THE NEW LEARNING FOR INCLUSION AND CAPABILITY:
TOWARDS COMMUNITY GOVERNANCE IN THE EDUCATION ACTION ZONES

By:

Stewart Ranson
Professor of Education
The University of Birmingham
School of Education

I. Introduction

If cities, in the global age, are to address the twin tasks of economic regeneration and social inclusion they will require a renaissance in learning (EC/Fast). This challenge is to develop 'the capabilities' (Sen, 1985; 1990; Nussbaum and Sen, 1994) for citizens to become active participants in remaking the communities in which they live and work. The condition for this remaking lies, however, in cities recreating the 'the social capital' (Putnam, 1993) and forms of community governance which enable those capabilities and practices of cooperative agency to flourish in a civil society.

This paper reports on a policy initiative, of Education Action Zones (EAZs), which is designed to create the new forms of governance - learning communities of partnership and voluntary participation - that can develop the capabilities citizens' need for the task of regenerating civil society.

Having described EAZs the introduction will discuss their potential relationship to capability formation and social inclusion and thus politics of justice and recognition in civil society. The paper will then propose that an emergent pedagogy of capability is being formed in a number of EAZs and explore the institutional conditions and forms of governance which are being developed in support of improved achievement and capability formation.

Education Action Zones

EAZs have been created as a policy initiative to tackle underachievement and raise educational standards. 'There are concerns about some areas where low educational achievement is widespread throughout the local community and in local schools. This is often allied to other problems such as truancy, exclusion from school and youth crime. Experience has suggested that conventional solutions to these problems have not always been successful.' (DfEE, 1998, p.3) The solution to improving capabilities in contexts of disadvantage is to be provided through new forms of governance which will enable such capacity building and social inclusion to develop over time.

The idea of identifying areas of disadvantage and underachievement is not new. Following the Plowden Report in 1967 a number of *Education Priority Areas* were created. But the idea of such areas being granted substantial powers of self governance is radical in this country. The 25 EAZs have been established are based on a cluster of about 20 primary. secondary and special schools in a local area. The zone is run by a forum of businesses, parents, schools, the local authority and community organisations. The organising principle of the zone is one of partnership:

A partnership approach within Education Action Zones is essential. Local people are in the best position to identify the real concerns and challenges facing their schools. They can also bring into education new skills, funding and different ways of working. Businesses can provide management and leadership expertise, or enter into new contracts for delivering services. parents can help ensure the schools provide a high quality education, and that in turn they get support from the community.

Education action zones will give local partnerships the freedom and the resources to propose collaborative and innovative strategies that would be difficult to put into practice at the level of the individual school. They can also develop proposals which draw on the support and ideas of the local community.' (op cit, p. 2)

The zone is intended to prepare ambitious action plans to meet improvement targets for pupils (such as increased attendance and attainment) and schools (such as reducing exclusions, providing broader

programmes of out-of-school activities, and increasing educational opportunities). The programmes of action are encouraged to include: improving learning and teaching; providing support to pupils, and to families, working with businesses; and 'making education and other services work better together to tackle social exclusion, for example, linking EAZs with health and employment zones, providing access to health, social services and other services for children in a school, reducing truancy and exclusions, and working to prevent youth crime.

These strategic purposes of EAZs need to be understood by analysing the contribution they are intended to make to the wider social policy agenda of social inclusion and capability formation in disadvantaged areas.

Understanding social exclusion as the denial of citizenship

Growing concern about increasing unemployment and poverty in Europe from the late 70's into the 1990's led to the creation of a number of European anti-poverty programmes. Within these programmes a debate began about which vocabulary was appropriate to conceptualise the growing forms of poverty and disadvantage. The discussion tended to reflect different paradigms of analysis. An Anglo-Saxon tradition (Townsend, 1979, Rowntree, 1998) retains the concept of _poverty_ as best able to capture the experience of disadvantage: inadequate material resources and income at the disposal of individuals or households and the distributional issues which underlie this lack of resources. The related concept of _deprivation_ focuses upon the need to judge poverty in relation to prevailing material standards (of diet, clothing and housing) and services and the need for an adequate minimum standard of living, encompassing income, services and amenities (Oppenheim, 1998).

This discourse has however, been increasingly supplemented by a French and continental discourse of _social exclusion_ (Silver, 1995/6). Here the focus is primarily on relational issues: in other words, inadequate social participation, lack of social integration and lack of power (Room, 1995). For Castels (1990) social exclusion is the process of becoming detached from the moral order of mutual rights and obligations. In an influential report _Social Exclusion and Human Dignity in Europe_ social exclusion is defined as: 'inability to participate effectively in economic, social, political and cultural life - alienation and distance from the mainstream society.' (Duffy, 1995). The emphasis in social exclusion is, therefore, upon _the processes_ which lead people to becoming isolated and marginalised from the mainstream, from what the European Commission has termed the production and distribution of social resources: the labour market, informal networks and the state (Duffy, 1996).

This concept of social exclusion has become increasingly fashionable amongst New Labour think-tanks, attracted by the search for a 'third way' of understanding welfare issues, less in terms of wealth distribution and more in terms of relational processes of human and social capital. A Demos special edition defined social exclusion as 'loss of access to the most important life chances that a modern society offers' through becoming disconnected from jobs, education, homes, leisure, civic organisations and even voting (Perri 6, 1997). In an Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR) publication _An Inclusive Society_ Mulgan (1998) recognises that 'the concept of exclusion is in part about power and agency: people's capacity to control their own lives. It is a dynamic concept about prospects as well as current situations. And, more than concepts of poverty, exclusion is about particular communities and particular societies. It is in this sense historically specific.' (p. 260) The solution to these issues lies, he argues, in the reform of governance to promote interdisciplinary and multi-agency working - 'joined up', holistic government (cf. Perri, 6, 1997).

This understanding should, however, lead analysis to consider the structural as well as the processual factors that contribute to social exclusion. Geddes (1997) helpfully illuminates the significance of this distinction: 'the notion of social exclusion (recognises) that disadvantage is experienced by individuals

within local communities, and can be either reinforced by the degeneration of community or moderated by its network of mutual support' (p. 208). This approach has the advantage of achieving a more encompassing defining of exclusion that embraces not only the poor, but all those subject to varying forms of discrimination and segregation (for example, single women, the disabled, minority ethnic groups).

Research thus needs to study the multidimensional aspects of both these relational and distributional characteristics of disadvantage and exclusion (Room, 1995). The processes which exclude communities are interrelated and a framework of analysis is needed to show their necessary connections. The task, Mingione (1997) proposes is to integrate the paradigms of poverty and social exclusion by revealing the way they combine to deny the disadvantaged participation in citizenship. This strategy is taken up by some in this country. Poverty undermines citizens self-esteem, expectations, status and power which together erode their sense of well-being and capacity to participate together as members of society (Oppenheim, 1998). Poverty and exclusion are thus best interpreted as twin processes which deny the material, social and political rights of citizenship. Yet to cast the understanding of citizenship in terms of rights is now increasingly problematised.

Citizenship: from rights to voice

The debate about disadvantage points to the conclusion that to be excluded is to be denied the material and social conditions which allow members of communities to recognise each other as citizens who share a common status and equal rights. Yet, traditional models of 'entitlement citizenship', which emphasise membership of the nation state and formal legal rights (Marshall, 1977; Plant, 1990) have been subjected to critical analysis because they ignore the contemporary condition of plurality (Parekh, 1988) which now gives rise to claims for participation, exercise of agency and deliberation, aspects of citizenship which informed classical traditions but have become neglected (Barber, 1984). The task has been to reconstruct a theory of citizenship which is grounded in the experience of heterogeneity and elaborates the need for different groups to enter a discourse in which they voice claims for their identities and interests to be recognised and accommodated in the public space. Theorists (Young, 1990; Phillips, 1993, 1995; Mouffe, 1992, 1993) point to the mistaken illusion of a unified polity, of homogeneous communities which form a universal citizenry and civic public, which is required to leave behind particularity and difference in the public domain. Traditional models of citizenship imposed a univocal understanding of what should count as 'universal' values that excluded and silenced the voices of 'other' traditions, whether they are gendered, ethnic or class. A conception of citizenship is needed, Yeatman (1994) argues, which acknowledges the contested nature of public purposes and enables the different voices to re-present their cultural traditions and material class interests (Coole, 1996) in the public space in conditions of unconstrained dialogue.

The motivation of members of society to acknowledge mutuality, to deliberate with others and to search for shared understanding is more likely to succeed if they regard each other as citizens with shared responsibility for making the communities in which they are to live. This makes the *agency* of citizens central to personal and social development. Our active participation in creating the projects which are to shape our selves as well as the communities in which we live provides the sense of purpose to work together with others and to secure trusting relations with them. There is no solitary development or learning: we can only create our worlds together. The unfolding agency of the self always grows out of the interaction with others. It is *inescapably a social and creative making*. The self can only find its identity in and through others and membership of communities. The possibility of shared understanding requires individuals not only to value others but to create the communities in which mutuality and thus the conditions for learning can flourish.

The telos of citizenship is to learn to make the communities without which individuals and others cannot grow and develop. The presupposition of such making is *openness* to mutual recognition: we have to learn

to be open to different perspectives, alternative life-forms and views of the world., to allow our pre-judgements to be challenged; in so doing we learn how to amend our assumptions, and develop an enriched understanding of others. The key to the transformation of prejudice lies in what Gadamer (1975) calls *'the dialogic character of understanding'*: through genuine conversation the participants are led beyond their initial positions, to take account of others, and move towards a richer, more comprehensive view, a 'fusion of horizons', a shared understanding of what is true or valid. Conversation lies at the heart of learning: they learn through dialogue to take a wider, more differentiated view, and thus acquire sensitivity, subtlety and capacity for judgement.

An inclusive citizenship requires 'recognition' of different voices as well as fair distribution of resources which provide the condition for equal participation. Fraser (1995) and Young (1996) argue, with different emphases, that the unjust exclusions of contemporary society are both cultural (the denial of recognition) and socio-economic (the inequality of distribution). The challenge for the era is to establish an understanding of justice which by embracing recognition (voice) and redistribution (resources), creates an inclusive society. Such a society will enable its citizens to develop the capabilities to acquire resources and to express themselves in the public sphere. The work of Sen and Nussbaum provides a framework for understanding the necessary interdependencies of capable citizens in a just society.

Capability, opportunity and social justice

The dominant tradition in the theory of justice has been shaped by Rawls' *Theory* which focuses on equalising opportunities and access to 'primary of goods and resources' as the condition for realising justice. An alternative theory of justice has been elaborated over the past twenty years by Amartya Sen who focuses instead 'on the actual lives that people can choose to lead, consisting of various functionings':

> 'some functionings are very elementary, such as being adequately nourished, being in good health, etc, and these may be strongly valued by all, for obvious reasons. Others may be more complex, but still widely valued, such as achieving self-respect, or taking part in the life of the community.' (1990, p. 52)

Individuals will no doubt differ considerably in the 'weight they attach to these different functionings' - that is what they can do and be. But a theory of justice which is alive to these variations will understand that the condition for choosing one pattern of life as against another will typically depend upon 'the person's 'capability' to choose:

> 'A person's capability depends on a variety of factors including personal characteristics as well as social arrangements. A social commitment to individual freedom must involve attaching importance to enhancing the capabilities that different people actually have; the choice of social arrangements must be influenced by their ability to promote human capabilities.' (ibid. p. 52)

The capability to choose a way of living will depend upon a number of conditions. Someone mat possess a reasonable income but their disability while being a constraint in itself also is a drain on these resources. In addition to personal characteristics the nature of social arrangements and public provision can impact directly on individuals capability to choose and enjoy a way of life. Sen provides powerful illustrations of the way public policy has prevented famines in India in two interdependent ways which transform the capabilities of the population to flourish. Famines have been eliminated 'largely as a result of public intervention in a systematic way' by supplementing people's incomes' through offering public employment. Yet this public intervention has been provided only within the context of the freedoms created by a democratic state - regular election, free newspapers and freedom of speech without government censorship. This voice - to criticise, to publish and to vote are causally linked to other types of

freedom to escape starvation and mortality. What are the institutional conditions for creating a public sphere which encourages public participation and voice to emerge?

Community Governance for a civil society

The capabilities for participating in this democratic citizenship depend upon renewing the institutional conditions for 'civil society' - the need to create the intermediary institutions which allow citizens to contribute to their society (Keane, 1988 a/b; Hirst, 1994; Cohen and Arato, 1992; Cohen and Rogers, 1995). The concept of civil society describes a network of non-governmental intermediary institutions, supporting the association of citizens between the family and the state, so as to counterbalance the state and prevent it from dominating and atomising the rest of society (Gellner, 1995). These institutions of civil society provide the prerequisite for a participatory democracy by creating an inclusive network in which all citizens may voluntarily associate (Bryant, 1995). A domain is formed in which private meets public, providing the conditions for what Mouffe (1993) argues strong democracy needs - an articulation between the particular and the universal. A sphere which recognises and mediates, through the arts of association, a diversity of particular interests for the public good.

For many cities across Europe the conditions for such a civil society to unfold lie, they believe, in promoting life long learning and in creating the forms of community governance to sustain learning communities.

- *Life-long learning: encouraging individuals and institutions to involve themselves in learning throughout their lives*. The changing nature of work will require people to adapt and upgrade their skills and knowledge throughout their lives if they are to survive in the labour market. Employment will be attracted to high skill communities. Successful cities and towns are also attractive places to live as well as providing employment opportunities. Learning needs to support and enriching the life of communities as a whole. The more people participate in learning activities of both a formal and informal nature the richer, more successful and attractive their community is likely to become.

- Creating learning communities: Regenerating community governance: learning about how the community is changing

- The Learning Community is one which strives to understand how it is changing in order to be able shape its future. It needs to learn about the context of change - in population movements, growth as well as decline in its industrial and commercial base, the impact of new technologies on communication systems - if it is to influence change to create the knowledge society. Thus communities which are in the process of regeneration need to learn, not merely to develop the skills of their citizens but to understand how the different parts of city life - social, cultural and political as well as economic - can connect together more effectively to sustain the future well-being of the community.

The key to this learning lies in creating the institutional frames of community governance: these are characterised by new forms of partnership between sectors and ways of listening to and involving the public.

Partnership

A fragmented education and training sector - with inadequate connections between sectors and competition between providers particularly in the post school phase - does not facilitate the participation needed for the learning age. An early phase of the Learning Community work is to build the partnerships between sectors and institutions which encourage participation and progression in learning of all members of the community. Such partnerships:

- develop community wide coalitions bringing together relevant partners from public and private sectors

- co-ordinate approaches to the various kinds of learning offered within the community whether formal, informal or work based

- make contacts across sectors and educational phases

- use the media to promote an appetite for learning.

Participation:

These partnerships need to become part of a broader public dialogue the purpose of which is to clarify the future of the city, town or region in an era of global change. Traditionally, public services have been delivered to the public with too little consultation and involvement. Democracy has been at a distance from the communities which it was created to serve.

Now many cities and towns are looking to find new ways of strengthening the important traditions of local democratic practice and understanding the contribution of participation to regeneration. This understanding has been learned in a number of European communities. Real learning communities will learn new kinds of engagements with their citizens to involve them in determining how their communities will be governed and change. This process demands citizens who have the skills to articulate their needs and aspirations which are the same skills needed for work and leisure in a society which is in a state of change. The educational system has an important part to play in moving to such a culture of learning but other parts of the community - its democratic and cultural traditions - also have a key role to play in renewing the quality and vitality of public life.

The study

Visits were made to ten Education Action Zones to interview the Zone Directors. In a few EAZs the Director of Education or senior education officer was also interviewed. The interview schedule is attached in Appendix 1.

The Report begins by describing the experience of disadvantage and social exclusion and the implication for the learning needs of young people in the zones and proceeds to develop an interpretive analysis that 'a new education' is evident in the planning and practice of a number of the zones. This vision of a new approach to learning is presented in three parts:

- the strategy for educational renewal

- the new learning for inclusion and capability

–   the conception of an appropriate community governance

II. Contexts of poverty and exclusion

Each of the zones is characterised by severe levels of disadvantage which, it is argued, are associated inexorably with significant levels of underachievement. Children who are geographically isolated, living in poverty, undernourished and in ill-health are likely to struggle at school. The discussion reports in the kinds of deprivation typically reported in the zones.

Geographic isolation/exclusion

A number of the zones suffer from the limitations of 1960's or 70's planning - housing estates built on the edge of cities often rather physically cut off from the urban mainstream with poor road and transport links. These zones are thus excluded geographically - literally at the margins of the urban communities they are ostensibly part of:

'One of the other significant problems within the South Ward area is its a closed community in the sense that, in terms of the transport infrastructure, it is actually cut off, it is almost like a triangle, there is a railway bounding it on one side, a major primary tributary road bounding it on the other side. There is only one way in and one off to this estate. So it is very much a closed community in that the children particularly within that area don't have access to other facilities. They don't get out and see the little lambs in the country side and those sorts of things. The car ownership within the area is completely a flat line as well. Its very much a closed community.' (WSM)

Rural sparcity makes isolation inescapable in another EAZ: over 80% of children are bussed to school, further education college or training opportunities. Yet, less well understood is isolation within the City. Those who live on the estate feel cut off from the city centre. 52% of 18-24 year olds quote inadequate transport as a barrier to employment opportunities.

–   'Isolation and poor transport facilities are the key rural issues' (Head)

–   'Children are isolated in the farming communities. If parents don't have a car, well that's it in the holidays' (Head)

–   'There is on the estate a reluctance to travel across the river for services, and even to move between estates.' (Officer)

Deprivation

Another account emphasised the deprivation of social amenities and shopping facilities compounding the spatial isolation and segregation. "A satellite housing estate built in the 70's without any shopping centre or social amenities of any note. The area experiences massive disadvantage. Even the arcade of limited shops is boarded up. Now there is a massive new shopping development on the edge of the area. It is top class what was needed 20 years ago. BUT really it is built for car owners and there are only two narrow footpaths from this shopping centre into the estate. This says it all - it communicates a significant social message of exclusion." (Hu.)

Both urban and rural areas of He EAZ lack facilities in the community. The EAZ bid referred to the lack of any indoor sporting or leisure facilities in rural areas and the lack of after school activities due to isolation and lack of bussing. Although population change in rural areas, with the development of retirement and dormitory villages, has sometimes reinforced community objections, for example to youth and community activities, despite the availability of Lottery funds.

- 'There is no bus service, no shop, a pub that will close to become a private dwelling.' (Head)

- 'There are no facilities out there, no libraries, no sporting facilities (Officer)

- 'There is a lack of facilities compared to north of the river, though people are unwilling to travel across the river for them.' (Advisor)

- 'In South Wye there is only one youth centre and two church halls. There is low parental involvement in the community' (Bid document)

Poverty

Each of the zones described entrenched and deepening forms of poverty and deprivation. In M, for example, graphic accounts were given of the re-emergence of forms of poverty which public planners had believed belonged to a forgotten past.

"East M. historically has the worst deprivation - unemployment, third and fourth generation unemployment, poverty, lack of a car, single parent families, etc .....Traditional forms of poverty have re-emerged. There are children who come to school hungry, and I established a breakfast club in my school. Children who don't have a coat so they don't come to school if its pouring. These are unpalatable facts, but it is the truth which schools are dealing with. Children who don't come to school if there has been another burglary in the house.(M)

The implication of such grinding adversity is sometimes that education is not the first priority of the family when food and clothing remain serious concerns. "The parents, most of the parents, parents have actually said to me and said 'Listen Mrs, I have got five bloody kids to feed.' These are women at their wits end. 'Don't ask me to come into school.' I get them to school and that's about as much as I can do. And I can understand that, to be honest how do I know what I would do in that position. I don't know. The first priority is to put food on the table and feed and clothe your children and cope. So I don't know." (M)

A Local Conditions Index shows the He. EAZ to be in the most deprived 7% nationally and the seventh poorest in the West Midlands. Poor health and life styles leave those on the estate 40% more likely to be long term sick. Hard drug use exists on the estate and school pregnancy is twice the County average. Yet there is poverty in the rural community too:

- 'There is rural poverty too. Jobs are hard to get and work is lowly paid. If the women go out to work they have to do long hours for little pay. Farming has gone through a bad time lately.' (Head)

- 'There is hidden poverty. Small self-employed businesses, but when they are not working pride prevents them allowing the children to take free school meals.' (Head)

- 'The South Wye is a tough inner city area, as tough as any metropolitan area. There are severe issues of poverty, crime and health.' (Officer)

Employment has been undergoing structural change in the rural areas of He. There has been 25% reduction in land based employment in the EAZ within the last decade, with expectations of continuing decline. In the urban areas low qualifications and poor perceptions by employers of basic skills of young people in the He. city are barriers to employment and training.

- 'This area was a farming community. Now it is down to about 40% of the population. The population now includes those who use the area as a retreat, and they don't get involved. Retired people, young professional couples, a lot of self-employed people.' (Head)

Ill-health

For some zones ill-health was emphasised as being a serious detrimental influence on the behaviour and achievement of young people. In S. there was a strong belief that ill-health and disease affected educational achievement, "Patterns of ill health which led to manifestations of difficult behaviour within classrooms. Asthma is very high as is unemployment and the effect that has for people's capacity to survive it. But also there is quite an extensive study done through the Guy's Hospital, the National Heath Trust, to show the impact of those health indicators upon emotional well being and the degree of behaviour: whether it led to criminality, or whether it leads to under nourishment, whether it leads to mental disorders, that kind of thing. It really is quite high. The incidents of teenage pregnancies and all the rest. So that pattern was quite high." (S)

Single parent families; absent male role models

Fragmented family forms, with children typically brought up by mothers, was related, a number of zones believed, to boys underachievement.

"One parent at our forum said that in her street her husband was the only permanent male figure in the street. This was in a discussion of boys underachievement (and 'gangs of youths' on the estate) and relating it to boys motivation and achievement. There are few male role models. Its mums who keep the house, its mums who have three or four part-time jobs, sometimes on the black economy. A lot of mums do cleaning, work part-time in shops and have a string of things knitted together and are often not at home. If you're working as a cleaner its usually first thing in the morning or later at night doing the unsociable hours for the supermarket. (M)

The Absence of male role models in the home is reinforced in the nursery and the primary school. "I'm talking about a primary head, head of a catholic school, who said 'Dee you can see it now when they come in at 5. When its time for playtime the girls get their coats on, and the lads stand there and wait for somebody to dress them.' And he said already the girls settle down and he said we've got problems with lads." (M) The head was looking to create single sex groupings as a way of supporting the needs both of girls and the boys.

The EAZ Director of M. was posing the question 'What are we going to do as an EAZ?' There was a clear need to put in more explicit strategies to respond to this whole issue of boys disaffection. She was considering the idea of recruiting male classroom assistants who would provide the necessary male role models: "the teaching force is just overwhelmingly female in primary, its very rare to find very many male teachers. I'm wondering if we could recruit male classroom assistants. If we can't get any male teachers could we not have some male assistants in the classroom who would actually be a good role model. And then we've got the volunteers. We've got a dad actually working in the library, in the school library and having a very positive influence to have this chap around and getting to know the children." (M) She

believed that there was a lot the zone could do although this complex issue illustrated the time that would be needed to effect long term change and thus the limits of a three year zone.

Social division/exclusion

Geographic exclusion was compounded by social segregation in a number of the zones. Estates which bordered the zone or the wider urban community regarded those who lived within the zone as socially inferior. "There is a private sector in the area, but the people who live there think they are better than those on the estate and won't send their children to the estate schools. There is a sense of social division." (Hu) In H. there is a strong local culture of despising those over the river in the zone. The children of the zones typically live at the foot of perceived status hierarchies, socially excluded.

Figure 1 Social Exclusion in He. EAZ

Worlds of difference and forms of social exclusion
While a number of issues of disadvantage are common between rural and urban areas, it is clear that it is impossible to discuss the Zone without acknowledging not just the differences between the country and the city but the forms of social exclusion which they represent for young people and the constraint they imply for mobility between different and divided worlds.
 	
Separations of the Country and the City
Demographic realities of sparcity require young people to be mobile to receive their education and frequently to move from a rural to an urban environment. Yet the lack of recognition of the different worlds of city and country can act as a barrier to learning. In the rural communities, with small primary and secondary schools, children are likely to experience school as an extension of family and village life, while the larger post 16 institution in an urban setting can appear a more impersonal experience. The movement from one world to another can erode the sense of settled identities reinforcing uncertainties caused by the loss of traditional routes into farming.
 	
  * *'Children are closeted here. They are overly looked after at school, but this can be a problem when they leave. It applies to the sixth form college, the FE college and the art college.*
    Children in the Golden Valley are not suited to a college environment in a town. They find it very distracting. They haven't had the thrill of being able to walk about, go downtown, go shopping'
    The college providers don't have a grasp of the problems children experience in the villages, and the risks they face when they go into the city.
    The school needs to do more to bring more outsiders to this isolated premise to enrich the lives of everybody' (Head of Department)
  * *'Teachers in the urban environment often have low expectations of rural children'* (Officer)
  * *'There has been a huge drop out of students travelling to post 16 institutions which did not reflect their GCSE scores. Was this inflated results, or did they have nothing else to do at school. No. It shows more of a cultural shock, the problems of living in isolated communities, of travelling, spending an hour on the bus each morning.'* (Advisor)
 	
The separations of the city and the country which have had a deep influence on the expectations and provision of education were starkly illustrated by one high school head:which have had a deep influence on the expectations and provision of education were starkly illustrated by one high school head:
 	
  * *'The focus of the school before I came was not on academic achievement. It was more about contentment. The governors and many teachers would have liked the school to be a 'nice rural school' which reduced its intake to serve **only** those children from the rural catchment area, and that children form the city were*

best educated in the city. For example some parents would support the idea that metalwork was a good thing because a lot of boys need to learn to deal with it on the farm - so why didn't they do more metalwork. That kind of argument is a good illustration. That is the view still held by some parents and governors. But less so the staff now. The staff has changed significantly in the last 18 months. The policy has been to appoint staff who don't old that view. The school will always be a rural school, and that is part of its attraction, and I would not want to diminish that, but the school has got to accept that most of the children who go through it will not work in the rural environment. Most will work in Hereford or further afield. The jobs aren't there. And that's accepted now. And for parents who were not inclined to send their children here this is a welcome signal.' (Head).

In the country a natural social order is undergoing accelerating change raising issues of identity and belonging which educators need to be sensitive to given the significance of these issues of recognition for motivation.

Segregation within the City

The separation of the South Wye from the city presents a form of geographical exclusion which is also characteristic of other Education Action Zones and reflects the public policies of the 1960's and 70's creating housing estates, typically lacking in facilities and services, detached from the lifestream of the urban centre. But the physical separation can become, as in Hereford, a social segregation as the poor and deprived are gathered on estates which then deteriorate with inadequate services and support. Prejudice and discrimination develop over time as the Zone Bid acknowledged: there are 'low expectations and prejudice by employers towards the local labour force: local industrial estates employ few from their EAZ community'. One representative of the business community argued, however, that this social discrimination had been a systematic part of local public policy over the years. Such deep social and cultural divisions in the urban community have left the South Wye community not only alienated from services as the Bid proposes but also, arguably, experiencing a more general sense of social exclusion.

* *'Considerable stigma is associated with going to the urban secondary school' (Advisor)*

Inertia and restricted aspirations

While those who live on these estates can be proud of their communities they lack understanding of comparative standards of educational achievement.

"The estate is perceived as poor, ridden with crime and drugs, that if you live there you won't get job and that there are low aspirations. Yet within the estate there is a pride to be there. Though there is a little bit of parochialism. There <u>are</u> low aspirations even though people don't think so. They think they are all right, but they are too easily satisfied. Underachievement is double the Hu. average which is double the national average. A senior high school was failing for three years but nothing was done about it. The parents did not challenge this - reflecting the inertia in the area. Elsewhere a powerful group of parents would have got together challenged the LEA, got rid of the head." (Hu)

The Director of Hu. EAZ is clear that this failure to acknowledge and respond to such a scale of underachievement reveals a dual problem - the failure of the local authority and the professional community of public servants who built estates without adequate facilities, who let them and their schools fall into neglect and decline. And yet while poor housing and failing schools show how badly the public authorities have let down the communities for which they have responsibility, it also reveals the dependency of those communities on the professionals: "they feel the professionals will get it right; they have put their faith and trust in the professionals. But this has not worked. We have to get them ownership and to give them the confidence to challenge the 'powers that be'." (Hu)

Parochiality

The limited aspirations have their roots in the restricted experience and horizons. Many young people have not travelled beyond the boundaries of their city or in some case their local communities:

"It is difficult until you have worked in such a deprived school to realise how limited many of the children's horizons are. We are talking about children who have never been out of M; some of whom have never really been off the estate apart from going to the city centre on the bus. I got into trouble with the media two years ago for saying at a conference on deprivation that half of my year 7's had never visited the sea. We're only 8 miles from the sea. So we took the whole year group to the sea as a special event. But people don't want to hear it because it is shocking. It must mean that it is only through television that children see something different. So, we have children with very limited experiences." (M)

Hopelessness about the future and low education expectations

The scale of poverty and deprivation can produce a sense of despair. "We have children who have very little hope and I think this is another significant factor. They don't believe that education is a route to anything. They don't see the value necessarily in an education, because there are no jobs. Its a simple equation I think.' (M) Young people see around them parents, sisters, uncles and aunts, the people next door who have never benefited from an education. 'One chap at one of our community council said 'well, what's the point, there's a man next door to me, his son went to university, now he's unemployed, he's written a hundred applications and got nowhere.' If education got them a job I think life would be easier in terms of (motivating young people). But there is a feeling that 'we won't work, our children won't work. And there is a hopelessness. We use a rhetoric of self-governance, but there is a futility and a feeling of what's the point, that things get done to us and there's not a lot we can do. And that's something we have got to challenge.' (M)

In S. it is the cultural context which is regarded as key in shaping the aspirations of young people. 'In the traditional working class community near to the docks there was not a great sense of cultural expectation about what education might do for individuals or communities and educational achievement was low.' The community lacks respect for education because it is regarded as failing them. 'There is not belief about what education can do for you which you get with more aspiring parents or communities, and I think that transmits itself to the kids, where a peer pressure develops that it is 'not cool' to work hard at school. Education has not been associated with a route to better jobs and employment opportunities, indeed it is more readily associated with leading to unemployment:

'Again its the cultural context which I emphasise, because I think when we work in education its so easy to forget it. But if you look at a lot of the kids, some would be in families who have got long unemployment affecting them. So the kind of sense that kids have of using education to get better jobs in a functional sense of education if you like, isn't a visible and deeply rooted one for many kids. Even the sense of able kids going on to HE isn't part of that kind of cultural expectation. It came home to me really that these are things that you need to be reminded of. One of our members of the teaching was talking to a year 8 girls, and obviously telling one of the youngsters there that she had the ability to go to University. And the response was 'what's a University?' So that kind of context of learning and progression is a real one in an area like this, and I think that's often disregarded and neglected.'

Poor regard for education and low parental expectations were evident in the rural EAZ of He. There has not been a tradition of commitment to education. Only 8.4% of adults in rural areas of the Zone and 3.9% on the City estate have higher education, when the national average is 13.5%. In the urban area 30% of sixteen year olds receive no training or FE and 24% post 16 drop out from education and training. In the

rural areas 20 % of students from the Zone area fail to complete their sixth form or FE courses. It was proposed in the Bid document that education 'provision was not seen as part of the community. Some parents do not know where their child's school is located!' Parental expectations of education are low.

- 'Education is just something you have to do. They go to school and that's the school's job. Parents don't see the opportunities that school can offer. They don't see that if they work with their children then their whole outlook on life will change, that there is more to life than they now accept, that they can broaden their children's horizons' (Head)

- 'They don't see the relevance of education to them and they don't take much interest in it.' (Officer)

- 'Trying to break this cycle for the next generation is a challenge. There is a need to change the attitudes of some parents to education.' (Officer)

- 'Education expectations in the community are comparatively low. There are problems about parental expectations in rural areas - the close agricultural community where the child works for the family business on the farm. This was a valid aspiration but with a quarter of the jobs going in the last ten years and a future expectation of continuing decline, the children's aspirations need to change. In the urban areas there are low parental aspirations - the culture of unemployment has to be changed.' (Advisor)

Disaffection/ Community anger

Poverty alienates those who are disabled by it. In WSM. there was a "back-lash from the local community groups who did not like the local authority or an education action zone intervening in their area labelling their area as 'socially disadvantaged' and their schools as 'failing schools'." In M. there was more explicit anger generated by the sense of hopelessness.

'There is considerable frustration and anger. As a head I dealt with a number of angry parents. It was the commonest reaction to talking about anything. Anger that the kids had got into trouble again; anger that the school had called them in again and why didn't you just deal with it. Anger about the lack of help; where's the help, I can't cope, there's no help. One of the things which struck me as head of my school as compared with others I'd worked in was the number of parents who came in and were prepared to say 'well, he will have to go into care because I can't do anymore', which I just hadn't come across. And with the child standing there!'

The Director of M. described the public ritual recounted by an articulate angry mum, a saga of parents who defend their children's misdemeanours even in public, haranguing neighbours in defence of their child (defending your own, blaming the other, displacing blame, demonstrating to the community that you are trying), but when the children reach the age of 13/14, when they may be beginning to get out of control, the mothers give in, defeated, and look for help: 'what are you going to do, I can't cope with this anymore; I've done everything, I tried , and I can't be doing with this.'

In the past there was anger of young men, disaffected young men, "but now its in the primary school. There is a violent and aggressive anger, a suppressed rage and hostility. The staff who work with these youngsters say that if you engage with the anger and spend time trying to get to the bottom of it there would inevitably be a session where they would cry their eyes out because they don't know where their father is. They suffer from 'attention deficiency disorder'. There are increasing numbers of children on medication, who if they don't get their pills are 'off the wall'. The significant factor is where are the

constant men in their lives. In this situation the peer pressure thing becomes stronger. The only models they have are teenagers, the older teenage boy who may not be a positive role model for them." (M. Director)

Disadvantage, underachievement and learning needs

The relationship between disadvantage and educational underachievement is particularly strong in the education action zones. Indeed, they have been created specifically to raise educational standards. In some zones the poor examination results had been masked by the achievement of more affluent areas of an authority. "The problem inherited from Hu.. where the appalling exam results and educational standards of two parts of the Authority were masked by wealthy parts of East Riding and Lincolnshire. We didn't realise how bad it was."

The summary of educational performance in one EAZ is typical of many others:

- "KS2 performance has been broadly in line with national and LEA trends with some fluctuations; performance was lower in comparison with England in 1996 but there has been an upward trend.

- the proportion of pupils gaining five GCSE's at A*-C is significantly lower than both the proportion for the LEA and the proportion for England; in particular boys in the Zone perform poorly.

- there are generally negative attitudes to learning in the urban area with 30% of 16 year olds not proceeding into training or further education; only 3.9% of adults in the area have higher education qualifications compared with 25% (economically active adults qualified to NVQ4) nationally.

- there are poor retention and post 16 completion rates with over 20% post-16 drop-out rate for sixth form and FE colleges; for all other He. High Schools except H. school the drop out rate is 8-10%.

There is considerable contrast between rural and urban schools. Levels of attainment are significantly higher in rural schools although they are still sometimes lower than the national average, especially for boys. For example, the proportion of pupils getting five grade A*-C at GCSE in 1997 was 11.7% in the urban school in the Zone; 40.8% in the rural schools in the Zone and 43.3% nationally. However, in the rural schools the proportion of girls achieving this level was 54% while for boys it was 30.2% There is a level of disparity between boys and girls in the urban school."

Young people underachieve, in the argument of Sen and Nussbaum, because of the impact of disadvantage on their 'human functioning'. If children are poor, undernourished, sick, living in inadequate housing deprived of resources and amongst fractured social relationships then the conditions for learning are very likely to be significantly damaged. A variety of learning needs are typical of children in contexts of rural as well as urban disadvantage:

Language development

Poor language development is particularly acute in the remote rural areas.

- 'Children come to school with very poor language development. There are not that many people around and conversation is not a big part of their lives, - even if they are coming from middle class backgrounds.' (Officer)

- 'The children are sometimes difficult to understand. We try and encourage them to ask questions and to speak in sentences. A number need speech therapy support.' (Head)

Breadth of experience, opportunity and horizons

Many children in the remote country areas have limited experiences beyond their farm or village community. 'There is a lack of general stimulus which is a problem you see in a number of rural children' it was proposed.

- 'There is an issue of how to involve children from remote and sparsely populated areas in experiences beyond their own normal environment.' Officer)

- 'The children live such secluded lives - they lack opportunities and experience. They have limited horizons' (Head)

There is a need, said one Head, to enable children to *do* things and *different* things: 'It is giving children opportunities to <u>do</u> things - things like going to the theatre which a lot of children don't get the opportunity to do, going to museums. We need to take them out of their comfy little corner and show them experience of life outside' (Head)

'80% of the children go home on the bus. They will stay for sport, and sport is extremely strong ion the school. But that is easy to attract children. It is really dram and music, the things which are central to the school, but are peripheral to the children.' (High school head)

Self-esteem and confidence

Disadvantage impacts upon the self-image of young people eroding their confidence and motivation to learn. The schools initial challenge is to build up the child's self-esteem which enables them to perceive the learning experience as something significant for them:

- 'The security, confidence and self-esteem of young people is determined by how important we make them feel within the school' (primary head)

In H. the heads recognise that if young people have hope, feel better about themselves and have a job to work towards, if their parents felt valued by the school and were involved in developing their children's skills then improvement and achievement would follow. The challenge is to raise aspirations. "We must raise esteem and the value of education in the community. Overall education does not have high value in the community. There is a 'it has done nothing for me' culture. We must raise self-esteem. They have a diminished value of themselves."

Low pupil motivation, commitment and expectations

There is a need to change aspirations. There are bright children with narrow horizons. 'They might have a fulfilled life in their community but they can also be stymied, stigmatised and stultified by their community

- and schools and education as a whole has a responsibility to challenge that (especially around employment prospects). Improvement in H. High School is crucial.' (Advisor).

Need to raise basic skills

to enable young people (and adults) to get jobs: innovation in the key stage 4 curriculum was viewed as part of the solution here

Education Action Zones, it is argued, will be more able to develop effective learning when educational provision nurtures self-esteem, offers opportunities to widen their horizons and experience, and reinforces language capabilities which underlie motivation and all learning.

III. Strategy for educational renewal

Resources or renewing purpose and practice as the key to change

The Director of a London Education Action Zone argued that the principal challenge for the Zone was 'renewal' - 'it is putting back into education what had been lost over the past fifteen years'. If the purpose of the Zones was renewal then this necessarily clarified the strategic tasks facing them. A number of EAZs recognised that if they were to succeed in transforming achievement then the additional resources were unlikely to make the difference required. The scale of the task required the emphasis to be placed on cultural change, on innovating and doing things differently.

'The opportunity of the zone is not really the extra resources, but the opportunity to do things differently, to innovate. £1m will not make much difference on a £40m budget for education in the zone. No! it is about changing hearts and minds. The 'tried and tested' has not worked. We must be different.' (Hu Director)

In He. EAZ this view was more contested with schools typically defining the problem of underachievement as caused by inadequate resourcing, 'What is not said often enough about the barriers to raising educational achievement, I think, is resources. County authorities tend to do very badly in the way in which resources are allocated nationally...... So we are concerned about resources (and their impact on buildings, teacher numbers and class sizes). If we had more resources we could do a better job' (Officer)

Officers of the Zone and advisors of the authority, however, were agreed that, while the significance of resources should be acknowledged, the challenge was to renew educational purpose and practice.

- 'Zones for me are about funding new ways of doing things. They should be looking at innovation. They should be looking to take education into the next century. New ways of targetting resources in terms of money and adults time to promote learning in children, that's what there for. Now here there is not a clear vision like that. For a lot of people its a bit of a problem being in the zone. For some its really a resource issue. Its a way of hitting a wish list with resources. For quite a lot of players, the LEA and politicians included and for some of the other services its a resources issue. I think that fundamentally is not what it should be about.

- It's about new ways of promoting learning through and modifying existing services. If things are going to be sustainable after the lifetime of the Zone, things need to be left differently to where they were when we started. There is a need for cultural change.' (Officer)

- 'The EAZ cannot be about resources alone. It is a small percentage of the education budget - it must be initiative led rather than about staff and buildings' (Head)

- 'we wanted 'controlled cultural change'. We wanted the schools to start opening up, to embrace their communities, to look elsewhere and to see what else could be achieved, schools to reflect on whether what they had been doing was always the best way. The EAZ presents the opportunity for schools to have some measure of control over this change.' (Advisor)

These different analyses imply a fundamental difference of perspective about the constitutive purpose of the Zone: whether the EAZ is an essentially administrative mechanism to distribute and redistribute resources or, by contrast, a vehicle for educational and cultural renewal. If the latter is acknowledged it further raises the question whether the EAZ is an instrument of change within the Zone alone, or more broadly a crucible for educational change across the County education service.

- 'People need to feel confident that this cultural change is a trip worth taking because it will be actually better.' (Advisor)

The task of renewal was expressed in varying ways but each indicating the significance of cultural change that would need to be engendered in the Zone:

- *'ambitiousness'*. Its raising that sense of aspiration within the zone. Not just kids for themselves, but teachers for kids, parents for their children, for their community. So that sense of can we notch up the kind of levels of ambitiousness within the zone.' (S)

- *'a cultural shift in learning'* the whole philosophy initially was removing the blocks for learning and that was the fundamental basis upon which we started.' (WSM)

- *'raising esteem and enabling ownership*: of heads, community groups; parents; governors and caretakers. Make them feel valued; give the same hospitality to all. Ownership is key because of hearts and souls; making people feel good. They are the mouthpieces; in pubs street corners, access to politicians etc.' (Hu)

"Raising children's self-esteem and confidence has to be one of our key priorities. Schools can do a huge amount about this but have to do it more overtly than they have been. Self-esteem is so important because lack of it stops aspirations. It is stopping them achieving. They don't believe they can achieve; they don't believe they have ability; they don't believe they need to raise horizons. Put even the most confident child from one of our deprived schools in a new situation and they clam up. (In America there was a recent initiative to take the brightest children from the inner city and put them in others schools.) But this would be an ordeal for many of our children They might be confident in one situation but the prospect of being in a other school would reduce them to silence." (M. Director)

- 'trying to get *schools and their communities* actually feeling more positive about each other. There is still a gulf between the school I think and the community and the children. I think we have to listen to what the children are saying. I'm sure a lot of kids would want to come to school and would see it through if actually what they were doing was more relevant to them. That was what I thought was exciting about the zone, we could do something different.' (M)

Many teachers and schools acknowledge the need for change and renewal of the learning process, though this commitment is not always shared. 'what I'm finding is that some schools are very reluctant actually,

having been given the opportunity, having said look, we can experiment, we can do it now, we've always said it was the curriculum, so now we can do something. Its the one thing I am actually I am being resisted on. Lets just stick with what we're doing, they say.' (M) A secondary head in another zone presents a different approach: 'her first reaction to a member of staff who brings to her a disruptive pupil or student, is 'lets look at the curriculum together. What are you offering that child in curriculum terms? Perhaps that's not interesting enough, not relevant enough, not accessible enough. Let's start there before we define this kid as the problem.'

Social inclusion and democratic participation

The agenda of educational reform which many zones are establishing is designed not only to transform standards of achievement but to contribute to larger objectives of social inclusion and democratic reform.

'I think the sense of how people on the fringes might become involved in participating in decision making, that involving people on the edge of the whole sort of social fabric is an issue that's important for a participatory democracy. That's my perspective, I am not sure if that's the same as the government's perspective..... This obviously has a meaning within school because I think the issue of inclusion in school is that many kids are on the fringes of school life. And its the way that we find strategies to draw them back in. But not just into what's given but that we do look at those structures to see if they can become more responsive to the needs of those young people.' (S)

For another zone the larger objective of social inclusion is to enable life long learning that is accessible to all. Yet what this means in this zone is not only involving the community in defining their local learning needs and the support they need - such as child care arrangements - to participate in learning opportunities, but also to draw upon the skills and expertise which already exist within the local community.

Social inclusion is a strategic objective for the EAZ in M**.** whose principal sponsor and partner, the Gatsby Foundation, are expressly interested in social inclusion. In this zone, inclusion means 'feeling that you have a voice and feeling that you can be different'

Time spans of cultural change

The significance of these educational and social objectives reveal the Zones' understanding of the time spans of change. They face the dilemma of being expected to achieve considerable educational change in the life time of the Zone, three years in the first instance, while recognising that the cultural shift needed to underpin this aspiration will require longer term change. Should they use their limited resources and time to achieve the impression of change or should they focus upon creating the institutional conditions that would ensure longer term transformation over time.

Hu. EAZ anticipates a 5 year span of development, but is not wanting to rush things. 'It will need time. This cannot be a quick fix.' His aim is to put the structure in place which will last, have durability. 'Our strategy is to work at two levels: the strategic long term level of tackling the long term cultural barriers to learning; and the short term goal is to get results up!'

The Education Action Zones have been chosen because they typically present a picture of major educational failure in contexts of severe disadvantage. The strategic planning of many of the zones in this study has revealed that their principal approach to transforming achievement will lie, not in short term tactics of increasing resources, but in striving to reform the purposes and practices of learning and teaching

as the key to transforming educational achievement of young people and their communities in disadvantaged areas.

The next section of the Report describes the dimensions of reform and argues that they provide evidence of 'the new learning' which is growing in parts of this country as well as internationally.

IV. The new learning for a new age

It is now clear 'a new education' is emerging for a new age. During the past decade key research on learning has critically re-evaluated the dominant paradigm and proposed values and practices which amount to a new culture of learning (Gardner, on multiple intelligence, Engestrom on learning communities, and Lave on apprenticeship). Such research however is not divorced from practice, as the leading reform programme of Professor Brighouse illustrates, or Tom Bentley's DEMOS study of active learning reveals, and is manifest in the work of government departments: the Scottish Office's prospectus on *new community education* (1998). This work proposes that education has traditionally been shaped by too narrow a conception of purpose, of human capacity, of frameworks of learning and of assessment. The central principles informing the new teaching and learning are:

Learning for capability and active membership of society

Education has been driven by too narrow a conception of the competencies which people are to acquire. The challenge is to reconceive the purposes of education as being a preparation for living and becoming active citizens of the communities in which they are to live and work.

Education has been shaped by a mistaken division between knowledge and practice. The point of learning is practice. Learning now needs to be connected to the wider experiences of people and the purposes which are to shape their lives. The relevance of education to the lives of people is the challenge facing educators at every level.

Valuing the whole learner - recognising all the needs of all the learners

Learning has been envisaged, mistakenly as a narrow cognitive process, with thinking and feeling separated out. The research of Goleman and others is illuminating the significance of emotional well-being, of health and quality of relationships for learning and fulfilling potential. Educators are learning to recognise the importance not only of developing basic cognitive skills and competencies but also the need to address the social emotional health of each person to enhance their self-esteem, motivation and well-being.

Learners are capable

Education has been undermined for many because of the flawed assumptions of capacity and intelligence. The research of Gardner is transforming our understanding of human capability and potential. Intelligence is far more diverse and broad ranging than traditional assumptions allow. Intelligence is not a fixed internal characteristic of individuals. Each individual is able and has a different portfolio of abilities which require careful nurture and attention to develop each person's talents to full potential. Intelligence is learned (Perkins) through experience, hard work and through developing capacities for critical self-reflection. Achievement in all areas of learning needs to be celebrated.

Involving the family

The more holistic view of the learner which the new education strives to achieve is reflected in the practice of involving parents and families. This also requires focusing support on the family unit to encourage and bring out the best in both parent and child through family learning and the development of positive parent child interaction.

A pedagogy of active and flexible learning

If learners are to become active members of their communities then institutions need to become crucibles of active learning, enabling people to see the purpose of education by reconnecting learning and practice. Grounding education in investigative learning and reflective problem solving motivates people to become involved in their learning. Gardner's research has revealed that each individual learns in a different way. Music and colour and movement are as important as traditional forms of transmission.

Curriculum extension and enrichment

The new education is grasping the importance of encouraging and supporting learning beyond the classroom. As the work of Macbeath has emphasised achievement depends upon encouraging self- directed learning out of classroom and school hours. The DfEE has reinforced the importance of Extra curricular provision for achievement in school: through curriculum enrichment (sport, drama, photography and other clubs and societies) and curriculum extension (study support opportunities provided before and after school and in holiday time.

Multi-agency working

Addressing all the needs of the learner and the family leads to a much more integrated approach to education, one which involves family support, health and social services in a co-ordinated approach.

Engagement with the wider community

The new pedagogy which relates learning to practice and social purpose together with the inclusion of families provides the context for engaging with the wider community. An education which includes adults in their own learning as well as in support of the education of the young creates a broader agenda supporting education for life-long learning.

The discussion will explore the extent to which these reforms are being introduced in the zones.

Learning for capability and active membership of society

Educators in a number of the action zones are seeking to widen the purposes of learning, to integrate knowledge and practice in pursuit of an education that will prepare young people with the capabilities to take their place as active citizens in the community. Learning needs to connect to the experiences of pupils and students so that they can appreciate and be motivated by its relevance to their unfolding lives.

The rural He EAZ is beginning to recognise the importance of involving adults in learning as well as developing the wider social significance of learning:

'when education works successfully in some schools children are not only good at the instructional work that they are going through, but they also have a sense of how they belong in their community, they have confidence and speak to others and are responsive. They feel part of something bigger than themselves and the school. (Officer)

the Zone, I my judgement, is very much about building up the community dimensions of learning, helping children to find out about them amongst themselves. To have adults and children together in the same settings, enjoying activities that are creative and investigative that is a good in itself.' (Officer)

One of the London EAZs was also wanting to encourage an education which involved young people in developing their communities: "I think that's developing. The other evening I went to something that we supported which was very much about primary school kids with their environmental group looking at the open, green spaces in this area, at all the facilities, they looked at their use for people, families with young children, and they came up with their own recommendations about how that can improve their quality locally. Now this was the South Bank Residence group that pulled this together. What they were excited by was young kids having the confidence to come forward and propose developments. And it wasn't left there, because what the group was talking about at the end was how do we feed those ideas into the decision making process. Are we just going to hear them and leave them there, or are we going to refer these to the council sub-committees which are exploring greater, open space in this area of the EAZ. So I think that enrichment of the quality of life locally is what I would want education to be anchored much more in the community.: (S. Director)

Other EAZs wanted a more vocationally, relevant education for some of their young people: "in secondary probably this would keep alive the possibility of some further education later because it will be lost if we just straight jacket them. The existing possibilities within the national curriculum are limited in a very pragmatic way, I think those links with local employers can often be the saviour for some of the kids in terms of actually rooting their experience, and something that they feel is applicable and relevant in their mind. I would argue that as I have done before in terms of the community. I think the community should have expectations about education." Another EAZ Director argued that one of their secondary schools, by providing only GCSE courses and offering no work related learning opportunities, was failing its students as a result.

Valuing the whole learner - recognising all the needs of all the learners

The importance of emotional well-being as a foundation for learning is now being recognised by educators: feelings are as important as cognitive skills and the interdependence of each is vital to educational growth.

Two EAZs in large urban conurbation's have been emphasising the importance of emotional well-being for children disturbed by the experience of disadvantage. The Director of M. EAZ is particularly concerned about the urgent need to recognise the significance of feelings and their centrality for the learning process.

"Emotional health is important because I think there are a lot of hurt children out there. I actually think that we are ignoring a phenomenon that's happening, because its not very comfortable, about what has the effect been on young children? I see articles that say "Divorce doesn't hurt children." .....We ignore these things at our peril.... There is an immense sadness in children. Their not allowed to grieve. Their not allowed to show their emotions. Let me give the example of a divorce, and so many of the children in the zone have experienced loss of one of the parents. Either through violent death, that's something they experience more than most, or crime or whatever. They learn not to grieve because they don't want to upset the remaining adult. So a lot of children suppress it right through childhood. There is

a higher than average instance of mental illness in the zone. I have seen children who are already exhibiting signs of distress for want of a better word, that could very well end up as mental illness. Its not a social services issue, its about how do we relate to each other and what sort people do we want to be and making sense of what happens to us. I think that for many children who are not getting this support outside of school, then school is the only place where we can give them the opportunity to find a voice for themselves and to explore their feelings.... The idea that you sit down for a period everyday and talk in a circle about good things that have happened, bad things that have, or I wished that. I think that is part of what school is about, of course its about literacy, but its about individuals learning to understand their feelings." (M. Director)

Emotional intelligence is directly developed in parts of the curriculum which tend to be neglected or underplayed in the current National Curriculum - for example, the arts, of drama and performance as well as residential and outward bound experience. "I would like to see the arts have a greater place, because through the arts you can express your feelings obviously. Most schools would say that they do personal and social education, I don't know how effective it is, but its not through worksheets, you don't learn that through worksheets. You learn it through talking and doing and looking at the important things." (M. Director)

'Feelings are central to learning - eg the importance of drama and performance as a tremendous vehicle for learning'

"Children need to get out of their environment. We have children going to the North York Moors and doing a one week programme formally about preparation for the world of work, but its about looking at personal and social skills and identifying areas they need to develop: eg the shy person in the group in the next 24 hours has to talk. The groups set targets for each other. Its about learning to be able to talk to each other about your strengths as well as the areas for development. This experience gives children an emotional vocabulary, to enable them to talk about their feelings. I think that this is one of the things that we desperately need to do in schools, because I think it is a characteristic of children in the zone that there is an inability to talk about feelings until there is a flashpoint, until something tips them over the edge....It does worry me about the national curriculum that this attention to the emotions can be lost." (M. Director)

Learners are capable

One large urban LEA, and its EAZs, have taken the lead in developing the ideas of Professor Gardner's *The Unschooled Mind* and *Frames of Mind* and his theory of multiple intelligence which proposes that most people have a variety of intelligences but that conventional educational practices focuses only on two - logico-mathematical and the linguistic. Typically neglected are the musical, visual, kinaesthetic, interpersonal intrapersonal, emotional and natural intelligence centres. Gardner asserts that all young people are capable and it is the poverty of the education system that fails to recognise and stimulate this potential. and the implication is that even those whose talents are recognised are not developing other capabilities. 'The brain has a number of intelligence centres, the key to effective learning lies in unlocking all these centres.'(Gardner)

The Director of M. EAZ is convinced of motivating force of believing in young people's capability. She has been using the Viv Schwartzburg and Participation Education Group who set up groups of young people and teach them how to have a voice. "When I was a headteacher I got involved with them and two of the girls who got involved actually ended up addressing a national conference. Well nobody would ever of believed that these girls would have. If you'd said which two? You wouldn't have sent Nicola, and she did it and by God, it changed her, she ended up getting 5 GCSEs, which she never would have done. I actually think it can be a very powerful motivator. It enabled the other girl to talk about mental illness and

how young people don't understand. She ended up in St Luke's Young People's Unit after bullying and ended up with eating disorders and all sorts of things. Its about believing children can do more than they can. That's it really." This Director mounted a 200 hundred plus conference of children thought by their school capable of getting 5 A-C GCSEs to build up the confidence of a key cohort of children in the Zone.

"I thought it would be a new experience for them to look around and see a hall full of kids who were capable. because peer pressure is very much against able children in the inner city. Its not the done thing to work; its not cool. But even in small groups it was very hard work to get these top 10% children to actually talk to each other and have the confidence to speak to people they didn't know. We are working on this in the Zone, to use the zone to develop new experiences - to work with people from other schools, other areas, to learn to talk to adults etc and this will make them more confident. We had a follow-up conference and then a two day study skills course. And you can see them actually getting more used to working in unfamiliar surroundings. This is something the zone offers opportunities for experiencing new contexts, to broaden horizons, new experiences and meeting new people." (M. Director)

Capability and confidence will flourish when the achievements of young people are reinforced and celebrated. One EAZ encourages the idea of 'learning in an atmosphere of celebration'. Believing in capability is part of a larger purpose of valuing young people and enabling rather than controlling them. "Believing that they actually can do it, and I have seen primary children run groups. I think its actually having faith in children and letting them do things. And what tends to happen I think, in schools, is control becomes. You always feel so perilously close to, it could tip over the edge at any time that you actually get more and more control instead of trying to feed in more and more opportunities for children to have a voice. Because actually children basically are very sensible." (M. Director)

Involving the family

Recognising that all the needs of the learner need to be addressed, with particular attention given to the child's early year, is leading to understanding of the significance of the family for learning. Schools need to work with parents and families to raise their expectations for their children and themselves and to stimulate their children's learning and development (cf. SOEID, 1998). Intervention in the early years is acknowledged to provide the maximum impact on children, their families and the barriers which they face in encouraging learning. Family learning is perceived as the crucible for the effective learning of children and parents alike.

Educators in the Education Action Zones understand the vital importance of involving parents in the learning process at home as well as in the life of the school. There is recognition, nevertheless, of the struggle to overcome the long tradition of distance rather than partnership between school and home, as WSM.EAZ articulated:

"There hasn't been the willingness, the recognition that they are part of a community structure. The tradition has been that the school had been separate from parents and the community. The school domain stops at the front gate, it is that sort of mentality. This is the empire and we work from nine until quarter to four and then we will have a parents evenings once a term. There has within all three of our secondary schools in fairness been a fundamental change of philosophy over the last three years, primarily because of new heads coming in.

While the EAZ acknowledges that schools may have had problems in terms of limited resources or poor buildings to support the involvement of parents, nevertheless they are looking for a new approach to parental participation. The heads involved with the SRB have learned to open up their school for community use. "But one of the things that we are actually trying to address through the current early years

initiative is about adopting a positive lettings policy, if I can put it that way, to actually encourage community use and encourage principally in that context childcare and out of school clubs and those sorts of things. I think a lot of it is a mis-understanding perhaps in terms of primary school on how much they charge, it is not actually a burden, and its an asset and you make best use of the asset. Not only are you engineering community spirit you are actually getting some money back in. If you can encourage a breakfast club or an after school club and all sorts of things, and they are actually prepared to run that for you, and you can get additional funding to fund a teacher for a couple of hours a night and then actually turn it into a homework club. Now wouldn't that be better? Those are the sorts of things that the zone is actually trying to do really." (Director, WSM.EAZ)

Other EAZs too are committed to a new community orientation from schools:

'the big thing is that schools can't transform key skills, can't realise educational goals in isolation from families. Because the task is to do things differently, schools have to be on board for this agenda, and with parents involved in their children's education, with parents involved in the school. Schools need to become the base for family learning. We need to enhance family learning.' (Hu. Director)

In this EAZ the Director wants the focus of involving parents to be upon enhancing key skills: 'a big part of our project is to focus on the family, to develop a realisation amongst the family that key skills are important and that if you work as a family at key skills they will give access to education and work. If you have key skills you have access; if you don't you have failure built in from a very early age.'

In a service in where the professional ethic of specialised knowledge has traditionally kept parents at a distance the challenge of doing things differently becomes precisely the task of working in partnership with parents and families.

'A lot of our policy strands are focused on parental involvement and parental engagement. I think in terms of our programme, we don't just articulate it as one of the six separate strands, if you like. I think we see it as under-pinning all of the others as well. I certainly see it that way. And we are now getting in place beyond this strategies of parents as partners and parents as learners that we hope will make a reality of that. Again, my background is more adult, community education rather than schools. I wouldn't say that there is anything that hasn't been tried or tested before, but again, if you look at some of the experience of a lot of money going out about adult education, that sense of actually working with parents as life long learners in their own right, alongside the role that we want to play in supporting the children's own learning is very much a part of what we see to be a key strategy.

One of the high schools has made resources available to heads of year to devote a clear day to the most demanding cases. They were advised to give parents long term advance notice and to monitor if this was working.' (S. Director)

Against the deep tradition of distance between school and home the task of involving parents is not an easy one. Some teachers and schools are resistant to involving parents. Nevertheless, the leading professionals are clear about the value of parental participation. In He. EAZ , for example, the ambition is 'to create greater parental and community involvement - that was the common thread. The key to raising parental expectation and to get the early years work in their schools really buzzing. If the schools can engage the community to take a more active part, then the Zone will have succeeded. Schools and education as a whole have a responsibility to challenge the narrow horizons of some communities and to engage in Develop parental skills.'(Adviser).

'It has been marginally successful, underlining the fact that staff don't appreciate that two days notice isn't enough. You need a week and you need to offer transport sometimes to parents who need it. (High school Head).

Emerging practices of parental involvement in He. EAZ primary schools include:

'Education of the whole child has to be a joint effort by everybody

The school is trying

- reading workshop for parents

- to get parents to come and work in the school

- to get them involved in the PTA

- to see children with parents before school starts

- working with playgroups for early intervention

- trying to get parents to run clubs - but struggle to persuade them to give their time. They want things but will not put the effort in. They want someone to come and do unto. (Head)

Another primary school is using an annual questionnaire to parents to try to get at their views and to pick up issues which might have been missed. Has found that it is valuable in identifying issues -

'not just things like car parking, but parents wanting to know what topics were going to be covered so they could prepare themselves, get out the relevant library books on a topic.' (Head)

Other developments in this zone include

- PTA

- talk about curriculum issues

- keep a number of avenues open for parental contributions

- parents evening

- events, socials

But despite efforts the Head believes it is the same parents that get involved

A motivational pedagogy of active and flexible learning

Many educators and teachers in the EAZs are recognising that any transformation of achievement can only follow from a fundamental renewing of the process of teaching and learning, linking knowledge with practice and grounding learning in investigative processes of reflective problem solving.

Motivation

The key to motivating young people is to involve them in their learning and encourage them to take responsibility for.

'motivation will improve the quality of education, I have no doubt about that..motivation is the key influence on achievement, being interested, enjoying oneself, looking forward to it.

Some schools are really good at generating a sense of real challenge and excitement and interest and good motivation so that children enjoy themselves in learning.... they are alive for learning.' (Officer)

'recognising that remotivation lies in removing the stigma of failure and futility and providing learning which offers young people purpose and a sense of hope for the future.' (Adviser)

Motivation grows out of experiencing the satisfaction of achieving progress in some activity and wanting to improve on that performance. The Director of Hu. EAZ, with experience as a Headteacher in a disadvantaged area and as a member of a national task force on learning, was particularly articulate about the motivation which leads to the intrinsic goods of learning:

Learning the intrinsic goods of self improvement

'Most importantly, developing a cultural dimension to learning takes learning away from being a purely instrumental purpose. It makes it personal learning, a development of the whole person. If learning is merely functional, you cut it off as soon as you have finished with it - because it is a banal experience. If however, we are learning for its own sake we want to learn it is something we enjoy, gain pleasure from and we enjoy getting better at, and want to develop ourselves because it is worthwhile. If the learning experience means something to you as a person, you will enjoy it, and take an interest in it, and continue to develop your skills because you want to improve your skills and standards of performance. You want to make yourself better, to improve. So by getting involved in sport and the arts and acquiring this motivation to learn to excel at something, they are learning to do well, to improve standards and this will carry over to other areas of their lives, and of course learning. They are learning to experience the finest form of art, to see standards at their best, and this drives them to emulate those standards. (the learning process then has an internal/intrinsic spring, rather than an external extrinsic contingent event).

Recognising the significance of the experience of achievement for motivation, encourages the importance of reinforcing the moment of progress:

'we' (you and I) have had achievement based on hard work which has led to small steps of progress and reward which have built our confidence.There has been built in progression in our lives. Small steps of progress. We need to be able to ensure the same conditions for these young people. It needs celebration of success. Small things can be celebrated: a parents achievement in looking after the family, a community's achievement; a child's achievement in completing projects. Getting short term success to give strength and tenacity in learning, to give and support motivation is vital.

Confidence is so important...' (Hu Director)

Active Learning

In this and other EAZs strategies of enhancing motivation included the need for more active learning, together an understanding of the wider community purpose of learning

- 'active learning is giving children the opportunity to **do** things - like going to the theatre or museums which a lot of children don't get the opportunity to do. (Primary Head)

- *involving more adults* in the learning process: 'this has major influence on motivation, which is the key influence on achievement: being interested, enjoying yourself, looking forward to it.' (officer)

Figure 2 presents the innovation of a He. EAZ Primary headteacher, using action zone resources to develop a family literacy programme which draws parents in as complementary educators to support their children's learning while providing opportunities for their own learning to be supported. His account, as presented below, illustrates, we believe, a number of exemplary qualities in a motivational pedagogy:

- an environment in which the learner is supported and valued as capable

- building self-esteem and confidence in the learner

- a stimulating, challenging learning environment

- the highest expectations

- active, purposive, focused and investigative learning

- independent and collaborative learning

- the teacher as interactive modeller and enabler of learning

- the importance of involving and listening to the voice of the child

- valuing self-expression through the arts

- the significance of communication and conversation in learning

- celebrating achievement

- parents as co-educators.

Figure 2:Primary Headteacher on Purposive Learning

"We are excited to be part of the action zone and we are also involved in a Single Regeneration Bid both of which reach out to the families and involve them in learning. We've just launched as part of the action zone, a family literacy programme and we've chosen Year 3, which is the first year children come into the junior part of the school, and the start of Key Stage 2. We've chosen them because we've found, particularly boys, are falling away with some of their attitudes to their work, particularly to their reading. It is almost that as if this age they are beginning to feel that school is perhaps isn't quite for them, and often that can be traced back, be tracked back directly to attitudes from home as well. We are still having a very positive, encouraging, high expectation approach which is very much part of the way we work. So our literacy programme is to, not do more of the same, we think if we are going to get children just to read more pages, that is not really going to help. So instead we've employed an artist, a dramatist, somebody who is very keen and very able in community performances, we've got a musician, and a former lecturer now teaching in Hereford very aware of the significance of language.

He's launched our project using the story 'The Fantastic Mr Fox.' We had a meeting of all parents and said "if you come to this meeting you get a free copy of Fantastic Mr Fox." And about 50 parents came, so it was quite a successful meeting from that point of view. We said "look, we're going to set your children challenges using this as a core book, and the challenge is going to be to do some research, to do some finding out." They will have the story, and they will look at it in all sorts of ways, with people coming in to do it in drama, in art, in music, and make the story come to life. At home they will be expecting to find out about perhaps the life of the fox, they might choose the characteristics in the story, those horrible three farmers. They might want to choose farming. Some of the boys might say "I like to find out about tractors, and farming, can I do a project on that?"

So they will be expected to do some research at home and we will be supporting the odd weekend as a family literacy morning where the library will be involved, and we will be involved and the children can come along and practice their presentations. And then on the Thursday of the week before Whitsun there is going to be a day put over to our family literacy, so children can do a little presentation amidst all the art work, amidst all the drama and music that is being worked to towards it.

What is different about the approach we are using to develop language is that reading is a skill which is best learnt like driving is learnt, sat next to somebody who can drive really well and that you engage in that skill with that kind of supportive partner, almost a role model for you. Where there are difficulties with children's support at home, so they are not into that literacy, then there is going to be certainly a level of support needed in the structure of language and those kind of things. It's almost like an apprenticeship in a sense, but the person who is modelling the reading has to be aware of the process of that will be going on when the child is making those first steps in reading, depending on their age. Say for example, a child who has already started to learn, understands the relationship of the print to the page, that that person modelling is going to point fingers and show the rightness of the language, is going to let them use their picture cues, is going to be very interactive in that modelling - it is not just follow this and you will be all right. The experienced person becomes very interactive in your practice rather than just somebody who is just saying 'look, this is the way its done.' Although that would be part of it.

But where the big difference lies is that if children are beginning to fail at their reading, and seeing its not for them, very often its the level of motivation which is probably at fault. Unless we go for that directly and set up structures and strategies to get them switched on, then I think whatever level of phonic work we are going to give them they will struggle to learn to read.

Its saying that the things we do best are the things we do with a real purpose. And if we can give a real purpose to a child's reading then there is more likelihood that they are going to leave no stone un-turned to find ways to get to that. Real purpose is motivating: so if you are sort of told something you almost instantly forget it, but if you are expected to stand up on your feet and talk about something, my goodness, you leave no stone un-turned, and be certain when you do make the presentation, that the process you've gone through to reach that presentation point is both a challenging one and an important one.

Our approach to learning is for children to come into a safe but stimulating environment. I think that is very important for all our children that when they come into our environment they are welcomed and supported and that there is a very high level of caring. Because of that we've tended to make the structure of the day fit that the children are important: when the school gate opens and I go to the school gate, welcome them and meet parents, the children don't go into the playground and have to wait for a whistle to line up, they walk straight into their classroom, hang their coat up, and their teacher is waiting, chats to them, registration takes place while their doing some activity, so there is a welcoming straight to the school day. Its structured to support the most important aspect of our work is children's learning So right from our reception class where the children have activities they can engage in the moment they walk in the door, and feel this is a place with purpose and the same right through to year 6, where the moment they go in and it is all there, its clear, routines have been established, so they know what is expected of them right from the word go. And because the staff here share that ethos, because they are certainly a team, they put that absolutely as a top priority, we work in that way. Its never been difficult from the point of view of establishing those structures even with a large staff, because we've established from the word go that we

are all about pupil achievement, we are all about children coming into school, working with a purpose, caring about that as our absolutely starting point.

Motivation is vital, getting the children as hooked into learning as they are on football or pop music. Getting excited. As in soccer challenging yourself to develop your skills. We are trying to set them reachable challenges but one that they will probably have to pull out the stops to achieve. For example we're trying to encourage them to become independent in their learning so that they don't just take, because its printed, because its there in a book, that you accept it as being true. So where do you find information from. Well we are trying to get the children as part of our planned literacy to make their own information books. Those information books generally are going to be about the fox, because obviously the Fantastic Mr Fox is full of information in the story. So one of the things that came up in his lesson and he said "How many would there be in a fox family do you think?" One lad said "About 40." And he said "well that's guessing, isn't it?" And he said can you have an information book based on guessing, no not really. So how are you going to find out how many there is in the fox family? And so he said "Hang on, in Fantastic Mr Fox, There is Mrs Fox and Mr Fox and there are four cubs." "Right, so how many are there in the family?" "Six." "Well that is not an information book is it, it is a story book." So how do we find out if that is true in the story? And he said "We need a book about foxes." So he's got books about foxes and he gave them a selection. So he's searching from these books now to make valid the thought that there could be six in a fox family. And you find that generally they might have one or two cubs, so perhaps Rhoal Dahl has extended the family a bit too much!

I think its trying to make certain that there is always purpose in our learning, and that purpose has further goals that we are thinking about, and the further goal in that research is not just, that we need to find facts about foxes, but being asked to make an information book, I am really keen to do this, I want to do it really well. I am really motivated and want to find out more.

This is active learning. where the teacher is the facilitator, the teacher is enabling rather than giving information and saying 'look I know it all mate, what you want to know I will tell you.' It is the opposite, its the teacher saying 'lets discover this together.' Okay, it is discovering learning, but its highly focused, its not saying 'okay, we want you to find all these things out.', and everybody is working on different topics and on different things. This worker who is working with them at the moment is using language to get them really hooked into their finding out. I have got this notion about learning that motivation and being engaged in something is crucial to something really taking place that you could really describe as learning.

Children need good teachers to stimulate motivation., set challenges. Good parenting also plays that key role at home. So if the teacher all the time is looking at ways to keep children switched on to their learning and be exciting about it, to praise through achievement and all sorts of positive ways, then the level of quality of learning will be at a much higher level.

The child's voice is very, very important. Because they are independent, their security, their confidence and self esteem is determined by how they feel in terms of importance within school. So that no child should feel afraid to walk into my room at any point, or whoever I am, and come and talk to me, and they do, or any teacher. There is a very big tradition in the school for the arts, so that children, they are always expressing themselves into their art, in their class and their music, there is a bit tradition of musical instrument and a big tradition of drama.

I think its one of the most crucial things for all of us that we acknowledge the children. It is probably what got us out of the caves in the first place, was creativity and art. And if we can put the emphasis on the learning by using the arts then children become very, very motivated, very interested, and their confidence grows because they find other ways of expressing themselves. Children who perhaps come from deprived families might suddenly, using play, be able to create something very visual, very definite, very solid, and it is a creation, its fixed and if you get it fired and glazed it becomes permanent, and the magic of all that can really engage children in something that makes them feel very important, because they've created something very special. Learning is about creating things that are special. If you look at the child reading. It looks as if they are not doing anything, they are not moving very much, but in fact they might be travelling across time and space into an outer world, an adventure, an excitement that takes them beyond

their own experience. Or they might be looking more inwardly and exploring some of their own emotions in what they read. That sort of specialness, if you like, is there in reading, its there is art, it is certainly there in drama. But all the time its enabling children to grow in their self confidence and to give them a life skill of communication whether it is to art or public speaking, that is going to stay with them and be useful for the rest of their lives.

"If you ask a lot of the heads in primaries even what they really would want the zone to achieve, I think a lot of them would say 'well we really want to get in place the kind of learning environment which there can be effective purpose for learning. And its the absence of that in some schools which I think leads to this kind of deteriorating spirals sometimes, and how that shows through in the kind of educational achievement levels. So that kind of context of learning and progression is a real one in an area like this, and I think that's often disregarded and neglected.

I think we have a position about learning experience. Its going to be more rewarding for kids if it has some sense of activity to what they see to be their needs. There is some sort of scope within that learning experience for the kids to affect upon it and feed it back in. But there is some scope, if you like, for those separate learning experiences if you like the broader whole school policies that the school produces. The irony sometimes is I think that some of the discrete programmes we set up particularly geared to the needs of troubled children or difficult kids, however we want to term it. Do we give the space for that, that is often given out of crisis rather than routine. In terms of how we, two of the secondary schools that we've got in the zone, they've got no end of different projects for excluded kids, with a small 'e' rather than a big 'e'. Drawing in quite imaginatively on outside organisations like the children's society, or a variety of family service units, the lot. Everybody voluntary organisation you can think of is represented there.

Flexible and multi-sensory teaching

Gardner's emphasis that each individual has their own learning profile, their own style of learning is being grasped by some LEAs and EAZs. The implication of his research is that teachers must ensure they teach in different styles, draw upon different media to ensure that all the faculties are stimulated in the learning process.

'*whole brain learning*' complementing the understanding of multiple intelligence is understanding of the importance of a multi-sensory approach to learning. We all have different dispositions to learning and approaches to teaching which enable young people to learn in a variety of ways will facilitate learning while making it more enjoyable. 'drama, dance, movement and words, images and music all stimulate the brain to learn.'

learning tools include:

- understanding of personal learning styles

- confidence to develop other intelligences

- constant reflection on the process of learning

- emphasis on thinking

- self-belief in personal learning potential

'young people can learn almost anything if they are dancing, tasting, touching, hearing, seeing and feeling information' (Jean Houten)

in an atmosphere of celebration

The role of IT in flexible learning

Information and communication technology (known as IT) is perceived in many EAZs as central to a motivational pedagogy by providing practical experience as well as investigative learning. The incentives provided were vividly described by the Hu. Director:

'My particular objective is to dramatically increase ICT. we need to provide challenging teaching and learning. I want to introduce 'white board teaching'. Using this technology I can

- use a pen

- bring up a piece of Macbeth text we are reading

- we can talk about it

- and how to enact it

- we an throw up the video of the scene we are reading

It is just so exciting a teaching tool for kids who are switched off. It is very powerful. If we installed this technology the kids would be able to say that they had the best teaching system in the city, that they have a great school and this would rub off on their attitudes. We are going to excel at it. I have seen it used with disadvantaged youngsters and it worked. It was excellent. The youngsters had immediate access because they didn't need to use their linguistics skills. They enjoy the technology anyway, they are brought up with it. IT can be a key medium to tackle the fundamental issues of esteem, confidence and talk.

We need tight teaching skills, developing progression in ICT skills - teaching three year olds to use the mouse. We want powerful backers to support this. We want to excite the schools and we believe we can excel at this and so turn confidence round.'

He.EAZ has made the use of ICT perhaps its principal strategy for enhancing capability and inclusion, by providing young people, their families and communities with the skills to participate in the emerging information society. An extended discussion follows:

Using ICT to reform delivery of learning in He. EAZ: ICT has been, it appears, a big success for the Zone. The increased resources and provision have had an impact on staff knowledge and capability, on curriculum development and provision of materials and on approaches to teaching and learning.

In one High school the EAZ computers have made a big, immediate impact. When the teachers asked for training it was decided not to use supply teachers but to put the course on in half term and pay the staff supply rates for attending. Half the school went.

'They came back and ICT has really taken off. The first thing they wanted was the staffroom connected to the Internet (so they could work on it in there). Then they started to shift things from the staffroom to the

Resource Centre - where they can then print out new course materials. All this has happened because of that one day course.

There has been a huge philosophical change. We agreed that we didn't want an ICT room with a shut door, a room which only taught discrete ICT and that's all. So we have put a bank of computers into Design and a bank of computers into Science. Next will be Maths and then English and Humanities.

In the past we talked about ICT across the curriculum. But it was cobblers, just to impress Ofsted. But now there really is ICT across the curriculum. with extra machines available. It is possible to say that this really happened because of that one days training.

Science are now doing virtual experiments on computer, yet only six months ago the Science teachers would have said they had no need for ICT. That one day made all the difference: they came back totally different people

ICT has happened for all staff. It has generated enthusiasm for learning amongst pupils, who are now getting access to equipment across the school. It is in the classroom, therefore, where ICT has already made a difference - and that is directly down to the EAZ.' (High School head)

In this school the strategy of encouraging ICT across the curriculum has also included:

- an email homework project

- and the idea of putting the whole school on an intranet

The Head of Maths in this school has also been impressed by the impact of increased ICT:

- 'The EAZ has made the ICT side of things better. The children have more access to computers. CDs have been acquired for children with special needs and high ability children want to download a lot of stuff from the Internet'

He really wants to create an intranet from which material can be downloaded into the school and staff can check what is useful and also screen out what is undesirable. He wants to build up a resource bank from this Intranet and then pupils can come in early or stay after school and use the resources. 'And not just for GCSE, but it could be used for music and for creating web sites which link subjects - maths is linked to art on some sites etc. A lot of girls are interested in those connections and it hooks them into computers which the boys often go for more quickly.

- 'get more people staying after school to use ICT for Maths, working on their own. We are doing new exciting Mathematics through ICT, which is one area the school as been lacking in, so the Zone will have an impact there and in improved SATs and GCSE scores in due course' (High School HOD maths)

Another high school has formed an IT club and a homework club using IT and these are proving quite attractive. The cooperation of primary partners schools is perceived as being crucial, so that secondary children can use the computers out in the primary schools, and perhaps play a role in running them thereby providing support for the skills development of primary schools. 'It is early days yet'.

This high school, has purchased a couple of multi-media video projectors part funded by the Zone and part by the ICT department which have been installed in the IT rooms.

– 'The effect that they have had on **all** classes has been tremendous, especially with the less able, where they can actually see up on the screen exactly what they had on their computer. It allows presentations in which the whole class can take part'

(ICT Co-ordinator).

A number of teachers understand the implications of the new technology for approaches to teaching and learning:

Figure 4   Effect of ICT on the relations between pupils and teachers

'With It you have a different relationship with pupils. Some pupils spend hours playing with it, some just on games but others more seriously.

Sometimes, as a teacher, you have just got to sit and listen and learn from them,.Listen to their ideas and listen to their way of doing things- as there are hundreds of short cuts in programmes etc. You have got to be prepared to sit and listen at times.. Once you start doing that it gives them a whole new sense of achievement and a feeling that they are quite good at IT. It does change the relationship. It is not just you standing up there saying that you are the font of all knowledge and know everything and this is how you do it

You have to have much more of a discussion with them and take their ideas on board. Because there are, without doubt, some good IT literate children about, of all ages.

Some staff may find this difficult, at first, to come to terms with. Letting go is difficult. Staff have been in areas where their knowledge is simply **the** be all and end of it, and children simply have not got that kind of knowledge. But IT is a different kettle of fish.

Some staff don't use a computer very much and may not have one at home. But they are going to come across children who are using computers all the time, who are using the Internet and it is nothing new to them, who use the software and are reasonably proficient users of it, and the teacher is going to be standing in front of a group of people who include some who have got so much more experience of IT than the teacher has. You have got to be prepared to be open about this, and give them some acknowledgement that they know more. Though this has to be done in the right way!

I hope that the motivation which derives form ICT will spill over into other curriculum areas. IT can help motivate boys who are underachieving. If in some subjects they are asked to do some research and told they can use the internet it will immediately motivate a number of them (more so than being told to go to the library.). Using CD ROMs and searching the Internet definitely does motivate some children.

It will allow more individual work, and more after hours work will grow.

High School ICT Co-ordinator.

The importance of shared understanding in teaching and learning

An Adviser emphasised the importance of developing shared understanding about the processes of teaching and learning.

- 'The Zone must be about teaching and learning, and for this to work there needs to be shared understandings about pedagogy. For example boys achievement: there is a lot of stuff about changing seating, giving social learning activities and so on. But the key point is that what underpins that is getting the children to use a range of language styles confidently and competently from primary. (Teaching talking, Collaborative group work etc) But if teachers setting action tasks all the time - draw a picture and describe it , then you get distracted children. But if the teachers set more abstract tasks that require a range of language skills, then those language skills shoot up. You get them asking questions, debating, interrogating evidence and that would seem to be the better approach.

- For example, support assistants working with children who are not very good at remembering, or attending, or concentrating, or perceiving.We ought to help children become better rememberers rather than going for the content. The approach ought not to be 'this child is not a very good reader, so he needs to learn more alphabet letters or more high frequency words, or more vowel consonant words, but more what this child understands, that stories are about meaning, about making sense of the world, getting the author's meaning from the text and all these sorts of things. We need to focus on things which are more to do with learning skills and learning processes: skills rather than content. (Adviser)'

There's a whole agenda here about teaching and learning styles. But the related agenda is about the practices of adults - of knowing what competencies are requires and matching the adult skills to pupil need. The adult mediation of learning. In the early stages it is essential to bring people together to establish some common frameworks of thinking

Breakfast clubs and after school clubs, alone, are not going to impact on reading ages.To raise reading ages an overall strategy is needed to agree the amount and quality of reading, the approach to learning, and assessing achievement. (Advisor)

The development of a pedagogy of active and flexible learning needs to be complemented by strategies to enrich and extend the curriculum, for which shared agreement is equally necessary.

Curriculum experimentation

If young people experiencing the adversity of disadvantaged lives are to be motivated to learn, the content as well as the process of learning needs to be reformed. The National Curriculum has become a straightjacket that prevents experimentation but more significantly has encouraged the neglect of parts of the curriculum which are, it is argued by the EAZs, essential to encouraging learning in young people damaged by disadvantage.

The need for experimentation is not presented as an argument for avoiding the need to develop the 'core skills'. These are indeed emphasised, while their purpose is clarified and given relevance, within learning strategies which are designed to encompass the arts and extra-mural learning as well as the core skills. A number of strategies are being developed:

- empowering voice as the core capability

- curriculum extension

- curriculum enrichment

- the arts and drama

- vocational experience

Empowering voice - the core capability

Educators in the EAZs understand the vital significance of core capabilities for disadvantaged young people. 'Literacy is crucial. Let me give you an example about a voice. I said where is there a target that we could all embrace passionately, like no child would leave an EAZ school illiterate, or unable to read. It seems to be so fundamental, because you aren't literate, its not easy to function. Some extraordinary individuals do. And I have taught adults who couldn't read, and I know the strategies. People who have been, husbands never knew that their wives couldn't read, I am constantly astonished by how people cope.' (M. Director)

Yet the literacy is conceived as more than an instrumental skill, however vital that is, and as providing the core communicative capability which empowers people to express their *voice* as citizens in the community:

"We must significantly raise skills in the core areas. Reading, writing, listening etc, but the most important are communication, linguistic skills, these are the access to everything else. Without these core skills you struggle. the most important of the core skills is to be able to **talk**, to be articulate. Talk is so important (because it is the key to investigating and learning about new situations) we know when we are outside our comfort zone, when we don't understand the rituals of a new situation, we stay quiet; we listen , we watch. Then when we become accustomed, we begin to use our communication skills to develop understanding, and our confidence grows. So without these skills we couldn't move forward.

Confidence is so important. It comes from the experience of coping in different contexts, of being able to meet new people. If we don't have confidence in new contexts we do not talk, we keep quiet so that we don't look silly. When we feel more comfortable our confidence grows, we begin to know how to go on - we talk. Young people need to develop confidence to manage new contexts, the modes of behaving in different settings. Families need to learn these too. So we are giving attention to adult education." (Hu. Director)

Opportunities for learning need to be extended to support young people in developing their confidence and core capabilities.

Curriculum extension

Study opportunities provided before or after school, or during breaks in the day - such as homework clubs, extra revision classes and extra after-school tuition.

One High school has after school lessons every day so that the school day really ends at 5.00. This school also has homework clubs:

- 'we have been doing it for years without any funding for it, whereas others have: If you do it then when do you stop paying people' (Head)

Another High School, which is considering extending the school day, has opened the library two nights a week, installed computers and 20 children turned up when he expected one or two. He acknowledges, however, that the take up of this opportunity is variable.

Yet focusing on the core curriculum alone, or just extending opportunities for young people to engage in more of the same learning is increasingly recognised in a number of LEAs and EAZs as inadequate to the task of transforming motivation and achievement. Learning needs to be encouraged beyond the school gates and its connection and relevance to their lives needs to be illuminated.

Curriculum enrichment

A number of schools are concerned about the lack of social activities: there is a need to get extra-curricula activities going:

- need to consider opportunities for extending the school day

- need to develop opportunities for children to gain extra curricula activities in the areas where they live, thus the idea of utilising primary schools as community learning centres' (adviser)

- 'children would benefit from after-school activity on a regular basis. The issue is one of providing transport and of encouraging parents to help by running clubs' (primary head)

Traditional extra-curricular activities such as sport, drama, photography and other clubs and societies:

- in a primary school A kids club 3 nights a week, an activity club, which some parents use as child minding, others use for educational purposes; but parents have to pay for it.

- in a High school: Wants more active events - bringing in outside bands in the evenings to do workshops also wants to mount more cultural and aesthetic events but is restricted by the lack of indoor space.

In another EAZ traditional extra-curricula activities such as sport or stamp collecting can provide vital learning skills and motivation: 'Youngsters working together to a common purpose - talking, having fun learning; developing transferable skills/interests which they can take through to later life. So schools becomes a good place to come to.' (Hu Director).

For some much more radical and imaginative approaches are needed to enrich the learning experience of disadvantaged young people, the most radical of which has been developed in the second city. This city and its EAZs, in creating 'the university of the first age', have developed the most imaginative approach nationally to revolutionising learning. Not only does teaching and learning need to change to respond to the knowledge that the variety of potential capability of young people is not being activated either by the content of their learning nor the process of learning, but educators are just becoming aware that only 15% of children's waking time from 0 -16 is spent within statutory schooling - the stark reality is growing that if educators wish to shift the levels of underachievement they must develop strategies to influence learning within the 85% of time spent in 'the home and community curriculum'.

Beyond the 15% - Revolutionising learning

The University of the First Age

> *"there has been growing realisation that in order to raise standards of achievement radically upwards simply to give students more time, to do more of the same, was not the whole answer. Something radically different needed to be formulated'*
>
> The City has developed a number of UFA programmes within EAZ areas:
>
> - vacation schools - extension and enrichment programmes , accelerated literacy and numeracy
> - distance learning programmes: using fax and email tutor support. In one project, city council employees are amongst those who have volunteered to work with a student - using fax or email to write a poem or a piece of prose together.
> - school based 'super learning days': these days will focus on thinking skills, and study and revision skills
> - extended learning centre programmes (in all partners schools) may take place before or after school, at weekends or in holidays. Various models are possible, for example schools may offer 5 or 6 week courses run once a week after school as these fit into half term blocks. But courses can be longer or shorter weekend and holiday courses or a mixture of school and weekend/holiday activity are also possible. The focus for activity can include:
>
>> - skills work, literacy, numeracy, ICT revision skills, thinking skills,
>> - curriculum work - an extension of what is taught in the mainstream - eg forensic science, creative writing
>> - enrichment going beyond what is taught in the mainstream eg philosophy or producing a school magazine
>> - supported study
>> - accelerated learning, and learning to learn techniques: in thinking skills, accelerated literacy and numeracy, revision and study skills and a number of curriculum enrichment programmes."

A number of other EAZs understand the importance of *residentials* as a spring for motivation and learning: 'to get children out of their environment. We have children going to the North York Moors and doing a one week programme formally about preparation for the world of work, but its about looking at personal and social skills and identifying areas they need to develop. eg the shy person in the group in the next 24 hours has to talk. The groups set targets for each other. Its about learning to be able to talk to each other about your strengths as well as the areas for development. This experience gives children an emotional vocabulary, to enable them to talk about their feelings. I think that this is one of the things that we desperately need to do in schools, because I think it is a characteristic of children in the zone that there is an inability to talk about feelings until there is a flashpoint, until something tips them over the edge. It does worry me about the national curriculum that this attention to the emotions can be lost. Feelings are central to learning - eg the importance of drama and performance as a tremendous vehicle for learning." (M. Director)

Helping young people to perceive the relevance of learning to their lives is being facilitated by the use of mentors in a number of EAZs.:

'Mentors can be important in creating interest. I suppose my preference is to have mentors as close as possible to the real life experience of those kids rather than role models that have made it in the city and all the rest. And certainly we're looking with South Bank University as part of the DfEE mentoring scheme to see if we can make use of their under graduates in terms of mentors, precisely for the

kind of girl that I was talking about before who may not have any expectations of university. Interest locally in terms of education and what it can do, both in an individual and a community level. Because I don't see much exchange between schools and the kind of community life and some of the communities around here.' (S. Director)

The role of the performance arts in empowering voice

The Director of Hu.EAZ articulated the pedagogical significance of arts and culture for learning and teaching.

> 'One key challenge is to bring back into the curriculum the cultural aspects which have been neglected. - music, art, sport. It is pedagogically vital because it is through culture that people understand about their life, their history and their past and therefore about their identities. They also gain pleasure from cultural activities, which also encourage talk. To understand you need a rich language. Getting involved in a specialist group - such as painting or music - will encourage language development. These interests will also provide opportunities for life-long learning. The achievements which come through participation in the arts or sport enhance a sense of success, stimulating motivation and they give pride to families who can see their youngsters achieving in activities.

The Arts: The Director of M.EAZ reinforced the theme. "To use the Arts as an example. Our bid came about both from a pragmatic point of view of recognising emerging government agenda, and making sure we were saying the right things. But it was also very much a bottom-up process with, primarily schools, at that stage, saying to us, these are the sorts of things we would actually like to tackle. The arts was very much one that came from the schools and the local community in emphasising its importance in the formative stages of learning. The children learn through the expressive arts, and within this city it was felt that this was being neglected given the traditional focus in terms of the national curriculum. Schools were not accessing the arts in the way that they should, or could potentially. So it was really in recognition of that which led to setting up an Arts Forum. One of the actual key priorities of the zone manager, over the coming months, is to use that arts forum both to engender more use of expressive arts in terms of the zone context and also to access potentially other sources of funding through national lottery, small arts initiatives, those sorts of things. Actually trying to teach children in a different way by using the arts as a mechanism for doing so."

Drama: The performance arts, the Director of M.EAZ believes, have a key role to play in developing the confidence, creative agency and motivation of learners.

"Drama is so important for learning because there is only you, the whole person, that is the only thing that drama requires. You don't need prompts, it just needs you. You don't need to be able to write, you don't need to be able to read. There is just you and the way you relate to other people and between you, you can create. The child who is illiterate, the child who has barriers to learning and literacy - one of the biggest barriers that we have, poor literacy skills - it doesn't matter in drama because you have a group of people in a space and that's all you need, and you can create.

In drama you work over a period of time and you work on trust and you work on how we are going to work together. Working with a group in drama you also establish a way of working together, how do we want to operate, how do we think we ought to behave towards each other? I do think you can negotiate with children - what do we want this room to be like? What do we want to happen here and then you get kids to say 'we don't want any put downs, we don't want to be sneered at'. And from this point you can go anywhere. You can release the imagination. And if you release the imagination, talk will develop and you

create things and explore things which are happening to kids. (This can be a healing process) Kids draw on their experience and can start to make sense of it. The acting becomes a source for group discussion - talking about why she behaved like that; how else might she behave; was it inevitable that that happened? Its the questions I think that draw out of children perhaps a better understanding of what's happening around them. I think they can perhaps make sense of what's happening around them together, and they can internalise it and they can start to see things aren't inevitable but there are choices. I think that's why its empowering, because drama is created by making a series of choices. You can actually get children to work with such concentration which you can't necessarily in other modes. I would say the same of any of the performing arts. Its true of children who make music together. Its different. I think we neglect the arts at our peril." (M.EAZ Director)

*Singing and **finding a voice**:* research has begun to show the connection between singing and more traditional cognitive learning. The Director of M.EAZ continued her analysis of the significance of the performing arts for learning:

"I have got a link with *The Voices Foundation*. There work is based on the premise that everyone can learn to sing and sing well, and that non-specialists can teach singing to a high level. So they work in primary schools. But what their research has shown is that it has a knock on effect into intellectual development. Have you heard about assertive discipline? The teacher asks '*Are you listening*?' and the children reply '*We are listening.*' This may seem very trivial to you. But what they've discovered is that in cognitive abilities appear to have been enhanced through learning to sing and singing together. Because they have to listen. Good singing is about finding the singing voice. We all have a singing voice which is different from the speaking voice. You start this with five year olds and work upwards. And in order to sing together well, you have to listen to others very well. I think there is another thing in terms of what they were saying, was most of the songs, or many of the songs that are taught to very young children are actually very inappropriate because the jumps or the tones or whatever it is, are wrong for young voices. So there is a repertoire that is right for young people and the Voices Foundation have the repertoire. I am just grabbed by it. I love the thought of a school being immersed in singing. Because singing like drama is accessible to all. The clarinet isn't accessible to all because you need a clarinet, but singing is."

Underlying much of the discussion of learning has been the task of helping children to find a voice - through voice children are enabled, empowered to assert their claims, express their feelings and thus contribute to conversations aims at resolving the concerns which individuals, families and their communities confront. When young people and communities 'find a voice' they discover the first condition for discovering an agency which can challenge the constraint of alienating experience.

"Perhaps 'Finding a Voice' could be our slogan. We've signed up to the *Participation and Education Project*. It is run by a lady called Viv Schwartzburg, and has just had Lottery funding. It is based on a belief that children don't have a voice in schools, don't have a voice in terms of what is important to them. But schools have councils, school councils, which actually are terribly undemocratic. I think a lot of schools, I speak from experience, you set them up, but your not really into it. It should be about empowering children to have a voice. What PEP actually do is train young people, and train young people to train other young people and so take responsibilities themselves. So we signed up to that." (M.EAZ Director)

Voice is important in the learning process, it is empowering, because it encourages young people to "learning to discriminate, judge, choose and so to improve their decision-making skills. Because otherwise learning is passive, and education shouldn't be passive. Because otherwise you've got 'the empty vessel syndrome', haven't you? Fill them up with somebody else's information." This may have appeared to work for an earlier generation but in the information age of the internet, acquiring facts is not enough. "What is going to be increasingly important is that young people need to be discerning, need to be able to

make judgements about the shear volume of information that's going to be put in front of them. They need to be able to make decisions and, the older I get, the more I think life is about giving children decision making skills, and actually seeing that, well if I do this, what might the consequences be.

Curriculum reform: a vocational alternative curriculum

Another EAZ has given a different focus to reforming the curriculum for young people who remain unmotivated by the traditional national curriculum. The He.EAZ is encouraging a number of schools to rethink their curricular provision especially as a result of the Key Stage 4 Initiative. The Initiative is understands the context of structural change taking place in employment and the need to widen horizons. The decline in farming and manual jobs and the growth of the service industries with different labour skill requirements: focus upon the customer, decision-making skills an social skills.

The focus is upon pupils who are failing at 16. In Year 9 pupils already know whether they are going to get a grade at A-C and they 'have already been boxed off by the Banding system'. These pupils become demotivated and 'it is reasonable for them to ask what's the point in being here because if I'm going to come out with a load of D's and E's and nobody values that, then what is the point'. 'They are often written off by their schools as well as their parents and become a nuisance. 'It is a waste of time getting up in the morning, putting on a uniform and sitting in a classroom for nothing.'

The need is for an alternative curriculum to remotivate these youngsters and to give them some aspiration and some hope. They need to be helped onto a path which does not have the social failure label. They need a sense of purpose form the future.

The programmes emphasise:

– diversity of learning environments

– outside school learning

– more practical, activity based learning

– work-experience

– problem-solving and decision-making

– recorded experience

– celebration of success, seeing the benefits of learning

– parental involvement

– moving towards 60% portfolio/40% externally examined assessment.

Professional development is an essential feature of the curriculum reform process. Teachers need to: be updated about vocational qualifications; understand the occupations areas for the communities in which they live; have assessor awards. *'its a different method of teaching' (Advisor)*. Each of the secondary high schools has distinctive programmes of curriculum reform according to these principles at KS4. One school has gone for an ASDAN award route. They have gone for a broader programme of vocational interests and key skill development. It is called a Work Link Programme and develops a broad outlook on the world of

work. Another school wanted a more discrete group, an NVQ package where the main focus is on sales and customer service, marketing and promotion, and personnel management. The three approaches fit the philosophy of the school, their cohort of young people and the different need they have. The programmes are designed to respond to particular needs.

Figure 3:   Secondary school

GNVQ Engineering Course (A KS4 Initiative Sept 1999)

An innovative course, new for the school. It sits very well in this area, useful for people who are unemployed. If you have some basic engineering skills, if you can make things with metal, you will get work in this area.

A course designed to develop the skills which will aid the transition from school to post 16 and to work

- for physicists going to university and also those who are going to stay locally and work on the farm
- a mixed ability group of 12 students
- for girls as well as boys
- it is not an option, but an addition to the curriculum
- runs all Friday afternoon till 5.30
- IT intensive

'The GNVQ engineering course design is excellent' (adviser)

Education Action Zones reveal a number of strategies of curriculum and pedagogic innovation in support of improving the capabilities of young people. The idea of the zones, however, presupposes that much of this improvement will follow from a new whole community approach to transforming achievement. Is that happening and what form is it taking?.

V. Toward community governance

The pedagogy of new learning needs to be supported by institutional forms and patterns of governance which themselves embody the educational values and purposes of inclusion, capability and active citizenship. These institutional forms involve appropriate changes at three levels of governance:

- the school in its community
- multi agency working
- community governance

1. The school in and for its community

HuEAZ understands that the Zone's vision of inclusion and pedagogic renewal must be shared by the schools if it is to be realised:

"Schools have to be on board with the new vision. We are looking for heads who are leaders with vision, who have the capacity to lift their heads above the parapet, and look beyond the boundaries of the school. We meet the heads regularly they include exciting people who are willing to explore new ways of doing things.

- how they work with parents. We need a culture of valuing youngsters and their families. I write thank you letters and congratulations letters. Valuing people is key at every level. We need to persuade kids and their families that they can do it if they give an extra 5%

- how they work with other agencies

- how the develop the key policies that the government is handing down. I think there are ways that schools can."

Schools are central to the development of the community. Schools need to be developed as study support centres, and as community college centres, which provide facilities six or seven days a week. Schools need to become a real resource for the community. This is important because in the past schools have closed ranks against the community. Schools have been precious, seeing education as their own preserve. But schools now need to be a community resource they are not the only educators." (Hu Director)

Such changes will require schools to become 'learning schools': "Its at that level of learning from each other in terms of the whole learning process. In terms of the particular experiences that schools are going through, say you have failing schools, schools on special measures, schools of serious weaknesses. I think the way that they can align themselves to somebody whose undergone and come out of that experience, with those who haven't been in that experience, but they have ways of handling very similar situations in a remarkably contrasting way, the way that that experience gets shared and transferred. I think also in terms of support services and there may well be ways in which a confederation of schools can actually look at the issues of the effectiveness of the school support services in a way perhaps by sharing purchasing, perhaps by looking at shared ways of delivering services. We're beginning to look at that, we've got, not as far as we'd like to but that's one of the things that we are looking at.

Trying to establish a new orientation of schools towards their communities after years of competitive struggle is not always proving easy. M.EAZ believe "there is still a gulf between the school I think and the community and the children. I think its about actually trying to get schools more and their communities actually feeling more positive about each other. I think we have to listen to what the children are saying.

I'm sure a lot of kids would want to come to school and would see it through if actually what they were doing was more time was spent, making it more relevant to them. That was what I thought was exciting about the zone, we could do something different, but what I'm finding is the schools are very reluctant actually, having been given the opportunity, having said look, we can experiment, we can do now, we've always said it was the curriculum, so now we can do something. Its the one thing I am actually I am being resisted on. Lets just stick with what we're doing, is their inclination."

In the London S.EAZ there is the same vision of transforming the orientation of schools from being enclosed institutions to being open, inclusive institutions.

"I don't see schools as independent, insulated, removed, institutions. I see them as schools trying to make sense of what they have to offer in the particularly community circumstances of their catchment area, their locality. So that sense of how schools take into account the aspirations, the strengths, the particular characteristics of their local community is something that I feel is very much part of what the relationship between education and its community should be. Just how we begin to define that and take that forward I would see to be one of the opportunities that we have in then zone."

This Zone has decided to give priority in the initial stages to improving the relationships between schools and their parents before moving on to the more ambitious goal of creating new community schools. One school, nevertheless is more advanced in the partnership it is creating with its parents and local communities which will provide a model for other schools in the zone.

"We made a particular decision that we would focus on parents first and then work out from there. Some schools are doing that already. One of our secondary's has very close links with a lot of the ethnic minority community organisations because they would feel that their work with minority communities can't really make much impact, unless they've got very extensive links with the community groups to which their parents belong. We're actually being quite instrumental I think, in giving them a broader, more profound community brief. Because we will be supporting some of our parents strategies in terms of Saturday morning provision. So we would see that place and some of their accommodation actually acting as a kind of office base for some of those organisations. So there is a more going relationship between the school and those community organisations.

I have done a fair amount of work in trying through the borough to identify which of those groups are active in the community. Because I don't think we'll get this wider involvement working out from the school. I think there's got to be a strategy that independently the schools looks at those community organisations and works back into the schools in a way. Because I am not sure the schools always have those kind of links. Their definition of community is often the kind of feeder primary schools that link into them anyhow. So there is a lot of work to go there I think really, but I think we are keen that we actually get that sense of community involvement if you like, educational debate and practice.

2. *Multi-Agency working*

One of the central policy assumptions of education action zones is that the transformation of achievement can only be realised when schools, colleges, services and agencies learn to work together in common support of the needs of young people and their families. The challenge is to create a more integrated and collaborative approach to supporting education in the zones. Schools will begin to flourish when they can draw upon the 'social capital' of its local communities.

The concept of 'partnership' between institutions, services and agencies, has been a founding principle for a number of the zones.It has been especially emphasised in S.EAZ:

'I think we're very keen to develop the *partnerships between schools* within the zone because that's the real challenge or opportunity of the zone. That we do find more ways of working correctly together. Because I do think in a social policy sense that zones are an attractive way out of the fragmentation, the competitiveness of the previous administration into something that more resembles cooperation and collaboration. We have a chance to experiment with that locally and I think schools have things to learn from each other.

Growing collaboration between schools, however, is perceived as part of a larger agenda of developing a broader partnership between the schools and external services and agencies. Establishing effective inter-agency relations is not easy as one head in He.EAZ reported:

–   A primary school head believes the inter-agency working in relation to her school is bitty. 'Social services are never seen unless they have a specific problem. They won't tell the school they are working with a specific family, its only if the school finds out by chance. We have reasonably good relations with the police and have an ongoing drugs programme with them. The Health Authority has information which the school would like to use, on births/addresses for example but they won't give it out (data protection act)! The health service come and do things as do the police. There is no coherence in this inter-agency working.' (Head)

Inter-agency working is at the heart of this EAZs strategy and it has established a Multi-Agency Intervention Team which understands that although this may take time there have to be new approaches to building partnerships and networks:

–   'There is a recognition that inter-agency work is not easy or straightforward. 'In three Counties that I've worked in it has not worked very well. People tend to have the idea that 'working together' is sort of having meetings, liaison, a general goodwill sort of thing. So when we were seeking to contract with the speech and language team who are based at the Health Authority, they were very keen and they wanted to meet, to buy a PC and send email messages to schools, put on more training courses etc. Well, we said that was not what we meant by 'new ways' of working together. Now we have bought time for their therapists to go to schools and work with teachers and we are now hoping to introduce a programme of 'teaching and talking'. Schools as well as the therapists were still thinking in terms of how they worked on speech therapy in the past. We want to see genuinely new and practical ways of working together. (Officer)

S.EAZ is another zone committed to fining new forms of partnership. Given its context of health problems it is particularly concerned to improve collaborative working between schools and health services:

"its the health education link that we would see as a particularly distinctive characteristic of our zone. Health factors in our view seriously get in the way of learning. We have children acting as carers of sick or disorganised parents which means they don't come to school regularly, and this is quite a submerged dimension really. We need to overcome some of these inhibiting factors. One of the projects that we're developing is to see if we can get two health professionals more from a child mental health perceptive into school settings. So they are actually based in schools, working with troubled kids and their parents, but also working in an advisory role to teach us how they actually handle those issues of emotional, psychological well-being. I am also trying to get money out of the health action zone to set up another scheme for excluded kids because of its clear connection to health issues.

This EAZ and others, however, are clear that the nature of collaborative working has to be very different from the past. S.EAZ has reflected upon three different approaches to building collaborative working

between agencies. "There seem to be three options in the way that you bring together agencies that have some interest in children, families, learning.

(a) (the inter-agency meeting) The traditional response to linking up agencies - that ought to be working more closely together and transcending barriers of different professional disciplines - is to think of a multi agency project which bring together representatives from a great diversity of agencies and you try to get them to talk over common approaches. That's the dominant approach, but I think we feel that its hardly a sustainable approach. We think its limited in two ways: firstly, it involves a heavy investment of time of those staff and can easily just become a kind of talking shop. By the time you've got different parts of health, social services, education, the voluntary organisations, its the weight of it, it becomes quite oppressive and blocking; secondly, in terms of funding, I don't think its sustainable beyond the life of the zone. So we do want to look at ways which we can actually keep going what we put in place beyond the lifetime of the zone itself.

(b) (more of the same support) the second approach that we've looked at argues that if we have more school nurses, more health visitors, early years people, more Ed Pyschs, more Educational Social Workers, we could be doing more things. But we think that the zone isn't about more of the same. So we've not been tempted to go along that route.

(c) (create inter-professional units *in* schools) the third approach is to use the zone to have a new look at some of the needs that were identified - what are the health needs, what are the skills that are needed to intervene and is there a kind of new role that can be identified to bring resources to bear. So with the Bloomfield scheme, we're saying we need to find a way of having health professionals working alongside teachers in schools and working, not to health, but education's pattern of things, so they will be undivided in their attention and won't have to go through a whole rigmarole of getting agency mandates to do this or that. So what we're trying to do is to if we can get GPs and nurses more involved in whole school issues so that they help develop a broad, personal social health education curriculum for schools. We're also using an organisation called 'Healthier Schools Partnership'. Obviously within early years we are having discussions with each of the major agencies, whether that's Social Services, whether that Early Years provision within education or the Community Health Services. But out of those discussions we're hoping we might identify a new type of professional who works between home and early years provision.

Another more rural EAZ perceives the opportunity presented by the zone and its Forum is to create a network of associations as well as agencies to create the social capital that can support educational and wider community renewal. The network would include the governors association, school cluster meetings, the child care partnership, the arts forum, and the employers federation, as well as the SRB partnership. "The role of the zone is basically in supporting the partners to the forum in taking forward what they believe are the appropriate actions for this local area. I keep coming back to the same sort of words, but the zone here is very much in partnership. Its not about trying to subsume or take over the powers any organisations within it. We or the Authority are not about empire building or taking over, its about enabling others to do what they believe should be done. That is really is the philosophy behind the zone." (WSM.EAZ)

3. Towards community governance

The distinctive partnerships which education actions are creating in support of the new learning are with families and their communities. An education which includes adults in their own learning as well as in support of the education of the young creates a broader agenda supporting education for life-long learning.

The institution of the EAZ Forum constitutes the principle of partnership and the opportunity for each of the partners to have a voice in regenerating education in the zone.

"The forum was set up in a way that expresses the broader partnerships that have been brought to bear upon education. There are still tensions actually. One, its a kind of platform for those interests to come into some kind of coherence or collision. Some heads find it difficult to meet with all the other interests around the table 'I am not sure that I like discussing education with all these other characters around the table. I am much more comfortable talking education here or within the cluster groups.' I was a big saddened by that really, because he was one of the more articulate heads missing the point really.

Yet the Director is believes that it is quite right for the different interests to have a voice. Take the world of business for example: "Well if you just take the controversial area of business. I don't think, I think the government has miss read it, I don't think business wants to run education, I don't think it wants to put money in necessarily. Its happy to put in contributions, hard cash. But I think that any part of the citizenry at large is entitled to have a stake in education. In the sense of saying what's its purpose? What does it do for me, for my kids, for my employees? So I think even that sense of business, not dominating the debate, but just being part of the debate about what skills children are acquiring at school that actually has meaning in terms of the potential employment opportunities that they have in later life." (Hu.EAZ)

For another zone (M.EAZ) the challenge was more than constituting the forum as an expression of the partnership but one of constituting community governance, of the zone enabling the community to participate in the governance of the areas within which it lives and works. The perspective of this EAZ reflected their response to the perceived anger in the community but it also reflected a developing philosophy of public participation as the necessary value and purpose of a new local democracy.

"The set up that we have put in place lately is the zone is very much an independent body from the LEA. We wanted to respond to the experience of community anger and so at a very early we wanted to get the community on board. In this, I think, we were at that time quite unique in terms of the zones throughout the country. We worked with the Resident's Association, which the housing department already had established. We also used the expertise within Youth and Community Services, again a different department of the Council, for their on-the-ground community workers. SRB, the year before, had also recognised a need for better links within the community and had employed community workers within quite a small area in terms of the overall zone.

The community was initially sceptical about eazs, but that was to our advantage because the community wanted to be involved from day one so that they knew fully what was going on, and didn't feel that they were being spun any lines about there was going to be all this money going into local areas, into the school etc. They wanted to know exactly what the process was going to be.

The community is well organised, through the residents and tenants associations but they, and the people representing that constituency aren't the entire community and I don't think it ever ought to be the entire community. But that element of it is organised, and its well supported through the Authority's other networks in terms of housing and tenants, community newsletters and associations, not just council tenants but all home owners. But the residents and tenants associations are predominantly, white working class though they have an ability to access the wider community. I have to say that the more active people in terms of the zone are those people who are part of the council tenants, put it that way, the more working class council tenants.

The community wish to be involved in part because I think there is always an element of mistrust of the Authority, or perhaps a lack of understanding of its processes, what it is actually out there to do.

(Interestingly with SRB the local tenants associations came up with their own newsletter, which they called - 'SRB' stands for 'Spend Our Brass').

Our attitude, as in the Authority, is that this is the community's money which they pay in taxes and now they should be given a voice to say where it's to be directed. The philosophy of this directorate, on all directorate in the authority is very much that we are a small body, we don't have the infrastructure to do things ourselves. We are not controlled freaks, we are actually there *to enable* others to do things. And to support the communities to get themselves organised and to take a role in helping to shape services.

While this community has not been used to thinking about and getting organised around educational issues, they have taken the opportunity provided by the zone to voice their concerns as much about education.

They were a valuable source of information just waiting to be asked. They were keen to express their views on educational issues without a doubt. They'd never had the forum, the opportunity to do it in the same way exactly. In terms of how the zone operates their voice is completely about education. They do not use that forum to raise other issues other than the work of the zone. The Chairman of X Association doesn't stand up and say 'by the way, whilst we are all here, the builders are doing 'x'. They are there talking about educational issues and nothing else. You feel that they wanted to have a say, and if they had been given an opportunity in the past they would have had a say. Now they have the opportunity.

Local Government re-organisation has brought this council closer to its population. There has been a fundamental shift in terms of the way its interacts with the community now. On educational issues three years ago, if you had an issue you would have to take it up with your county councillor. Now nine out of ten of the population wouldn't have had a clue who their county councillor was, or where to go. The county councillor covered such a vast area, the electoral division that they covered, and I think for the district we had something we had something like 14 country councillors, whereas we had 59 district councillors. I think in fairness to the county councillors we are dealing with such a vast population it would have been very difficult for them to respond to individual organisations. So I think the fact that there has been a change in terms of local government structure has shifted an emphasis in terms of the community, the local populations ability to act.

This Council is very much into community participation, into consultation the public, and having regard to the consultation views they get back in, it respects what the local population is saying at that point of time. There has been certainly a change in culture in that respect.

We consult through a variety of mechanisms. The council is currently looking at setting up citizens panels for consultation. They are also calling together focus groups on specific issues.

What are the community saying about education? What is their voice? Basically what they are saying is that you can chuck as much money as you like at a school but if there is no regard for how well the school actually manages that money that will not necessarily ensure that every child is on level playing field and that all of the blocks of learning have been removed. What they are saying is through no fault of individuals they cannot access the same base levels for their children to actually be able to compete, and I don't mean that in the word to compete with others. So what they are saying is that the community is a massive resource, the parents are a massive resource who are generally not included in the way that they could be by schools. They wish to be recognised, there is a willingness to play a role supporting the learning of the their children and their community, because it isn't just about the kids in the school, its about life long learning aspects as well. The zone needs to be reflecting that and need to be really making sure that education is accessible to all." (Director, WSM.EAZ)

Another zone, M.EAZ, believes that the Authority's Community Councils have a role to play in closing the gap between the school and the community mean by listening to the voice of the community. They need to be improved by making them more representative of the local communities. But there is a wealth of experience, of social capital, which can be drawn upon to support young people and their schools.

The zone needs to listen more to the young people, and the establishing of year group and whole school councils can encourage their voice to be expressed and heard. "There is one school where the governors set up the school council, and that was interesting because they listen to what the kids said. It can be easy to control a school council, "oh yes, that's an interesting, but we can't do that because we haven't got the funds, but have a look at that, and yes you get on with that." And you give them a little project and keep them happy. I think school councils can be more radical. If you say how do you give kids more of a voice.'

VI. Conclusion

New patterns of governance are emerging in response to the rapid changes in economy and society over the past decade. Traditionally, communities have been governed by large public authorities which have had overarching responsibilities for the provision of a comprehensive array of public services. Over the last decade a new public management has developed which has seen responsibility for services and institutions differentiated between a diversity of authorities and agencies (cf. Rhodes, Peters, Kooiaman). Networks, coalitions and partnerships have grown to counter the fragmented nature of public services and to construct partnerships which allow public goods to be created and delivered.

Education Action Zones exemplify this new public management. Designed to address traditional problems of disadvantage, social exclusion and underachievement, zones have been constituted as a new public partnerships between the sectors and services to create the social capital to transform the capabilities and achievement of communities facing entrenched disadvantage.

While there have been differences of approach across the education action zones, this study has reported on, and developed an interpretive analysis of, one distinctive strategy for educational regeneration which is evident in the policy planning and emergent practice within a number of EAZs. This strategy has been defined as *the new learning for capability*. This perspective has not originated in the zones but aspects of their policy and practice manifest this new education.

These zones were clear from the outset that of the severity of the problems in the zones were to be tackled, then 'more of the same' would not be adequate to the challenge. The level of additional resources provided ensured that the problems could not be resolved 'by throwing money at them'. There has been growing realisation that what was needed was innovation which amounted to cultural shift in the conception of learning and the provision of education. While the pressure to achieve resultts in the short term has created contradictions a number of zones define their responsibility as being to use the three or five year span to establish the conditions for achieving long term change in the infrastructure and culture of education in contexts of disadvantage.

1. The new pedagogy of capability for active citizenship

The distinctive characteristics of this new pedagogy of learning include:

- reconnect learning to living through preparation for active citizenship;

- understanding all the needs of the learner, particularly emotional well-being;

- enriching our understanding of human capability and potential: learners are able;

- active learning for developing responsible as well as reflective learners;

Taking a more holistic view of the learner and learning, means recognising the central role which the family has at the centre of learning and the vital importance of encouraging relationships within families of mutual support for learning. Teachers have break the tradition of keeping parents at a distance and learn to work in partnership with them.

The interviews with educators in the action reveals an emergent pedagogy of capability for inclusion and active citizenship. Learning, the argument proposes, depends upon motivation which grows out of a sense

of purpose, of wanting to learn. This purpose is likely to be stimulated by the interests of the learner, but motivation which is likely to secure interest and to be enduring is when the learner, in wanting to do well, improve on their previous performance is self-motivated to learn more about the skills, qualities and virtues which lead to developing capability.

This growing awareness of purpose and of striving to improve one's capability and potential is at the same time a growing discovery of the self, of 'finding oneself', one's understanding about who I am, what I can do and what I am good at. This progress in accomplishment generates, but also presupposes, self understanding and self-respect. It is only when the learner experiences their particular identity being recognised that sense of an autonomous self with a sense of its distinctive agency can unfold.

The challenge for educators is to make available to the learner the variety of experience which turns the stimulus of contingent interest into a deeper layer of being motivated to pursue the inner goods of capability and self-improvement. This understanding challenges the narrow instrumentality of much education policy about learning over the past two decades, which has neglected or subordinated the arts and cultural aspects of learning in favour of core skills which are believed to prepare young people directly for work. What is lost when these areas of learning experience are neglected are those vital dimensions of motivation for learning: the motivational conditions of acquiring the intrinsic goods of learning for the sake of capability and self-improvement.

Learning the intrinsic goods of self improvement

'One key challenge is to bring back into the curriculum the cultural aspects which have been neglected. - music, art, sport. It is pedagogically vital because it is through culture that people understand about their life, their history and their past and therefore about their identities. They also gain pleasure from cultural activities, which also encourage talk. To understand you need a rich language. Getting involved in a specialist group - such as painting or music - will encourage language development. These interests will also provide opportunities for life-long learning. The achievements which come through participation in the arts or sport enhance a sense of success, stimulating motivation and they give pride to families who can see their youngsters achieving in activities....

'Most importantly, developing a cultural dimension to learning takes learning away from being a purely instrumental purpose. It makes it personal learning, a development of the whole person. If learning is merely functional, you cut it off as soon as you have finished with it - because it is a banal experience. If however, we are learning for its own sake we want to learn it is something we enjoy, gain pleasure from and we enjoy getting better at, and want to develop ourselves because it is worthwhile. If the learning experience means something to you as a person, you will enjoy it, and take an interest in it, and continue to develop your skills because you want to improve your skills and standards of performance. You want to make yourself better, to improve. So by getting involved in sport and the arts and acquiring this motivation to learn to excel at something, they are learning to do well, to improve standards and this will carry over to other areas of their lives, and of course learning. They are learning to experience the finest form of art, to see standards at their best, and this drives them to emulate those standards. (the learning process then has an internal/intrinsic spring, rather than an external extrinsic contingent event). (Hu.EAZ)

At the heart of this new pedagogy for active capability is understanding of the significance of 'finding a voice' - regarded as a vital means in learning to develop capability but also as embodying the purpose of learning to create confident young citizens able to contribute to the remaking of their communities. To learn to talk is to learn to:

- express and communicate beliefs, feelings and claims

- enter a conversation with others which leads to

- develop (ing) understanding and reflection in contextsof different views

- discriminate and form judgements

- choosing and deciding for oneself and with others

- imagine and create a possible future

To find a voice is to find an identity and the possibility of agency in the world. Voice, the educators of the zones, imply is the inescapable capability which young people require to enter and flourish at the turn of the century. In a complex postmodern world of difference the defining quality of citizenship will be the capability to find a voice which both assert ones claims but understanding the need to enter a dialogue with other voices to reach shared understanding and agreement about how to resolve problems which are common to all in the public sphere.

These capabilities of voice and reflective deliberation will only emerge, it is argued, within a public sphere designed specifically to cultivate them. Institutional characteristics appropriate to this challenge are beginning to emerge in some of the education action zones.

2. Learning to Learn in the Learning School

If the learning comprehensive school is to reconstruct the sense of agency amongst young people and their capacity to make the communities in which they are to live, then many schools will have some fundamental relearning to do. They must learn to value the capacity and celebrate the culturally diverse identities of all their young citizens as the precondition for creating the motivation to learn. If schools are to realise this ambition they will have to learn about how they work as organisation, bringing to the surface the deep categories which typically selectively differentiate what they expect different young people to achieve. Schools cannot transform the way disadvantaged young people think of themselves, support their unfolding sense of agency, unless they can surface, confront and resolve the different beliefs which teachers can hold of student powers and capacities. Schools must become learning organisations if they are to enable the necessary cultural renewal of active citizenship.

The 'learning school', which a number of our schools wish to recognise themselves as, places dialogue at the centre of its management strategy for change. Questioning and discussing the assumptions which underlie institutional practice can be a painful process, but it is the only way for organisations to address the inconsistencies in practice between colleagues in a way that enables them to unify around shared purposes. Without dialogue, struggles between internal groups continue and erode the institutions capacity for coherent purpose driven by strong values.

In 1978, Argyris and Schon (cf. Argyris, 1993) introduced an important distinction between levels of complexity in processes of learning: single and double-loop learning. In single-loop learning a simple change is made to an activity which is not working effectively. For example, within an incremental budgetting system overspend could be corrected by reducing the level of increment to each service. Double-loop learning questions the underlying assumptions which inform the activities, in this case perhaps reviewing the principles on which budgets are constructed.

Single loop learning is like a thermostat that learns when it is too hot or too cold and turns the heat on or off. The thermostat can perform this task because it can receive information (the temperature of the room)

and take corrective action. Double loop learning occurs when error is detected and corrected in ways that involve modification of an organisations underlying norms, policies and objectives. (p.34)

Certain problems cannot be resolved without reflecting back on the very principles which inform practices and which are usually taken-for-granted. Argyris and Schon believe that whereas most organisations do quite well at the simpler learning they have great difficulties in the more complex double loop learning. This is because many organisations are predisposed to inhibit processes of reflection which bring into question fundamental objectives and beliefs.

The source of some problems, however, lies in the differences of perspective or belief which individuals or groups within an organisation may have and which may prevent them reaching agreement about what counts as evidence or a relevant question. Understanding falls down because of the failure of communication: individuals cannot understand each other because they do not grasp the meaning and significance of the others concepts. The solution depends upon the willingness of groups to listen to opposing interpretations and reach agreement about a new framework of values and assumptions. For many organisations, however, the reality of conflicting perspectives may not be recognised or be actively suppressed. Organisations may need to develop skills in conflict management. The task is to create the conditions for double loop learning:

the consequence of learning should be an emphasis on double-loop learning, by means of which individuals confront the basic assumptions behind the present views of others and invite confrontation of their own basic assumptions, and by which where underlying hypotheses are tested publicly and are made disconfirmable, not self-sealing.

... an enhancement of the conditions for *organisational* double-loop learning, where assumptions and norms central to organisational theory-in-use are surfaced... publicly confronted, tested and restructured. (Argyris and Schon, 1978, p139).

In the right conditions, people can react in different ways, so that they are more amenable to the difficult processes of questioning their own beliefs and becoming more receptive to the value of others beliefs: 'if double-loop learning is to occur: people would:

- feel less defensive

- feel free to take risks

- each person would search for his inconsistencies and encourage the other to confront them

- both would be able to state their views in ways that are disconfirmable

- both would believe that public testing would not be harmful.

The conditions that are most appropriate to supporting double-loop learning are those which reinforce open discussion in search of agreement. Such a context mirrors within the organisation Habermas' (1984) conditions for communicative rationality: in which speakers in public strive to make claims which are true, correct and sincere. When committed to these principles speakers are oriented to correct mistaken perceptions and to synthesise perspectives when rationally possible: 'the correction of ...errors requires the conditions of the good dialectic, which begins with the development of a map that provides a different perspective on the problem (eg a different set of governing values or norms). The opposition of ideas and persons then makes it possible to invent responses that approximate the organisation's espoused theory... '(ibid, pp   )

The struggles between groups present dilemmas for organisations but also opportunities when they can lead into double-loop learning, because it can enable an organisation to unify around shared purposes. But the dialectic which prepares for any such synthesis of perspectives may not be an easy process:

The most effective process of learning forms a third stage of complexity: learning how to learn. Organisations experiencing change need a general predisposition to learn if they are to succeed. The learning organisation becomes self-aware about the cycles of learning and the conditions for learning. It becomes proficient at asking questions, developing ideas, testing them and reflecting on practice. In this way the learning process explores the structures of action: the values which underly the perspectives, the forms of interaction and the nature and distribution of power that drives action. learning about these systems of action within organisations is best nurtured within 'action learning sets' that enable the participants, through collaborative working and reflection, to open out to and accommodate the value in each perspective and to develop the predisposition to change practice. The capacity for learning is the capacity for dialectic in changing practice.

Unless schools develop the qualities of the learning organisational then their capacity to lead the reconstruction of agency and contribute to the learning society will be considerably reduced. A learning organisation will be more likely to engage in an internal discourse - able to challenge its deep seated assumptions about 'ability' - if it is located within, and part of, an active, democratic public domain (Ranson and Stewart, 1994). The organising principles of that domain are principles for learning, which must involve double loop learning, that can challenge existing organisations and activities. That will be achieved by open public discourse which is not bounded by existing activities. The process of discourse in the public domain is the basis for learning to learn.

Consent

The conditions for young people taking themselves and thus their learning seriously depend upon the comprehensive school establishing a vision of achievement and practices of learning which are shared by teachers, the different parent communities and the young themselves. Schools can transform the way young people think of themselves and what they are capable of achieving when shared values - of the highest expectations of potential, belief in capacity, and value of cultural difference - are invested in agreed practices of learning and teaching.

The learning comprehensive school grasps that if the dialogue about expectations and capacity is to be effective it cannot be enclosed by the profession alone. The recognition that the motivation of young people to learn is enhanced with the support of parents has been accelerating across the country for some time and has led a wide variety of practices that involve parents individually in the life of the school. But in the enclaves of exclusion which constitute many disadvantaged communities the fundamental issues of what an education is - what is to be taught and how - cannot be taken for granted. Only by listening to the community and its different traditions can a school begin to develop agreement about its most basic purposes and policies.

The school learns that it can only dissolve the boundaries of social classification which stifle the aspirations and agency of young people by reaching out to, and seeking agreement with, the traditions which it serves. An institution needs to constitute within itself the differences which live within the wider community so that by recognising and according them value a school celebrates the springs of identity and purpose of its young people.

For some schools the differences between traditions appear so significant that they are creating forums for parent groups to meet, and re-present their educational traditions, in a discussion of the key issues facing

the school that can allow shared purposes and policies to emerge for governing body decision-making. A school cannot proceed without the agreement of its parent community and some institutions are learning that because this can no longer be taken for granted new forms of governance must be constituted to allow democratic participation, agreement and consent. By providing forums for participation the new polity can create the conditions for public discourse and for mutual accountability so that citizens can take each other's needs and claims into account will learn to create the conditions for each others development. Learning as discourse must underpin the learning society as the defining condition of the public domain.

Learning requires motivation, self-worth, confidence and a sense of purpose which generates the energy for endless hard work. These are qualities which society expects of young people in the most difficult of circumstances. In some communities the scale of disadvantage is such that living itself is an arduous struggle. Many live in the shadow of enclaves of 'otherness'.

Despite the scale of such corrosive disadvantage comprehensive schools can and are succeeding in motivating young people to realise their potential. What we learn from them is that if they are to alter the way students think of themselves and what they are capable of, to transform hopelessness into purpose and kindle capacity, it requires a sharing of vision, an energy and cohesiveness of purpose amongst teachers, parents and community traditions.

3. Community governance

Traditionally, also, the authorities delivered public services to the public with limited consultation and involvement. Democracy was at a distance from the communities which it was created to serve (cf. Stewart, Stoker). Neo-liberal thinking from the 1980's sought to fill the vacuum with a democracy of active consumers choosing public services amongst competing providers. For many localities, however this strategy was only reinforcing the problems of fragmentation and exclusion caused by the experience of global change (Le Grand, Gray). Many cities and towns have, therefore, begun to search for new ways of strengthening local democracy to make it more responsive to the changing needs of communities and to strive to involve them in the processes of economic and social regeneration. In this a new citizenship of active participation is emerging to counter and replace the traditions of client and consumer (Barnes, Prior et al, Ranson).

We are now in a different context in which new public service values are being espoused: the importance of renewing public trust and confidence is being emphasised, community is being rediscovered, and a duty of partnership is being placed on public bodies, not only to work with each other, but also with communities.

Themes in the New Community Governance

The leading theorist of community governance is John Stewart developing his ideas through his own writing (1983; 1986) and in association with others (Stewart and Stoker, 1988; Ranson and Stewart, 1994). Early conceptions emphasised the changing role of the local authority from service provision to a strategic role in identifying the needs of the wider community through strengthened processes of local democracy. Some of the characteristics of community governance were perceived to include:

- 'the government of difference, both responding to differences in needs and aspirations and creating differences. One learns form difference rather than uniformity;

- a capacity for local choice, which creates the potential for innovation, and the learning made possible by that innovation;

- the diffusion of power - change is more easily made on the smaller scale, and there are limits to political capacity at the centre;

- a concern for the community beyond the mere provision of service;

- local and visible government - decisions can more easily involve when made close to the community than when made in corridors and committees of central government;

- a renewed basis for accountability in local democracy.' (in Stewart and Stoker, 1988)

A period of accelerating global change in the 1990's driven by the new technologies is creating uncertainties and risk for cities and towns as well as nations, at the same time as presenting opportunities for local communities to clarify their traditions and resources in the process of regeneration (Piore). Communities are learning new ways of governing themselves to secure this economic and democratic renewal: tackling exclusion by recognising the different traditions, encouraging new forms of citizenship and participation to strengthen civil society.

Analysis of change needs to develop understanding of these emergent themes of the new community governance, embryonic in the recent work of Stewart, Barnes, Ranson and Stoker:

- recognising communities of difference and identity

- encouraging citizenship

- enabling participation

- developing new institutional frames of governance

(a)   *Communities of Difference and Identity*

We live increasingly within communities of difference. The post-modern world is typically characterised by clashes of cultural traditions whose values, histories and identities are said to be chronically agonist and thus rival and incommensurable, compounded by a poverty of recognition and mutual understanding (MacIntyre; Gray). Traditions shape 'critical points of deep and significant *difference* which constitute 'what we really are', or rather - since history has intervened - 'what we have become' (Hall).

Many institutions and neighbourhoods within the community form a microcosm of the predicament facing the post-modern polity. The challenge for the new community governance is to discover processes which can reconcile the valuing of difference with the need for shared understanding and agreement about public purpose that dissolves prejudice and discrimination.

(b)   *Active Citizenship*

Social and political theorists in search of perspectives which might illuminate and resolve the puzzles presented by the post-modern politics of difference have drawn upon theories of citizenship and civil society to offer interpretive analyses of a changing democracy at the turn of the century. Traditional

models of 'entitlement citizenship', which emphasise membership of the nation state and formal legal rights (Marshall, Dahrendorf, Plant, Ignatieff) have been subjected to critical analysis because they ignore the contemporary condition of plurality (Parekh) and neglect the tradition of participation, exercise of agency and deliberation which also informed classical traditions of citizenship (Barber).

The task has been to reconstruct a theory of citizenship which is grounded in the experience of heterogeneity and elaborates the need for different groups to enter a discourse in which they voice claims for their identities and interests to be recognised and accommodated in the public space. Theorists (Young, Phillips, Mouffe) point to the mistaken illusion of a unified polity, of homogeneous communities which form a universal citizenry and civic public, which is required to leave behind particularity and difference in the public domain. Traditional models of citizenship imposed a univocal understanding of what should count as 'universal' values that excluded and silenced the voices of 'other' traditions, whether they are gendered, ethnic or class. A conception of citizenship is needed, Yeatman argues, which acknowledges the contested nature of public purposes and enables the different voices to re-present their cultural traditions and material class interests (Coole) in the public space in conditions of unconstrained dialogue.

The motivation of members of society to acknowledge mutuality, to deliberate with others and to search for shared understanding is more likely to succeed if they regard each other as citizens with shared responsibility for making the communities in which they are to live. This makes the *agency* of citizens central to personal and social development. Our active participation in creating the projects which are to shape our selves as well as the communities in which we live provides the sense of purpose to work together with others and to secure trusting relations with them. The telos of citizenship is to learn to make the communities without which individuals and others cannot grow and develop. The presupposition of such making is *openness* to mutual recognition: we have to learn to be open to different perspectives, alternative life-forms and views of the world., to allow our pre-judgements to be challenged; in so doing we learn how to amend our assumptions, and develop an enriched understanding of others.

(c) Participative Democracy for Civil Society

We can only make ourselves and our communities when empowered by a public domain which recognises the distinctive contributions each have to give. For Habermas the processes of a discursive democracy provide the conditions for differences to be brought into the public sphere and negotiated through procedures of fair, equal and unconstrained discussion undistorted by power. Identities are respected and compromises if not consensus reached between rival traditions.

Such a view of democracy recognises an understanding, effaced by rights based models, of the duality of citizenship: that citizens are both individuals and active members of the whole, the public as a political community. For Clarke this deep 'democratic citizenship' requires for the recovery of collaborative participation, the establishing and strengthening of the spaces, the intermediary institutions of civil society, in which such active citizenship can be practised (Keane, Hirst, Cohen and Arato, Cohen and Rogers). A domain is formed in which private meets public, providing the conditions for what Mouffe argues strong democracy needs - an articulation between the particular and the universal. A sphere which recognises and mediates, through the arts of association, a diversity of particular interests for the public good. By providing forums for participation the new polity can create the conditions for public discourse and for mutual accountability so that citizens can take each other's needs and claims into account will learn to create the conditions for each others development. (Dunn).

(d) New institutional frames of governance

Stewart (1994), in further developing his analysis of community governance has argued that if the public domain is to revitalise citizenship then institutional reform has to renew the institutional conditions for public life within communities leading to a new style of governing, linking the discourse of democracy and the government of collective choice. The conditions and lines of development include:

'i. An infrastructure of community forums - both of place and of interest - can provide the foundation to strengthen the constitutive principles of the public domain: enabling and expressing public discourse leading to collective choice based upon public consent.

ii. Local government must be reconstituted as the community governing itself. It will have the responsibility for the development of community forums representing the diversity of communities within. As the expression of representative democracy it will set the framework for the development of participation through community forums and the means of discourse for reconciling difference and, if necessary, determining in collective choice. The upshot of such reform would be an institutional framework of community governance - with a capacity for integrating participative democracy and representative government - that can repair the vacuum of a polity the public legitimacy of which has withered.

iii Local government as the expression of the community governing itself, provides the systemic conditions for renewing the public domain. By establishing a framework of institutions, it enables the participation of citizens to be tied into the contribution of elected representatives in the forming of collective choice. In this way political capacity is enhanced, drawing together diversity of perspectives and values into a common process of discourse and decision, that enhances the possibility of choice acquiring the authority of consent. Community governance thus provides the conditions for reconstruction, for what is demanded is a high capacity for learning both of the nature of the problems faced and about the approaches to adopt. The institutional arrangements of community governance enables citizens to participate and thus generate a more informed and responsive system of elected representation. It transforms representative democracy from a periodic event to a continuous process of representation. The interdependent complex of institutions provide the capacity for effective action monitored and evaluated by the public.' (Ranson and Stewart, 1994)

It is likely that these conditions and developments would start from existing institutions but would enable new ways of working within them to permit that learning.

Interview Schedule

I   Introductory (about your role)

II   <u>Origins:</u> (A brief resume)

1.   How was the Bid developed and drafted?

2.   (How was the needs analysis conducted? what/where is the data base from that? (access?)

3.   What was the extent and process of consultation (who was involved?)

4.   What was the involvement of (negotiations with) the business sector; TEC; the LEA etc

5.   What have been the level of investments in the EAZ

6.   Is there a partnership? who is the lead partner?

7.   What issues have arisen at this stage in the working of the Forum and the Executive

III   Purpose

8.   What is the purpose of the Zone? (probe values and beliefs which shape it)

IV   Exploring the Aspects of the Bid

(Problems of disadvantage + educational barriers leading to underachievement)

(A) Disadvantage and exclusion

9.   What do the ideas of disadvantage and exclusion mean for you?

10   What is the nature and characteristics of disadvantage and exclusion in the Zone?

11.   How does disadvantage impact on education in the Zone?:

        −   on learning and on achievement? (probe understanding of motivation)

(B) The educational barriers to achievement (keep in mind: inputs; practices; outcomes)

(eg. inputs (eg. resources; motivation) practices (eg transitions; home-school rels.)

12.   What do you understand to be the key educational barriers to achievement in the Zone?

13.   What are the strengths and weaknesses of education in the Zone?

V   The Initiatives

14.   What is your understanding of the development of the Initiative(s)

        Are you involved in any of them? Should you be? Are they appropriate?

15.   What problems do they face?

VI   EAZ Action Plans

16.   Are the EAZ action plans adequate to the task of realising the objectives?

 (probe planning, resourcing and targetting)

VII   The Contribution of the LEA

17.   How is the LEA supporting the Zone? What contribution will it make?

18.   What LEA projects complement the EAZ Initiatives?

        (eg. explore the pre five intiatives etc)

19.   What other local authority intiatives will be important (eg. regeneration intiatives)

20.   Describe the quality of inter-organisational relations between services

        (How good is the networking?)

21.   What factors impede and which facilitate good inter-agency working?

22.   What changes are required?

VIII Concluding discussion

17.   What for you are the key priorities for making the Zone succeed?

18.   How will the EA plan to liaise with the EAZ to ensure cooperative support/planning?