first stage, the three elements that characterise the continuum of learning opportunity in community education can be summarised as

interventionist	supportive	responsive
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These elements however, should not be regarded as a static representation of community education in which each part functions independently of the other. On the contrary, they are part of a potentially dynamic educational process which has the overall purpose of developing learners and achieving more open and accessible institutions.

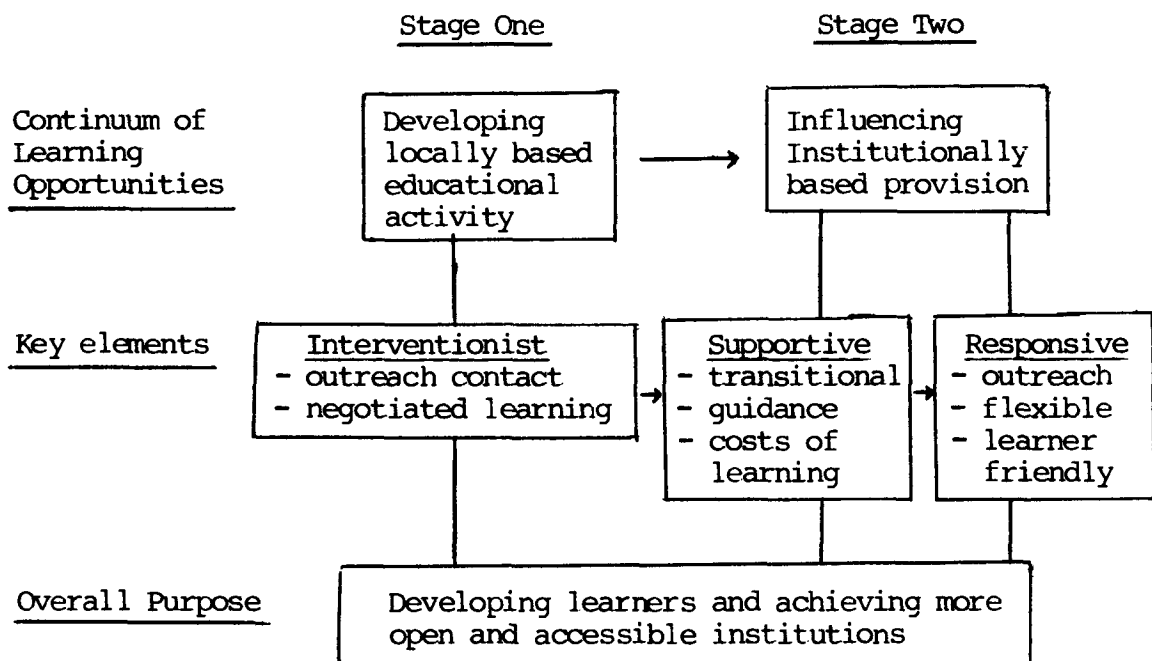
In a fully developed model, community education has the potential to overcome the barriers to learning which were identified in Figure 6 on page 155. Furthermore, the model can assist the least educationally advantaged adult learners increase their skills and knowledge to participate more fully in the main opportunity structure of society. How such a model might function will be discussed in the next part of the chapter.

4. TOWARDS A MODEL FOR COMMUNITY EDUCATION

The discussion so far in the chapter has led to a proposal that suggests community education is capable of overcoming a range of barriers related to dispositional and institutional factors which inhibit the re-entry into education of non-traditional adult learners from lower social class backgrounds.

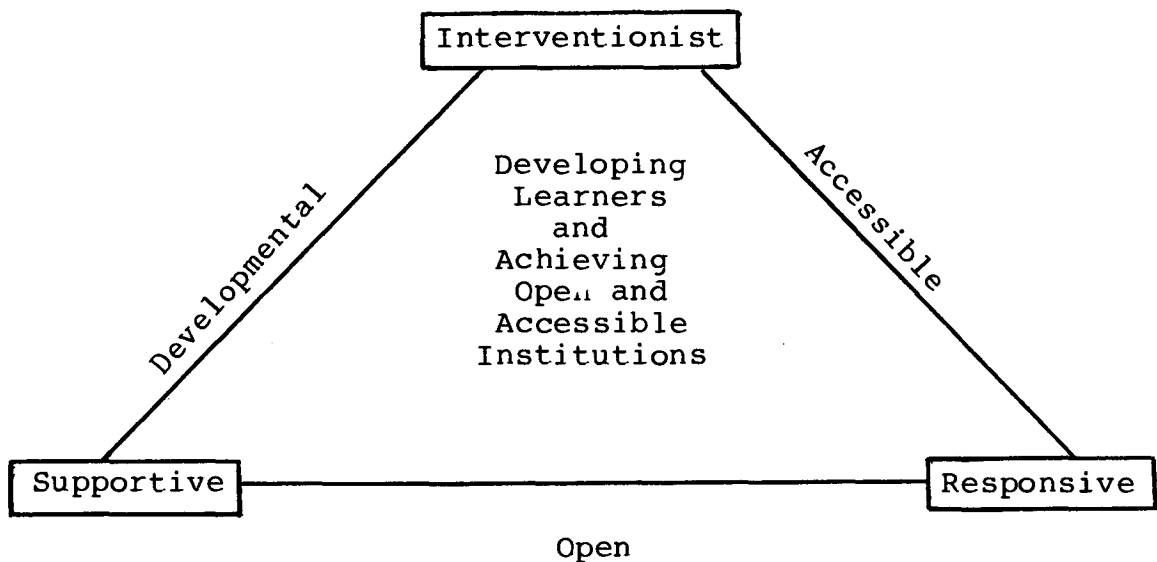
Hence, a community education process has been identified which contains a two stage continuum of learning opportunities that is exemplified by three key elements which contribute to the overall purpose of developing learners and achieving more open and accessible institutions. Figure 7 summarises in diagrammatic form such a process.

Figure 7 The Community Education Process



Whilst Figure 7 illustrates what is contained in the community education process, it is a static representation of what is essentially a dynamic and interactive relationship in the continuum of learning, between the process in the continuum and between each of the three key elements with each other. Thus, what is not evident in Figure 7 are the interrelationships which occur between some or all of the key elements in contributing to the continuum nor how each element in practice reflects the overall purpose of community education. Hence, in a fully developed model, each of the key elements and the overall purpose interact in a dynamic and iterative manner to produce a model for community education. A pictorial illustration of this dynamic process is given in Figure 8.

Figure 8 A Community Education Model



Thus, in the fully developed model, the continuum of learning with its two stages becomes an iterative process whereby each element in the stages reflects the developmental, open and accessible components of the overall purpose. Therefore, each element in the process will reflect in practice all parts of the overall purpose so that whatever element is taken from the continuum, it will always have a developmental, accessible and open emphasis underpinning the practice.

This can be illustrated for example, when in the interventionist element contact is made in the local area and negotiation commences on learning activities. In that situation, professional educators should see the possibilities for developing in people a confidence in the value of education and the belief that they can benefit from participation. By negotiating with local people, the education system is made more accessible and open to non-traditional learners thus fulfilling the purpose of developing learners through community education.

Furthermore, aspects of the supportive and responsive elements can be found in the interventionist element. In contacting people, professionals will be seeking to support individuals and groups in their local area through involvement in local activities and events and eventually, supporting the learning activities and events that are carried out. Community educators too, will include aspects of the responsive element as they collaborate in meeting educational needs and requirements with appropriately

structured, flexible and locally based activities as part of the first stage of re-engagement.

The situation also pertains with each of the other two elements in the process. Thus, when community educators are seeking to influence institutions to provide support for learners, for example by assisting with the costs of participation, there will be involved in the situation the purpose of developing in people confidence in addition to creating educational provision that is more open and accessible to less advantaged adults. In this supportive function will be found aspects from the interventionist element when, for example, transitional arrangements are negotiated with learners. So too will interaction with the responsive element occur as, again for example, methods for easing the costs of learning are agreed between institutions and learners to create more learner friendly arrangements.

Similarly, in working to achieve responsive institutions, through, for example, flexible learning strategies, community educators will be developing for the least advantaged learners more appropriate educational opportunities which opens access into institutions. In this responsive element too, will be contained aspects of the interventionist element when, for instance, outreach work is carried out by institutions. The supportive element will be included also as guidance and personal support is offered to adults participating in flexible learning strategies.

This interaction between each element and the overall purpose of the community education model and the intermeshing of the elements with each other can be seen as

part of an iterative progression that characterises the community education process. At whatever point educational engagement is sought, other elements are by implication necessary to fulfil each particular part of the continuum. The model hence is developmental with each element dependent on the other to create the conditions for a continuum of educational opportunity.

It is crucial therefore that professional educators and institution builders manage the implementation of the key elements with a view to the importance of the interaction between elements in the overall process. Thus the linkages between each element are vital in sustaining the continuity and coherence of the process: institutions which receive non-traditional adult learners but have little guidance and support available or flexible and negotiated learning strategies will quickly lose their attraction for the groups in question. Similarly, community educators who see the interventionist element as an end in itself in engaging adults in local areas without establishing arrangements to assist in the transition into institutional provision increase the risks of such work remaining on the margins of the main system. In both these situations, not only will the activity embarked upon fall short in providing a continuum of educational opportunity but it will fail to fully develop learners and achieve more open and accessible institutions.

Therefore, the overall purpose of the community education model may be described as developing learners and contributing towards more open and accessible educational

institutions that actively seek to meet the needs of non-traditional adult learners. A major objective of the model consequently is to encourage the progression of adults from the first stage in the continuum into mainstream educational provision. While it may be the case that non-traditional adult learners may get involved in educational activities as a means of enjoyment or as an end in itself without the need or desire to move on to other provision, the idea of progression in the continuum is important. It remains a crucial feature of the community education process to raise the awareness of adults and point to the benefits of wider educational participation while at the same time, moving people on to voluntarily engage in the main educational structures and to gain the knowledge and skills to develop as individuals and as members of their communities. Through the educational process exemplified in this approach, community education contributes to the vital role of giving the least advantaged people the skills and knowledge that may assist them to intervene in the cumulative disadvantages which trap them in the cycle of powerlessness described in Chapter One.

By engaging non-traditional learners in fully accredited educational activity within the main provision they will be exposed to greater opportunities. From this position the least advantaged groups may be potentially empowered to participate in the main social and economic systems thereby developing the potential to alter not only their own personal circumstances but those of their communities.

Closely linked to this latter point is the possibility that through education a longer term impact on the cycle of powerlessness may be achieved. As non-traditional adult learners benefit from the learning process, the negative perceptions once held about education and passed on to children may be reversed and substituted by positive attitudes towards learning. Hopefully, in time, children will grow up within a supportive climate towards education and seek to achieve maximum benefits from the available opportunities. As they grow into parents they too will pass on the positive values of education to their children.

The possibility is thus held out through education to alter the negative attitudes prevalent amongst disadvantaged groups towards their situation. The hopelessness and lack of confidence to alter circumstances could be changed by empowering adults and subsequently children, through the educational experience, to take a positive view of their potential as individuals and as communities and improve their present and future life situation. Community education can contribute to this position by a process which encourages "flexibility, imagination, coordination and participation"⁶³ on the part of professional community educators, institution builders and adult learners towards creating open and accessible educational systems.

Later in Chapter Five, the continuum of learning and its key elements contained in the community education model proposed in this chapter will be used to evaluate the work of a community education project in Hull which is described

in the following chapter. Thus, the evaluation will consider how far the study of community education in practice illuminated and developed the idea of a continuum of learning opportunities and validated the interventionist, supportive and responsive elements of the model. While Chapter Five deals with this evaluation, the following chapter sets out to describe in detail the development of the community education project.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. See pp.111-115 in Chapter Two.
2. See Douglas, J.W.B. (1964), The Home and the School, The Plowden Report, (1967) and Halsey et al., (1980). Origins and Destination : Family, Class and Education in Modern Britain.
3. See for example, Woodley, A. et al. (1987) Choosing to Learn : Adults in Education and ACACE (1982) Adults : Their educational experience and needs, for example.
4. See Anderson, R. and Darkenwald, G. (1979) "Participation and Persistence in American Adult Education" and Johnstone, J.W.C. and Rivera, R. (1965) Volunteers for Learning : A Study of the educational pursuit of American adults.
5. OECD, 1977.
6. Cross, 1981.
7. McGivney, 1990.
8. Bruner, 1978, pp.71-87.
9. McGivney, op.cit., pp.105-112.
10. O'Shea and Corrigan, 1979.
11. Willis, (ed.), 1977.
12. Bowles and Gintis, 1976.
13. See Hopper, E. and Osborn, M. (1975) Adult Students : Education Selection and Social Control, who suggest that the education system, by using imposed standards and selection, traditionally rejects or excludes large numbers of the population, many of whom subsequently consider themselves as failures.
14. Mee and Wiltshire, 1978.
15. ACACE, 1982.
16. See McGivney, op.cit., pp.80-81, for a description of the dispositional factors inhibiting unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers from participating in education.
17. Hedoux, 1982.
18. ibid.
19. Scanlan, 1986.

20. *ibid.*
21. See for example the findings of Replan (1989) Access in Action and UDACE (1988) Developing Access.
22. Darkenwald and Larson, 1980, p.90.
23. Lovett, 1982, p.31.
24. This is a more radical role for community educators which has its origins in French and Canadian adult education. Jackson describes this role as something between that of administrator and teacher, 1970, p.174.
25. Blondin, 1971, p.160.
26. For a discussion of his meaning, see Freire (1972) Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Chapter III, pp.21-47.
27. Larson, 1980.
28. Fraser and Ward, 1988.
29. Lovett, *op.cit.*, p.93.
30. Fraser and Ward, *op.cit.*, p.98.
31. See the discussion on pp.111-114 in Chapter Two.
32. See Arnstein, 1969, for a fuller discussion of his idea of 'a ladder of citizen participation'.
33. Saunders, 1979, p.156.
34. Pahl, *op.cit.*, pp.201-211.
35. National Advisory Body (NAB), 1988.
36. Crosland, 1988.
37. *ibid.*
38. Cooper and Bornat, 1988.
39. NAB, 1987.
40. A report on planning in relation to ethnic minorities for instance, identified twelve areas where action on equal opportunities is required, including the importance of staff development and training. Borthwick et al. (1988) Planning NAFE Equal Opportunities for Ethnic Minorities.

41. See Further Education Unit (FEU) (1987a), FE in Black and White, on the crucial role of a whole institution approach to equal opportunities in achieving positive change.
42. Hall, 1988.
43. Issitt and Spence, 1988, pp.14-17.
44. Bradford and Ilkley Community College, Newham Community College, Handsworth Technical College and Sandown College in Liverpool variously provide programmes for special preparation or bridging courses with built in guidance support for new mature student groups. Quoted in McGivney, op.cit., pp.62-63.
45. FEU, 1988.
46. FEU, 1987b.
47. McGivney, op.cit., p.155.
48. Coats, 1989.
49. Replan, op.cit., p.8.
50. See McGivney, op.cit., pp.92-99 for a discussion of the educational participation of women with dependent children.
51. National Institute of Adult and Continuing Education (NIACE), 1990, pp.27-29.
52. *ibid.*
53. Quoted in McGivney, p.cit., p.155.
54. *ibid.*
55. Replan, op.cit., p.6.
56. White, 1987.
57. Derbyshire LEA, 1988, pp.12-13.
58. See for example the development of flexi-study at Southampton Technical College where timing, financial and open learning support has been successfully piloted. Replan, op.cit., p.11.
59. *ibid*, p.20.
60. Bradford and Ilkley College for example, offers part-time certificated courses for mature students as preparation for entry into HND or HNC in Business Education. Quoted in McGivney, op.cit., p.154.

61. See for instance, Blamire, J. and Nielsen, F. (1987) Dont Call Us, and Lowen, D. (1986) "Barriers to Educational Opportunities for Adults".
62. *ibid.*
63. Lovett, 1983, p.32.

CHAPTER FOUR

COMMUNITY EDUCATION IN PRACTICE:

THE NORTH HULL COMMUNITY OUTREACH PROJECT

INTRODUCTION

Chapter One was concerned with urban priority areas and the effects of adverse material conditions on local communities. It was suggested that as one aspect of disadvantage affected another, the cumulative effect served to trap members from low income groups in a cycle of powerlessness.¹ Furthermore, this situation was shown to be spreading out from the inner areas of cities to affect other parts of the conurbations thus increasing the numbers of people who were becoming socially polarized from the main institutions of society.

Chapter Two considered the way in which community education emerged during the post war period as one solution to the perceived problems of priority areas. In the subsequent examination and analysis two broad strands were identifiable which stressed a community problem solving approach for community education. Thus, in the compensatory strand, the emphasis was on altering the cultural outlook of children and their families through a strategy of positive discrimination and programmes of compensatory education.

In the second broad strand the focus switched to an interventionist approach which stressed the potential of priority area communities to regenerate their situation. Community education would assist in this reconstruction of urban life through community development in which three

responses, the school based relevant curriculum, community action through adult education and community control of institutions were promoted as key elements.

It was argued however, that each of these responses made little progress in altering the social and educational problems arising within priority areas and failed to achieve the level of regeneration amongst local communities that was envisaged. It was argued that a contributory factor to the failure of the responses was in the underestimation by community educators of the complexities of a diverse urban society. The assumption that there existed in priority areas a single, unified homogeneous population capable of coming together through education to alter their material circumstances was subsequently shown to be fallacious.

What appeared to be missing in the analysis by post war community educators was an understanding of the powerful inhibitions produced by situational, institutional and dispositional barriers to learning which, in Chapter Three, were shown to restrict participation in education.² The argument suggested that the complex interaction of these multiple factors requires an approach from community education which stresses the educational engagement of the least advantaged groups in society, rather than a concern with overt social change or community regeneration. The proposed model of community education sought to achieve this educational engagement by creating a continuum of learning opportunities with the overall purpose of developing learners and achieving more open and accessible

institutions.³ Central to this purpose were the key elements in community' education practice that were interventionist, supportive and responsive.

The purpose of this and the following chapter therefore is to examine this model through a critical analysis of a community education project in Hull that was fashioned on the process suggested by the model. Hence, the development of the North Hull Community Outreach Project, which focused on the Orchard Park Estate located approximately three and a half miles to the north of the city centre, is described in this chapter. In the following chapter an evaluation is undertaken which discusses how far the practice developed in the project, illuminated and developed the model of community education put forward in the previous chapter.

This chapter is consequently organised in the following three parts to facilitate this task.

1. A profile of Hull and the Orchard Park Estate.
2. Establishing the North Hull Community Outreach Project.
3. Describing the North Hull Community Outreach Project.

In the first part a socio economic and educational profile for Hull and the Orchard Park Estate is provided and the material conditions which contribute to the priority area status of the estate are discussed in order to provide a context within which the initiative can be located and subsequently evaluated. The second part of the chapter reviews the position of the local education authority (LEA) on community education and considers the methodology used in the project, thus providing the background to the establishment of the project.

In the final part of the chapter, the actual development of the work in the project is described, providing details of the practice to be evaluated against the proposed model of community education described previously.

1. A PROFILE OF HULL AND THE ORCHARD PARK ESTATE

The purpose of this part of the chapter is to set the context within which the North Hull Community Outreach Project functioned by describing the socio economic and educational characteristics of the Orchard Park Estate and the city of Kingston upon Hull.

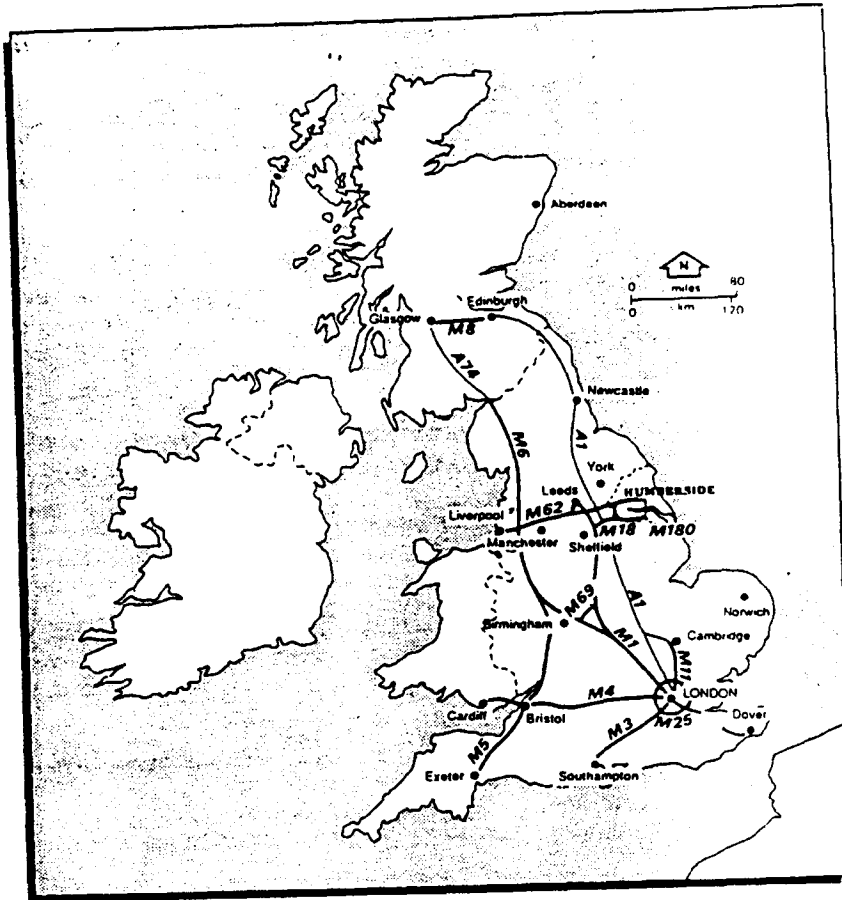
In the broader context, the city of Hull, with a population of 245,000 is situated within the administrative county of Humberside (see Map One). The county has a population of approximately 859,000 and stretches from Bridlington in the north to the River Humber and south across into what was once North Lincolnshire, with the County Council having responsibility for educational provision as the local education authority (LEA).

It will be shown in this part of the chapter that the Orchard Park Estate with its population of 13,800 (see Map Two) experiences a range of material disadvantages very similar to those which characterise the urban priority areas described in Chapter One. As an outer estate Orchard Park is included in the outer areas of Hull which recorded nationally the twenty fourth worst ranking for the incidence of social deprivation demonstrated in Table 5 in Chapter One.⁴

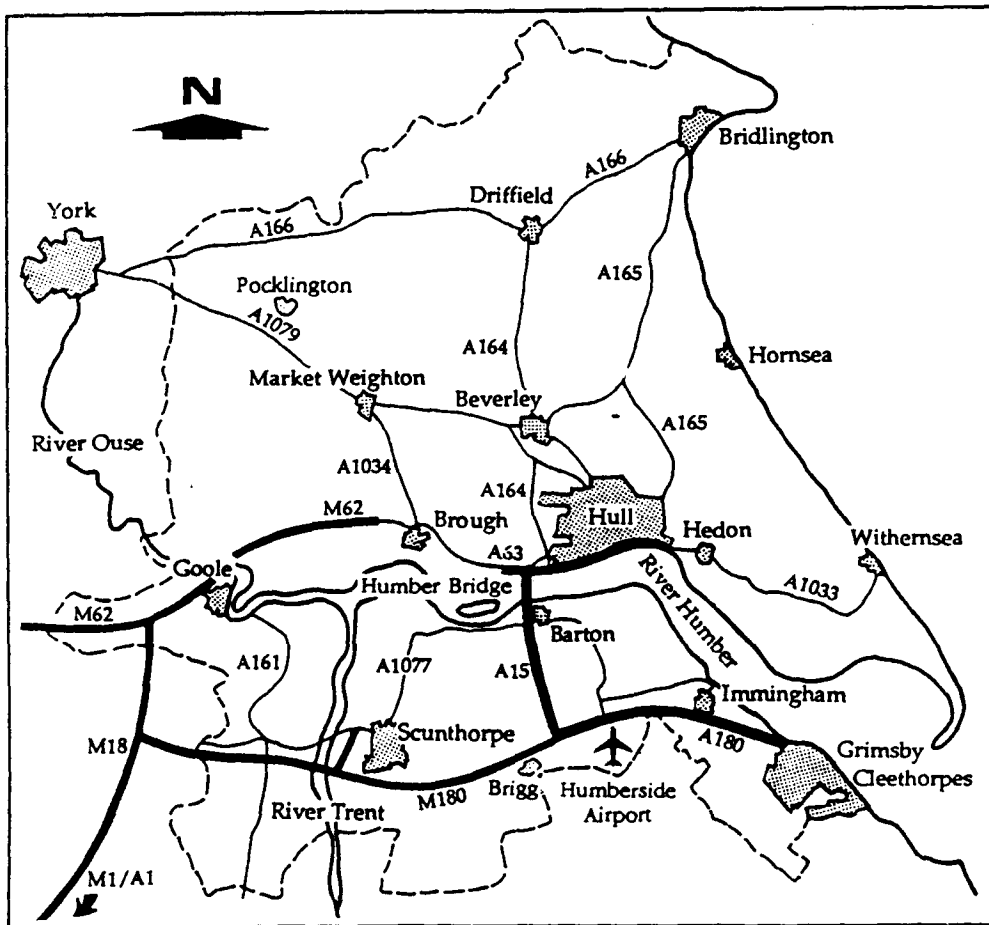
The estate should be seen also in comparison to the inner area of Hull which on the same measure scored the fourth highest incidence in Britain of social deprivation. This position of overall disadvantage in the city has to be considered in the context of the decline since the 1950s of

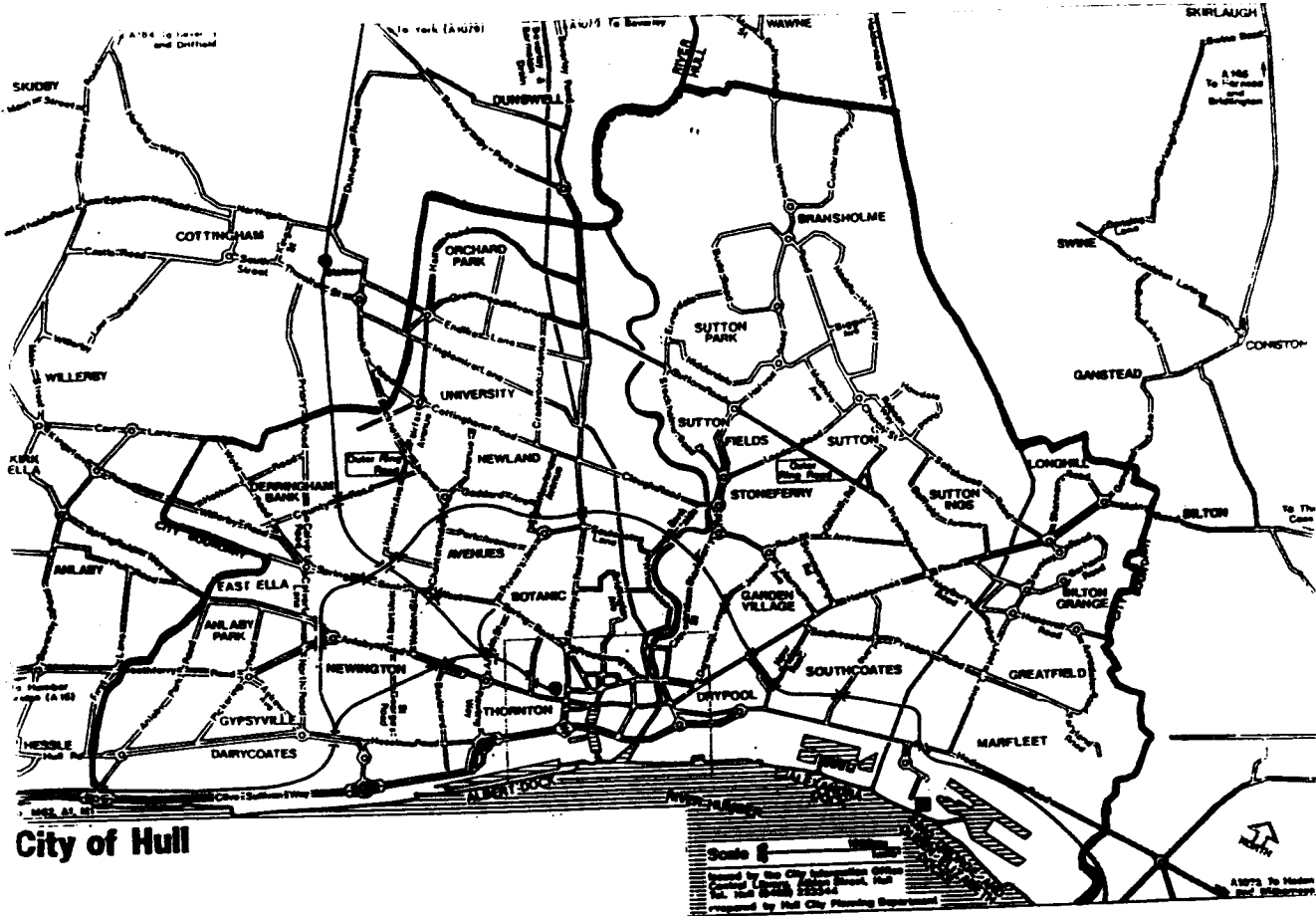
National Context

Map 1



County Map

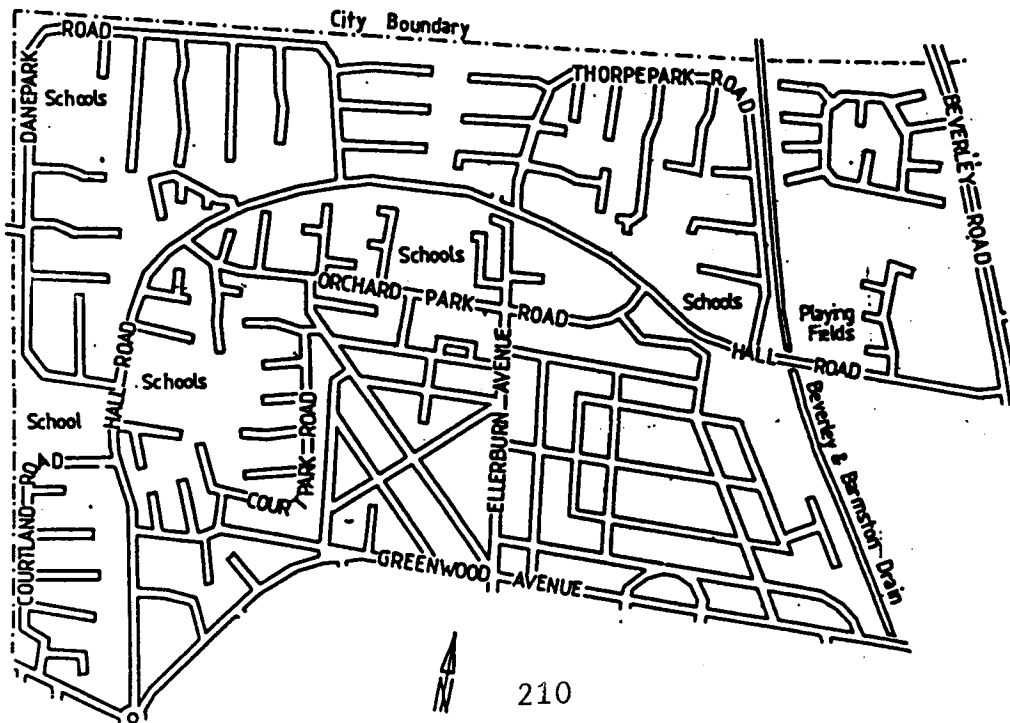




ORCHARD PARK

WARD PROFILE

SOURCE - 1981 CENSUS



Hull as a major sea port which brought with it severe difficulties for the local economy. Despite eligibility for assistance under the Urban Programme, the problems of economic stagnation and housing decline have created long term material disadvantages in both inner and outer parts of the city. This part of the chapter therefore has the following four sections which assist in describing conditions within the city of Hull and the Orchard Park Estate:

1. Population statistics.
2. Employment trends.
3. Housing conditions.
4. Educational provision.

The information emerging from these sections thus provides the context for the subsequent description in Part 3 of the Outreach Project developed in Orchard Park.

1.1 Population Statistics

The population profile for both the city of Hull and Orchard Park is broadly similar as Figure 9 shows.

Figure 9 Population profile for Hull and Orchard Park

Age group (in years)	Hull Pop. 245,000	Orchard Park Estate Pop. 13,800
65+	14%	13%
45-64	22%	24%
25-44	25%	22%
16-24	15%	17%
5-15	17%	19%
0-4	7%	5%

Source: Derived from OPCS (1982)⁵

A noticeable feature in the general area are the low numbers in the population of ethnic minorities. In both Humberside and Hull, ethnic minorities make up less than 0.8% of the respective total populations while the figure for Orchard Park reflects the trend with less than 1% of residents from ethnic minority backgrounds. The social class composition of the population in Orchard Park however, differs in two significant ways to the rest of Hull. Firstly, the estate contains far fewer residents from Social Class I and II than for Hull as a whole and secondly, the estate ranks as the ward with the second highest percentage amongst all the electoral wards in the city for heads of household from Social Class V. Figure 10 shows the relative figures.

Figure 10 Social class composition for Hull and Orchard Park

<u>Social class</u>		<u>Hull</u>	<u>Orchard Park Estate</u>
Professional and Managerial	I/II	16%	6%
Skilled Occupations	III	51%	49%
Semi-Skilled Occupations	IV	19%	21%
Un-skilled Occupations	V	11%	20%
Armed Forces and Inadequately Defined Occupations	VI	3%	4%
Total Population		245,000	13,800

Source: Derived from OPCS (1982)⁶

The high percentage of unskilled residents present in Orchard Park is largely explained by the resettlement during the 1960s of less skilled people, predominantly unemployed as a result of the slump in the fishing industry, Hull's major employer at the time. Although over the following twenty five years or so the pattern of employment has changed for many from the estate, the incidence of unemployment has remained largely at a similar level, as the next section demonstrates.

1.2 Employment trends

The number of economically active residents in Hull numbers 102,230 with 5,740 of those living on the Orchard Park Estate. The occupational distribution for both the city and for Orchard Park, as Figure 11 shows, is towards the greater proportions of the workforce in service related employment.

Figure 11 Type of employment of residents

	<u>Hull</u>	<u>Orchard Park Estate</u>
Manufacturing and Construction	38%	41%
Distribution and Catering	22%	20%
Transportation	10%	10%
Other Services (including Agriculture, Energy and Water)	30%	29%
Total Workforce	102,230	5,740

Source: Derived from OPCS (1982)⁷

However, the most recent figures available suggest that the prognosis in some of the employment areas is not good. Of the redundancies notified in Hull for 1991, 75 per cent were in manufacturing and construction and almost 11 per cent in distribution.⁸ With little comparable inward investment to replace jobs lost, the high unemployment trends for parts of Hull and the Orchard Park Estate look set to continue. The situation at the 1981 Census provided evidence showing how Orchard Park had an overall unemployment rate of 20 per cent making it the fifth worst affected electoral ward in Hull. Figure 12 illustrates the extent of the position in 1981.

Figure 12 Unemployment rates for Hull and Orchard Park 1981

	<u>Hull</u>	<u>Orchard Park Estate</u>
Total unemployment rate	16%	20%
Unemployment rate of economically active males	19%	25%
Unemployment rate of all economically active young persons (16-24)	24%	27%

Source: Derived from OPCS (1982)⁹

The situation in 1991 has shown little improvement, and, if anything, reflects an increasing problem in Orchard Park as Figure 13 shows.

Figure 13 Unemployment rates 1991

	<u>Hull</u>	<u>Orchard Park Estate</u>
Total unemployment rate	15.2%	27%
Unemployment rate of economically active males	20%	30%

Source: Derived from Department of Employment (1991)¹⁰

Hence, by December 1991, Orchard Park had become the fourth worst affected ward in the city for overall unemployment and the second highest for male unemployment. Furthermore, a recent survey in 1991 of residents from Orchard Park found that 63.5 per cent of people interviewed had been out of work between six months and two years, and that 20 per cent had been out of work longer than two years.¹¹ Comparative figures for 1988 showed that 25 per cent had been unemployed for over six months and less than two years, while those without employment for over two years registered at 43 per cent.¹²

Thus, while there had occurred a shift in the pattern of long term unemployment the survey found nevertheless that there were "sections of the community ... for whom unemployment has become endemic and generational, forming groups of people who ... appear to be virtually unemployable".¹³ The position of approximately one in three of those unemployed on the estate having been without a job for over a year was further exacerbated by the geographical isolation of Orchard Park from employment centres, an outcome that arose out of post war policy to develop outer

estates in Hull which had consequences for the types of housing on the estate. The issue of housing on the estate is described in the next section.

1.3 Housing conditions

The Orchard Park Estate is predominantly a post war uniformly built local authority outer estate where many of the properties are in a poor condition and in need of repair.¹⁴ The initial council estate, built between 1919 and 1950 was established in an effort to rehouse the population of the inner city of West Hull suffering from the effects of substandard properties and bomb damage during the war. This resulted in some 1700 dwellings being built with a further 3600 added after 1964. These properties included high rise flats and were used to house the population moving out of the dock areas of Hull following the collapse of the fishing industry. Subsequently, the composition of housing type on the estate reflected the predominant council involvement in the area as Figure 14 shows.

Figure 14 Household type : Hull and Orchard Park

<u>Type</u>	<u>Hull</u>	<u>Orchard Park Estate</u>
Owner occupier	38%	2%
Renting from City Council	47%	97%
Renting privately	12%	0.2%
Other (i.e. Sheltered Housing)	3%	0.3%
Total households	97,982	5,335 (5.45%)

Source: Derived from OPCS (1982)¹⁵

Households on the estate too contained more occupants likely to encounter disadvantage than elsewhere in Hull as Figure 15 illustrates.

Figure 15 Disadvantaged households

	Hull	Orchard Park Estate	Ranking out of 20 wards (best 1, worst 20)
	_____	_____	_____
Private Household containing a Pensioner living alone	16%	16%	11
Private Households in permanent buildings with more than one person per room	4%	7%	19
Private Households which contain at least one single-parent family with dependent children aged 0-15 years	2%	4%	19

Source: Derived from OPCS (1982)¹⁶

Furthermore, Orchard Park contains the third highest level of households in the city lacking a car at 67 per cent with a population heavily dependent on public transport.¹⁷ In addition, the high numbers from socially vulnerable groups who include unemployed people, one-parent families and pensioners live amidst an unwelcoming environment.

The Orchard Park Estate has a lack of open spaces, with existing space being featureless, poor shopping parades, is isolated from family and childcare facilities and has a shortage of community and recreation centres, all of which increases the sense of social dislocation for many people

living on the estate. When questioned in the 1991 survey on the perception residents held over the quality and extent of social relationships on the estate and whether people thought a good sense of community existed on Orchard Park only 34 per cent agreed while over 42 per cent disagreed and 24 per cent either didn't know or had no opinion.¹⁸ When further questioned, respondents pointed out the connection between unemployment and crime whether of theft, vandalism or rowdiness which were perceived to reduce the feeling of community.¹⁹

The feeling by local respondents that unemployment and crime were linked and together, contributed to a lack of community invariably reflected a subjective bias towards the local situation. However, crime statistics in 1989 showed Orchard Park to have the second worst figures for recorded crime in the respective sub-division, with crimes against property and cars featuring significantly in the figures.²⁰ Whatever the reasons behind the statistics, they combined with the fact that 19% of all probation cases for Hull came from people living on the estate to contribute towards a feeling that the area was in decline. Thus, the material conditions on Orchard Park with disproportionately high levels of unemployment, personal deprivation and a sense of social dislocation reflected the worst disadvantages associated with urban priority areas described in Chapter One.²¹

Furthermore, the educational record on the estate was poor with attainment levels well below the average for the

city and the LEA as a whole. This educational performance will be the concern of the next section.

1.4 Educational provision

Educational provision in Hull is under the auspices of Humberside County Council as the LEA which in 1991 maintained 141,000 children at 427 schools, 73,500 students at six further education colleges and 82,000 adult education enrolments within a budget of £352 million. In Hull there are eighty primary schools, eighteen secondary schools, two sixth form colleges and one college of further education, five full time adult education centres and seventeen full time youth centres. On the Orchard Park Estate there are five primary schools, one secondary school, three part time adult education centres, three full time youth centres and a number of part time evening centres.

The high percentage take up by those from Orchard Park Estate entitled to free school meals and clothing grants, which are linked to low income, largely reflects the socio economic position discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter. The statistics in Figure 16 illustrate the extent of the position.

Figure 16 Free school meals and clothing grants : Percentage take up

	Orchard Park Estate		North Hull		Hull		LEA	
	%		%		%		%	
	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S
Free school meals	74.12	47	72.53	28.38	42.6	25.20	30	16.80
Clothing grants	58.06	44.5	57.37	31.45	36	27.40	25	17.90

P = primary S = secondary

Source: Humberside LEA (1992)²²

The high allocation of free school meals and clothing grants reflects the financial difficulties of many families on Orchard Park, which is linked to the broader problems associated with poverty and low income in such priority areas. Adding to this aspect of disadvantage is the achievement of children in schooling which, in Orchard Park, ranks amongst the lowest in Hull and the LEA as Figure 17 shows.

Figure 17 GCSE passes and staying on rates : Orchard Park Estate

	Orchard Park Estate	North Hull	Hull	LEA	UK
	%	%	%	%	%
GCSE % pass of entries	90	91.7	89	93	94.8
GCSE % A-C's of entries	21	31.3	23	35	42.3
GCSE passes per pupil on roll	4.2	5.8	5.6	6.7	6.8
Staying on rates by year 11 pupils	17.2	33	35.8	38.7	49.9

Source: Humberside LEA (1992)²³

This poor achievement in schooling and a low staying on rate into post school education can be regarded as synonymous with priority areas as Chapter One demonstrated.²⁴ There it was argued that the persistent failure of children from priority areas to benefit from the educational system was a contributory factor in the continuation of the cycle of powerlessness which serves to trap many people from priority areas.²⁵ Thus, a lack of qualifications weakens an individual's opportunities in the job market which in turn affects their housing opportunities and social mobility.

This situation appears to be working in the Orchard Park Estate too; amongst the people who were unemployed on Orchard Park, two thirds were without any formal educational or vocational qualifications.²⁶ Not only were they unemployed and lacking qualifications, there appeared no apparent desire to get more, as the responses to a question in the 1991 survey of the estate indicated. Of those asked if they would like to get better qualified only 22 per cent said they would while over 56 per cent responded negatively.²⁷ The reasons given for not getting qualifications are shown in Figure 18.

Figure 18

Qualifications : Why not?

	%
Too old	22.1
Waste of time	15.9
Don't need more	14.2
Don't want any	14.2
Doesn't get a job	13.3
Don't like school	8.0

Source: Polygon Research (1991)²⁸

It appears from the survey that the longer unemployment affected a person, the less inclined they became to take part in education and the greater their hopelessness at ever achieving the skills or training to re-enter the job market. This dispositional barrier to education was summarised in the 1991 survey which suggested that generations of unemployment and its attendant hardships ... have inflicted a sense of, if not despair, at least defeatism.²⁹

This disengagement from post school education together with the general problems associated with the socio economic circumstances on the estate provides the context against which the LEA responded to tackle the educational needs of unemployed people. The result was the development of a multi-disciplinary community education project to work in the North Hull area. The background to the establishment of this initiative and the circumstances in the LEA at the time of its emergence will be considered in the next part of the chapter.

2. ESTABLISHING THE NORTH HULL COMMUNITY OUTREACH PROJECT

This part of the chapter is organised to enable three aims to be fulfilled. Firstly, to discuss the emergence in the LEA of a community education perspective. Secondly, to describe the arrangements for launching the North Hull Community Outreach Project and thirdly, to outline the methodology used in establishing the Project. The following three sections reflect these aims.

1. The LEA and community education.
2. Launching the Project.
3. Methodology for the Project.

2.1 The LEA and community education

Since the middle part of the 1980s the education service in Humberside has at times through its individual agencies jointly carried out work directly related to the educational needs of younger and older unemployed adults. Hence, over a period of years, experiments have taken place with a number of small scale initiatives in which adult, youth and careers service staff jointly sought to provide coordinated educational services to local groups and communities, particularly in the Hull area. Examples include attaching careers officers to daytime and evening youth centres and educational guidance services to adults in partnership with the adult education service.

During 1986, a number of developments were beginning to emerge from the LEA under the broad notion of community education. The Education Committee Staffing Monitoring Group³⁰, established to oversee the reorganisation of all

schools in the Hull area, agreed proposals to allocate additional staff as "compensatory provision for schools identified as disadvantaged because of environment factors".³¹ These proposals led to the appointment of 42 home-school liaison teachers with a half time teaching timetable together with specific responsibility for facilitating the development of an effective partnership between home and school.

In June 1986 the Education Committee established a working party and commissioned a survey of existing community education provision within the LEA to include the home-school strategy, schools with community facilities and the various inter-service community education initiatives out in local areas. At the same time a post compulsory planning group was formed in the Education Department to look specifically at community based and outreach schemes involving post sixteen providing services working with unemployed adults.³² In the late summer of 1986 the planning group proposed that a cross service outreach pilot scheme should be established in North Hull, thus formalising existing ad hoc arrangements between services. The justification for choosing North Hull was linked to criteria drawn up by the group that the pilot scheme should concentrate on an area of identified multiple disadvantage and where educational participation in the post school phase was limited. The development of the idea of an outreach project therefore coincided with a period during the mid to late eighties when the Humberside LEA began to explore the possibilities of a community education approach across the

whole education service. Consequently, while the school response concentrated more on a compensatory education model, reminiscent of the positive discrimination debate in Chapter Two³³, the post 16 response was concerned with collaborative and community based activities working in particular with unemployed people. The emphasis on a community education approach to post 16 thinking and practice was stimulated by the appointment in February 1987 of a senior officer with responsibility for developing community education across the post compulsory phase. He brought to the LEA a wide experience of this area of work, in particular, promoting the principles of community education developed in the proposed model described in Chapter Three.³⁴

The endorsement by the Education Committee of an Authority statement on community education appeared in the summer of 1987 (see Appendix Three), well after both school and post compulsory initiatives were under way but did serve to reinforce the LEA view that a "high degree of local collaboration between schools, colleges, and the adult and youth services"³⁵ was an integral part of the community education approach. The broad commitment from the LEA together with the judgement by professionals that all the evidence showed Hull to be experiencing social and economic disadvantages which contributed to low achievements in all phases of education subsequently provided the context and desire in the Authority to launch an interventionist strategy in North Hull. The arrangements for establishing that initiative will be considered next.

2.2 Launching the Project

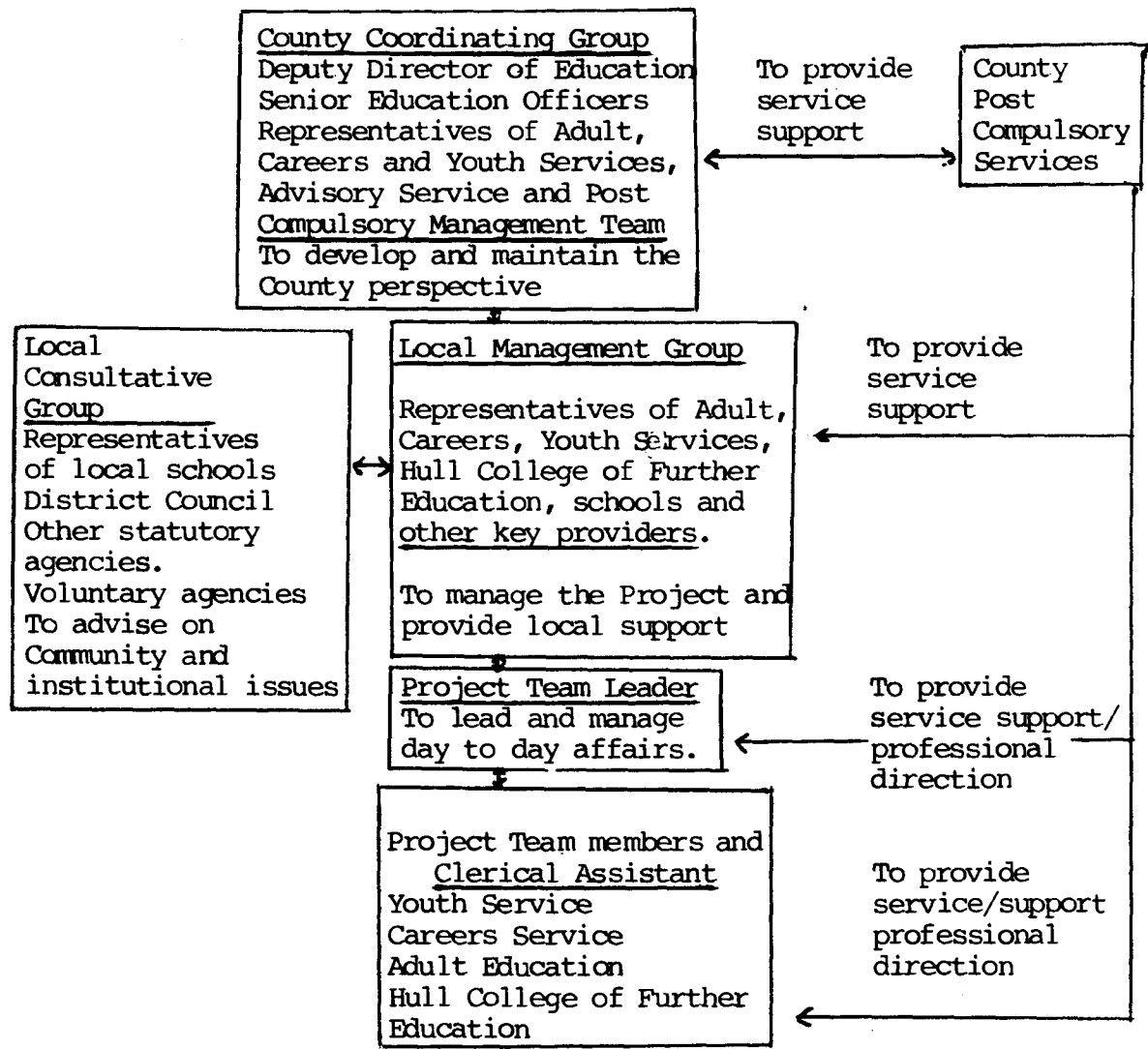
The first task of the post compulsory planning group following the agreement to establish a pilot project in North Hull was to make arrangements for a local group to oversee developments. Subsequently a North Hull Steering Group was established in the Autumn of 1986³⁶ with the twofold task of firstly, formulating an inter-service project that would improve the personal and vocational development of adults and secondly, to identify specific parts of North Hull to focus the work.

In early 1987 the Education Committee asked that the Hull College of Further Education develop community education programmes using the surplus Sir Leo Schultz Senior High School in Orchard Park Estate. At the same time, the North Hull Steering Group presented a report entitled "A Project to Extend Educational Resources in Urban Communities"³⁷ in which it was proposed that a cross institutional pilot scheme should be introduced into the Orchard Park Estate and the North Hull Estate for two years in the first instance. The purpose of the initiative would be to "extend educational provision for those over school age in urban areas, particularly the long term unemployed, by institutional cooperation and developing a coherent and coordinated response to meet the needs of the local community".³⁸ Further schemes would follow in other urban areas in the LEA pending the outcome of the lessons learned from the work in Hull.

The proposal received Committee approval in February 1987³⁹ and arrangements were made to establish a local

Management Group under whose direction the scheme would be managed with the Steering Group forming the nucleus of a broadly based local Consultative Group advising on community and institutional issues. A newly constituted County Planning Group responsible for the oversight of this scheme and other post school initiatives was also established. Figure 19 illustrates the proposed arrangements for managing and supporting the Project.

Figure 19 North Hull Outreach Project:
System of Management and Support



Source: NHCOP⁴⁰

The recommendation in the report by the Steering Group for a multi disciplinary team to develop the initiative led to appointments being sought from within the Adult Education Service, Youth Service, Careers Service and the Hull College of Further Education. The members would be expected to have considerable experience of working with adults, especially those experiencing unemployment, and would also be expected to be able to work closely with a wide range of statutory and voluntary agencies, including members of local community centres, residents' groups and individual members of the area. In choosing the team, considerable effort was made to ensure that the team would not be perceived as 'officialdom' so individuals were sought who would have the personality that could create confidence and understanding amongst the local population.

Subsequently, the appointments were made of fieldworkers from the separate institutional organisations, each with different pay and conditions of service, who were experienced professionals aware of the bureaucracy of local authority processes, its language and means of decision making. Each fieldworker was able to demonstrate competence in communication skills, report writing and dealing with other professionals while bringing to the team considerable experience of working with a broad range of less advantaged learners. The team were to occupy a surplus school house block on the Sir Leo Schultz site, adjacent to the Hull College community annexe and on the periphery of the Orchard Park Estate, although the area of benefit included the North Hull Estate (see Map Three).

By the end of the summer 1987 arrangements were in hand to launch the North Hull Community Outreach Project in the Autumn under the leadership of the Careers Service worker who received an additional responsibility allowance. The emphasis for the Project would be on action research over a time limited period as the next section in the chapter describes.

2.3 Methodology for the Project

The choice of an action research project to carry out the work was based on the notion that the experience gained from the pilot scheme could be transferred to other parts of the LEA exhibiting similar levels of disadvantage and educational underachievement. The experiment in North Hull therefore would be for a limited period in which a community education process based on the model proposed in the previous chapter would be adopted that allowed educators to monitor, evaluate and record the practice and its social context. The process in question would seek to achieve educational provision that was interventionist, supportive and responsive and where the practice emphasised working out amongst local residents in their areas of residence and organising educational activities in the locality. In this way, the initiative was intended to reflect closely the key elements and purpose of the community education model proposed in Chapter Three.

By developing an action research model, the opportunity was made to "study an instance in action"⁴¹ and capture the reality and dynamics of everyday social reality which provided a close description that could inform practice

elsewhere. Such an approach was considered more valuable than those contained in other forms of scientific enquiry which relied upon the measurement of sets of objectives or variables in a statistical form of methodology.⁴² Statistics alone were felt to be inadequate because, while they may measure the existence of disadvantage they provided little information about the complex interaction and mediating relationships between people and between their everyday experience of the environment.

In carrying out action research, the Project team gathered anecdotal and statistical evidence from interviews and used both open and closed questionnaires⁴³ to obtain information about practice and to assess attitudes and opinions on the work being developed. The responses elicited from the questionnaires were largely subjective reflecting personal opinions, judgements, attitudes and feelings about the Project and despite difficulties associated with verifying the reliability and accuracy of the responses the information gathered gave valuable insights into user perceptions about the work. Similarly the method of using semi structured interviews⁴⁴ produced subjective but again direct and valuable feedback from local residents.

In overall terms, the methods involved in an action research approach gave the opportunity for a closer examination to be undertaken of community education in practice and attendant complexities "to be grasped and articulated"⁴⁵ than otherwise might have occurred through more scientific based modes of enquiry. Essentially, the

action research project with its emphasis on process rather than product enabled the unforeseen and unintended consequences to be adjusted to, accommodated and recorded. The dynamic interaction of everyday life therefore could be grasped within a model that allowed complex social realities to potentially be further explored and understood.

The subsequent development of the North Hull Community Outreach Project thus became organised around the principles of action research. The next part of the chapter provides a description of the Project as it developed over a period of two years.

3. DESCRIBING THE NORTH HULL COMMUNITY OUTREACH PROJECT

The North Hull Community Outreach Project commenced on 2nd September 1987 when the Project team took up residence in a house block on the Sir Leo Schultz site in what was to be known as "the base". In proposing that the emphasis of the Project would be to target work with unemployed people on the two estates of North Hull and Orchard Park, the Steering Group identified the following objectives in support of the broader aim:

- (i) identify more effectively the educational needs of the post-school population and make appropriate provision, giving special consideration to the requirements of the unemployed while taking into account ethnic and gender needs;
- (ii) provide an integrated approach involving the Adult Education, Youth, Careers, Hull College of Further Education and local schools as well as other educational and social agencies, both statutory and voluntary;
- (iii) provide counselling, guidance and educational provision in locations that are acceptable to unemployed people and including the concept of 'outreach';
- (iv) build on individuals' experiences by establishing varying styles of formal and informal educational provision that are acceptable to them;
- (v) explore working practices and management systems that it is felt are relevant to an integrated educational approach;
- (vi) encourage positive attitudes towards further education and training and provide access to suitable programmes;

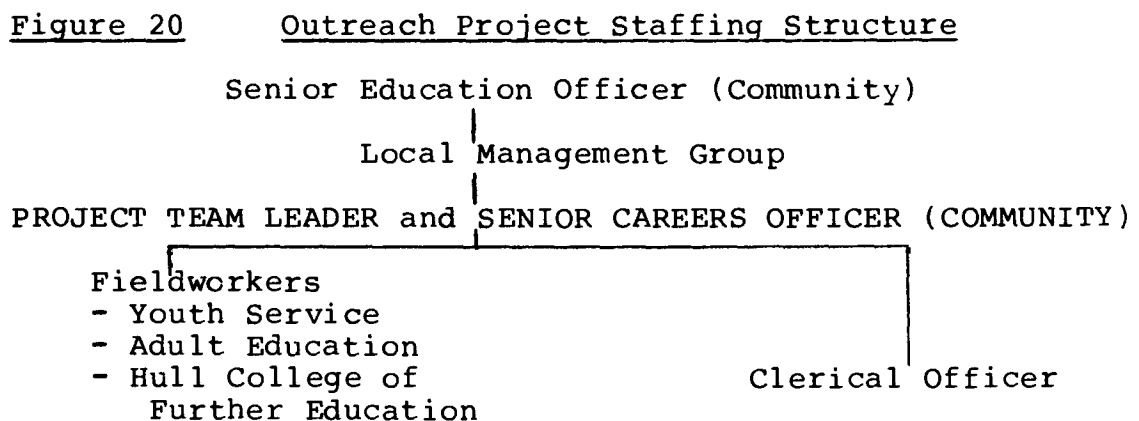
(vii) integrate individual study with personal experience and activity to improve relevance. This will particularly apply to the development of basic educational skills.⁴⁶

In carrying out these objectives in a manner which reflected the process contained in the model of community education described in Chapter Three, the Project team embarked upon a number of key and often overlapping tasks. These tasks can be grouped into the following four main areas which contributed to the development of the Project:

1. Building the Project team.
2. Identifying activities and establishing networks.
3. Developing educational activities.
4. Management and ownership of the Project.

3.1 Building the Project team

In establishing the Project team, the Steering Group envisaged an hierarchical structure for its management as Figure 20 shows.



Source: NHCOP (1989)⁴⁷

The team leader was expected "to lead the multi-disciplinary team and provide the necessary vision and

management skills to form a cohesive unit".⁴⁸ The first task therefore facing the leader involved establishing working relationships amongst team members, and crossing boundaries inherent in different statutory services. This meant overcoming the differences in methods of working, of philosophies and to an extent, the different salary and conditions of service which reflected different organisational backgrounds.

The way this task was approached reflected a participative ethos that team members agreed should characterise the management and work of the Project. Thus the role adopted by the leader in working towards building the Project team became increasingly one of facilitator and coordinator, encouraging opportunities for team discussions and reflection as part of the process of achieving mutual supportiveness and the identification of common objectives. The emphasis throughout was on participative management structures to encourage the team building process whereby communication and decision making was shared between all the team members.

Not only was this method of working together seen by the staff as important in developing a collective sense of ownership and identity as a Project team, the "participative and democratic approach to decision making"⁴⁹ would be a significant aspect of the Project and permeate all aspects of the work as the sections that follow illustrate.

Developing the team approach though required more than a non-hierarchical management structure; fieldworkers

required the support for their new role that staff development and training "opportunities could bring. Thus, despite the absence in the original budget allocation of finance specifically allocated for support and training of Project team members, this was not allowed to hinder progress. During the first year, a total of 139 days and a further 60 in the second year, were devoted to staff development programmes involving all members of the team.

Examples from this programme included a course in the first few weeks of the Project delivered by the County Council's training unit designed to meet the task of developing new relationships and a new role for the fieldworkers.⁵⁰ Another example involved a residential course with Northern College exploring community development issues⁵¹ while further support and training was initiated by individual fieldworkers' own organisations.⁵² These latter courses were mostly concerned with individual skill development, in counselling, time management and community education.

In addition, visits to other projects outside of Humberside were undertaken in which the team were able to share experiences and compare different practices.⁵³ A great deal of staff development too, took place in the actual work situation through staff meetings, discussions with other providers and in the interactions with residents.

This process of support and training for the team continued throughout the duration of the Project and became an important aspect of the team approach which enabled the educational activities and work with residents to develop.

The early commencement of these aspects in the Project will be described next.

3.2 Identifying activities and establishing networks

During the first three months of the Project, the team concentrated on making contact with local residents and other agencies in the area, identifying existing activities and beginning the process of negotiating local educational programmes.

Thus, the early work of the Project concentrated on establishing contact with groups and agencies in the area who could provide support for the Project objectives. The team identified 80 such agencies and a further 22 organisations with whom initial contacts were made.⁵⁴ Once contact had been made through events such as community lunches and tenants' group meetings, the team began to identify existing activities within which they could offer practical support and at the same time provide a focus for the team's association with agencies in the locality.

In the period leading up to Christmas 1987, the team were aware of plans by several groups on the two estates to hold a variety of events to celebrate the festive season. Subsequently, the team sent out letters offering assistance in the activities; of the fifty seven letters sent to local agencies and community groups, twenty eight replies were received mostly requesting support in photography and making videos of local community events.⁵⁵ Subsequently the Project team not only filmed activities but also enabled local groups to use 'the base', youth centres and adult

education centres to make Christmas costumes, decorations, props and publicity posters.⁵⁶

An important aspect in making contact and involving the Project in the area was the support given to local groups representing a variety of community interests. The Project team were able to offer resources directly or access to other educational facilities to a number of groups and team members were able to offer training and support for a wide range of issues and skills, for instance, developing assertiveness skills, group skills and training on housing issues.⁵⁷ Figure 21 provides an example of the types of support offered by the Project team.

Figure 21

Local Group Support

<u>Group</u>	<u>Nature of support</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
Orchard Park 'Live Theatre Group'	Resources for group to assist in the use of local church hall for a variety of events	Approximately 100 people attended first series of shows. 45 people at 'Trawling Days' talk. Group now independent with own bank account
37th Avenue Community Centre 40th Birthday Booklet	Tutor support, access to Hull College resources - audio typing equipment, student volunteer help	Book completed and published
Orchard Park Tenants Association	Support and encouragement for providing meetings/ training on housing issues	Various public meetings plus project attendance at committee meetings

Source: Derived from NHCOP (1989)⁵⁷

In following this approach, the Project team recognised that in this initial stage of their development they were not only contributing in an active way to local community events they were at the same time establishing some form of credibility with local agencies. What became evident to the

team members also in the early part of the work was that building relationships would be very slow and time consuming but nonetheless was an essential and ongoing activity necessary if the objectives of the Project were to be met.

Equally important in this early phase of the Project was the need to identify what resources were available and what activities existed in the estates. The team believed that any group wishing to establish a new service to ensure the better utilisation of existing resources or to encourage new forms of activity should begin by systematically investigating and exploring what was available in the locality. Hence, in the early months the Project team carried out the task of obtaining and analysing the wealth of information and data on what was available in the area.

Consequently, educational programmes and activities were mapped and socio economic statistics gathered which together provided a basis from which the team could approach the task of developing programmes to meet perceived and identified needs. An example of this part of the work included the youth service and careers service team members jointly undertaking a survey to determine attitudes of young unemployed between the ages of 19-24 years towards long term unemployment and how they might wish to spend their time.⁵⁸ The purpose of this task, along with the broader Project investigations in the area was to provide information which could help inform the basis of future provision 'at the base' and in the local area.

The key to successful integration of the Project in the local area and of building trust lay in the informal way in

which the Project team approached local residents and groups. The involvement in the Christmas activities helped greatly to establish the identity and credibility of the team in the area and the subsequent survey and exploratory work was carried out with the same level of informality, crucial to the building of relationships and the development of self confidence of local people. The support given to local groups too, contributed to the establishment of a wide ranging network of contacts in the area and allowed the Project team to work alongside residents providing professional expertise where it was absent in assisting local people work towards meeting their own needs.

In this way the Project followed closely aspects of the interventionist element in the proposed model of community education discussed in Chapter Three⁵⁹ which stressed the need for professionals to work out in local areas, making contact and establishing relationships with residents as a basis from which to build confidence to re-engage in educational activity.

However, helping adults identify their own educational needs across an area the size of North Hull with two large housing estates proved to be a time consuming and difficult task. To be effective the team realised that building trust and relationships required a concentration of time and effort over a much smaller scale physical area. Furthermore, responding to the great range of needs and requests for educational activities in North Hull could not possibly be met from within the limited resources available to the Project team. The consequence of this early mapping

exercise resulted in the Project increasingly concentrating their contacts and subsequent provision on Orchard Park, the estate nearest to 'the base' and one which exhibited the greatest range of social and educational need.

Thus while the area of benefit ostensibly remained North Hull, in practice, the operational field for the Project became the Orchard Park Estate (see Map Four). The educational activities which were subsequently developed hence became focused in and around 'the base', with courses situated at local primary schools and in partnership with other educational providers. These developments are the concern of the next section.

3.3 Developing educational activities

The educational activities initiated and supported by the Project broadly fell into three categories:

- (i) those that were developed at 'the base';
- (ii) short taster courses situated in primary schools;
- (iii) activities jointly promoted with other agencies.

These are described next in the following sub-sections:

1. Activities at 'the base'.
2. Provision elsewhere on Orchard Park.
3. Involving other educational providers.

3.3.1 Activities at 'the base' Before any activities could be developed at 'the base', physical refurbishment was needed to make it more appropriate for use by adults and to ensure it was capable of being both an administrative centre and a learning and activity focus for the Project. The Steering Group had in its specification for the Project

emphasised the need for "an identifiable base to house clerical support and resources as well as ... space for meetings and education provision".⁶⁰ The accommodation subsequently included office and reception facilities, information area, counselling rooms, group rooms, creche, darkroom, craft workshops, snack bar facilities and full access for people with disabilities.

The educational provision at 'the base' fell into two parts: activities that took the form of workshops responding to expressed needs and based on more traditional forms of adult education activities over a longer duration and taster sessions which acted as an introduction to educational programmes. The notion of taster courses made good educational sense to the Project team, who saw such provision as encouraging confidence building amongst non-traditional learners that had become disengaged and distant from education. The flexibility of the concept encouraged a large degree of informality and the minimum pressure in recouping fees or administrative requirements. It also made economic sense as the course arranged were in direct response to local community needs and thus in their ownership and believed therefore to have a greater chance of longer term viability when formally offered.

Examples of such courses included cake decorating in which twelve people took part, nine of whom had never participated in adult education before and an assertiveness course in which the four participants had again no experience of adult education.⁶¹ (see Appendix Four).

The workshops that were established offered local people the opportunity to learn skills, for instance, in photography, woodwork, video and artwork in an informal way, over a longer period and allowed individuals to develop at their own pace. Thus the photography workshop, which was requested by local residents following the photographic display of local Christmas festivities at 'the base' during December 1987⁶² opened in May 1988 with a paid part time tutor and between that date and July 1989 over seventy different individuals participated in family workshops to living history projects involving senior citizens. The attraction of the photography workshop lay in its relaxed drop in approach which encouraged attendance from people who normally were reluctant to attend formal educational classes.⁶³

The multi-skills workshop too was in response to local needs, having its origination in a motor cycle repair workshop developed in coordination with the Probation Service targeted at both young offenders and other young people considered to be at risk. The original scheme started in September 1988 but because of the lack of space at 'the base', closed three months later. The idea of a multi-skills workshop superseded it and opened in January 1989 as a woodwork drop in facility supported by a part time paid tutor and incorporated the relaxed and informal style of other 'base' activities.⁶⁴

The art and crafts workshop which was again based on an already existing local art group which was relocated to 'the

base' opened in September 1988 and developed into a much broader activity which proved attractive to a wider group of residents. During the following year, over seventy five different people used the workshop facilities and took advantage of activities in drawing, plaster sculptures, model making, pottery, pastel making, face masks, graphics, murals, tapestries and mixed fabrics.⁶⁵ In addition, a volunteer tutor helped organise a machine knitting group one half day each week and a parents' group from one of the local primary schools used the combined facilities of the multiskills and art/craft workshops on a self help project to re-upholster chairs needed for the school community room. The activities thus provided at 'the base' encouraged informality and self-help in the educational process.

Assisting in the development of these activities was the provision of a creche at 'the base', even though no finance was made available for child-care in the original budget proposals for the Project. The issue of funding the creche remained unresolved throughout the duration of the Project and the facilities that emerged owed much to the fund-raising capabilities of the team members than to any formal allocation of monies.⁶⁶

Despite the difficulties presented by the budgetary constraints, creche facilities were opened at 'the base' in August 1988 catering for a maximum of twelve children at any one time. Over the following year, the provision of child care facilities proved to be a crucial element in supporting

parents participating in the educational activities at 'the base'. This aspect of the Project related closely with the element in the proposed model of community education which stressed the importance of supporting learners in the re-engagement back into education.⁶⁷

Another aspect of this element of support was the range of educational advice and guidance available through the Project. Residents were offered such support through their day to day contacts in the workshops and taster courses. This often took the form of individual and group discussion with specific requirements for more in-depth counselling being provided by the team leader in her capacity as Careers Officer.

Formal careers advice and guidance was also made available at 'the base', with an employment assistant in attendance two days each week. The take-up of this facility proved to be slow with only a total of forty five careers guidance interviews being conducted over the duration of the Project.⁶⁸ The informal support and advice offered through the educational activities however, proved to be a more fruitful method of developing confidence and self identification of needs.⁶⁹

The programme of activities that were established at 'the base' provided a foundation from which the Project team looked to develop activities elsewhere on the estate which subsequently became focused on the idea of extending taster courses as the following discussion shows.

3.3.2 Provision elsewhere on Orchard Park The successful launch of taster courses at 'the base' encouraged the Project team to extend these activities out into the estate using local primary schools. The development of community rooms at primary schools and the appointment of home school liaison teachers⁷⁰ encouraged the team to work closely with these teachers in organising taster courses. The result was for a wide range of activities, again involving people who had little or no experience of adult education. The courses included video taster sessions of which two were held at Thorpepark Primary School between joining and February 1989. The workshops were instigated because the Home School Liaison teacher suggested a specific physical education class to be filmed every week. Filming was undertaken by parents and successfully completed on a rota basis with the whole group organising a trip to visit editing equipment and learn editing techniques at a community arts centre in Hull. Of the ten people who started the sessions, six continued into the second session with four of those six never having attended adult education classes before.⁷¹

Similarly, dressmaking taster courses at Shaw Park Primary School between January and March 1989 involved nine people, seven of whom had never taken part in adult education.⁷²

The development of taster courses at local primary schools not only attracted non-traditional learners but raised the interest of both the College of Further Education

and the Adult Education Service in supporting the work of the project.

3.3.3 Involving other educational providers Many of the residents who took part in the taster courses at the primary schools progressed on to main stream provision at Hull College of Further Education involving advanced filming, dressmaking and pottery.⁷³ In addition, the College took over the dressmaking course at Shaw Park as a viable class in March 1989, continuing to operate it in the school at the request of the participants.⁷⁴ In developing provision both at 'the base' and in the primary schools, the Project team sought to link activities to courses offered by the College, which had a vocational orientation in order to offer the option to participants of progressing to further levels with possible qualifications at the end.

One consequence of this 'bridging' between taster courses and College provision, was an increasing number of residents from Orchard Park to participate in College courses. Figure 22 gives an example of participation during February 1989.

Thus, the Further Education fieldworker worked closely with the College Access and Community Education Department (ACE) to extend an existing Community Care in Practice course⁷⁵ by creating flexibility in the part of the College towards timing, location and fee arrangements. College resources too, were made available to local residents and community based events⁷⁷ and staff visits and discussions

with Project team members improved communication and a sharing of ideas.

Figure 22 Involvement by Orchard Park residents in
Hull College of Further Education Courses

<u>D.I.Y.</u>	<u>Attendance from Orchard Park</u> <u>Estate</u>
Monday evening	0 out of 17
Tuesday evening	3 out of 22
Wednesday morning	3 out of 21
Thursday morning	3 out of 21
Thursday evening	5 out of 19
 <u>Pottery</u>	
Evening	7 out of 10
Daytime in Dane Park	10 out of 10
Dance	7 out of 10
Typing	4 out of 11
Maths	3 out of 10
Return to learning	4 out of 4
Motor vehicle maintenance	3 out of 8
Cake decorating	7 out of 9
Painting and Drawing	7 out of 14

Source: Project Management Committee (1989)⁷⁶

However, when more fundamental changes in College provision were required the results overall were not so encouraging. The administrative and organisational barriers associated with fees, subsidised open learning packs and inappropriate course content⁷⁸ persisted despite the rationale underpinning the college operation as a community resource in an area of considerable disadvantage. As far as

other educational providers were concerned the responses were less problematic.

The Youth Service had at the time of the Project begun experimenting with outreach and detached methods of youth work on the Orchard Park and North Hull estates and had increased the availability of daytime opening. The Project team from the Youth Service built on these responses by supporting issue based work related to girls and women in society, racial concerns and issues concerning homelessness and long term unemployment.⁷⁹ The drop-in ethos developed by the Careers Service worker from the Project team encouraged youth centre members to refer themselves for careers guidance at 'the base'.

However, the most notable joint initiative came with the development of the Hall Road Adult Education Centre where the Project team collaborated closely with the Adult Education Service in its establishment. Significant in this initiative was the consultation with local residents that was undertaken beforehand as part of the process of setting up the resource. An extensive survey of local residents produced specific responses about what was additionally wanted, both in the daytime and evening, by local people, to develop on the planned location of a parent toddler group, youth club and community room at the centre by the adult service.⁸⁰

The responses by the residents on how Hall Road should be used focused attention on the need to provide a communal setting as much as an adult education centre. Phrases such

as "like being with other volunteers", "helping others" and "meet new people" and "widening my circle of friends",⁸¹ suggested a broader community development role for adult education and one which encouraged local responsibility and empowerment through a community education programme. This emphasis on education having a community dimension accorded closely with the Project team philosophy and became expressed in the first instance by the involvement of local people in the design and delivery of publicity and the recruitment of students, in the use of shops and market stalls to advertise classes and in the use of local radio and the encouragement of publicity by word of mouth.⁸²

The outcome was a widely based community initiated programme of day and evening activities ranging from self defence to car maintenance for women.⁸³ The fact that sixty two people initially took part in the fifteen courses that were offered, in a part of the estate where previous adult education involvement had been negligible, appeared to vindicate the consultative approach taken by the Project team and adult educators. It also reflected the community education model by attempting to make provision responsive and flexible in meeting the needs of non-traditional learners.⁸⁴ Thus, both the Project team and the adult service staff involved believed the provision reflected the choices expressed by residents and could be regarded as one result of a process in which local people were given some ownership of educational provision. The notion of

consultation, negotiation and eventual ownership of the learning process was a key principle throughout the work of the Project. The belief by the team members that local people should be encouraged to "participate and become increasingly involved in planning and developing their own educational opportunities"⁸⁵ summarised their approach to the management and ownership of the Project and is the concern of the next section in this part of the chapter.

3.4 Management and ownership of the Project

To many groups on the Orchard Park Estate the Outreach Project came as a fully-formed organisation. It's remit to work with both individuals and local groups was not helped by a lack of consultation and little advance publicity. The Project team was faced with a difficult situation of attempting to explain the aims of the Project while at the same time trying to adapt to meet the needs of local people whose understanding of the Project was vague and at times inaccurate.

At no time prior to launching the Project were local residents from the estate involved in the formation of the proposals although it was envisaged that once the Project was established, the consultative group would represent local interests.⁸⁶ This group however was not formed until four months after the start of the Project and met without any clear expectation of what was expected of the group and indeed what level of participation and ultimately, possible control of the Project would be encouraged.

During the period January to October 1988 the consultative group membership fluctuated and gradually decreased as the lack of purpose and direction other than to "regularly meet and offer guidance to the local Management Group"⁸⁷ added confusion to a declining membership. Achieving representative and locally credible support was an issue raised in Chapter Three in discussing the proposed model of community education.⁸⁸ Within the Project it became a problem too, and as the evaluation in Chapter Five suggests, the issue of local collaboration and the extent of ownership of the Project could not be satisfactorily resolved over its lifetime.⁸⁹

Difficulties too, were being experienced with the Management Group. Over the seven meetings held during the first twelve months, the Management Group membership fluctuated with up to thirteen different people having participated in meetings from the seven sponsoring organisations represented (see Appendix Five). The problem of continuity led to a lack of clarity over the role of the Group which, as the Senior Adviser for post 16 commented, soon became relatively peripheral to the running of the Project as "representatives of a range of services meeting relatively infrequently are not in a position to be very proactive in managing the Project".⁹⁰ It was further noticeable that few of the Group's members were aware of the activities of the Project nor were they able to exercise influence over the direction of the work or allocation of resources. Rather, as the Project team members increasingly

took control of the work, it was noticeable that the Management Group was merely adopting "a passive role of endorsing the activities of the Project".⁹¹

These problems associated with the Management Group remained throughout the duration of the Project and raised issues over the commitment by both individuals and agencies towards the work, again, a point that will be taken up later in the evaluation of the Project.⁹² Despite this lack of support, the Project team members continued to develop their relationships with local residents, building on the contacts established in the early phase of their arrival.

As provision within 'the base' developed during 1988 an increasing number of local residents became involved as volunteers, working in the office answering telephones, typing reports and helping the clerical officer with Project research and reports (see Appendix Six). Volunteers also worked in the kitchen, helped in the creche and assisted with many workshops from photography and video to multi-skills giving to those who were involved, a sense of identification with the Project.

After my work experience, I went in a lot more as I enjoyed Andy's company. I got on very well with him and soon he was teaching me how to run the office. Soon I was doing typing, invoices and computer work with him. I enjoyed every minute of it.

Dean (local resident)⁹³

The involvement of volunteers working alongside the professionals fitted well within the Project team's stated principle of involving people "more fully by gaining

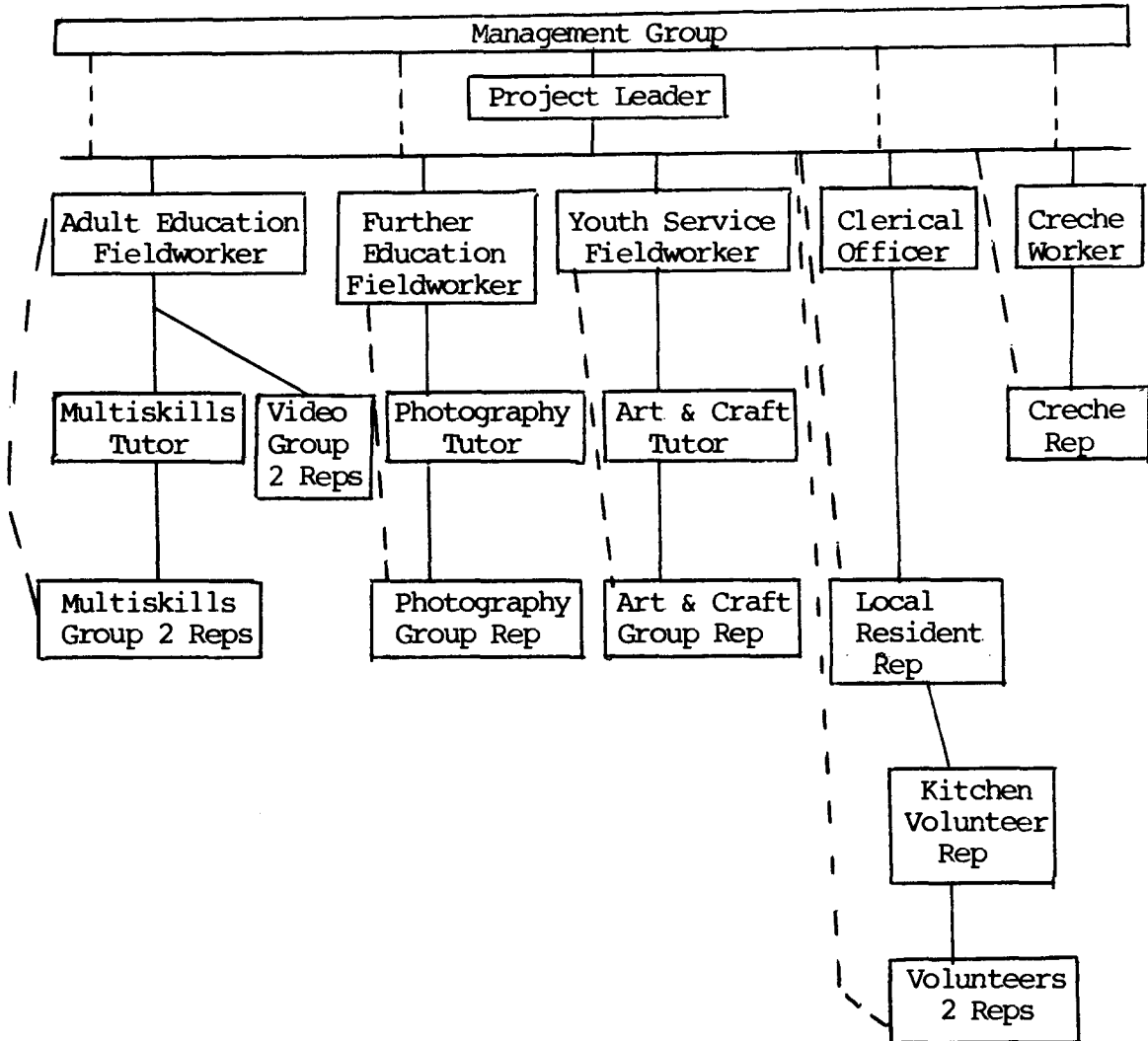
commitment and loyalty to the aims of the Project, involving them in decisions by sharing information, jobs, responsibilities and accountability".⁹⁴ The consequence of this strategy raised expectations and led to demands by residents to have more control of the policy and decision making in the Project. With the failure of the consultative group to develop as a locally effective forum there emerged increasing tension between volunteers and Project team members over issues related to decision making and the ownership of the Project.

The situation was partly resolved when residents and the team met and agreed to reconstitute the consultative group as a users' group with an agreed code of conduct.⁹⁵ The new group consisted of elected representatives of volunteers from each of the main activities of the base together with all the members of the Project team with two members of the group elected to represent the residents on the Management Group. Figure 23 illustrates in diagrammatic form the organisation of the users' group.

Although the process of finding volunteers was slow the formal existence of the users' group gave residents an organisational base on which to build their involvement in the Project and launch further demands towards increasing ownership over the activities at 'the base'. Furthermore, the movement towards a more open and participative relationship between the users' group and team members was extended when residents on the group were given responsibility for a set of keys to the building.

Figure 23

Base Users' Group



Note: This diagram would appear to be hierarchical but in spirit and in practice it is not.

Everyone coming into the base has access to fieldworkers and project leader (co-ordinator).

Source: Derived from NHCOP (1989)⁹⁶

Despite these attempts however, to share the running of the Project equally with the local residents at 'the base', the question of management and ownership remained problematic throughout the period of the Project. The issues it raised for the model of community education are analysed more fully in the next chapter; in the lifetime of the Project no ready solution was found for instance, on how to broaden local involvement in the Project. The democratic process that developed at 'the base' and the growing importance and involvement of the users' group however represented only a very small proportion of the views within the Orchard Park Estate. The difficulty still remained on how the Project team might be able to overcome resistance by many other residents to the perceived domination of the Project by a locally unrepresentative minority.

By the time this and other issues related to control of the Project were beginning to be confronted by the users' group, the Project was coming to an end. The process of phasing activities into the relevant educational providers altered the emphasis on priorities amongst the Project team and the users. Responsibility for 'the base' was to be transferred to the Youth Service where it was intended that an enlarged Youth and Community Centre would be developed which incorporated many of the activities initiated at 'the base' by the Project. Outreach programmes were variously placed under the direction of the Adult Education Service and Hull College from September 1989. User control at this juncture effectively ceased as an issue as none of the agencies involved offered any commitment other than to

continue the principle of consultation but without an undertaking to establish a user group in the sense developed by the Project.

By the end of the two years it became evident that full ownership of the activities had not been achieved although the process of collaboration had been a central aspect of the community education process in the Project. What had emerged from the period of operation at 'the base' and the subsequent activities were extensive links within the Orchard Park Estate with community groups, statutory agencies and individual residents together with an expansion of educational activity both directly initiated by the team and indirectly through joint work with institutional providers.

The question however, to what extent the activities of the Project validated the model of community education discussed previously in Chapter Three remains to be evaluated and analysed in the next chapter. The emphasis in the model continuum of learning opportunities, with the three crucial elements which required practice to be interventionist, supportive and responsive in engaging non-traditional learners in education provides the basis for that evaluation. What remains to be seen ultimately is how far the overall purpose of the model in developing learners and achieving more open and accessible institutions was validated by the work of the Project. It will be the concern of the next chapter to provide the answers raised by these questions.

POLICY OF THE HUMBERSIDE EDUCATION COMMITTEE
IN RELATION TO COMMUNITY EDUCATION

COMMUNITY EDUCATION

It is the policy of the Authority to support and encourage such activities. The policy will be effectively implemented by the appointment of Heads/Principals of Institutions and all other staff who have a commitment to community education.

The Authority considers it important that the community be used as a resource for teaching and all who can contribute to the work of schools and colleges should be encouraged to do so. Equally the Authority wishes to stress the importance of the school or college as a community in itself. Parents are a significant part of that community and by being fully involved in the education of their children become essential partners in schools and colleges.

It is vital that each person's gifts be developed to prepare the individual for life in a society that increasingly demands adaptability and resourcefulness. Each pupil or student should therefore feel that he or she is significant as a person in the school or college.

The Authority believes that schools and colleges should be an integral part of their community, recognising and responding to its needs and accepting a measure of responsibility for the welfare of that community.

If community education is to have substance it must cater for the needs of the whole community, pre-school children, pupils, young people and adults. Often quite different skills are required for working with each of these groups and much can be gained in working in both formal and informal situations. The Authority believes that this is most likely to be achieved where there is a concerted response involving a high degree of local collaboration between schools, colleges and the adult and youth service.

Wherever accommodation is available schools and colleges should welcome other groups so that no section of society feels excluded. Full participation by the whole community can only be of benefit to schools and colleges and to the groups encouraged to make use of their facilities.

The main constraint faced in developing community education is that there have in the past been few resources allocated specifically to this aspect of the service. The Authority recognises that some have reached a stage where they need further resources if they are to maintain the momentum already built up by using local initiatives and enthusiasm.

August 1987⁹⁷

TASTER COURSE AT 'THE BASE' '98

COURSE	PARTICIPANTS	UNEMPLOYED	NUMBER WHO HAD NEVER TAKEN PART IN ADULT EDUCATION BEFORE	FOLLOW-UP AND COMMENTS
EASTER-EGG MAKING 21/3/88	11	10	7	Links forged between 8 of participants and NHCOP have remained part of 'core users' group.
REMINISCENCE GROUP August 1988	12	12	7	Intended 3rd and 4th sessions never happened due to illness of tutor. 1 member joined University Adult Ed. reminiscence group with same tutor. Group formed basis of 'History of Orchard Park' Community Drama event.
PARTY FOOD-MAKING 18/12/88		10	7	Self-help preparation for base Xmas Party. Food sold to cover expenses
CAKE DECORATING (CHILDREN'S PARTY) 27/7/88	12	11	9	5 x Vocational Guidance interviews referred. Follow-up meeting on Cake Decorating opportunities - idea hatched for machine knitting group!
XMAS CAKE DECORATING WORKSHOP 13/12/88	6	6	4	Follow-up with Spring term FE class. No-one registered despite much enjoyment of taster. Felt to be too big a gap before follow-up leading to loss of interest.
ASSERTIVENESS COURSE November 1988	4	4	4	For parents of children with Special Needs. Lower numbers than expected although course completed due to enthusiasm of those who did attend. Lower numbers probably due to insufficient negotiation initially.
EASTER-EGG MAKING 13/3/89	8	5	6	4 x Vocational Guidance interviews. 2 names on list for proposed Hairdressing Course. 2 names on list for further cookery classes.
FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHY (Jan/Feb 1989)	7 adults	6	6	Aim to encourage parents to learn with and through their children. Parents found class more enjoyable and relaxed than expected. 2 x Vocational Guidance interviews referred. 6 wanted more info. on courses and 3 continued as NHCOP users. Follow-up meeting with teacher to improve course for another time.
UPHOLSTERY CLASS (April/May 1989)	5	4	3	Self-help project for parents from local primary school to renevoite chairs for parents' room. Some Voluntary help from Multi-Skills Workshop. Some lessons learned about need for clearer planning and simpler co-ordination.
HAIRDRESSING (June/July 1989)	12	12	7	1 now on ET Course and 2 others have had initial interview. 5 x Vocational Guidance interviews referred. 8 wish to continue - have referred to Hairdressing Dept.
DISABILITY AWARENESS (April/May 1989)	8	8	N/A	Course for building users and 3 others representing other community groups. Involvement of some local residents as tutors.

MANAGEMENT GROUP MEMBERS⁹⁹

MR K. AUTY (VICE CHAIR)
HULL COLLEGE OF FURTHER EDUCATION

CLLR D WOODS (W E F 10/88)
HULL CITY COUNCIL

MS J BREWIS
AREA YOUTH OFFICER (NORTH)

MR K SPOONER
HULL COUNCIL FOR VOLUNTARY
SERVICE

MRS A BROOKS (CHAIR)
HULL ADULT EDUCATION SERVICE

MR K RUSSELL (W E F 10/88)
THE WARREN

MRS G MUNN
ASSISTANT COUNTY CAREERS OFFICER

MR J ALEANDER/MS C GALLAGHER
(W E F 8/88)
HULL COLLEGE OF FURTHER EDUCATION

MR A MORGAN (W E F 10/89)
HULL EDUCATION CENTRE

MRS B KELLOCK (LOCAL RESIDENT)

MR B MCGOWAN
HULL CITY COUNCIL
LEISURE SERVICES DEPARTMENT

MRS C MURRAY (RESIGNED 9/88)
HEADTEACHER
THORPEPARK PRIMARY SCHOOL

MR B BEILBY (W E F 10/89)
HEADTEACHER
HALL ROAD SCHOOL

MR J G LAWS
HEADTEACHER
SIR HENRY COOPER HIGH SCHOOL

MR H TOMLINSON - RESIGNED 7/89
PROBATION SERVICE

CLLR H DALTON - RESIGNED 6/89
HUMBERSIDE COUNTY COUNCIL

NORTH HULL COMMUNITY OUTREACH PROJECT¹⁰⁰VOLUNTEERS

Volunteers are sought to support activities in the base and the community.

Volunteers will need to show a commitment to the aims and philosophy of the North Hull Community Outreach Project, and willingness to be fully involved in organising and developing activities. They will have a clear role in the base as responsible and accountable users.

Volunteers will need to ensure that their approach to people is sensitive, informal and helpful so as to encourage residents to become involved in activities. They must be willing to work as part of a team with paid workers and tutors, other users and groups within the community.

Notes to Chapter Four "

1. See Chapter One, p.42.
2. See Chapter Three, Part 1, pp.147-156.
3. *ibid*, Part 3, pp.193-200.
4. Chapter One, Table 5, p.36.
5. Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS), 1982.
6. *ibid*.
7. *ibid*.
8. Quoted in Hull City Council Planning and Design Committee, 8 April, 1992, agenda item 5.
9. OPCS, *op.cit*.
10. Quoted in Hull City Council, *op.cit*.
11. Polygon Research, July 1991, p.8.
12. *ibid*.
13. *ibid*, p.24.
14. Quoted in Hull City Council, Urban Regeneration Sub Committee Report, 9 July 1992, p.21.
15. OPCS *op.cit*.
16. *ibid*.
17. *ibid*.
18. Polygon, *op.cit.*, p.23.
19. *ibid*, p.24.
20. North Hull Community Outreach Project Final Report, (NHCOP), 1989, pp.143/144.
21. Chapter One, Part 1, pp.20-46.
22. Humberside LEA, 1992, Financial and Information Services Section.
23. *ibid*.
24. Chapter One, Part 2, pp.47-52.
25. *ibid*, pp.41-43.

26. Polygon, op.cit., p.48.
27. ibid, pp.53-54.
28. ibid, p.40.
29. ibid, p.55.
30. Humberside Education Committee, Staffing Monitoring Group, 4 June 1986.
31. ibid.
32. Post Compulsory Planning Group Membership: Deputy Director of Education, Senior Education Officer (Community Education), Senior Adviser (Post Compulsory), County Careers Officer, Adult Education Principal (Hull), Special Funding Development Officer.
33. The underlying assumption in proposing compensatory educational strategies through positive discrimination suggested that children and their families from poor backgrounds in priority areas were culturally deficient. As a result, their behaviour and learning potential was pathologically determined and at odds with that of the rest of society. See pp. 75-83 in Chapter Two.
34. Chapter Three, Part 3, pp.193-200.
35. See Appendix Three in this chapter.
36. North Hull Steering Group membership:

D. Mitchell	Youth Service (Hull)
A. Brooks	Adult Education (Hull)
G. Worthington	Hull College of Further Education
G. Munn	Careers Service (Hull)
E. Williams	Post Compulsory Division
P. Gooderson	Post Compulsory Planning Group
J. Adamson	Post Compulsory Planning Group
W. Rigby	Schools Division
G. Laws	Sir Henry Cooper High School
F. Palin	Hull City Council
K. Spooner	Hull Voluntary Services
J. McElligott	Post Compulsory Planning Group

(3/2/87)
37. NHCOP, 1989, pp.105-128.
38. ibid, p.107.
39. Humberside County Council, Post Compulsory Sub Committee, 11 February 1987.

40. NHCOP, op.cit., p.117. The budget allocation for the Project at November 1987 prices consisted of the following elements:
- | | |
|-----------------------|--------|
| 1 Youth Worker | 10,683 |
| 1 Careers Officer | 10,923 |
| 1 Adult Lecturer | 11,835 |
| 1 FE Lecturer | 11,835 |
| Clerical FT Sc. 1 | 5,085 |
| Team Leader allowance | 1,000 |
| Part time staffing | 7,000 |
| Staff on costs | 7,905 |
| Travel allowance | 2,000 |
| Materials | 2,096 |
| | 70,335 |
| Total costs | 70,335 |
41. Shipman, (ed.), 1985, pp.26-45.
42. Atkinson, and Delamont, 1985, pp.26-45.
43. For a discussion of questionnaire types, see Lovell, K. and Lawson, K.S. (1970) Understanding Research in Education, pp.40-44.
44. Again, for explanation of interview techniques see Lovell and Lawson, *ibid.*
45. Simons, 1981, p.120.
46. NHCOP, 1989, p.4.
47. *ibid*, pp.126-127.
48. *ibid*, p.126.
49. *ibid*, p.55.
50. *ibid*, p.56.
51. *ibid*, p.56. Northern College has a reputation for expertise in community development and community action training, a factor which Project team members found extremely helpful in their early days of induction to the work in Orchard Park.
52. *ibid*, p.57.
53. *ibid*, p.57.
54. *ibid*, Appendix II, pp.129-134.
55. *ibid*, p.6.
56. *ibid*, Appendix III, pp.135-136.

57. *ibid*, p.38.
58. *ibid*, Appendix VI, pp.174-180.
59. Chapter Three, Part 3, pp.158-169, and the discussion on the interventionist element in the process.
60. NHCOP, *op.cit.*, Appendix I, p.109.
61. *ibid*, p.30.
62. *ibid*, Appendix III, pp.135-136.
63. *ibid*, Appendix VIII, pp.206-214.
64. *ibid*, pp.24-25.
65. *ibid*, pp.25-26.
66. *ibid*, p.26. See also reference 40 in this chapter for a breakdown of the Project finances. Because no funding was originally allowed in the Project budget for childcare, team members had to seek support from a variety of private and public sources to operate the creche. The fact that there was a willingness locally to support the venture reflected the standing of the Project in the area.
67. See Chapter Three, Part 3, pp.179-180, and the discussion on the importance of childcare in the supportive element of community education.
68. NHCOP, *op.cit.*, p.32.
69. *ibid*, p.33.
70. See pp.224-227 and the discussion on community education and the LEA home school policy.
71. NHCOP, *op.cit.*, p.33.
72. *ibid*, p.34.
73. *ibid*, pp.33-34.
74. *ibid*, p.34.
75. NHCOP, *op.cit.*, p.42.
76. Management Group Sub Committee, 24 February 1989.
77. *ibid*, p.43.
78. *ibid*, pp.42-45.

79. *ibid*, pp.47-49. "
80. *ibid*, Appendix XI, pp.235-248.
81. *ibid*, p.244. In the survey, 500 questionnaires were issued and 71 replies were received. These resulted in the following responses on the benefits of Hall Road as an adult education centre:

Replies

a) A pleasant place to come	40
b) Feeling of doing something	28
c) Picking up new skills	26
d) Perks (e.g. coffee and tea)	14
e) Like being with other volunteers	14
f) Working as part of a group	20
g) Helping others	23
h) Getting useful experience (e.g. for a job)	20
i) Use of services/facilities	20
j) Being part of something 'security'	7
k) A chance to use your skills	14
l) A more challenging way of life	12
m) A chance to relax away from difficulties/ stress	23
n) Meet new people, widening circle of friends	37
o) Some recognition of what you are doing	7
p) Opportunities to be a 'leader', chairperson	8

82. *ibid*, Appendix XI.
83. *ibid*, p.247. The list of courses that commenced were:
Monday daytime
 Self defence; Wholefood and vegetarian recipes
Monday evening
 Basic education; Cooking for one
Tuesday daytime
 Basic education; Dressmaking; Microwave for beginners
Tuesday evening
 Mixed crafts; Ladies keep fit
Wednesday daytime
 Ballroom dancing; Keep Fit; Cake decorating
Wednesday evening
 Badminton; Car maintenance; Furniture renovation
84. See Chapter Three, pp.193-200, for a discussion on the responsive element of the community education model.
85. NHCOP, *op.cit.*, p.11.
86. *ibid*, pp.109-110. See also Figure 19 on p.227.
87. *ibid*, p.110.

88. See Chapter Three, pp.163-169, and the discussion on local collaboration.
89. See the discussion in Chapter Five, pp.277-282 and 307-311.
90. NHCOP, op.cit., quoted on p.58.
91. ibid, p.59.
92. See the discussion in Chapter Five, pp.277-278.
93. NHCOP, op.cit., p.84.
94. ibid, p.201.
95. ibid, p.15. The formation of the users' group included a daily meeting between residents using 'the base' and the fieldwork team. Basic rules governing the meeting were agreed and included
 - * Everything to be said to be confidential, unless indicated otherwise
 - * A record to be kept of the main points
 - * Decisions to be made by vote
 - * Personal criticism to be as constructive as possible
 - * Someone to chair in rotation.
96. ibid, p.16.
97. Humberside LEA, 1987.
98. NHCOP, op.cit., p.30.
99. The original membership of the Project Management Group.
100. NHCOP, op.cit., p.205.

CHAPTER FIVE

EVALUATING THE NORTH HULL COMMUNITY OUTREACH PROJECT

INTRODUCTION

This chapter evaluates the work of the North Hull Community Outreach Project described in Chapter Four by using the model of community education discussed in Chapter Three, pages 193-201. The purpose of approaching the evaluation in this way is to see how far the work of the Project validated the theoretical model that has been proposed. The chapter is subsequently organised into the following two parts to facilitate this task.

1. Analysing the work of the Project.
2. Issues raised in the evaluation of the Project.

Before considering the evaluation of the Project it is worth restating briefly the community education model that was developed earlier in Chapter Three. There, it was shown that the proposed model had the overall purpose of developing learners and achieving open and accessible institutions for the most socially and educationally disadvantaged groups in urban priority areas.

This purpose would be potentially achieved, it was argued, through a process that emphasised the engagement of non-traditional learners in the main body of education through a two stage continuum of learning opportunities within which community education practice was exemplified by three key elements namely, interventionist, supportive and

responsive that interact in an iterative fashion to create a developmental, open and accessible educational process.

Thus, the interventionist element of the community education model stressed the need for positive action in priority areas where contact would be established with non-traditional adult learners in their areas of residence by an outreach approach. Once in the area, community educators would work alongside individuals and groups to develop their confidence and belief in the advantages of participating in educational opportunities. An important aspect of this element becomes the negotiation with non traditional learners on the content and method of locally centred activities and the fostering of a sense of ownership in the learning process.

In the supportive element of the process, community educators attempt to overcome the material constraints of participation and support the personal needs of learners in the educational situation. Thus, this element of the process addresses the difficulties posed by the financial costs of learning, the need for guidance and personal counselling support and meeting the transitional needs of non-traditional adult learners returning to education.

Finally, the third element of the model emphasised the importance of the community education process being responsive to the needs and requirements of non-traditional adult learners when participating in educational institutions. Hence, the concern was with developing flexible methods of learning, which included the timing and

location of activities and in developing learner appropriate publicity, reception and admission procedures.

Each of the three elements singly or in combination reflected part or all of the overall principle of the community education model by being developmental, open and accessible. In the ideal model not only would the elements reflect the overall purpose but each element would interact with the other, supporting and extending each aspect in an iterative process that contributed to a continuum of learning opportunities for non-traditional adult learners. In the ideal model, the community education process would not be complete without all three elements being present. Each element thus interlocks with the others to fully represent the continuum of learning and the overall purpose for the model of community education.

1. ANALYSING THE WORK OF THE PROJECT

This first part of the evaluation in the chapter examines how far the work of the North Hull Community Outreach Project validated the model of community education put forward in Chapter Three. This analysis of the Project will be carried out in three sections:

1. The interventionist element in the Project
2. The supportive element in the Project.
3. The responsive element in the Project.

Each section is arranged to provide a means of measuring the extent to which the elements in the community education process were fulfilled by the practice carried out in the Project and whether, as a consequence, any further issues were raised for the model.

1.1 The interventionist element in the Project

The interventionist element of the proposed community education model contains two significant aspects which contribute to the first stage in the continuum of learning opportunities and reflects particularly, the function of developing learners within the overall purpose of the model. These aspects refer firstly to the establishment of contact in priority areas through outreach strategies and secondly, the idea of negotiating with potential learners on the establishment of locally centred educational activities and the encouragement of ownership over such programmes. This section evaluates these aspects through the following two sub-sections to see how far the Project validated this part of the proposed model.

1. Establishing contact.
2. Negotiation and ownership in community education.

1.1.1 Establishing contact One of the key aspects in the interventionist element of the proposed model for community education is establishing contact with the least socially and educationally advantaged people in their areas of residence. The initial purpose of this approach is to familiarise and make familiar the professional(s) with the local area and develop a bridge between residents and educational provision. From this basis the educator works to build the confidence of adults in priority areas to engage in education: the community educator in the proposed model carries out this task by adopting the multi-faceted role of animateur, acting as educational facilitator, guide and sometimes teacher.¹

As the previous chapter showed, the function of the community educator in the Outreach Project was carried out through a team approach with individuals being drawn from key post school educational agencies with links back into sponsoring providers as required.² This idea of a team approach became a valuable aspect in the early stages of making contact on the estate. The pooling of expertise and experience meant the team were able to offer greater flexibility and responsiveness across a wide range of educational activities which could be made available to local residents.

Furthermore, the links that were retained with the sponsoring agencies allowed team members to more readily

approach mainstream provision through familiar structures where influence could be brought to bear more directly on creating access to educational opportunities. Thus, in working with local groups, for instance, the team were able to draw collectively on resources from sponsoring agencies to support activities.

Hence, in the case of helping the North Hull Community Centre, produce a 40th birthday booklet, tutor time and reprographic materials were made available to assist in the publication of a permanent record in the development of the community centre seen through the eyes of the members.³ Other examples included encouraging local groups to use existing facilities at the emerging 'base' or in other instances, facilitating the development of embryonic groups using the skills of different team members.⁴

By deploying the strengths of the team across a wide range of local initiatives and activities the early stage of making contact with residents and groups in Orchard Park and establishing a presence in the area was relatively quickly achieved. Thus, the early team exercise of producing a directory of local resources and information was carried out from a position of trust and credibility in the local area. This was not only a positive means of introducing the Project into the area but gave the team the opportunity of assessing the range of provision available, the gaps that were evident and an early indication from those contacted on what was needed or desired in the locality.

Gradually, by extending their links and contacts in the area, the team were able to listen, respond and participate in local events until they finally became accepted on the estate. In this way they followed closely the role of community education, described in the previous chapter, assisted in this task by the outreach nature of the Project, which had by definition a responsibility to work in amongst the Orchard Park Estate, making contact, investigating and exploring educational issues and needs. As a multi-disciplinary team furthermore, carrying out the crucial role of establishing contact they brought a variety of strengths to the situation. In these terms, the practice can be seen to have validated this aspect of the community education process.

Consequently, as contact with local people over the type and range of activities required in the area grew, the idea of negotiating with residents became not only an essential part of winning the confidence and trust of local people to accept and feel ownership of the educational programmes, it also constituted a second crucial aspect in the interventionist element of the community education process. How far subsequent practice validated this part of the model will be discussed next.

1.1.2 Negotiation and ownership in community education

The idea that local people can negotiate and feel ownership of the community education process in the proposed model implies two complimentary parts. The first is the negotiation of the actual learning activity where

professionals and learners agree the content and style of the programmes to be included. The second part includes the idea of local people becoming partners with professionals in the decision making process within the given constraints of a representative democracy. These two aspects of negotiation and ownership in education are discussed next.

(i) Negotiation in education As far as the Outreach Project team was concerned, the task required early consultation with local people to determine what form of learning activity they would require. The early outcome from a wide canvas of local opinion saw the establishment of taster courses at 'the base',⁵ set at a level that would attract participants with little or no post school educational experience.

The taster courses subsequently became an established part of Project provision and offered local people a chance to get involved within a supportive setting in education-based projects without having to offer too much commitment. Other courses like assertion training, were also provided in response to requests from local people. 'The base' also responded to requests to offer opportunities for local people to learn skills, for example, in photography, video and artwork, in an informal way allowing individuals to develop at their own rate.

The establishment of locally based activities and the informal taster provision exemplified the willingness of the Project team to listen and respond to local needs. The advantages that accrue from negotiated activities have been discussed earlier in Chapter Three.⁶ For the team however,

it formed part of the commitment to actively involve local residents in determining the development of the Project's activities.

While such an approach appeared at times to slow down decision making, it was more than compensated for by the early acceptance amongst residents in the area of the team and their approach. The idea therefore of negotiation and consultation with residents remained a crucial element in the Project's development within which the team sought to create a climate whereby residents felt able to be involved in the activities both in their planning and provision. This was partially achieved through the early cautious networking in the area which established some level of credibility for the Project and together with the open and participative ethos of the team, which had increasingly won over the trust and confidence of residents.

(ii) Ownership in education The attempt however, to encourage ownership by residents of the educational provision and the general running of the Project affairs did not meet with the sort of response given to the learning activities. With the first major attempt at involving residents in the management of the Project taking place four months after its commencement⁷ and the subsequent confusion and difficulties encountered with the Management Group membership⁸ the idea that local people were involved in any form of ownership was debatable. Indeed, the exclusion of local residents from the planning or consultative process occurred right from the commencement of the Project. At no

time in the planning of the Project were any local residents invited to contribute to the process. Neither the LEA planning group nor the Steering Group had local residents in membership, nor were they consulted over the proposals that were suggested.

The lack of consultation or negotiation over the direction of the Project with local residents thus continued into the management and consultative arrangements established early in the Project life. The confusion and conflicts that emerged highlighted the necessity of involving residents in the planning of such a development at the earliest possible stage. The apathy of professional members from the Management Group and the uncertainty and perception of exclusion by local people from the Project would have been avoided had greater emphasis been placed on early consultation and the formation of broader representative structures from the locality.

The fact that there was little support from the management or consultative structures in the Project for sharing ownership with local residents, stimulated the field workers into involving local residents directly. The subsequent development of a more cooperative and participative style of relationship with local people formed a central commitment of the team despite their lack of relative experience in this area of community development and the apparent lack of management support or guidance. In carrying forward this commitment, the team aimed for what Arnstein termed 'citizen power'⁹, in which the residents

could achieve a high degree of control over the decision making process.

Two particular developments illustrated the team approach to this notion. The first was in the encouragement of the idea of local volunteers at 'the base' and the second, in the re-formulation of the users' group. The involvement of volunteers in activities at 'the base' however, was related to pragmatic reasons as much as anything else. Without volunteer commitment to the support systems of child care and refreshment facilities, access to 'the base' would have been limited. During times of staff absence and holidays the volunteers were able to ensure that the educational activities at 'the base' could continue by providing help not only in operating the support systems, but also by assisting in administrative tasks in the office and helping out in group activities.

The extension of volunteer help into the overall running of 'the base' reached an important symbolic stage when the team agreed that volunteers should have responsibility for a set of keys to the building. For the residents, possession of the keys represented possession of 'the base'. The allocation of further responsibilities to residents as non-paid workers in the office "doing typing, invoices and computer work"¹⁰ as well as answering the telephone and substituting for the clerical officer, reinforced the team's commitment to encourage greater power sharing with residents in the development of the Project.

These moves into a position of shared ownership and control over aspects of the Project meant that for those

residents involved, their status amongst the users of 'the base' grew and they became regarded as part of the support team for the Project. This elevation in position however, was frustrated by the lack of power over decision making by residents. The failure to be able to influence the decisions or direction of the work within both the Management Group or the early local consultative group increased the frustration of the residents.

The tensions that arose as a result of this growing frustration brought with it clashes as some residents became possessive about their particular area of volunteer activity leading to the discouragement of others wishing to take part. The emergence of such conflicts became damaging to the effectiveness of the work of the Project and led to the team meeting with all the users and volunteers at 'the base' in an attempt to resolve matters. The establishment of a reconstituted users' group to replace the consultative group retrieved the situation which allowed the first constructive opportunity for the active involvement of residents in managing developments. Thus the establishment of a broader membership, clearer guidelines, and shared purpose and the agreement of a system of arbitration to deal with disputes provided a useful internal mechanism for resolving differences and sharing decision-making within the Project.

As far as the idea of negotiation and ownership contained in the proposed model of community education was concerned, therefore, the activities of the Project team can generally be regarded to have been a worthy attempt at

giving people a greater sense of sharing in the decisions and direction of the Project. This was helped by the commitment from team members to actively collaborate and consult with local residents, believing the success of the work would be achieved through negotiation with the users. Such a position challenged the conventional status of the professional educator as the holder of power and knowledge. The Project team were prepared to share this status and actively encouraged user control in the running of the Project. Team members set out to involve local people, to give them new opportunities to participate in education on their terms and in doing so, attempt to empower residents and give them confidence and skills to challenge their situation.

However, the frustration remained that sharing in the decision making would only be realistic at the local level; no matter how far the team wished to extend collaboration in the decision making process, it was inhibited by the fact that the real control and power lay with the educational hierarchy of the LEA. At that level, as the evidence from elsewhere suggests,¹¹ power sharing rarely occurs to the extent experienced by residents associated with the Project.

Some of the issues that are raised by the attempt to achieve active collaboration with local people at the level of educational decision-taking will be considered further in the final section of this chapter. As far as the Project was concerned in its attempt to achieve negotiated learning

activities, the process described in the model of community education can be regarded as having been validated. The development of learning opportunities within the Orchard Park Estate broadly emerged following careful consultation with sections of the local people. In pursuit of these activities too, the Project team engaged in a process of supporting learners wherever practicable and encouraging other providers to do likewise. The extent to which they were successful in achieving this element of the proposed model is the concern of the next section.

1.2 The supportive element in the Project

In working towards supporting adult learners who came into contact with the Project, the team members took a positive view of the educational potential of residents. They made their position clear on this shortly after commencing the Project. People would be "welcome to be involved regardless of their race, disability, gender or religion"¹² and "encouraged to grow in confidence and be made aware of the opportunities for moving on".¹³ This commitment to develop in people the confidence to engage in educational opportunities supported the important function in the proposed model for integrating learners from priority areas into the main body of education. In this part of the community education process the aim is to support people in building confidence to participate in the continuum of opportunities available through education so that eventually it may be possible for them to gain the skills and knowledge to potentially alter their situation.

Thus, by supporting learners in their self development, the Project sought to demonstrate that such an approach increases the potential for personal and community development. In some respects, this view was illustrated by comments from local people. As one resident suggested "All the people I have been involved with at 'outreach' have become very important to me and without their help I would not be where I am now".¹⁴ Another resident offered a similar view "... since attending the centre it has enlightened me and totally changed my outlook about life in general".¹⁵

Supporting residents and raising their confidence was enhanced by the team offering guidance and counselling on many issues, carried out in the form of individual and group activity within 'the base' and elsewhere in the area. Where it was appropriate also, referrals were made to the relevant agencies or to activities within the Project. In attempting to develop the supportive element of the community education model however, the Project team encountered two particular difficulties which hindered the trouble free re-entry into education for a number of adults on the Estate. The first of these related to finance and the cost of participation, which was typically a problem for many in the area. Hence, the inflexibility of fee structures produced a considerable obstacle for those who, in particular, came within the unclear area of low income but just outside the qualification level of Income Support/Family Credit. On a number of occasions, follow-up taster courses were offered but proved problematic due to disputes within the group as

to who was eligible for fee reductions. In particular, the College of Further Education was unable to respond to the suggestion from Project members to arrange a voucher system for payment or for additional resources to be provided to open the option of a subsidy operating in respect of fees.

The second problem facing the Project team was how to operate child care support for the activities, particularly at 'the base'. Although the Steering Group recognised the need for child-care facilities at 'the base', no definite policy or budget for crèche provision was formulated in their proposals. This issue was never properly addressed by the Management Group despite the fact that child care facilities eventually became the cornerstone in promoting access to activities within 'the base'. The situation subsequently required constant negotiation over the two years between individual team members' sponsoring agencies for staff resourcing, while equipment and materials were acquired from a wide range of other sources.

The omission of budget provision in the initial finances for the Project to support child-care provision was an important oversight, not least because of the need across all of Orchard Park to have available a comprehensive range of child-care support for the large numbers of potential women returners and single parents known to be in the area. The scale of the eventual provision at 'the base' hardly satisfied the wider demand although during the period January to June 1987 it had been used by sixty seven different children.¹⁶

The important lesson from this particular issue shows that child-care provision is an integral part of the community education process and its omission, if repeated in other similar projects, could have significant implications for continuing the barriers to access for one of the least advantaged groups in society. Equally, the problems associated with fee structures encountered in the Project and inflexible methods for payment remained unresolved, forming part of a national issue that appeared impervious to attempts by the Project to overcome. The outcome for the adults caught in such a situation and wishing to move on from the Project into adult or further education, often meant dropping out altogether.

Thus, the supportive element in the Project was mostly concerned with consolidating the self-development of individuals who were involved more directly with the Project activities. The eventual successful launch of the crèche was an important achievement but little movement occurred in overcoming problems in the cost of learning, nor of influencing institutional providers to offer access or bridging courses. Indeed, the supportive element in the Project was largely concerned with developments linked to the interventionist element.

While this exemplified the iterative nature of the model whereby each element in the process interacts with the other to contribute to the overall purpose of being developmental, open and accessible, in the case of the Project, the supportive element was not fully developed.

What this meant was that the process carried out in the Project fell short of developing the full potential of the continuum of learning. Adult learners thus became locked into the first stage of the continuum and while benefiting from that situation, were unable to be assisted into the main educational provision as envisaged by the model. Furthermore, the Project was unable to greatly influence provision to the extent that the Estate was served by open and accessible institutions.

What the Project did achieve however, was a range of educational activities, both at 'the base', in the area and jointly with other providers. In these developments, the work exemplified aspects of the responsive element of the model, a discussion of which follows in the next section.

1.3 The responsive element in the Project

In responding to the needs and requirements of adult learners in Orchard Park, the Project itself was notable for its flexibility in providing educational activities both directly and in collaboration with other providers. By working in this way, the Project came close to fulfilling much contained in the responsive element of the community education model. Thus, in working out in the area, offering flexible learning activities and operating a learner friendly organisation (see Appendix Seven), the Project achieved a significant part of this element. It did not, however, achieve the same scale of responsiveness in other institutional providers, which limited its effectiveness in

achieving the full continuum of learning contained in the model.

Nevertheless, while the major emphasis in developing educational activities came from the Project itself and became focused on 'the base' and at a number of schools, other agencies contributed to the process of increasing access and widening participation from amongst local residents. Working with other educational providers made good sense to the Project team; not only did it increase the potential range of opportunities that would be made available to local residents, it also meant that a greater pool of resources could be used together with cooperative strategies in publicising and marketing activities. The result of this form of agency collaboration benefited residents as providers cooperated in ensuring appropriately coordinated provision was established.

Thus, the Project team organised activities during the daytime in youth centres across the area to contact and work with unemployed young people; Hull College of Further Education provided tutor support for a number of the taster courses - dressmaking at Shaw Park School, pottery at Dane Park School, parents' advanced video-film following Thorpe Park Parents' taster, plus locating a programme "Return to Learning" within 'the base'.

In particular, these taster courses with their flexibility over cost, timing, and location demonstrated a modest but significant increase in participation by adults disengaged from education. Furthermore, the fact that taster courses and much that was provided at 'the base'

involved individuals and groups in negotiating and developing the ideas behind educational activities illustrates the importance and benefits of a consultative approach which stressed the notion of partnerships with local people and educational providers.

As far as the College of Further Education was concerned, it supported activities by making available its reprographic facilities and audio visual aids as well as encouraging mutual visits between college staff and Project team members. More significantly, the opportunities were made available through the College for adults from the Project to move on to longer term programmes which contributed to the process of opening the main educational system to non-traditional learners. Figure 22 in Chapter Four is illustrative of this particular aspect of the work showing the relative proportions of Orchard Park residents who participated in College courses.¹⁸ The key to such involvement was in the close linkage between the Project activities and College provision which afforded the opportunity of residents moving on to a number of courses which had a vocational orientation or qualifications at the end. Hence, for a small number of people, progression meant moving on to courses leading to vocational qualifications¹⁹ and in one case, registering for degree work at the local polytechnic.²⁰

The modest success gained through the Project in encouraging non traditional adult learners to participate and in some cases progress into the main educational system

not only demonstrated the responsiveness of the Project in meeting needs, it also fulfilled the Project objective of "establishing varying styles of formal and informal educational provision".²¹ It further demonstrated by working in collaboration with other providers, how extra resources could have a major effect. The development at Hall Road was a significant example of how the Project, the adult service and local people could combine to increase opportunities for access and participation in post school education.²²

Given the short time scale and relative size of the task facing the Project the claim could be made with some justification that the flexibility of approach by the Project, with other providers, had laid the foundations for a wide range of new and extended educational opportunities which were broadly locally determined and owned in partnership with local users. In addition to the taster courses on school sites and the Hall Road development, there was established at 'the base' an informal and supportive local education centre offering a wide range of facilities. These included a community darkroom, multiskills and arts/craft workshop, snack-bar, welcoming meeting room facilities and careers counselling and educational guidance. A well equipped crèche for up to 12 under-five's was made available to users promoting access for large numbers of potential 'adult returners' and full disabled access to and within the base had been established with programmes aimed at increasing awareness among staff and users of the needs

of people with disabilities. An indication of the extent of usage at 'the base' during the first twelve months of opening is provided in Figure 24.

<u>Figure 24</u>		<u>Local community use of 'the base'</u>	
September 1987-August 1988		Room bookings January 1988-September 1988	
Group Use	1582	Darkroom	58
Interviews	44	Large meeting room	126
Information	136	Counselling room	50
Agency Visitors	374	Dining room	13
Total visitors	2136	Multiskills workshop	15
		Art workshop	37
		FE meeting room	19
		Crèche	69
		Total	380*

* This figure excludes consultative group meetings and drop in facility for Darkroom, Multiskills and Arts/Crafts workshop.

Source: North Hull Community Outreach
Project Report (1989)²³

The flexibility of the Project towards initiating educational programmes in Orchard Park and collaborating with other providers in developing and supporting other courses and activities fulfilled much of the responsive element of the community education model. The location and timing of courses, the linkage into routes for progression and the consultative process throughout demonstrated the willingness of the Project team to respond positively and

contribute towards institutional provision that was more open and accessible.

There persisted however, difficulties throughout the duration of the Project which served to constrain the full development of access and participation proposed in the community education model. The persistence of the inflexibility in course timing in a number of College programmes, for instance, was a principal reason in creating problems over access. This was particularly the case in the course on Community Care in Practice described earlier,²⁴ which was jointly piloted in response to local residents' needs by the Project team and College staff. Other difficulties at the College which affected access opportunities and subsequent participation were related to a lack of tutor support for those returning to learn and staff changes in mid programme.²⁵ As far as adult education was concerned, problems were experienced with the Hall Road initiative which were related to the general quality of facilities, including the lack of arrangements for refreshments and where the absence in some cases of fundamental materials such as screwdrivers in the furniture restoration class and no mixers in the cake decorating class caused initial problems.²⁶ The presence of such obstacles in the re-entry of non-traditional adult learners into the educational mainstream served thus to inhibit the full development of the responsive element of the model. It also illustrated some of the difficulties that institutional providers have in adjusting to meet the needs and demands of

adults returning to learn, a point discussed earlier in Chapter Three.²⁷ There it was argued that in responding to adult returners, many institutions were slow or unwilling to adapt provision or produce new programmes that are more appropriately suited to non-traditional adult learners.

Closely linked to this latter point was the difficulty encountered by the Project in attracting men in the activities. Much of the educational provision in the Project was predominantly taken up by women and male involvement remained low. At Hall Road Adult Centre for example, out of a total of 137 participants who took part in the activities only 18 were men, with 8 of 15 courses attracting all women participants while no courses consisted exclusively of men.²⁸ Some limited success was recorded however attracting men into the photography and multiskills workshops.²⁹ Generally though, men were not specifically targeted as a group despite evidence in the mapping stage of the Project and from the 1991 survey of the high levels of male unemployment and the low level of educational and vocational qualifications on the estate.³⁰

The Project however, failed to respond specifically to the unemployed male population on the estate, rather offering a range of provision which was more generally targeted in the area. The result in fact saw a predominance in the involvement of women with the notable absence of men which appeared to uphold the suggestion in the 1991 survey that the male unemployed population on Orchard Park held negative attitudes towards education and a reluctance to engage in further activities or training.

While it is arguable that the lack of sufficient resources and the timescale of the Project prevented the concentration of work needed to engage the unemployed male population, the Project not only missed tackling a primary group in their objectives but also weakened the full implementation of the responsive element of the model. The opportunity for the Project to have addressed the needs of this particular group on Orchard Park by making links with training agencies in a broader economic regeneration strategy could have improved the employability of the residents concerned. In this respect, community education initiatives would benefit from exploring some of the lessons emerging from current City Challenge regeneration strategies for priority areas.³²

The limitations of the Project identified in the analysis however, should not detract from its achievements. While the Project may not have validated in its ideal form the proposed model of community education which emphasised the two stage continuum of learning containing the three key interventionist, supportive and responsive elements and overall purpose of developing learners and achieving open and accessible institutions, the work did in practice reflect aspects of all these elements. The following three areas in particular illustrate this point.

Firstly, the Project demonstrated the crucial part in the interventionist element of working out in local areas, making contact with and supporting individuals and groups. By working alongside local residents and within their time scale and pace of development, the Project team were able to

establish an identity, gain credibility and eventually, support and encourage adults to participate in educational activities.

Secondly, by establishing activities that were the product of negotiation between professionals and potential learners, the Project validated the part in the interventionist element of negotiation and ownership in education. Throughout the Project, this process of collaboration with local residents was regarded as an essential part of democratising education and supporting learners in their re-engagement back into education.

Thirdly, by increasing educational opportunities in the local area that met local preferences and were flexible, informal with minimal entry requirements, the Project fulfilled much in the responsive element of the model, thereby enhancing access and participation opportunities for local residents.

These achievements reflected the educational process in the Project and as the analysis has shown, validated much in the proposed model of community education. However, the examination has also shown that as the work in the Project developed, the difficulties and tensions associated with this type of community education process which seeks to empower people raises issues which have significance for the development of the proposed model of community education. In particular, the evaluation of the Project is not complete without a discussion on the implications for the model of firstly, the organisation of the Project and secondly, the

emphasis on negotiation and ownership in education. These two issues will be the concern of the next part of the chapter.

2. ISSUES RAISED IN THE EVALUATION OF THE PROJECT

The analysis of the North Hull Community Outreach Project in the first part of this chapter suggested that while the ideal community education model of community education discussed in Chapter Three was not fully achieved, the process adopted in Orchard Park broadly validated the key elements of the model. Furthermore, the strengths and weaknesses identified in the work of the Project raised a number of issues for the process of community education. These suggest that the model may need to be adapted or developed to take account of the lessons emerging from the Project, especially when seeking to develop community education practice in other contexts. In particular, as was indicated at the end of the first part of the chapter, the following two issues emerged from the analysis which require further examination and consideration:

1. The organisation of the Project.
2. Negotiation and ownership in education.

These two issues will be subsequently discussed in the sections that follow with a few brief concluding remarks at the end of the chapter.

2.1 The organisation of the Project

The organisation of the Outreach Project reflected the stage at which the LEA had reached in developing the notion of community education. The broader position was discussed earlier in pages 223-225 of the previous chapter where it was noted that experience in the Authority on community

education was both limited and without established policy guidelines.

Arrangements for establishing the Project subsequently reflected this lack of experience: the extent and achievability of the objectives, the funding for the Project and the scale of the area to be covered by the work all raised difficulties for the implementation of the initiative and the imposed constraints on the practicability in the idea of developing a two stage continuum of learning opportunities envisaged in the model. Paradoxically however, the idea of a cross-service team approach to deliver the Project did in fact prove to have advantages in carrying out the work. The issues these raised for implementing the proposed model of community education are subsequently discussed in this section in three sub-sections.

1. Arrangements for the Project.
2. Unresolved obstacles to development.
3. The role of the community education team.

2.1.1 Arrangements for the Project In making arrangements for the establishment of the Project the Steering Group identified seven key objectives in support of the central aim of extending educational opportunities for adults in North Hull.³³ In addition, the Project was to carry out these tasks as a combined centre based and outreach operation.

In carrying out these proposals the Project team were asked firstly to operate with a budget that was tied to the

premises related costs of the Base with little part-time tutor or development funding and no allowance for staff development or childcare provision.³⁴ Secondly, to cover in their work two estates with an adult population of approximately 21,000. Thirdly, have as their location a building that was an old school on the edge of North Hull and fourthly, achieve their objectives within a two year timescale.³⁵

The impracticalities presented in these arrangements soon became evident, as team members and the Management Group attempted to prioritise the key tasks. The limited experience of the LEA in community education manifested itself in a lack of policy guidance or direct support to the Management Group and Project. The Project essentially was left to develop its own path.

In effect, it was the Project team members who recognised and dealt with the anomalous expectations contained in the arrangements for the Project. At an early stage they proposed that the focus of work should be limited to the Orchard Park Estate and that the emphasis would be on developing 'the base' with only limited outreach activity in adjoining venues as resources allowed.

The problems though of working alongside large numbers of adults on low incomes, who experienced cumulative disadvantage and had little involvement in education were, in practical terms, beyond the scope of such a small scale Project. The constraints presented by the limited flexibility in the budget restricted the range of activities

involved.³⁶

Overcoming the image of an old school too, took time to be achieved and its location on the edge of Orchard Park was never satisfactorily resolved. The short time scale for the work seriously underestimated the scale of the task involved and the amount of time required to establish contact and develop the community education process in a priority area. These limiting factors, related to funding, location and timescale raise serious implications for the notion of a continuum of learning opportunities contained in the model for community education. It is essential that if the process of community education is to progress from the first to the second stage, then it is essential that the time allocated for the proposed work and the amount of resources made available should be adequate to carry out fully the elements identified along the continuum of learning.

Thus, if the Outreach Project, or any other initiative wishes to fully implement the process implicit in the model of community education, the arrangements that are made in establishing such work should take full account of the implications involved. In the case of the Project, much of its initial organisation reflected the lack of experience of the Authority in community education. In this particular respect therefore, the experience of the Project suggests that before initiating such schemes, community educators following the ideal model should give more attention to the crucial place of policy guidance and the availability of

experienced personnel to advise on the practical development of community education in the priority area setting.

Thus it is important to acknowledge that the expectation that the Outreach Project would be a pilot scheme for community education aiming to increase adult participation in education and instigate inter agency cooperation within two years without expert and experienced community education guidance from the LEA and with limited flexibility in available finance was not achievable. Subsequent practice should be organised with clear objectives and realistic targets, a smaller scale of operation and an appropriately judged timescale within which to achieve the community education process. The consequence of underestimating such organisational issues for the proposed model may well result in the continuation of obstacles to the re-entry of non-traditional adult learners as the experience of the Outreach Project showed.

2.1.2 Unresolved obstacles to development Throughout the life of the Project the commitment remained to extend access into education for as wide a range of the target population as possible. The problem for the team was that they encountered barriers to access which inhibited the re-entry of adult learners which were beyond their capacity to resolve. Such obstacles to re-entry included difficulties over the timing of courses which often meant evening activities for vulnerable groups; poor quality facilities and equipment in many classes; inadequate staff support for learners; and importantly, the wider availability of crèche

facilities in support of activities.³⁷ Tackling each of these problems is within the scope of most educational institutions, very often through reorganising internal arrangements with little financial cost. In Chapter Three means of overcoming such difficulties were discussed³⁸ yet, as the analysis of the Project showed earlier in this chapter,³⁹ the problems for learners persisted in institutional arrangements that showed an inflexibility and insensitivity to their needs. The existence of such difficulties in educational provision risks inhibiting the fullest expression of the responsive element in the model and without which, achieving open and accessible institutions becomes problematic.

While these difficulties may be potentially overcome by imaginative and responsive institutional arrangements, however, the problems of financial constraints on educational providers appear to be unresolvable. Although some opportunity does exist for flexibility over fees in particular, the issue of finance appears from the experience of the Project and elsewhere,⁴⁰ to remain a substantial barrier to re-entry for non traditional learners. Short term projects are only a temporary respite in this problem, the reality is, particularly with the new legislative arrangements for post school education,⁴¹ that the cost of learning will remain problematic for priority area learners where institutions either will not or cannot waive the rules. As far as the model of community education is concerned, the inability of educators to assist learners with the cost of learning limits the scope of the supportive

element and increases the risk of debarring potential learners who may have the most to gain from participating in education.

Such difficulties challenge the primary function of community education which attempts to equalise educational opportunities for members from the least advantaged groups in society. In the Outreach Project the problems of a short timescale and limited budget removed the flexibility of the team to tackle effectively the barriers to educational provision. In effect this meant that the work of the Project was unable to progress much beyond the first stage of the continuum of learning, being focused on the developmental aspects of the interventionist element.

Thus, while the activities of the Project reflected much in all the key elements as the discussion in the last part of the chapter showed,⁴² it was unable to move on to create more open and accessible institutional provision. Consequently, the work of the Project focused on developing learners within the first stage of the continuum, with some limited collaborative ventures with institutional providers which broadened the range of educational opportunities that were available.⁴³

The complexities and scale of intervention required to alter institutional arrangements therefore, proved to be beyond the resources of the Project. The emphasis thus remained on developing learners and locally organised activities. Thus, to enable the fullest development of the model would require considerably greater time and funding to

be made available to any future community education initiative wishing to work in an urban priority area. The problems for the proposed model presented in the organisation of the Outreach Project however, have to be set alongside the strengths contained in the team approach adopted by the initiative. This method of delivering activities had the benefit of producing a broader range of educational opportunities for residents than had been envisaged in the establishment of the idea and is considered next.

2.1.3 The role of the community education team The decision to put in place a multidisciplinary team of workers each with some experience and understanding of the values and way of life in priority area settings encouraged the development of a broader based response to the educational needs that emerged than might have otherwise been the case.⁴⁴ There were however a number of difficulties arising from the establishment of a multi-disciplinary team of professional workers. For instance, forming a cohesive and mutually supportive team which could share similar values and attitudes on the task to be undertaken was not a simple and axiomatic process. The different professional experiences each individual brought to the situation, the different methods of working, largely reflecting different organisational influences, and the different philosophies on what was meant by community education contributed in varying degrees to tensions in the early stages of establishing team rapport.

The additional problem of contractual anomalies between each fieldworker, which reflected the different service background, created initial conflict and mistrust amongst team members. The tensions generated by the different demands made by sponsoring agencies on individual workers also caused confusion and tensions amongst the team. Balancing the demands of the Project requirements, especially in the early stages of development, was a problem. Illustrative of this was the expectation by sponsoring agencies for team members to produce outcomes from the work at a time when the Project was consciously resisting pressure to move too fast too soon. Despite these difficulties, the idea of a team of professionals with close links back into the main institutional providers extends the notion of the role of the community educator contained in the model of community education. Hence, in addition to the community educator acting independently of the main structures of education, operating more as an intermediary between providers and users, the professional is able to work back directly into a familiar organisation and structure to potentially achieve more effective linkages.

Thus, despite the perception by community educators of the importance of being seen as independent from mainstream provision in order to win credibility amongst non-traditional learners, the availability of direct access into institutions adds a further dimension to the role of the educator and increases the opportunities for access and participation. Furthermore, the availability in the Project

of a team of professionals each with separate institutional links and access to resources, extends further the range of opportunities more directly available to local people.

The benefits however, of a team approach, only occurred when the Project field-workers had overcome the potential conflicts and initial tensions arising out of their unique situation. These issues were dealt with through staff development and training exercises which sought to cultivate an identity and autonomy for the Project as a community education team with specific goals and objectives.⁴⁵ This process continued throughout the duration of the Project, both formally through training events and informally, as a team visiting other projects and in holding group discussions with users and other education workers.

The importance of staff support and training for professional workers in facing as a team the dynamic of community education developments in a priority area should not be underestimated. There is always a need for community educators, both as individuals and in a team situation to require time away from the work to reflect, examine and learn, in order to contribute more effectively back in the area. Hence the acknowledgement by the team leader of the need to facilitate team discussions and opportunities for reflection on developments in order to generate mutual supportiveness of team members and to identify and clarify objectives.

The importance of staff development in supporting individuals to embrace the participative and democratic

approach to decision making adopted by the team should not be underestimated. As the team gradually dispensed with a hierarchical staffing structure, replacing the role of team leader with that of facilitator which was equally shared amongst all members and moved towards collective decision making, the process undertaken required much examination, discussion and agreement.⁴⁶ The ideal of the open and participatory team approach had to be worked hard for and constantly reinforced through team building and personal counselling sessions. It was however, a crucial element of the consultative style adopted by the Project both in its own professional arrangements and in its relationship with residents.

The idea therefore of a multidisciplinary team linked to institutions which avoids contractual anomalies and has staff development support available within a clearly stated division of responsibilities between sponsoring agency and fieldwork practice potentially enhances the process of community education and widens the scope for access and participation.

Furthermore, the emphasis on participative relationships within the team was extended to include work with the residents in the Project. Such an approach was regarded by the workers as the most effective means of developing a sense of ownership by the residents in the educational process. It did however, raise a number of issues for the model of community education which are considered next.

2.2 Negotiation and ownership in education

One of the key aspects in the interventionist element of the proposed community education model is the notion of negotiation and ownership in education, whereby the participants in the learning situation are consulted over the content and methods of learning and are encouraged to feel some ownership of the process through active involvement in decision making.⁴⁷

The Project team were committed to the overall principle of collaboration in developing the activities recognising the importance for successfully engaging non-traditional adult learners in working closely alongside residents and involving them in the planning and delivery of the programmes. The use of volunteers at 'the base'⁴⁸ and the reconstituted users' group⁴⁹ were illustrative of this principle of collaboration. Importantly for the team members was the manner in which that collaboration was developed.

Thus, the users' group, emerged after a carefully staged period of relationship building, working within residents own time scales and largely on their terms initially to build trust and confidence. Once the trust had been established the process of negotiation could begin. The sense of ownership this created indicated that attempts at imposing collaboration through a professionally dominated Management Group or locally unrepresentative consultative group⁵⁰ would fail precisely because they were imposed and not allowed to develop from within through the users. The community education model recognises that working with

people in priority areas "is a slow process, building gradually on developing relationships of trust".⁵¹ The experience from the Project suggests that people would become involved in education when they were treated as partners and could share in the decision making and direction of the work. The time taken to encourage partnerships is thus a very real investment by community educators in winning trust and confidence from participants.

In achieving the establishment of a locally representative consultative group however, two problems arise. The first concerns the extent of power sharing that can occur between residents and professionals. The second, is determining just how far such a group carries the mandate to represent all of the opinions of diverse and often conflicting local groups.

In respect of the first problem, it was suggested in the discussion earlier in Chapter Three,⁵² that attempts to share power can be both illusory and fraught with difficulties. It is illusory, because in a representative democracy there are limits to what will be allowed in the shape of local control over the rights and privileges of elected representatives and difficulty, because giving control to local people challenges the traditional domination of power by professionals.

The likely outcome of power sharing can and did within the Project raise the unforeseen and unpredictable consequence of provoking tension and conflict between the field workers and the activated users who themselves, split into smaller groups with competing interests. Thus, while

some residents wanted to simply use 'the base' for its educational and social activities, there were others who, having been more centrally involved in team meetings and decision making, had their expectations raised and demanded further elements of control and an equal place in the running of the Project. As one resident put it

We needed a room - a space. The team had theirs, Jean had hers, even the cleaners had their own room. We wanted a filing cabinet because we had nowhere to put the minutes of the meeting we wrote down. All our wants and why we wanted them.
DEMANDS.⁵³

The continued domination by prominent local personalities in the running of affairs at 'the base' and the clashes that arose had the effect of restricting wider involvement from Orchard Park and raises the second problem concerned with collaboration, namely, the representativeness of a consultative group.

The difficulties experienced by community colleges in achieving broad representation in the management of institutions and discussed in Chapter Two,⁵⁴ became problematic for the Project also. As the team sought collaboration and sharing of control with residents they walked a continual tightrope between professional neutrality and community politics. The strategy of encouraging the growing importance and involvement of the users' group in decision taking was offset by the struggle by team members to overcome resistance on the estates to what many residents outside of 'the base' regarded as the domination of the Project by a small and locally unrepresentative minority.

This issue of representation is problematic for community educators because while they welcome involvement from the local population and actively encourage people when they come forward, the subsequent difficulty arises in trying to broaden participation to include a wider constituency and break the monopoly of one or more factions. The Project team in one sense could be congratulated on the high level of user control and participation which emerged amongst residents who gravitated to 'the base' and were involved as volunteers and participants in the activities. Such an involvement by local people was never anticipated by the original Steering Group and took the Management Group and the Project team by surprise. However, the desire to welcome and extend the partnership into user control was done without team members stating or clarifying the limits to resident involvement. Thus the early dominance by one group of local people soon became consolidated and accepted as the voice of the area by professionals without regard to broader representation.

The two problems of power sharing and local representativeness however, remained unresolved during the life of the Project. As far as the sharing of power was concerned what existed was a considerable degree of localised power sharing and ownership within 'the base' and between the residents and team members. However, the opportunity for residents to control the Project through the Management Group or the LEA Planning Group remained out of reach. Little indication emerged from the Project which suggested the situation could be changed; negotiation and

ownership in education may well be only achieved within the local context. The power of educational hierarchies and the extent of professional domination appears too great for the community education process alone to overcome.

Similarly, the difficulties in achieving a locally broadly representative forum within the Project was fraught with difficulties and contradiction. The issue is complicated, given the desire and encouragement shown by community educators to user partnership, the danger this brings of exclusivity by one group over another may well create difficulties locally and be counter productive to the aim of a broad based community education process. Education systems therefore must not succumb to narrowly conceived local vested interests or the dominance by professionals but maintain an open approach to all interests in a locality tolerating the diversity and contradictions which characterises urban priority areas.

2.3 Concluding remarks

In its short life, the Project attempted to move out into the local area to such an extent that it became a recognised part of community life, with established personal contacts and a widely respected reputation. Through the credibility gained in the area individuals and groups felt able to approach the Project and ask for courses and activities. In this development educational issues and ideas were generated by local people rather than being imposed by professional educators or institutions. By involving residents more centrally in the education process

the Project gave a voice' to some members from the least advantaged groups in society. What this gave these residents was a sense of ownership in the education process and a feeling that they were being listened to and in doing so, some of the traditional barriers which have inhibited access to education were, if not removed, then considerably weakened.

This was the ideal model that fashioned the Project: a commitment to work alongside and support adults in their areas of residence, to increase the opportunities and access into education and to share control and power in the educational process. Two years of community education developments however cannot make up, in some cases, generations of disengagement from education nor can it tackle alone the many social and economic issues facing socially disadvantaged groups in priority areas.

The Project met with successes and failures as its philosophy and practice unfolded, not in the beginning with a fully developed strategy but gradually in an ad hoc way, responding to the changing needs and perceptions of local people. The team fashioned their ethos on the model of community education developed in Chapter Three, working to create a true partnership of equals. On the one side the local residents with their knowledge, experiences, hopes, fears and aspirations and on the other, the Project with its resources and expertise, both coming together to provide "what residents want as opposed to what professionals need".⁵⁵

6. Were you happy with the following?

	ALL OF THE TIME	SOME OF THE TIME	NONE OF THE TIME
The room	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Childcare facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Equipment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. Were you satisfied that you got enough individual attention? YES NO

8. Have you any ideas about how the class could have been improved?

.....
.....
.....

9. Would you like information about other similar classes in your area? YES NO

10. Would you like to continue with this class if the opportunity is there? YES NO

11. Would you like to talk to one of our staff about where to go from here? (eg other courses, return to work, training etc) YES NO

12. Have you got any ideas for other classes or courses?
.....
.....
.....

Thank you for completing this questionnaire, it will help us when we plan other courses.

Notes to Chapter Five :

1. See Chapter Three, pp.159-163 for a discussion of this role.
2. See Part 3 in Chapter Four where examples of the process of linking back into sponsoring agencies are provided.
3. See Figure 21, p.238, for details of this project and other support given to local groups.
4. *ibid.*
5. See Appendix Four, p.260 for details of these taster courses.
6. See pp.163-169 in Chapter Three for the discussion of this point.
7. NHCOP, *op.cit.*, pp.11-19.
8. *ibid*, pp.58-60.
9. Arnstein, *op.cit.*
10. NHCOP, *op.cit.*, p.84.
11. See the discussion in Chapter Two, pp.116-121 and pp.130-131.
12. NHCOP, *op.cit.*, p.201.
13. *ibid.*
14. *ibid*, p.74. Sheila Cooper, local resident.
15. *ibid*, p.80. Hilda, "a contented and happy worker".
16. *ibid*, p.28.
17. See pp.243-247 in Chapter Four for details of these activities.
18. See pp.248-259 in Chapter Four.
19. One long term unemployed person progressed on to a City and Guilds craft level course at Hull College of Further Education. NHCOP, *op.cit.*, p.25.
20. One individual registered on a part time Documentary Studies Degree Course at the local Polytechnic. NHCOP, *op.cit.*, p.24.
21. *ibid*, p.4.

22. See pp.250-252 in Chapter Four.
23. NHCOP, op.cit., p.20.
24. See p.248 in Chapter Four,
25. NHCOP, op.cit., p.44 summarises the difficulties encountered at the College.
26. *ibid*, pp.238-240.
27. See p.176 in Chapter Three.
28. NHCOP, op.cit., pp.237-238.
29. *ibid*, pp.23-26.
30. Polygon, op.cit., p.48.
31. *ibid*, pp.53-54.
32. City Challenge is a new scheme funded from within the Urban Programme that emphasises the notion of comprehensive urban regeneration based on strategic partnerships between public authorities, the private sector, voluntary agencies and the local communities. It is a competitive scheme operational from April 1992. Bids were invited for 1993 starts from Programme Authorities and 20 winners were announced recently; although Hull put in a submission for the west of the city, it was not selected.
33. NHCOP, op.cit., p.20.
34. See p.265, reference 40.
35. All of these proposals are covered in the Steering Group's initial report found in NHCOP, op.cit., pp.105-128.
36. Despite the Project team successfully negotiating activities and developments with Hull College, the Adult Service and the Youth Service, its own scope to initiate and promote activities was severely curtailed by the lack of 'flexible' headings to spend within the budget. See again, p.265 and reference 40.
37. See Part One of this chapter for details of these problems.
38. See pp.175-199 in Chapter Three for a discussion of this.

39. See pp.283-284.
40. See the evidence from NIACE, op.cit., pp.27-29.
41. See the discussion on this point in Chapter Six, pp.334-335.
42. See pp.293-295.
43. See pp.286-291 earlier in this chapter.
44. See Figure 20, p.234 in Chapter Four for details of the Project staffing structure.
45. See pp.235-236 in Chapter Four for details of the staff development and training provided.
46. While the team leader retained responsibility for leadership of the Project as far as the Authority was concerned, in practice, working relationships were based upon the idea of the equal sharing of responsibility and a participative decision making process. See p.231 also.
47. See pp.163-169 in Chapter Three.
48. See pp.254-255 in Chapter Four.
49. See pp.255-256, *ibid.*
50. See pp.252-254, *ibid.*
51. NHCOP, op.cit., p.68, Betty, a local resident.
52. See pp.163-164.
53. NHCOP, op.cit., p.95.
54. See pp.112-118.
55. NHCOP, op.cit., p.96.
56. *ibid*, p.219.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This thesis has been concerned with the educational participation of non-traditional adult learners who come from the least socially and educationally advantaged sections of society. The emphasis has been on finding the means of encouraging such adults back into the main body of education in order that they might benefit from the opportunities that are available and gain the knowledge and skills to improve their personal situation and participate in the main social and economic mechanisms of society.

The adverse material conditions that disadvantaged groups living in urban priority areas face however, are overwhelming and when combined, serve to deprive them of access to the main opportunity structure of society. As Chapter One showed, the risk of social polarisation does not only affect the older inner areas of the major towns and cities either.¹ The problem has spread to affect other parts of the conurbations and is giving growing cause for concern. Professor Halsey commenting on the 1991 housing estate disturbances in the North East suggested that the collective deprivation in many urban priority areas is producing an "underclass" that is increasingly becoming disconnected from the values associated with the reproductive mechanisms of society represented by the family and who are excluded from the economic productive system.²

This new 'underclass', according to Halsey, forms a "minority within a minority"³ trapped within the priority areas of large cities, alienated and increasingly resistant to social cooperation.

If his observations prove correct, and the evidence contained in both Chapters One and Four describing priority area life offers little to detract from this view,⁴ these raise serious questions on how the social and educational systems in society might respond to ameliorate the situation. The cycle of powerlessness referred to in Chapter One⁵ described the extent and intractability of the problem, showing how the combined effects of disadvantage interact to keep people trapped within an iterative cycle of deprivation. Edwards has suggested that this cumulative effect of disadvantage begins early with the priority area child when

he will progress to a secondary ... school and will likely emerge at the earliest opportunity to take up a job which offers low pay, low security and no future. This social position and lack of money will effectively disqualify him from competing effectively in the housing market, and in areas of acute housing shortage ... he may well end up once more in an inner city area ... if he ever left.⁶

British post war urban educational policy solutions attempting to tackle the problems of cumulative disadvantage were underpinned by a number of views. As was shown in Chapter One, these varied in their emphasis from ones stressing an emphasis on equality of access in education,⁷ to strategies of positive discrimination and programmes of

compensatory education which were underpinned by pathological explanations for educational failure,⁸ right through to the development of responses that called for a more radical reform of community and social life through reconstructionist models of community education.⁹

Thus, as Chapter Two showed, the development of positive discrimination was significant in post war educational policy with its shift in focus from the previously held unitary concept of the city to a model of diversity in which additional resources were directed to priority areas.¹⁰ This became the context within which compensatory educational programmes were developed and from which, the notion that education had a part to play in solving the problems of families and neighbourhoods emerged. The idea of compensatory education as was shown in Chapter Two however, was widely criticised with Bernstein particularly arguing that it was not possible to "talk about offering compensatory education to children who in the first place have not, as yet, been offered an adequate educational environment".¹¹

The possibilities though, introduced through positive discrimination for education to adopt a community problem solving approach led to more radical developments in community education where the emphasis was extended to take on a social bias. As was discussed in Chapter Two, arguments were developed that stressed the role of schools in becoming a base for community regeneration and social change stimulated by a socially relevant curriculum.¹²

Later, through the notion of community colleges, the school was extended to become a centre for social, recreational, cultural and educational provision within which local control and participation in the management structures was encouraged.¹³ Priority area communities in this latter idea were regarded as consensual in nature, capable of being promoted and developed by a single institution, a notion which regarded the school as the centre of community life and drawing upon the ideas found in the village colleges of Cambridgeshire.¹⁴

Thus, while the emphasis in much of post war community education on the school as a force for community regeneration based on the notion of a homogeneous priority area community is in itself a difficult notion to accept, as the discussion earlier in Chapter Two showed, there are four further problems associated with schools as a medium for community development. Firstly, institutions with their well defined traditional role, relative inflexibility of plant and small marginal resources and centralised location may find it difficult or be reluctant to move resources and staffing towards an expanded role in wider spread community locations.¹⁵

Secondly, most teachers would say that their first priority is to the schoolchildren rather than the community. When taken with the relative inflexibility of the traditional teaching role itself with its statutory obligations to pupils and the demands of a national

curriculum, assessment and examinations, it is unlikely that teachers are able to adopt the fluidity and informality of a community work role. Furthermore, even in its most progressive form, schooling is a highly structured situation with fixed times and dates when schools are open. Pupils are segregated into class groups and work with particular teachers for allocated periods and the content of learning is tightly circumscribed.

Thirdly, the changing legislative position of education in which the emphasis on competitiveness and the shifting power base to institutions has altered the balance of influence in education. Whereas before, LEAs could be more directive in achieving their aims with regard to non-statutory activities at least, that situation has now altered decisively.¹⁶ This now means schools through their own governing bodies having to be more accountable for their finances. Thus, with the non-statutory basis of community education funding varying dramatically from one authority to another, such initiatives will need to demonstrate financial viability or risk becoming vulnerable in times of financial stringency. This may be particularly the case when competing demands are made over the use of school premises by other groups. This could lead to demands by governing bodies that the dual use of school facilities should not be unprofitable. This may increase the pattern of school premises being let out for use by groups who, as Jones has noted,¹⁷ are articulate, readily available and profitable. These are the people who could dominate usage in the future

thus hindering the slower build up of participation by other vulnerable or socially disadvantaged groups.

Fourthly, and finally, at a more fundamental level however, there is a question about community schooling and the development of the social individual subsequently able to regenerate and change their community. It is not clear that policies consciously intended at this level to promote the coherence of local communities can influence the structures that determine the nature of social relationships, or even at any depth, interact with them. Ideas about the power of schools to promote community regeneration and social change have proved hard to sustain, particularly in view of the selection function of schooling with its emphasis on social sifting and examinations.¹⁸

Thus, while schools can be regarded as incapable of fulfilling the process contained in the proposed model of community education, later developments which focused on adults offered an alternative option for experimenting with the process. However, as the discussion in Chapter Two demonstrated,¹⁹ this response was mostly concerned with adult education as an instrument of social change, contributing to the collective advancement of working class minority groups.

In this perspective, adult educators saw that people in priority areas had a wide range of interests, like people elsewhere, but their most pressing needs of unemployment, housing and poverty had restricted their involvement in

education. Traditional adult education was seen to have failed to utilise these interests or that of adults as parents in their children's schooling. Community adult education therefore emphasised the need to be involved in tenants' associations and community groups to assist in tackling the problems of housing, vandalism, poverty and unemployment. Thus, as was shown in Chapter Two this was regarded as the essential contribution of adult education to social action. Educators were to unite with the working class in fighting local issues.

This idea of combining aspects of community action with adult education however, although very successful in encouraging a number of working class adults to participate in education, encourage their personal development and possibly provide a ladder out of 'deprived' communities, left the position of the general community unresolved. The stress on local alternatives as solutions to the problems of inequality resulted in the creation of alternative educational solutions related to immediate problems of the locality.

Consequently, this form of community action linked to adult education produced, in parts, a narrow interpretation of education and raised the possible dangers of creating an educational elite at the expense of the wider population. As Lovett commented

courses on the political economy of cities are fine, but very few community activists are at the point where such phrases mean anything to them.²⁰

What did emerge from this aspect of post war community education however, was an emphasis on the importance of working out in the priority area setting, alongside adult learners, negotiating and sharing the educational content with local people. These were worthy elements that later reappeared in the proposed model of community education. The stress however in adult education, and in school based community education developments, was predominantly on a social bias in solving the problems of local communities where education was regarded as the crucial element in revitalising and regenerating local community life, despite the warning from Halsey that "too much has been claimed for the power of educational systems as instruments for the wholesale reform of societies".²¹ The idea that community education in post war developments could achieve community change subsequently failed in its own terms as Chapter Two has documented.

By comparison to the arguments supporting the development of community education in post war Britain, the model for community education put forward in this thesis is not concerned with wholesale community regeneration or social change. Instead, the proposal is developed of a community education process that emphasises a two stage continuum of learning with the overall purpose of developing learners and achieving open and accessible educational institutions. The model discussed in Chapter Three²² argued that community education practice should be interventionist,

supportive and responsive, with the potential for re-engaging adult learners within the main educational system.

The importance of such a model was broadly validated in the study of the North Hull Community Outreach Project in Chapter Four²³ where the focus was on encouraging the greater participation of traditional non-participant and socially disadvantaged groups in a priority area to re-enter the main body of education. Such adults, who lacked qualifications and had unhappy experience of schooling had become progressively disengaged from education and were typical of many of the least advantaged groups found in priority areas.

Thus, the development of the Outreach Project in Orchard Park worked with an adult population with high levels of disengagement from education, acknowledging that it could not make up for years of entrenched disadvantage nor the wider social and economic problems affecting many people in the area. Instead, it demonstrated that some barriers to education could be dismantled by engaging non participants in a collaborative process which in small degrees, empowered those who came into contact with the activities. By involving adults the Project worked on the belief that in raising their educational awareness the benefits would accrue to those who were parents and their children. This belief was sustained by the persistence in the post war period of research which suggested that parental support and education was an important factor in determining a child's educational performance.²⁴ In overall

terms therefore, the Project developed a local facility with high levels of user satisfaction and involvement, despite the conflicts and tensions the approach generated.

The thesis has thus traced the context and development of post war community education in urban priority areas, proposed a model for community education that takes account of the circumstances that inhibit the participation of the least advantaged groups in society and tested it against a community education project. In doing so, there have been raised the following crucial issues that have implications for the way the model is developed:

- (i) Poor educational performance of priority area learners.
- (ii) Collaboration with local residents.

(i) Poor-educational performance of priority area learners

The poor performance by children and adults from priority areas in education, as discussed in the earlier chapters,²⁵ has led to problems in education that result in

- (i) a lack of formal qualifications, including basic literacy and numeracy difficulties;
- (ii) unhappy experiences of schooling;
- (iii) a negative attitude when adult to further education and training;
- (iv) cynicism about the value of education to the priority area situation;
- (v) lack of role models in relation particularly to further and higher education;

(vi) a general anti-culture towards education - it belongs to a higher status sector of society.

Interpretations for reasons why these issues persist have ranged from indifference and low motivation to wider structural features. Thus, the survey discussed in Chapter Four of long term unemployed carried out on Orchard Park identified cynicism about the value of education or training amidst overpowering social and economic disadvantage and a subsequent unwillingness to participate as further contributing to the disinterest and disengagement shown towards education.²⁶

The suggestion however that antipathy or low motivation is the cause of the educational difficulties of non-traditional learners has been challenged by writers who maintain that many from the least advantaged groups hold back from education not because of low motivation but because of powerful constraints arising from cultural and social class divisions. O'Shea and Corrigan²⁷ thus argue that adult participation in education is the continuation of a process which starts at school. School creates or reinforces sharp divisions in society, by conditioning children to accept different expectations and status patterns according to their 'success' or 'failure'. Through the use of imposed standards and selection, the educational system traditionally rejects or excludes large numbers of the population, many of whom subsequently consider themselves as educational failures.²⁸

To a significant degree post school education perpetuates the values and status of patterns embedded in the school system. Thus, for the less advantaged groups, post school education can easily reinforce inequalities that commence early in childhood. Not surprisingly, people who are perceived to have failed in the school system do not wish to repeat that failure by participating as adults.

While the proposed model of community education may not be able to alter some of the wider and intractable structural problems, it has been argued in Chapter Three that the process can effectively address aspects of institutional barriers to learning and alter the negative attitudes and perceptions non-traditional adult learners bring to the situation.²⁹ Thus, in the continuum of learning opportunities people who were disengaged from education have their confidence developed and are involved in selecting the learning content of activities in a negotiated relationship with professionals. The model hence positively supports adults in their return to learning and encourages institutions to become more responsive in meeting the needs of such learners. It is possible too, as the evaluation of the Outreach Project in Chapter Five showed,³⁰ for all three of the elements in the model to interact and be fulfilled in part during the first developmental stage of the continuum. In this situation, adults will benefit from a concentrated educational experience which encourages re-entry although it remains an important objective in the model to achieve the full

continuum of learning opportunities so that the overall purpose of developing learners and achieving open and accessible institutions become available for priority area learners.

Central to this process remains the issue of collaboration with local residents where the discussion in the last part of Chapter Five³¹ suggested such an activity remains problematic for the model.

(ii) Collaboration with local residents The commitment to collaboration implies a need for equal sharing of power between educational professionals and institutional builders who control the educational process and local people. Previous experience in education has pointed to the existence of a less than equal sharing of power between learners and the educational hierarchy.³² Associated with this is the problem raised over the validity of local representation: this raises important questions about the extent to which representatives have a mandate in the locality and who it is that they represent. The lessons from community colleges suggest that more articulate groups with better skills are able over time to dominate situations and gain advantages in the decision making process.³³ Jones has suggested that these are the groups who are often unrepresentative of the local social economic profile or of the interests and needs of local residents and that the lesser advantaged groups then constantly remain on the margins of participation and the community education process.³⁴

In the Outreach Project the lessons that emerged showed that negotiation with local people meant bringing into partnership with education people whose involvement will not necessarily be predictable and who may create problems for the professionals in the situation. Furthermore, if broadening the base of community participation in institutional arrangements is successful it will inevitably lead to increased interest and motivation, and consequently to demands for even more active forms of involvement. This dimension of the community education process is one which educators should not and cannot expect to control and requires professionals and institution builders to tolerate and accommodate the conflicting and contradictory demands involved in the sharing of power which will arise.

Ultimately, as the Outreach the Project demonstrated, the whole area of sharing power and control with local people is contentious for all the reasons stated. The model acknowledges this situation and accepts that the ideal of control by local residents in education will almost certainly be unachievable, if it is ever desirable.³⁵ In a representative democracy, it is the elected representatives who have the mandate to operate the controls in society. It is a reality which may not be palatable to those who argue for control at the local level by unelected factions. Education is part of the elected democracy in Britain and as such must operate within the accepted traditions: educators should undertake to ensure that the local view is reflected through the properly elected representatives of

the people. Any other attempt to wrest control will end in failure or increase the polarisation of some groups at the expense of others. The model therefore promotes the notion of educational development within the accepted arrangements of the existing representative democracy and emphasises the involvement and participation of local people within the realities of any given situation. Thus, power sharing between professionals and local people may only occur within the boundaries of what is available to be shared. Thus, as the Project team found it, it could only share equally with the local residents that power which effectively belonged and was controlled within the Project itself.³⁶

Thus, the process in the model is fashioned on a belief in community education that emphasises a developmental and participative process, readily accessible to non-traditional learners within agreed and accepted boundaries for collaboration. The model, furthermore, with its continuum of learning, key elements and overall purpose is predicated on the belief that negotiation and ownership in education is a slow, continuing process which starts at the point where learners are and has expectations that they might progress into the main educational opportunity structure and take its benefits. This does not mean imposing values, although inevitably this will occur, but stresses negotiation and involvement with local people in determining their educational participation.

In carrying out the process in the model, the potential exists through the interventionist, supportive and responsive elements not only to develop the greater participation in mainstream learning activities of non-traditional learners, but also to give them a voice in the educational debate. By doing so, community educators may begin to challenge the quiescence of disadvantaged groups within education which has compounded their non-participation in learning opportunities.

The practice carried out in the Outreach Project through the idea of a small area focus validated the potential in the model to re-invigorate non-traditional adult learners to participate and contribute in the educational process. This notion of a small area focus to implement the model thus was an important aspect in validating in practice the community education process. Consequently, the proposed model of community education was shown in practice to be effective in achieving the development of learners when implemented through a closely focused and discretely targeted strategy which combines with mainstream providers to work alongside non-traditional learners in encouraging their development and progression into education. Arguments that call for the abandonment of the notion of areal strategies because they may miss, in some forms, the intended groups, or, because they are expensive, could prove to be impetuous.³⁷ As the Project showed, such strategies have their use as experiments, as ways of identifying and attempting to intervene with certain

aspects of educational disengagement and disadvantage while providing lessons on how models of community education could be applied more widely.

Furthermore, despite inadequacies in the funding and organisation of the Project,³⁸ the work showed that small area projects have the potential to ameliorate some of the worst educational problems facing adults in priority areas. While funding such schemes may appear expensive in the short term, particularly in the new cost-conscious culture of education, the expense to the State in social and economic terms if the educational problems affecting disengaged learners are not tackled, will be greater.

The opportunity therefore should be grasped to develop in priority areas the model of community education proposed in this thesis. The process validated by the Outreach Project meets the challenge facing post school educational providers to broaden and increase the opportunities in education for the least educationally advantaged. The Further and Higher Education Act sets a new context for post sixteen education as it embodies major tensions between the values of equity, access and entitlement and of differentiation and competition implicit in the market assumptions underpinning the Act.³⁹ The need to market courses and programmes effectively may lead to a reduction in the incentive and flexibility of educational providers to sustain activities for under-represented groups in the system.

This may lead only to the promotion and survival of the most profitable income generating courses, while costly small group and minority interest programmes may be marginalised and lost. As the model implies and the Project demonstrated, it is these latter activities with small groups undergoing a period of preparation, negotiation, guidance and support before entering the main provision which are essential to engaging non-traditional adult learners. The loss of such opportunities would mean reducing the re-engagement of the least advantaged groups in the educational process, thus further reinforcing their polarisation away from the main opportunity structure of society.

In this new educational condition it is therefore essential that educators in post school education adopt and retain the community education process exemplified by the model. If community educators are institution based, and many inevitably will be, they must ensure that the structures they set up reflect the needs and aspirations of their local communities and that within those structures, their role is that of facilitator with the overriding aim of enabling disadvantaged learners to participate in the continuum of learning opportunities afforded through the model of community education.

Notes to Chapter Six

1. See pp.35-41 for a discussion of this point.
2. A.H. Halsey speaking on the ITV programme "Special Enquiry" 3 November 1991, which considered the consequences of the Meadowell disturbance in North Tyneside for other parts of Britain.
3. *ibid.*
4. See pp.41-46 in Chapter One again and pp.211-222 in Chapter Four for further information on this issue.
5. See p.42.
6. Edwards, *op.cit.*, p.5.
7. See pp.52-54.
8. See pp.54-59 in Chapter One.
9. See pp.104-122 in Chapter Two.
10. See pp.84-93 or a discussion on the notion of positive discrimination.
11. Bernstein, *op.cit.*, p.61.
12. See pp.104-111 in Chapter Two.
13. See pp.100-102 in Chapter Two.
14. See the discussion in Chapter Two, pp.95-100 on the work of Henry Morris in relation to village colleges.
15. By attempting to embrace the concept of community education, with its flexibility of time, approach and clients, schools have the dilemma imposed by their rigidity. Furthermore, pressure on staff who are involved in the 'community school' developing local contacts, may become problematic as they are expected to operate entirely different roles. On the one hand maintaining a formalised teaching commitment, and on the other, working flexibly with local groups and their needs as they arise.
16. The effects of the Education Reform Act, in particular the local management of schools (LMS) and the recently published White Paper "Choice and Diversity: A New Framework for Schools" all contribute to the significant demise of local education authority (LEA) influence in schooling.

17. Jones has suggested that the least advantaged groups in priority areas are often squeezed out from the use of community facilities in schools by more able and affluent groups. She regards this as one of the ironies of community schooling, namely, the groups for whom facilities were intended are in fact the ones to least benefit from use and assistance. See Jones, *op.cit.*, p.54 and pp.60-61.
18. Halsey makes the point that community regeneration cannot be carried out through the community school alone. Change can only occur "in the context of a comprehensive organisation of social services in the community". See Halsey, 1972, p.18.
19. See pp.111-115 in Chapter Two.
20. Lovett, 1983, p.40.
21. Halsey, *op.cit.*, p.7.
22. See pp.192-199.
23. See the evaluation of the Project in Chapter Five.
24. See the evidence from Douglas, *op.cit.*, Halsey et al, *op.cit.*, and the Plowden Report, *op.cit.*
25. See pp.47-52 in Chapter One and the evidence of the educational performance of children from Orchard Park in Chapter Four, pp.219-222.
26. See the discussion of the 1991 Polygon research results on pp.221-222 in Chapter Four.
27. O'Shea and Corrigan, *op.cit.*
28. *ibid.*
29. See pp.154-156.
30. See pp.272-290.
31. See pp.307-311.
32. See the discussion on the issue of community control and participation in Chapter Two, pp.116-122.
33. *ibid.*
34. See Jones, *op.cit.*
35. See the discussion of this point in developing the proposed model on pp.163-169 in Chapter Three.

36. See the discussion on issues arising for the model in the evaluation of the Outreach Project on pp.307-311 in Chapter Five.
37. The criticism from Barnes, op.cit., and Holtermann, op.cit., is illustrative of this point.
38. See the discussion on pp.296-300.
39. The 1992 Further and Higher Education Act gives independent status to further education colleges, sixth form colleges and removes the binary line in higher education. One consequence of the Act has been to increase the competitiveness and market orientation amongst post sixteen providers. This may in turn create problems in meeting the needs of disadvantaged groups, which are potentially expensive, and the need for colleges to be cost-effective.

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