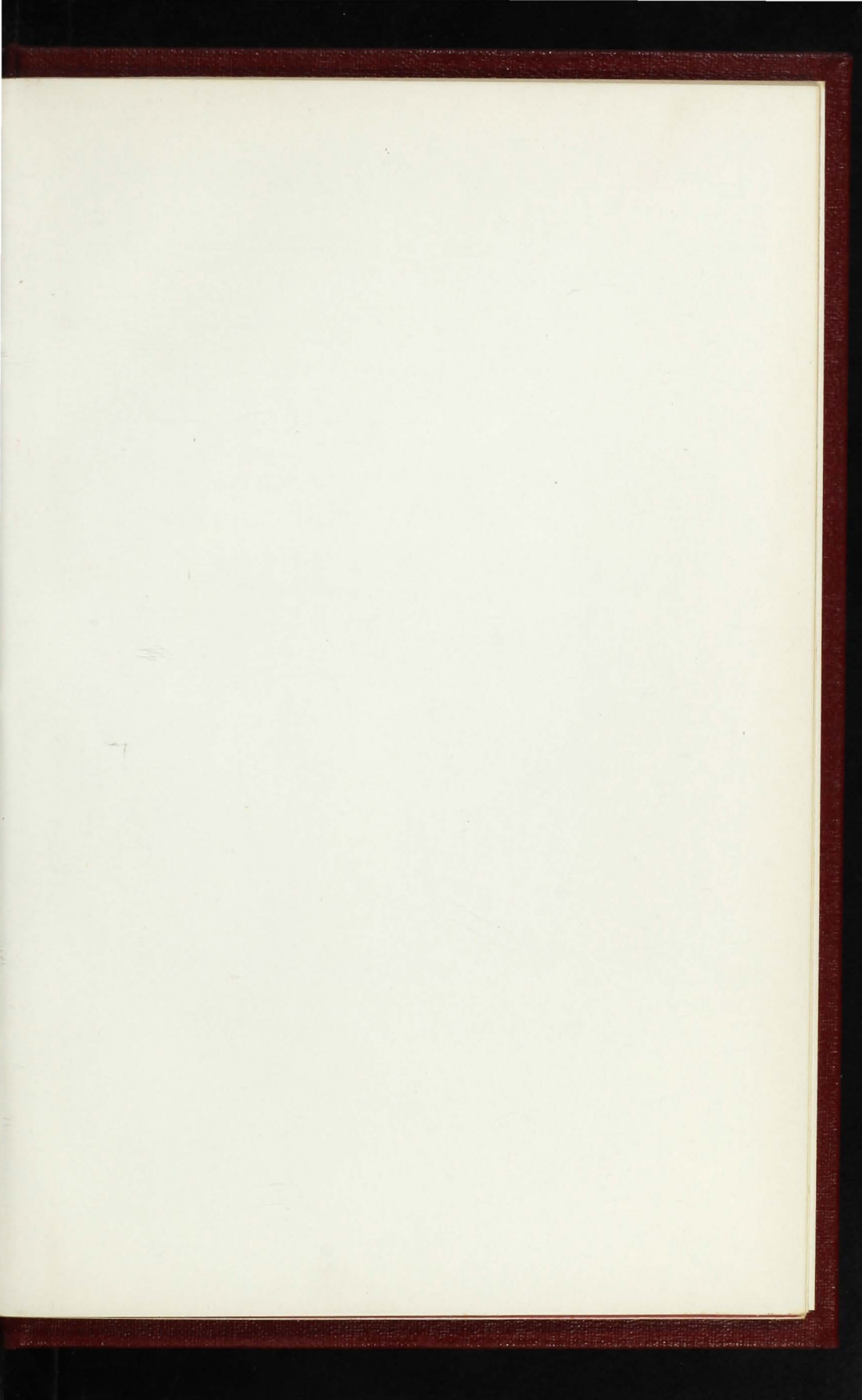


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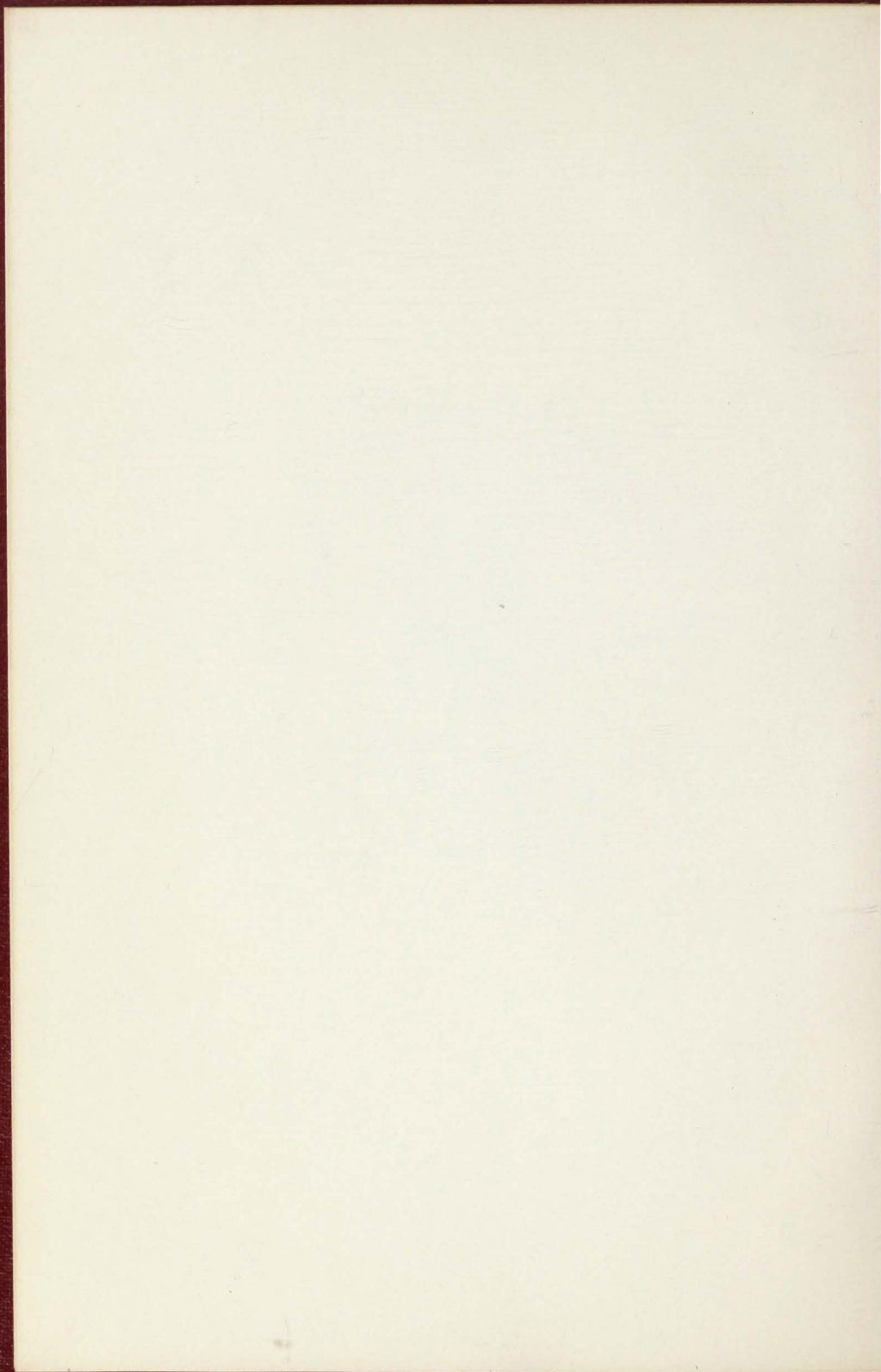


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enforced leisure; enforced education

Ray Kohn

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enforced leisure: enforced education

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the author

Ray Kohn studied history and sociology at Cambridge University and subsequently worked in various countries until becoming a secondary school teacher in south London. After a year of study and writing at Leicester University, he became WEA tutor-organiser in Birmingham. He worked there for six years in developing inner city adult education. In 1979 he moved to Sheffield where he is now principal of the Northern Division of Adult Education.

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this pamphlet, like all the publications of the Fabian Society, represents not the collective view of the Society but only the views of the individuals who prepared it. The responsibility of the Society is limited to approving the publications it issues as worthy of consideration within the Labour movement.

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1. *Enforced Education*

At any one time, about a quarter of the population is involved in the education system as pupil, student or teacher. If "employment" is taken to mean what people spend their time doing, education must be our largest single employer. Other than social security (mostly pensions) the education budget is the largest central government expenditure and is by far the largest expense of all local authorities. With such massive resources in people and money, exactly what service is education expected to provide?

Schools

The 1870 Education Act launched the concept of our present system which, basically, removes 'education' out of the home and local community and into institutions, normally funded by the State, which specialise in teaching the young. At no time has the education system been regarded as a service for all people: adults are catered for when funds allow, but people who happen to have been born between five and sixteen years before are always those for whom the system has been primarily intended. In the 1944 Education Act, which regulates present practice, primary and secondary education is compulsory and local authorities are statutorily required to provide schools for it. Adult education is recognised, but is not a requirement of the system. Consequently, very large amounts are spent on schools – secondary education especially – whilst other sections of the service are given much smaller sums.

In 1977/78, every sector of public expenditure, except for social security, was cut. However, if we look at the breakdown of education expenditure for 1976 to 1978, we can see that secondary education not only took the lion's share of money, but, unlike all other sectors, actually increased its expenditure.

If it is true that values generally go with cash, then we clearly value our secondary

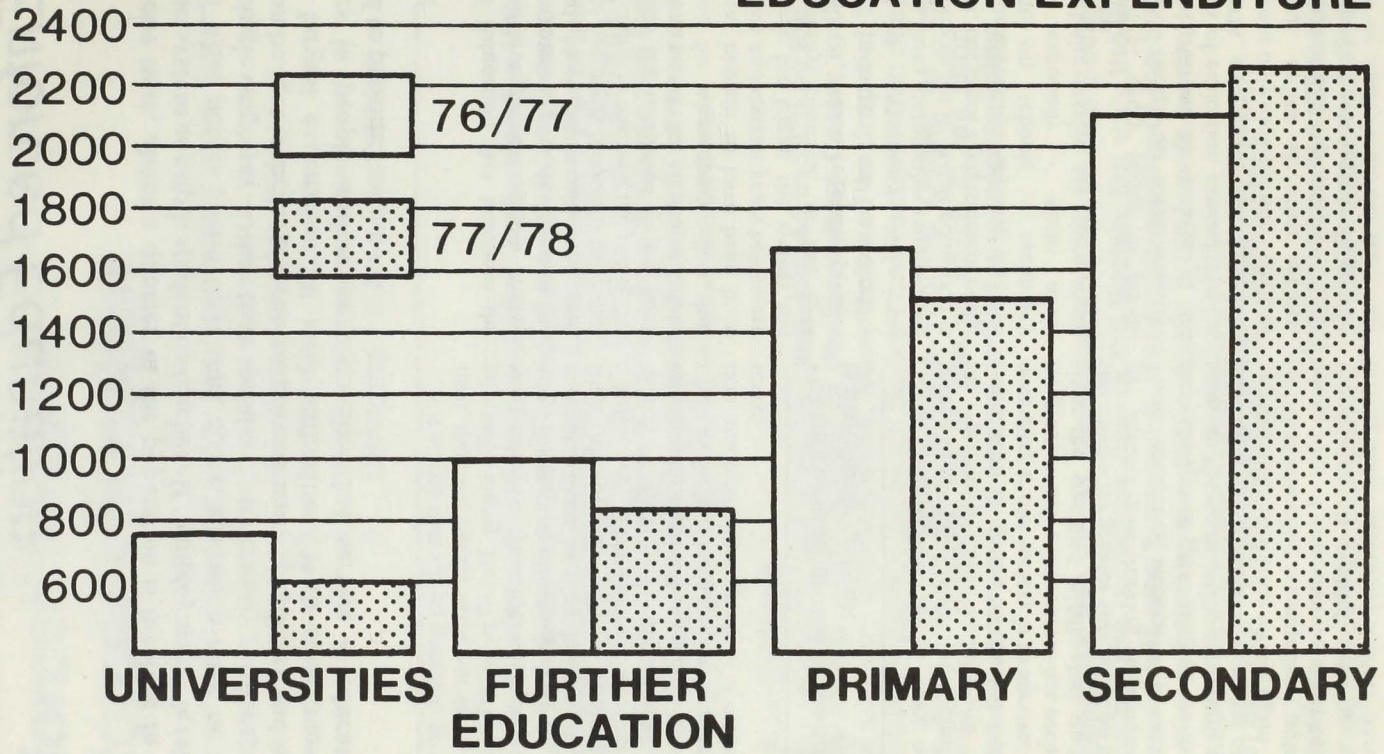
If it is true that values generally go with cash, then we clearly value our secondary education highly. But 67 per cent of pupils leave school at the minimum leaving age; and 52 per cent effectively become permanent truants in their last year (Colin Ball, Manpower Services Commission Conference, Birmingham University, 28 March 1979). However highly secondary education is regarded as a service by those who pay for it, it has a much lower reputation amongst those whom it is meant to serve.

“A more equal spread of resources is absolutely critical.”

Yet many believe that a more equal spread of resources is absolutely critical if the potential and abilities of the population is to be developed – it is necessary if our society is to survive. But no great switch of resources has occurred since the war and middle-class students still have a far greater sum spent on them per person than working class students. There are many reasons why working-class children in particular leave school as soon as they can, with a perception of education that is so dismal that they rarely approach the education service again. The fact that schooling is compulsory puts the whole idea of education as a service into the realms of wishful thinking when talking about secondary schools. Services

£ million

EDUCATION EXPENDITURE



serve – they are not imposed. When imposed to encapsulate the lives of everyone aged 5 to 16, the ‘service’ takes on the trappings and outlook of a ‘total’ institution. ‘Total’ institutions which cater for millions of people at a time, not surprisingly, cost vast sums of money. But their function, then, seems less and less like a public service in which people freely partake (as, for example, the water system or the postal service). School attendance appears more like a protracted and massively costly initiation ceremony through which all young people have to pass before taking their place in “adult” society. Ivan Illich calls it a ‘ritual’ and goes on to ascribe modern, compulsory education with all the attributes of a World Religion.

In Illich’s celebrated book, *De-schooling Society* (Penguin 1973), he suggests that the solution to the whole problem lies in establishing ‘learning webs’ instead of schools. Essentially, this means that extended reference services, skill exchanges and far greater use of modern technology and mass communications would replace schools. The undoubted popularity of this view has never been matched with a thorough analysis of how such an education system would work in pedagogic terms. The opportunities for sustained curriculum development and, for that matter, dynamic group activity generated from classes would be curtailed in favour of the apparent freedom of choice that each individual would obtain from the system. In fact, it is doubtful that Illich is describing anything that could be termed a ‘system’; indeed, the very looseness of the description of ‘learning webs’ may mislead the reader into believing that there would be a great deal of individual freedom in Illich’s ‘de-schooled society’. It may be more useful to regard Illich’s learning webs as being able to run alongside a radically altered system in which schools have a part to play somewhat different to that envisaged in the 1944 Education Act.

Adult Education

Adult educationalists have been acutely aware of the seemingly indelible mark that school leaves on people. Attracting students to adult classes that cover subjects that are also found in school curricula is generally felt to be an uphill struggle. Most of the students who do come to such courses are often found to be well-educated already. People coming from working-class areas do not attend such courses and, indeed, when they do come to ‘classes’ they usually do not perceive them as being anything to do with ‘education’. Those attending the most popular courses like dressmaking or dancing normally come for social reasons. Since the late 1960s, however, and especially since the publication of the *Russel Report on Adult Education* in 1973, there has been a more concerted attempt by the adult education service to cater for working-class students.

“Many adult educators, therefore, feel that schools are the most serious cause of adult students’ difficulties.”

In the very restricted limits of the adult education service, the headway has been quite remarkable. However, the limits are heavily drawn by the State which continues to spend large sums on secondary education where the majority of the population is permanently alienated from the education service, and then funds the adult sector without due regard for the changing structure of provision but with plenty of attention when it comes to public expenditure cuts. In effect, the vanguard of the adult sector has been brought face-to-face with the most chronically debilitating effects of secondary schooling by trying to cater for the ‘drop-outs’ from that system – that is, the vast majority of the population. Many adult educators, therefore, feel that schools are the most serious cause of adult students’ difficulties. Other adult

educators, however, can see that the school system merely serves an inegalitarian social structure and, despite many genuine attempts, seems unable to break out of this role.

The 'vanguard' of adult education has been given various names. It takes place in 'priority areas': the areas are designated as such because the residents and workers there are poorer than most. Traditional adult educationalists, who espoused the democratic views on which the profession is supposedly founded, have found it hard to act in accordance with such views in priority areas. There has been the feeling that they are taking adult education into an area which had not previously experienced such work. Such professionals were continually referred to as 'pioneers' with all the missionary inferences that that term contains. More recently, the term 'outreach' has become more commonly used to describe such work. This retains all the notions of offering educational manna to the hungry as well as implying that this work is, in certain crucial political and administrative ways, divorced from the mainstream of adult education. With the growth of literacy teaching, Adult Basic Education (see chapter 5), rights courses and the extension of trade union education, it is the supposed mainstream, however, that is beginning to look increasingly like an appendage of the 'outreach'.

"The economic and technological transformation taking place in our 'mature' economy may be signalling the beginning of the end for compulsory schooling"

Rapidly rising unemployment is beginning to accentuate working class alienation from secondary schooling. Truancy rises and loss of interest is more apparent if the promised job at the end of the school does not exist. Unemployment is already at the unheard-of figure of 3 million. The Cambridge Economic Policy

Group and the Institute of Manpower Studies at Sussex University both reject the idea of unemployment caused by micro-technology yet both predict unemployment rising to 4½ to 5 million by 1990. The response of education cannot simply multiply job training and secondary schooling opportunities if the intention is to achieve a greater participation in the education system by working-class adults of all ages. The economic and technological transformation taking place in our 'mature' economy may be signalling the beginning of the end for compulsory schooling. Encouraging alternatives in terms of working-class participation are now appearing in adult education practice.

Enforced leisure and the response of education

With the drift into service industries since the war, the workforce has been losing a wide variety of skills. This 'de-skilling' and the demoralising effects of growing, mass unemployment present a challenge to the very foundations of our education system. The present structure is based on State funding of an educational system built to plug into an economy with high employment and a growing demand for skilled work. This 'consumerist' structure requires that knowledge is graded, packaged, and served in modules. This can then be tested when students reproduce what they have learnt in examinations. Knowledge is treated as a commodity, and education is equated with instruction and training. Students rarely take anything other than a passive role: they are consumers, and teachers are possessors of knowledge. The system breaks down, however, when the rewards for going through it are no longer on offer. Unemployment and 'de-skilling' leave school for working-class children as little more than a place to go to keep off the streets. Truancy is, in fact, probably much higher than anyone will say or can know; and the loss of interest in school subjects by working-class children is so

high that it is an accepted part of working class culture that "children do not like school". This loss of interest may have been normal ever since the introduction of compulsory state schooling, but the change in the economy is bringing this situation to a crisis. Furthermore, the consumerist approach is being questioned within the education system itself with ever-increasing weight from a variety of sources. The University-orientated notion of academic excellence which is the criteria behind the system of examinations and grading is being challenged not only by more progressive school teachers and disenchanted members of University, Polytechnic and college staffs, but also by growth of supposedly 'low level' work with trade unionists, working-class adults and inner city residents that many feel to be more impressive than traditional centres of excellence.

If knowledge is treated as a commodity with certain supply/demand factors determining educational policy and resources, then what comes into operation is the equivalent to a 'market economy' approach. This means that courses that attract most students are given priority over courses that have fewer in attendance. Adult educationalists know this approach, affectionately, as the 'numbers game'. But, in the light of the development of literacy teaching, even the most conservative adult educationalists have been moved to question the relevance of the numbers game.

“Instead of passively accepting the consumerist approach, this pamphlet argues that we should adopt a more participatory or democratic approach.”

Instead of passively accepting the consumerist approach, this pamphlet argues that we should adopt a more participatory or democratic approach to education. Here, education is seen as a process of self-discovery and of bringing people into an active role in society. Students cannot take passive roles since they help develop the knowledge between them and the teacher. The only meaningful test of such education is by judging the degree of active participation that the student takes on by having been caught up in the educational process. If unemployment and de-skilling are undermining the 'work ethic' and jobs are less and less likely to be regarded as the single, central activity to an adult's life, then it may be only through this type of structure that adults are going to be able to develop activities from which they could derive meaning. Of all the services, a participatory education system may be the most critical to our economy as well as to millions of individuals. It may be the only place where ideas for future developments can be critically examined at the very same time as recruiting the people who will bring those ideas to fruition.

2. Adult Education Traditions

There are six distinguishable traditions of adult education. Although they are intertwined in many complex ways, each has its own history and has grown from distinct social and economic movements. Before

industrialisation, there were two dominant traditions that have since become far less influential. Education passed on from parents (and grand-parents) to children or by other spoken or sung lore was the normal method of instruction. This folklore tradition was opposed to the Christian, paternalist outlook which was equally rooted in the agricultural society of medieval Europe. Whilst the folklore tradition thrived on devolving responsibility for education, the paternalist tradition aimed to perpetuate religious values and centralised, established social hierarchies. In order to persuade students to find their "rightful" place in society, the paternalist tradition, through the Church, provided classes in which the habits of industry, virtue, obedience and, even, servitude formed the foundation. Nineteenth century companies occasionally provided education for their workers which would better enable them to carry out their jobs.

The growth of heavy industry and textiles concentrated the workforce in an unprecedented way and, thus, precipitated working-class consciousness. The indigenous working-class tradition, however, was opposed by the ideology of the rising middle classes. Their secular and more egalitarian beliefs eroded the old paternalist tradition. Utilitarian philosophies stressing the importance of happiness, and the individualistic ideals of the new entrepreneurial class gave birth to a tradition still adhered to by many adult educators today – the Liberal tradition.

The Liberal Tradition

Liberals believe that all people can "better themselves" both economically and spiritually and, thus, there can be no predetermined place for them in society. Reflecting Christian Socialism, there was a strong belief in spiritual health being enriched by education. This tradition can be seen in the promotion of the Mechanics Institutes, the beginnings of the University Extension Movement, in some practices of the early Educational Settlements in Leeds, York and other large cities, and eventually, in the founding of the Workers' Educational Association in 1903.

Mechanics Institutes were started in 1823 and grew, with industrialists' support, until

there were 700 of them in 1851. Although in the early years the Mechanics Institutes did attract working-class adults, these workers attended less and less from the 1840s. There were two reasons. First, the liberalism of the Institutes led to the feeling that it was not necessary, or indeed desirable, to provide instruction in the 'three Rs' (reading, writing and arithmetic). Secondly, and probably most importantly, the growing confidence and demands of the working class were not reflected in the Institutes' programmes. For example, politics and economics were generally deemed too controversial. The pioneers of the Mechanics Institutes provided what they thought the working-class needed rather than what the more demanding members of the proletariat wanted. The same could be said of Working Men's Colleges, started in 1854. Their "aim was not to enable bright young men from the working-class to get on in the world, but rather to provide opportunities for the enrichment of personal life for all who cared to make the necessary effort" (JFC Harrison, *History of the Working Men's College, 1854-1954*). The students were like those who had attended the Mechanics Institute: roughly half were artisans and the remainder were clerical and professional workers. Those involved in the liberal tradition regarded these educational

initiatives as all part of the 'march of progress'.

“The idea of progress as being some great missionary movement – a march of liberal ideas”

Scholars in universities were also caught up in the idea of progress as being some great missionary movement – a march of liberal ideas, launched from the seats of learning, carried by energetic academic evangelists, conquering men's minds by reason and so transforming society. But the University Extension courses in Oxford, Cambridge and other universities, developing from the 1870s, reached an almost exclusively middle-class audience. The Workers' Educational Association (WEA) grew out of the Extension movement and had little impact on organised labour until later in its history. But despite the WEA's liberalism, there is a long line of volunteers and professionals who have worked within the association who have not acted in the liberal tradition at all. To understand WEA activists committed to a broader view of workers' education, it is necessary to consider other adult education traditions.

“Groups of students helped each other rather than individually attempt to store up their own little bank of knowledge.”

The indiginous working-class tradition

The indiginous working-class tradition grew out of the industrialism of the 1800s, but, unlike liberalism, took its starting point from the life experience and struggles of working people. Reflecting broad

socialist values, the tradition sprang from the industrial communities themselves and clearly represented a threat to the authority of the better-funded liberal institutions.

The Chartist movement was seen as a threat to more than just liberal education. But this distinctly proletarian movement regarded the education initiatives that it took as crucially important. Rooms were hired and Chartist members provided the tuition so groups of men were able to come together to discuss politics or learn the 'three Rs'. The self-help education of the Chartists was typical of the Mutual Improvement Societies of the mid-nineteenth century which can be considered as "the most truly indiginous of all the early attempts at working class education" (JFC Harrison *Learning and Living 1790-1960*). Starting in the 1840s, these societies were soon found everywhere. Education was felt to be effective when groups of students helped each other rather than individually attempt to store up their own little bank of knowledge. As a group activity, societies sprang up to meet certain needs. When the group had achieved certain educational skills or knowledge, the society would disappear. Consequently, societies rarely became institutionalised and there is little in the way of written records from any of them. But it is clear that most of them relied on their collective efforts to learn, and only the larger ones engaged tutors.

The Co-operative movement played a part in working-class education that is more all-pervasive than easy to describe. Early nineteenth century co-operative experiments often put considerable efforts into educational activity. The enthusiasm and zeal of many of those active in the early movements carried on and helped establish the strength of later co-operatives after the founding of the Rochdale Co-operative in 1844. Inspired by the pamphlets, lectures and debates of Robert Owen and others, later Co-operative societies continued to regard education as a key activity. The Rochdale Pioneers allocated 2½ per cent of profits to education. However, by the twentieth

century, education came to hold a lower priority for the co-operative movement, although its ideals still continued to be influential in other education bodies and movements.

Historically, the trade unions were not heavily involved with adult education. After 1945, a few major unions founded their own residential colleges but, between the wars, unions tended to rely on the National Council of Labour Colleges (NCLC) or, to a lesser extent, the WEA's Workers Educational Trade Union Committee (WETUC). WETUC students tended to come from white collar unions or the 'aristocrats' of labour whereas the NCLC boasted more general trade union support for its courses. The prolonged war of words between the NCLC and the WEA was fuelled by the different educational traditions from which each had sprung. Whilst the WEA attempted to discuss questions with an 'objectivity' that could only be understood in the light of the liberal tradition, the NCLC adopted an overtly Marxist perspective. It was argued that if the Labour Movement took its starting point as the conflict of interests between labour and capital, then the notion of impartiality in economics, politics and social science was an illusion. All education was, necessarily, a form of propaganda. The choice for working-class students was what type of propaganda they preferred, propaganda based on the interests of capital and the ruling class or propaganda keyed into the interests of the workers. Therefore, the NCLC attempted to formulate educational programmes designed to help the Labour Movement in its struggle against capitalism and bourgeois ideology. Such an ideal can only be comprehended in the light of the long indiginous working-class tradition of adult education.

The Corporatist Tradition

The 'corporatist' tradition is dominated by the systematic involvement of the State in

adult education. This has come about for sound social and economic reason as have all the other traditions. The economy has grown into a more interdependent structure. Larger companies have formed (or have been created by mergers), the labour force has organised itself increasingly through more centralised trade union structures, and government bureaucracies have imposed various forms of central planning. With greater centralised planning and funding of education, national considerations have come to the fore in the development of programmes.

“The State was being looked to as the only body that could ensure a steady, reliable flow of trained workers”

The Local Education Authorities (LEAs) provided only a small portion of adult education at the turn of the century. Now, over 90 per cent of the provision, nationally, is put on through the LEAs. A largely unrecognised factor has determined the evolution of the LEA adult education programmes. The social and economic requirements of the State rather than any particular consideration of students' needs have played a large part in the growth of adult education centres owned by local authorities, as well as the subjects that they offer. Late nineteenth century Britain had reached a stage in its industrial development where the State was being looked to as the only body that could ensure a steady, reliable flow of trained workers for large-scale manufacturing enterprises. The relatively small number of craftsmen and larger number of unskilled labourers needed for earlier industrial development had been superseded by the growth of larger production units – a process accelerated not only by increasing use of electrical technology, but also the approach of the Boer and First World Wars. After the 1870 Education Act, enlightened adult educationalists in

London attempted to develop a strong liberal tradition within their authority night school provision. However, after a prolonged struggle with government auditors, a Court of Appeal upheld the district auditor's decision to disallow expenditure on science and art classes in 1899. The Cockerton judgement led, in weeks, to legislation being passed which effectively destroyed the liberal aspirations of London educationalists. The Evening Continuation Schools were subjected to the supervision of the Technical Instruction Authorities and the adult education provision was, henceforth, under the control of vocational trainers and authorities whose specific concern was fitting students to the job market.

“Up to 1914, the education system reflected the demands of the economy as it equipped itself, slowly, for war.”

Up to 1914, the education system reflected the demands of the economy as it equipped itself, slowly, for war. ‘Recreational’ subjects were frowned upon and, despite evidence of student demand, were squeezed out of the programmes. But the craft subjects like dressmaking, pottery and cookery did not reappear because of some sentimental change of heart by the authorities. Immediately after the First World War, London introduced Mens’ Evening Institutes to develop the type of work that had already begun with the Women’s Institutes. The domestic subjects put on for women were extended in the Men’s Evening Institutes into a wide range of recreational, social and craft activities, as well as intellectual studies. It is arguable that these developments reflected the growing concern of those in power about

where the large number of ex-soldiers were going to direct their energies. As the labour relations grew worse in the 1920s and unemployment multiplied into the 1930s recession, it is not surprising that local authority provision was concentrated increasingly into those ‘recreational’ subjects that were deemed least controversial and most entertaining.

After the Second World War, the ‘corporatist’ tradition developed with tremendous force. By 1963, the TUC was able to start the huge task of shop steward education – the most significant development of British trade union education this century. The two existing agencies for trade union education, the NCLC and the WETUC represented on the one hand a Marxist perspective and on the other a liberal education approach. The TUC saw neither as appropriate so the NCLC and the WETUC were effectively wound up by the end of 1964. Many felt that the TUC had been too harsh with the two bodies. However, this judgement merely demonstrates that it was made by people practising other educational traditions than the strong, corporatist outlook adopted by large scale organisations like the TUC.

Since then, the legislation of the Trade Union and Labour Relations Act and the Employment Relations Act represents a further institutionalisation of industrial conflict (as well as trade union pressure to secure immunities). It recognises the existence of shop stewards in their right to carry out their training and requiring necessary training and release from work. This is an intelligent appraisal by government that if stewards are articulate and confident enough to remain around the negotiating table, there is less likelihood of massive ‘walkouts’ and the loss of production and export orders. But, in one way or another, the student is being treated as an important functionary in the corporate system – as a cog in the wheel.

3. *Participatory Education*

Prior to the World Wars, the existence of well-entrenched, conservative, paternalist structures as well as the emergence of weaker, though equally deeply-rooted, socialist education growing from working-class communities led to the political need to strike a balance. The liberal tradition, with its easygoing commitment to political pluralism, claimed that all viewpoints could 'have a place in' its tradition. This apparent tolerance and flexibility had great attractions to those constructing the 1944 Education Act which remains the foundation stone of educational legislation in this country. Many of them had been profoundly influenced by the liberal traditions of the WEA and the University Extra-Mural departments. Most of them believed in the need for greater State involvement in adult education and training when the soldiers came home from the war. The power of these traditions was, in some sense, institutionalised by the 1944 Act and these traditions maintain their influence more by way of this ancient piece of legislation than through any capacity to meet or anticipate the demands of our rapidly-changing society.

Background

The pluralism which lies behind the established traditions assumes two things. First, that whichever government happens to be in power will maintain the infra-structure of the education system so that effective corporate planning can take place. Quite apart from questions about how to measure, indeed, by which criteria 'effectiveness' can be measured; the advent of a Tory government under Thatcher pledged to drastic public expenditure cuts must make many observers ask whether the State's education system will actually have the necessary resources to carry out all the planning without which the huge system begins to break down. Secondly, and perhaps still more importantly, there is the assumption of some kind of balanced involvement by different sections of the population and interest groups in political decision making. The means by which decision making is made is through continual negotiating and bargaining, often

within representative political bodies although, more commonly, in the economic marketplace itself. The great achievement of the liberal tradition was the recognition of conflicting interests in society and the economy; and the refusal of liberal educationalists to take sides but, rather, to invite students to study the conflict. Such an invitation can no longer be made when vast numbers of the population are becoming disengaged from the conflict and who, therefore, cannot relate to the subject under study. With structural unemployment, the increasing difficulty for women to find employment outside their own homes, earlier retirement and the shorter working week, it is not hard to see why many expect over half the population to become effectively divorced from the economic marketplace where involvement in decision making actually takes place. In such conditions, the reasoning behind the pluralist approach is destroyed and the liberal and corporatist traditions are left as empty shells, supported only by

wartime legislation and the admittedly powerful interest groups who believe that they can only profit by the retention of the *status quo*.

“The participatory tradition is growing up in the gaps and silences of the crumbling educational structure of this country.”

The participatory tradition is growing up in the gaps and silences of the crumbling educational structure of this country. Its roots are as firmly embedded in the economic and social developments of post-war Europe and America as are the other traditions founded on earlier social movements. At its roots are the decline of manufacturing, helped by the effects of obsolescence on advanced industrial economies and a decline in the belief in the ‘dignity of labour’ as de-skilling develops; and the relative emergence of the service sector. These characteristics of ‘mature’ economies are most marked in countries where industrialisation first took place. Therefore, it is not surprising that Britain, where the first industrial revolution took place, should experience the traumas of this post-industrial ‘maturity’ most severely. The new technology will affect ‘mature’ economies with far greater force than countries where industrial manufacturing is still trying to get started. For the first time, education – as a crucial service industry – is being put in the position of having to take a lead rather than simply responding to economic and social developments that are occurring in other parts of the economy. The other traditions of education are insufficient in helping to find a response simply because they were evolved in quite different social circumstances. Furthermore, their legislative and institutional stranglehold has made it hard for the newer, embryonic tradition to grow in anything but the most sporadic way. Nonetheless, this alternative tradition, looking heavily towards participatory

education and away from the consumerist approach, is gradually forming into a force to be reckoned with. Within it, questions are being raised that are hard to bring to the fore in other traditions: on occasions it may even be possible to glimpse some of the answers without which democratic structures will find it increasingly hard to survive.

Participatory practice

The participatory tradition of education has really taken a firm hold since the 1960s. But it did not spring, ready-formed, into the educational arena. There were many moves towards such a tradition even before the second World War; but the application of these ideas tended only to brush the surface of the problem of working-class estrangement from the education system. Nonetheless, the moves were significant precursors and did much to help educationalists think again about what they were doing.

“Nowadays, the position that students’ or users’ councils hold in LEA establishments varies between considerable political strength to the purely decorative.”

Amongst the early educational settlements, a strong commitment towards self-government by the students can be found. Between the wars, the settlements expressed their common concerns through the Educational Settlements Association (ESA). After the war, the ESA became what is still known today as the Educational Centres Association (the ECA). The ECA has never been a powerful body, but its steady insistence on the principle of student democracy has influenced many major educational providers. By the 1960s, the ECA’s membership was no longer dominated by the original settlements, Univer-

sity Extra-Mural Departments or the WEA, but by the Adult Education Centres of local authorities. LEAs had made moves towards increasing local students' participation in the management of establishments. These moves had been spasmodic and restricted to a number of 'progressive' areas. They included the pre-war development of the Cambridgeshire Village Colleges, and the community colleges of Leicestershire. Nowadays, the position that students' or users' councils hold in LEA establishments varies between considerable political strength to the purely decorative. Perhaps nowhere is the clash of different adult education traditions more apparent than in the widely differing treatment of students' councils in adult education centres throughout the country.

The structure of the Workers' Educational Association has always placed a very heavy burden of responsibility for educational planning on students. This responsibility is on two important levels. First, the operation of the class itself is never meant to fall back into the 'consumerist' trap of allowing the tutor to 'instruct' the students. Students are expected to develop the content and direction of the course with the tutor in a partnership in which, if there is a senior, the students should dominate. This is taken further on a second level, where students at courses belong to their local WEA branch, which is virtually autonomous. Participatory education is at the heart of WEA practice. The problems that have arisen within the Association stem from the increasing middle-class student membership from the 1950s whose educational concerns took the movement away from a total commitment to developing an understanding (and, therefore, control) of central political, economic and industrial processes that were affecting working-class communities throughout the country. But, because the commitment did not disappear – and, indeed, was strengthened in the 1960s and 1970s, the Association remains a disturbingly divided

body whose only common bond remains a belief in student democracy.

“It is possible for all important decisions about courses and other activities in Birmingham's inner city branches to be made by local residents and workers.”

In Birmingham, the democratic principles of the WEA have been rigorously applied in the inner city (Ray Kohn, 'Assessing Priority Adult education in Birmingham' in *Adult Education – Urban Initiatives* Edited by John Wallis. Educational Centres Association, 1978). By establishing a network of neighbourhood-based branches, it is possible for all important decisions about courses and other activities in Birmingham's inner city branches to be made by local residents and workers. These branches, in Handsworth, Saltley, Sparkbrook, Small Heath and Balsall Heath, are not grand affairs. They do not have their own buildings, nor do they partake in local party politics or attempt to make great ripples in the media. But they have put on a fairly impressive adult education programme in each of these areas, and have a certain standing just in their own neighbourhood. Courses cover a wide variety of topics but, understandably, concentrate on housing and planning issues, legal rights and the health and welfare of women and their families. The success of courses is virtually guaranteed simply because the course content, venue and publicity is decided at neighbourhood level.

The setting up of the WEA branch in Handsworth provides an illustration in how such a participatory structure can transcend the narrower interests of individual members. This branch was formed in 1975 based on the idea of providing a solid core of active support from affiliated local organisations. After a few meetings where the interests of the individual, affiliated

organisations were repeatedly expressed, a highly significant discussion took place in March 1976 where the short-sightedness of this approach was raised by one of the branch members. After this piece of constructive self-criticism, the branch started to look at its programme in the light of the educational needs of the area rather than the requirements of the affiliated organisations. The quality and range of the provision improved greatly, despite the very high turnover of officers and members in that particular neighbourhood. Therefore, the very act of participating through this structure not only resulted in a wider range of courses, but was, itself, an educational process for those wishing to understand the area better and how individuals and agencies related to each other there.

Just as there are many examples of participatory schemes of adult education in a great number of our cities' and towns' poorer areas, so there are an increasing number of examples of student control of work-based education. Often building on the TUC day-release provision for shop steward training, active students who feel that they are not satisfied with the limited course content of these basic programmes, have formed a variety of structures through which more education and information can be provided. There are a number of Trade Union Studies branches that have been set up within the WEA which specialise in extending trade union members' grasp of social and political subjects. Growing out of course provision, concern over the problems of health and safety at work have given rise to a number of trade union health and safety committees. These provide counselling, courses and, often, a wide variety of written material and information for use by local trade unionists. An outstanding example of this has been the Coventry Health & Safety Movement (CHASM) which acts closely with the shop stewards movement, local trade unions and Coventry's WEA Trade Union Studies branch.

Further work-based schemes are also being attempted which relate still more

directly to the students' control of their employment situation. Instead of providing traditional dressmaking classes, a clothing project has been set up in Sheffield where the students (all of whom are women living on a large council estate) can use the free, daytime courses on fabrics and machining as a springboard from which to form their own clothing co-operative. This form of adult education may be the most graphic demonstration of how education (as a service) can give rise to meaningful social activity; and the only way that such schemes can succeed is if the students really do control the content, direction and end-results of the courses.

“The development of student control at the level of what actually goes on in ‘classes’ has been given a great fillip with the expansion of workshop-based provision.”

The development of student control at the level of what actually goes on in ‘classes’ has been given a great fillip with the expansion of workshop-based provision. These workshops can relate to any number of subjects: they are really a way of organising learning into a more devolved, openly accessible structure. The writers' workshops, particularly in London and Liverpool, (see David Evans, “Writers' Workshops and working-class culture” in *Adult Education for a Change* edited by Jane L Thompson. Hutchinson 1980) have evolved on the basis of worker writers creating images with meaning for working-class residents – something that middle-class writers find virtually impossible. The writing includes verse, literacy tracts, individual and group biographies, short plays and local history. The growth of local, working-class historical research – carried out by local residents and workers – may be one of the most significant attempts at re-discovering a culture with meaning for the majority of the population. The publications (and there are many from

London, Birmingham, Liverpool and other northern cities) reveal a strong, rich community culture whose implications for the teaching of social history in schools and colleges still have to be drawn.

Access to craft facilities is also being opened up. In Sheffield, the best example of this is the Montenevy Community Workshop where photography, pottery, silk-screening, weaving, offset printing, dressmaking and creche facilities are used

by nearly 100 local council estate residents each week. Users drop in when they want. They do not see it as an Educational Establishment but as *their* workshop which, ultimately and on a day-to-day basis, they control. From such open access, a rich vein of creative activities has sprung up, simply because the educational processes taking place are essentially under the control of the students.

4. *The Swedish Experience*

In Britain, almost all students in adult education are drawn from about 5 per cent of the adult population. In Sweden, with an adult population of six million, there are about two million annual enrolments. With about 30 per cent of the adult population attending adult education activities every year, are there lessons for us to learn from Sweden?

Industrialisation was more rapid in Sweden than in Britain. The effect that this had on the educational traditions of the country has been to telescope together the indigenuous working-class and participatory traditions into a far more powerful force than has been the case here. For the same reasons, the liberal tradition did not have the time to grow deep roots before more centralised, corporatist structures took control. These structures are not only reflected in a higher level of State intervention than here, but also in the bodies which control the workplace and educational programmes throughout Sweden.

The equivalent to the Confederation of British Industry in Sweden is the SAF. It is a powerful body that can, and does, fine companies for bending centrally negotiated agreements between the SAF and trade unions. Faced with such powerfully centralised capitalist bodies, the trade unions have reflected this structure with their own

system. LO is the central body for the 25 blue-collar unions, and is usually regarded as a sort of Swedish TUC. LO and the Social Democratic Party control the ABF (Workers' Educational Association). There are ten such 'study associations', each controlled by different political parties, churches or popular movements, and each receiving 75 per cent of its income from the State. There are also 120 residential colleges, Folk High Schools, controlled by the popular movements and attracting 150,000 students annually.

As in the early Settlements in English cities, the folk high schools have formal structures allowing students a certain amount of control over the institution. Student councils have varying influence, depending on the folk high school. But, since 1977, all courses over 15 weeks long are required to set up a 'course council' – a joint council of students and tutors. This council has extensive powers and is required

in all folk high schools by law. It is by such means that the already powerful commitment to moulding educational programmes to student demand is kept to the fore.

“What we call ‘outreach’ is the norm – the ‘mainstream’ – in Sweden.”

Furthermore, folk high schools do not simply respond to the articulated demands of students able to attend residential courses. The participatory tradition is far too well-entrenched to allow any educational body to fall into so lazy a habit. What we call ‘outreach’ is the norm – the ‘mainstream’ – in Sweden. The labour movement’s foremost folk high school, Brunnsvik, attracts a staggering 10,000 to its short courses each year. Most are catered for well away from the folk high school itself: staff and resources are taken to students and not vice versa.

Participatory education in Sweden

The participatory tradition in Sweden reaches back to the turn of the century when the old schooling system blocked the aspirations of a series of popular movements. Alcoholism was so common amongst the poor that a temperance movement grew with such strength that it is still a force to be reckoned with in the 1980s. The indifference of those in power and, indeed, the part payment of wages by some employers in the form of hard spirits affronted the founders of the movement. They demanded educational resources to discover what they could do; but none were supplied. Recognised lecturers would have nothing to do with them and books that they wanted were not stocked in libraries. So working-class men and women gathered informally in each others’ homes to discuss with, and learn from, their own neighbours. They had to search

out their own study material and, as the movement grew stronger and a number of elementary school teachers joined to help organise the study sessions, they set up their own libraries. The form of education that was taking place became known as the study circle and, today, it is the most common form of adult education in Sweden.

When the Swedish establishment blocked the Labour movement, the Social Democratic Party was formed (in 1889) and then LO (in 1898). Soon after the temperance movement set up the first study circle (in 1902), the Labour movement set up its first folk high school (Brunnsvik in 1906) and from there the Workers’ Educational Association (the ABF) was born in 1912. The ABF is now the largest provider of adult education in Sweden, and almost all its activities are in the form of study circles.

Although some study circles can deviate today into becoming normal classroom situations – particularly in the study of English or other foreign languages – the great majority of circles have kept the characteristics of early ones. People study in small groups: numbers range from 8 to 20, but average about 12 participants. They often study in each others’ homes or in community buildings owned by a popular movement or trade union. There is no demand for tutors, as we know them.

“All the associations have avoided the trap of appointing leaders on formal qualifications and most recognise the original way that study leaders were appointed – by being elected by the study circle students”

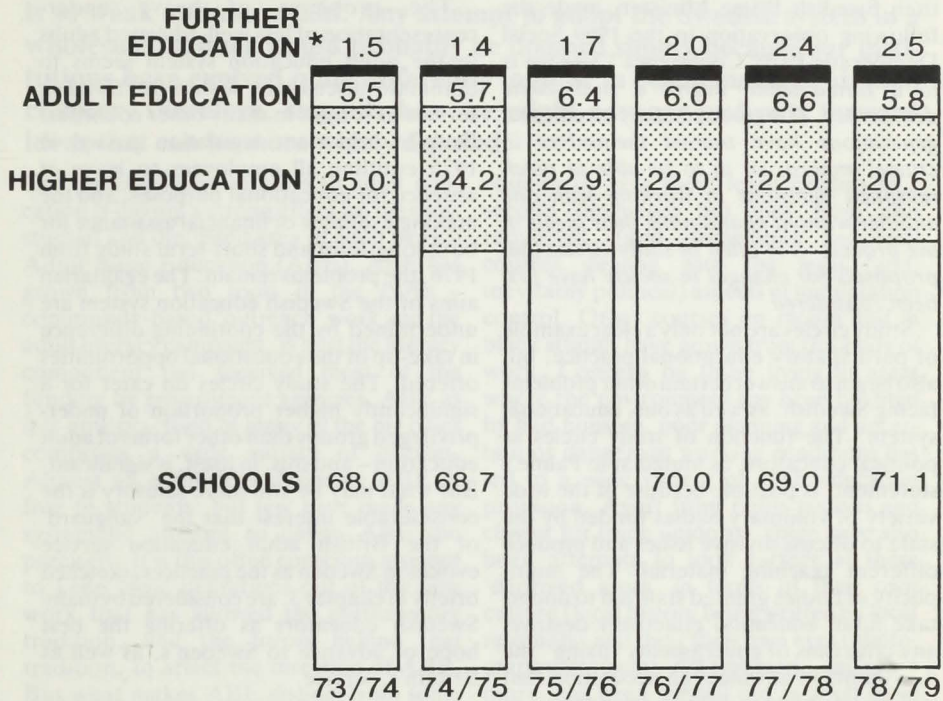
‘Study leaders’ in the early days of the labour movement were almost invariably without any formal qualifications. The only qualities that a study leader has ever needed has been the ability to draw all the participants into an active role within the

circle and to help co-ordinate and organise study material for everyone. Today, study leaders receive payment from the study associations to which the study circle belongs so they have to be approved by the association. But all the associations have avoided the trap of appointing leaders on formal qualifications and most recognise the original way that study leaders were appointed – by being elected by the study circle students! All associations recognise that the essence of the study circle is that learning takes place as a collective activity and cannot proceed properly when participants become reliant on a well-educated leader. The demand for the subject arises out of the practical problems and experiences of the participants – purely leisure subjects are much rarer in Sweden than in Britain. Therefore, every participant has personal contributions to make and the study leader must ensure that these contributions are the foundation of what is studied. Reading study material, attending lectures and borrowing books and pamphlets have always been the main activity for participants during the week between circle meetings. But the circle itself is a discussion and assessment of issues and information brought there by everyone. This form of education is so flexible and dynamic that virtually all subjects in Sweden's adult education can be taught this way. Subjects range from trade union work through to learning musical instruments. One sharp contrast with literacy teaching where *Ut med språket* (Speak out) study material is used and adults who cannot read or write learn together in study circles.

At the other academic extreme, University research projects have come to accept the notion of participatory research! When used in trade union education, it would be more accurate to drop the term "research" because the results are not used to formulate theories but directly to transform the working environment. Through the use of study circles, workers discuss common problems. They are asked to analyse the problems and the

consequences and causes of the problems. Starting from a perceived symptom, workers are able to analyse the roots and branches leading to and from the symptom through a collective educational process. Still acting collectively, they are asked by the study leader or investigator working alongside them to discuss solutions. After solutions are put into effect in the workplace, the final process is an evaluation of the whole procedure in readiness for continuing the process in other situations. This method: Find, Analyse, Solve & Evaluate would be abbreviated to FASE in English – in Swedish it is FALU. The FALU approach has been the backbone of the enormous health and safety campaign mounted in Sweden since 1973. In that time, 500,000 copies of the study material *A Better Working Environment* have been printed (more than 300,000 for Swedish safety representatives and 200,000 for Norway). Half of all the workplaces in Sweden have been covered including all the large employers. The checklists that the safety representatives have asked all their members to fill in have been brought back to the study circles as the basic source material. The representatives working with a thorough working knowledge of the questions raised every day have all been able to participate actively in the whole education/action process. Some managements have persuaded workers that they would be able to see others' problems better than their own and have arranged that the material collected comes from other factories and these are then visited. It is almost invariably these examples where little change in the workplace has resulted. The basic principle of the study circle, that it is the problems and experiences of the participants that form the basis of study, has been broken so little else could be expected. Nonetheless, no less than half of all the workplaces so far covered have had radical changes to the health and safety aspects of their working environment.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATION EXPENDITURE



Lessons from Sweden

According to the Swedish Institute, about 10 per cent of the State's education budget is spent on adult education.

“About 6 per cent of the education budget is spent on adult education in Sweden – and only about ½ per cent here.”

The commitment to adult education, politically rooted in the development of Sweden's democratic structure, is actually carried through into real cash terms. Many of Britain's politicians – of all parties – say similar things about adult education to

what is said in Sweden. The difference is that about 6 per cent of the education budget is spent on adult education in Sweden – and only about ½ per cent here.

The fundamental difference of educational practice between the nations is that Sweden is not so slavishly committed to the view of education as a practice instituted to equip children for their future life as adults. This 'front-end' view of education has been progressively weakened by both practice and legislation since the war. Unlike this country where the 1944 Education Act is the major piece of legislation under which the education system operates, most of the Swedish legislation was passed in the 1960s and 1970s. Education, and especially adult education, in Sweden is regarded as a crucial service requiring reasonable funding from the

State if an informed, democratic society is to be maintained. Olaf Palme, who was then Swedish Prime Minister, made the following observation in the 1969 Social Democratic Party Conference "*Sweden is to a fundamental degree a study-circle democracy. It is through study-circles that generations have trained themselves in critical analysis so as to be able to reach reasoned decisions in working with one another without abandoning their ideals in the process. It is often in study-circles that proposals for changes in society have first been considered.*"

Study circles are not only a clear example of participatory educational practice, but also begin to answer certain other problems facing Swedish, as well as our, educational system. The function of study circles as political educators, as hinted at in Palme's statement, is possible because of the wide variety of voluntary bodies funded by the state to discuss divisive issues and produce different teaching material. The multiplicity of bodies granted state aid to undertake adult education effectively destroys any criticisms of governments "fixing" the arguments in advance (an accusation that still carries great weight in any analysis of

the "debate" over Britain's entry into the Common Market).

The problems of heavy under-representation of less well-educated adults in the adult education system seems to dominate discussions within the Swedish service as it does in many other countries. Despite important legislation passed in 1975 entitling all employees to leave of absence for educational purposes, and the making available of financial assistance for both long-term and short-term study from 1976, the problems remain. The egalitarian aims of the Swedish education system are undermined by the continuing difference in take-up of the educational opportunities offered. The study circles do cater for a significantly higher proportion of under-privileged groups than other forms of adult education – and this, in itself, is significant. But what may be still more salutary is the considerable interest that the 'vanguard' of the British adult education service evokes in Sweden as the practices, sketched briefly in chapter 3, are considered by many Swedish educators as offering the best hope of advance to Sweden's, as well as Britain's, service.

5. Changing the Education System

If the United Kingdom is to have an education system even remotely in touch with late twentieth century society, certain fundamental changes will have to take place. Given the near-inevitability of higher unemployment, it would be hard to deny that the need and demand for an expanded adult education service will increase (and, indeed, is increasing) all the time. But it is not altogether obvious what has to be done to ensure that a more effective system can evolve. Persuading education authorities up

and down the country to move towards more progressive practices is an uphill struggle when the financial basis from which the work can develop is so weak and uncertain. Any attempt to adopt the Swedish system in a wholesale manner would probably be doomed simply because our institutions have evolved quite differently to those in Scandinavia. This final chapter, therefore, suggests how we might advance and puts forward ideas that can be more widely debated.

The participatory tradition in adult education is having a strong effect on the most studied and discussed area of adult work – Adult Basic Education (ABE). ABE has grown from two roots in the 1970s – community-based ‘outreach’ work and the adult literacy campaign. Whilst the literacy component has received most of the funding by government agencies, ABE as it is now practised in many of the big cities comprises a wide variety of courses. Almost all authorities designate ABE as free to students: but few have made any systematic attempt to define ABE too precisely. It is this often conscious attempt to keep close definitions out of the new work that has allowed the participatory tradition, and the forces behind that tradition, to affect the direction of ABE. But what makes ABE distinct from some of the more commonplace provision that takes place in many LEA adult centres?

Most literacy tutors insist that the majority of their students need far more than help in reading and writing. A whole complex of other demands are usually present and many tutors spend as much time on talking through students’ personal problems, social security and other money matters as they do in straightforward literacy work. This fact has led to the practice of providing other courses to help such students (as well as students without literacy problems) with what has been termed ‘coping skills’. These include basic cookery, hygiene, and help and advice on financial questions. Other courses on legal or housing rights have also been set up using the experience of community workers and adult educationalists who have worked in areas like inner cities. Immigrant families have responded to

courses to help them learn English as a second language; but they have also requested (and sometimes received) courses dealing with the legal (and, inevitably political) aspects of immigration control. Other courses on racism and in black studies have grown from this body of work. Concern by those living in areas where the environment has been blighted by bad housing, poor planning and uncertain or dangerous working conditions has led to a wide variety of adult education provision. Apart from rights courses and classes for trade unionists, there have also been attempts to look further at these ‘deprived areas’ in terms of their own culture (local history being written by local residents) and their own eyes (photography projects). All this work, and some more, has been carried out as adult basic education and has been free for students. It has been provided free not because of any misplaced generosity by local authorities or WEA branches, but because there has been a real sense that what this work embodies is a democratic right. ABE seems to have evolved into a wide variety of work, all of which necessarily involves students in a more active participation in the society around them. This is not *necessarily* so in, say, a flower arranging class – but it is so for all the provision that is now put on as adult basic education. Participating in the social structure is a democratic right and it may, therefore, be useful if this were to form a basis for a more widely accepted definition of the work since it is hardly restrictive and could help future legislation.

Negative Discrimination

Students taking part in basic education, or, indeed, any other non-vocational, adult education, cannot receive grants to help them in their education. Students who are the most likely to attend adult education serving poorer communities seem to be systematically debarred from receiving grants. On the other hand, students attending universities, who come almost exclusively from outside such areas, do receive local authority grants. The reason for this strange state of affairs is not hard to find. The liberal tradition, with its built-in but long-outdated notions of academic excellence, dominates the structures which determine the giving of education grants. Therefore, learning that takes place along the lines discussed in chapter 3 is graded lower than the learning that an undergraduate does when studying for his degree. The familiar consumerist package of scaled examination systems determining the importance of the learning taking place then emerges. Education where examinations are irrelevant are conveniently relegated to the bottom of the grading and, almost coincidentally, the students are penalised because they are not deemed to be undertaking sufficiently serious study to qualify for grants.

“Tutors and other educationalists who commit themselves to working in adult education rather than taking up quieter, though more lucrative, careers in higher education are penalised.”

Similarly, tutors and other educationalists who commit themselves to working in adult education rather than taking up quieter, though more lucrative, careers in higher education are penalised. Salary scales are mapped out in the ‘Burnham grading’ which are geared to ‘academic levels’ in much the same way as student

grants are. Clearly, Burnham grading needs to be reviewed with the question of what criteria should determine education salaries settled prior to such a review. The placid acceptance of the liberal traditional wisdom needs to be examined and the consequences for our future education system need to be spelt out.

“Adult education cannot respond to the increasing demands being put upon it simply by small-scale changes in provision.”

Whilst an overhaul of the grants system and Burnham grading is overdue, certain short-term suggestions can be made about developing adult education within the present structure. More shorter courses, relaxation of fees and ‘outreach’ work are common enough ideas: a more extended use of paid educational leave, day-release, payment to unemployed to attend courses and funds to expand pre-retirement provision are all issues around which people campaign. This is especially so around the issue of day-release which, at present, only relates to shop stewards in this country whereas Germany, Italy and Sweden all undertake education for rank-and-file trade unionists. Unfortunately, adult education cannot respond to the increasing demands being put upon it simply by small-scale changes in provision. Even overhauling the grants and salaries structures and extending access to adult education by more day-release, paid educational leave etc. would only be a small step in the right direction. The most meaningful campaign that should be mounted is for a new Education Act.

A New Education Act

Fundamental changes in the economy and our social structure are leading to the need for different ground rules for our education system. The present legislative framework is laid down by the 1944 Education Act

whose generally permissive tone grew from an assumed consensus over government action guaranteeing low unemployment and the overriding importance of school. The 1944 Act has become divorced from the way people educate themselves because of the accepted, and expected increase in structural unemployment and a wider understanding of education as a lifelong process to which the school system contributes far less than its cost would lead one to expect. As the post-war consensus upon which the 1944 Act was built broke down, the permissiveness of the clauses relating to Adult Education has been used as a license to cut down the service. Section 7 of the Act is worth quoting because, although it sounds marvellous at first reading, a more careful analysis of the words used reveals the Act for what it is: a well-intentioned piece of legislation whose optimistic generalities have turned out to be pious hopes.

‘The statutory system of public education shall be organised in three progressive stages to be known as primary education, secondary education, and further education; and it shall be the duty of the local education authority for every area, so far as their powers extend, *to contribute towards* the spiritual, moral, mental, and physical development of the community by securing that efficient education throughout these stages shall be available to meet the *needs* of the population in their area’ (Section 7 Education Act 1944 HMSO) (*author's italics*).

There is no suggestion as to how much a local authority must contribute towards adult education in this, nor in any other section of the Act. In the last line of section 7, the use of the word ‘needs’ leaves it open to interpretation as to whether any but the most skeletal service would ever have to be provided. Therefore, just as the changes taking place in the economy require an adult education sector that can grow to meet the demands of high unemployment, the outdated legislative framework that controls the running of the education system of this country in effect

encourages a drastic contraction of the service. A new Education Act is necessary which allows schools to contribute to the initial stages of lifelong learning, but which pays far greater attention to the financial support required for adults to take educational initiatives in local communities.

“The fundamental change that must be formally enacted in law is the establishment of a statutory right for all adults to participate in adult education.”

Such legislation already exists in Norway and Sweden. The 1976 Norwegian Adult Education Act makes subsidies available to all organisations providing adult education if they meet certain statutory requirements. Amongst these are open membership of the organisation in principle, election of the management by the members, and ‘the opportunity to exert influence on the organisation and content of the courses’ by the students! The fundamental change that must be formally enacted in law is the establishment of a statutory right for all adults to participate in adult education. This would be the same kind of ‘right’ that a mother knows that she has when going to the Post Office to collect her Child Benefit. Springing from this right must be a change in the method of financing local government adult education. A change in the method of finance would probably go hand in hand with the imposition of a statutory duty to provide a minimum percentage of the education budget on adult education. Remembering that at least 6 per cent of the Swedish education budget is spent on adult learning and that the figure in this country is, at present, about ½ per cent; the new minimum should be set at 5 per cent.

The new Act, however, must not retain the permissive vagueness of its predecessor. Having broadly designated funds for adult

education, it cannot permit local authorities simply to pour large sums of money into adult education schemes which merely attract those who attend classes at the moment. There has to be some type of direction given as to how future adult education can grapple directly with the processes of rapid social change. For this to happen, there should be an entitlement for industrial and community groups to receive direct funding if they are active or wish to become involved in adult education. The Swedish experience should inform us how this can best be done implying, as it does, a great increase in voluntary effort and a real devolution of control away from government agencies and towards the potential students' own organisations and associations. Whilst curriculum development cannot be the subject of an Education Act, there is no reason why the definition of Adult Basic Education discussed earlier could not be accepted and receive priority for funding.

“The relaxation of the legal requirement for children to attend secondary schools would almost certainly benefit the education of adolescents and adults alike.”

The role of schools needs to be redefined in the new Act. The relaxation of the legal requirement for children to attend secondary schools would almost certainly benefit the education of adolescents and adults alike. By formally recognising education as a lifelong process, the Act would do

away with the necessity for teenagers to cram in all the institutionalised learning they can manage before leaving school. If they know that access to education does not suddenly become a lot harder over the age of sixteen, then there could be greater freedom of choice, and a lot higher degree of interest, in the secondary education that they do undertake. And if they voluntarily “miss out” on school then what they learn outside such institutions as teenagers will be of great use to them if they participate as adult students when older. Schools, by operating as a true service and without coercive ground rules, will have the opportunity of forging a new image that may not alienate the majority of its potential pupils. Eventually, therefore, schools and adult education may be able to operate a partnership based on high, voluntary attendance by a large proportion of the population. But this will never be possible unless a new Act fundamentally reforms the relationships between educational institutions and the student population.

There are many reasons why the 1944 Education Act is due for replacement. Many people know that comprehensive, new legislation is necessary and are anxious to see it enacted. Others are aware that it may be necessary but are afraid of upsetting the present system which is so well-established and understood. Both could be involved in a campaign to shape a new Education Act more appropriate to the late twentieth century than one enacted before most teachers were even born.

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enforced leisure: enforced education

High unemployment poses great problems to secondary schools. Pupils show disenchantment and loss of motivation to study. For the young people, years of enforced "leisure" seem likely to follow years of enforced education. The normal suggestion for solving this situation – let's create more jobs – raises the question of where the ideas and resources for them can come from. Governments can reflate economies, but only people can learn and generate ideas. The present education system does not appear to be a dynamic enough service to transfuse the skills and ideas required to break out of the Hobson's choice of enforced labour or enforced leisure.

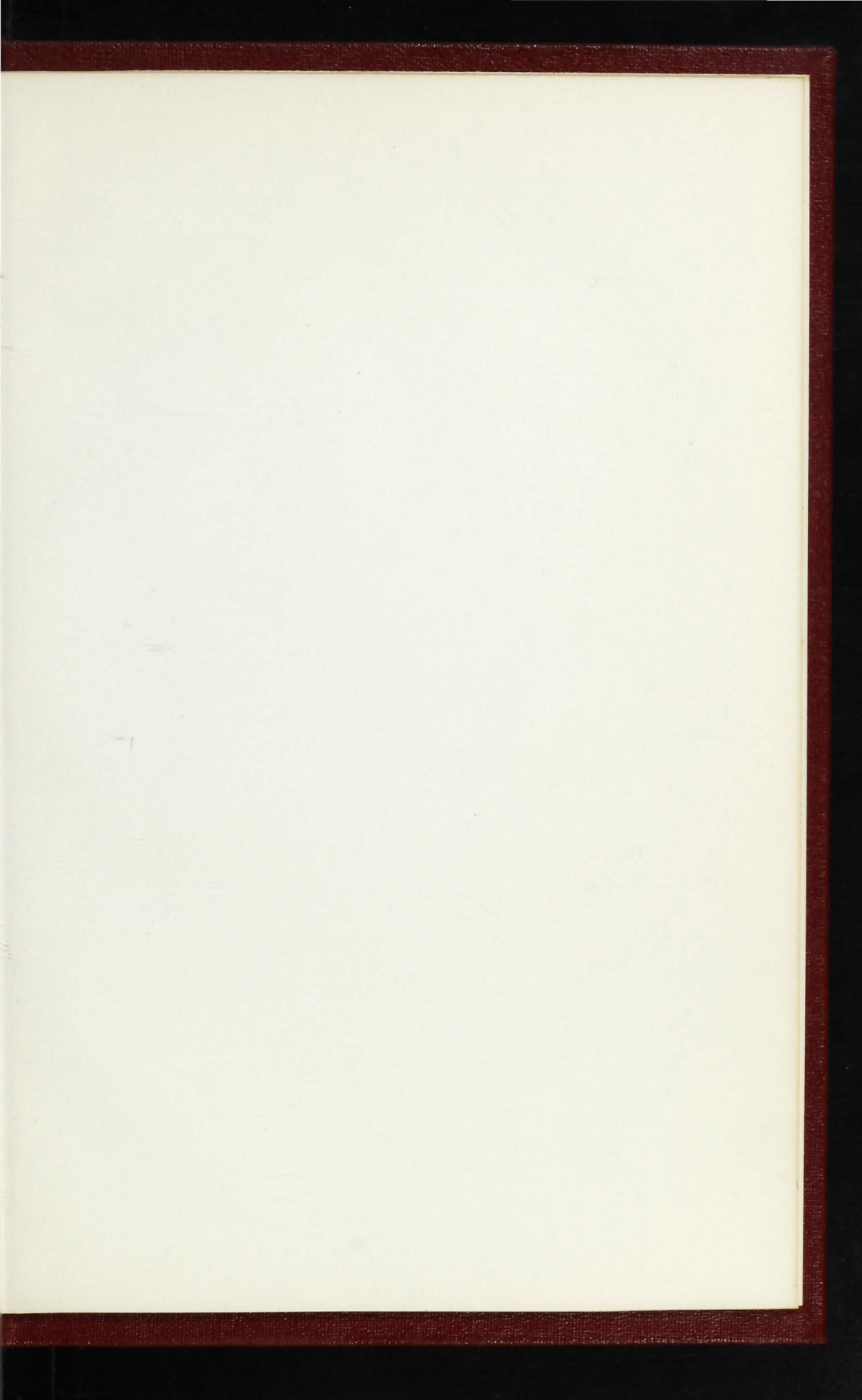
Possible ways through the problem can now be found growing within the education service. The administration of the system and the 1944 Education Act itself, however, form a powerful barrier against the participatory movement. Changing the legislative basis of our education system should form one of the major planks of any future Labour government committed to working-class participation in education.

The pamphlet maps out the questions raised by compulsory schooling and looks at the traditions of adult education as practised in this country. Lessons are drawn from Sweden and ideas for changing our education system are discussed. If we are not simply going to perpetuate present inequalities by extending enforced education with compulsory "training schemes" we may have to consider the radical legislative changes suggested in this pamphlet.

fabian society

The Fabian Society exists to further socialist education and research. It is affiliated to the Labour Party, both nationally and locally, and embraces all shades of Labour opinion within its ranks – left, right and centre. Since 1884 the Fabian Society has enrolled thoughtful socialists who are prepared to discuss the essential questions of democratic socialism and relate them to practical plans for building socialism in a changing world. Beyond this the Society has no collective policy. It puts forward no resolutions of a political character. The Society's members are active in their Labour parties, trade unions and co-operatives. They are representative of the labour movement, practical people concerned to study and discuss problems that matter.

The Society is organised nationally and locally. The national Society directed by an elected Executive Committee, publishes pamphlets and holds schools and conferences of many kinds. Local Societies – there are one hundred of them – are self governing and are lively centres of discussion and also undertake research.



High international energy growth is likely to accompany a shift in the focus of investment from the developed to the developing countries. This shift is likely to be accompanied by a corresponding increase in the number of international joint ventures. The number of international joint ventures has increased significantly in the past few years, and this trend is likely to continue. The number of international joint ventures is likely to increase as a result of the increasing number of international joint ventures. The number of international joint ventures is likely to increase as a result of the increasing number of international joint ventures.

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